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Social entrepreneurship for dignity and change: an exploration of five social enterprises focused on childcare and development in selected developing countries

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This thesis is dedicated to Jose María Abad Uribe, for being one of them;

To my parents and my sister, for their unconditional love, support and generosity in this journey;

And to all the social entrepreneurs big and small, successful or not who dare to follow their conscience; To the life in them.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

Ali. S.K.	Ali Salem Khalifa
ACOES	Asociación Colaboración y Esfuerzo
APLE Cambodia	Action pour les Enfants Cambodia
Anidan	Anidan
AYMY	Ayitimoun Yo
CSA	Child Sexual Abuse
CSR	Corporate Social Responsability
FBO	Faith Based Organization
ODA	Official Development Aid

-“Didi, is it true that in the world there are people who know what they die of”?

An eight-year-old asked a Buddhist nun in Haiti, Port-au-Prince, 2015

You can’t be neutral on a moving train.

Howard Zinn

INTRODUCTION

According to the Cambridge dictionary a paradigm is “a model of something, or a very clear and typicalexample of something”. And according to the same source, a paradigm shift is “a time when the usual and accepted way of doing or thinking about something changescompletely”. It is too early and probably too optimistic to think that Social Entrepreneurship (SE) maychange the form in which communities will be supported in developing countries, abandoning more vertical and culturally detached approaches more specific to the Official Development Aid (ODA), although, to a certain extent, it is already happening. SE is a multifaceted phenomenon, one of the possible results of the sum of different factors in which qualitative transformations can be observed. A new understanding of human aspirations, what makes sense to us, and a questioning about what is expectable from us in the presence of the challenges that menace human beings in this precise moment of humanevolution.

Global rapid social transformations seem to be in the origins of the increase of SE and its interest. Unfortunately those anthropological, and even psychological, approaches are in general not sufficiently considered in the study of SE, giving as a result, a limited understanding of this inspiring and deeply transformative phenomenon. As explained in Chapter Two, SE is not new and religious and secular examples of it can be found throughout history although many of them remain anonymous. The movement to promoteadvancement in terms of collective conscience -- the key element of SE -- is not new nor patrimony of a particular period of time. It is purely a human and reiterated phenomenon. Understood or not, SE will not cease because its roots are in the motivations of some people, some of them Social Entrepreneurs (SERs), who want to live their life in a fulfilling way, with a meaning–the revolution of sense- and that provided by skills, exercise a freedom to choose a different way to interact with reality, increasing their responsibilities. This reality is studied in the field of leisure, which is the field of freely-chosen activity. As Stebbins(1982, p. 251) explains:

> Whether or not their jobs ever provided such things, they will increasingly be searching the world of leisure for ways to express their abilities, fulfilltheir potential, and identify themselves as unique human beings. Serious leisure is the main route open to people with these goals.

Immersed in the process of socialization of the scientific revolution and surrounded by institutions and structures still derived from the post industrial revolution,there is a clear

perception that inherited solutions do not fit. This is a transition period, whose uniqueness can be affirmed by the ethnographic understanding of the present changes. SEs are the seeds of a sequence of transformative experiences in terms of conscience and expansion of commitment, that questions the traditional responsibility boundaries in which people (only yesterday!) were just responsible for the welfare of the closest ones. Reality changes extremely quickly and places the human being in the bind to build a new critical conscience to overcome present uncertainties and challenges. A new critical conscience that makes us function not as “specimens”, but as “social constructors”(Brey, Inneratity, & Mayos, 2009, p. 8), which is exactly what SERs are.

In spite of our need to learn, paradoxically SE has scarcely been studied through the eyes of SERs. This weakness, favors a simplified interpretation that leaves out critical considerations, like the SERs’ motivations- including the spiritual, the moral or the affective dimension- or the observation of day to day SE operations, which question our overtechnical and Westernized understanding ofhow to help others (mainly development and aid).

For me, as an incipient exploratory researcher, it was crucial to understand the human interactions that take place in the field of SE, from the eyes of the humans who are involved in it and avoid fascination with abstract models often imported from other areas of life, such as the economy and the political sphere, which may offer quicker answers but, in spite of being grounded, are not necessarily accurate for SEs. This appreciation becomes more apparent considering that much theory on human development is written from desks and not from the villages and the cities in which things are happening, more and more quickly every day. There is still a lack of listening and direct contact in the promotion of human emancipation in developing countries. It affects the praxis and the theory.

The main goal of this research was to contribute to an anthropological understanding of SE. Carrying out participant observation and semi-structured interviews I went out to the field from September 2014 until February 2016, in order to see things, and guided with a grounded theory construction, put them together in an inductive fashion, as I had seen them.

The participant observation gave me the possibility to observe SEs and draw a scheme of their ways of functioning at the micro and macro level and revealed some of these factors: the simplicity of many of their initiatives, the relevance of returning to the basics in a world of increased inequality; the experimental nature of SE (an open-ended field, with no substantial institutionalization of any kind, in which any type of proposal is worth trying if it appears it will work and help the real people); the relevance of qualitative aspects, including the presence of affective bond; the questioning of the idea of success (can be an dying SE be qualified as failure if it has effectively changed for the better the life of forty people?, and closely related, what is the price of funding an SE?, because apparently, there is not any). And finally since there is no duality between the person of the SER and its SE, especially in the initial years and at least until there is a real detachment, how the subjective realities of the SER and the local teams may affect the viability of the organization.

The larger intellectual context of this study is composed of the contributions of several authors as well as the influence of my previous professional background in the official development field and in the area of SE. Authors like Easterly (2013) indicate how and why the real debate on the ideas of development has not taken place, in the shadow of the control executed by experts and the preservation of politic and economic considerations/interests. In a limited scope, this works aims to enrich that debate of the ideas.

Bornstein's (2004) anthropological understanding of SE had a deep influence on this work, since it offered many critical human points about the process of funding and managing an SE, that do not seem to have received enough attention given the preference of developing more technical conceptions. In the same anthropological line, Martin, (2016) helps consolidate the critic to what, paraphrasing the author, is called in this study, "the reductive understanding of SE".

And finally, Serious Leisure Perspective (SLP) coined by Stebbins (2007/2015), places SE theoretically in the present context of transformations in Western societies in which leisure is a privileged place for innovation and creativity. Volunteering in SE is rampant. And volunteering, in its serious modality, is the place where the person aligns deep aspirations with the realization of a meaningful activity, in some cases, substituting the

idea of work. SE cannot be understood without knowing its fulfillment dimension and the presence of a choice. In that way the roots of SE lie in leisure, understood as “uncoerced, contextually framed activity engaged in during free time, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both)”(Stebbins, 2012, p. 4). More precisely, SERs especially those in the nonprofits, embody the pursuit of serious leisure, described initssix distinguishing characteristics. They are consistently found in many SERs and serious leisure volunteers. These qualities are the following (Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 11-13):

- Presence of drive and commitment to persevere in the activity;
- “The opportunity to follow a leisure career in the endeavor, a career shaped by its own special contingencies, turning points, and stages of achievement and involvement”(idea);
- Making of particular effort “in order to gain skill and knowledge”;
- Creation of durable benefits, “such as self-fulfillment, self-expression, and group accomplishment ”;
- Cultivation of a unique ethos understood as:

> the spirit of the community of serious leisure participants, as manifested in shared attitudes, practices, values, beliefs, goals, and so on. The social world of the participants is the organizational milieu in which the associated ethos—at bottom a cultural formation—is expressed (as attitudes, beliefs, values) or realized (as practices, goals).

Unruh (1980, p. 277) defines social world as,

> a unit of social organization which is diffuse and amorphous in character. Generally larger than groups or organizations, social worlds are not necessarily defined by formal boundaries, membership lists, or spatial territory…. A social world must be seen as an internally recognizable constellation of actors, organizations, events, and practices, which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of interest and involvement for participants. Characteristically, a social world lacks a powerful centralized authority structure and is delimited by…effective communication and not territory nor formal group membership.

- The sixth characteristic implies that “participants in serious leisure tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits”. This “springs from the presence of the other five distinctive qualities”.

Before entering into the methodological and organizational questions of the thesis, it is advisable to review what in this thesis is called "the risky and reductive understanding of the SE", in an attempt to specify the dominant understanding of SE, the challenges that those conceptions do represent for the SE and for the present thesis, and finally the weak points of those conceptions.

The risky and reductive understanding of SE

"The term SE started to gain popularity more than twenty years ago used to refer to people who had first-hand experience with a problem and went on to work on solving it" (Papi-Thornton, 2016). Today, although still considered to be on an embryonic state (Durieux, 2011) its evolution starts to show a duality in the core of the its understanding. This duality is connected with a progressive detachment of the SE from the "first-hand experience" or from getting into the mud, for long periods of time in order to solve or at least improve a social situation, at least at the conceptual level. The fact that SE has become "a fashionable model for social transformation" only strengthen this detachment. Therefore, it is not surprising that SE is accepted by some sectors of research and development practitioners with a certain degree of scepticism (Mauksch, 2016). As a result, many studies on SE share a "celebratory tone, appreciating as they do the concept as a sophisticated means of capitalising on resources to address unresolved problems like poverty or social exclusion" (see reviews of Dacin et al., 2010, 2011 cited in Mauksch, 2016, p. 4). In the same line, denouncing the lack of reflection, Mauksch (2016, p. 10) explains an ethnographical experience in a SE workshop "designed…in a way that avoided any form of substantial debate or scepticism, opening up instead a space for positive motivation and activation".

The problem when analyzing this division is that the fashionable understanding of SE finds more support in literature and in the praxis (events for promotion of SE and the kind) than its opposite. In fact a couple of very recent articles, show the central division in the understanding of SE especially when operating in developing countries. In the blog "The Development Set", Martin (2016) speaks about the "seductive reduction" of SE[1]. The

[1] It is convenient not to forget that ES operations in developing countries can be considered part of the development sector, understood in the widest sense of the term, because they don't usually

analysis shows that the duality in the understanding is shaped by a trendy sphere qualified as reductive and a second one that is only emerging in conceptual terms, with still little empirical support, that focuses more on anthropological processes, long-term cultural transformations and strong personal and professional commitment. And that in no case reduces the complexity of any of these undertakings. The development of this more anthropological understanding of SE will be related to the realization of qualitative and exploratory studies to a large degree. [2]

In what way has the evolution of the literature of SE collaborated to draw that duality? Firstly, there is a "heavy focus on conceptual over empirical research" in the field of SE (Dacin et al., 2010, 2011, cited in Mauksch, 2016, p. 4). Other authors affirm that… "Critical studies point to the lack of reliable data that would provide insights into how prevalent and effective the approach actually is" (Nicholls 2010a, Teasdale et al, 2013 cited in Mauksch, 2016, p. 4)…"But inside this frequently overtechnical understanding of SE lies a paradox: [studies]"engage intensely in technocratic reasoning, but also obliquely indicate a "messianic social vision" (Cho, 2006 cited in Mauksch, 2016, p. 4) or "quasi religious make-over"(Dey and Steyaert, 2010 cited in Mauksch, 2016, p. 4). Simply put, the direction of the literature, and the enthusiasm derived from many ESs and social change promotion events, lacking anthropological perspective, can cause the understanding of SE leads more to what it is wished to be, than to what it really is in the field. SE, in the process of becoming a field of its own (Light, 2008), requires empirical studies that introduce balance. There is scarcely any information about the frequently exhausting involvements that lie underneath SE (especially in developing countries) the length and complexity of the social transformation processes, or the personal skills required to create and maintain an SE, especially in the developing world; The exhaustion side of the story is frankly unknown. As a matter a fact, literature is still using the burn out concept for SERs, when it does, without having developed any specific category. The funny thing is that when SERs

follow governmental policies. And more than six decades of experience on that field prove that promoting development is anything but simple.

[2]Borstein's*How to change the world* (2004) had indeed an anthropological approach with important amounts of interviewing and observation. With time, his book has been used to explain the idealistic image of SERs or their identification with heros. SERs are not ordinary people. But in any case, the highest amount of detachment has derived from excessively conceptual and overtechnical studies. To a certain extent, Bornstein used an anthropological approach that later on, not all the scientific field decided to follow.

are interviewed and their involvements observed, it can be said that burn out does not need a long time to emerge. It should have been noticed by now.

After having worked for an official aid agency, the division in the understanding of SE may start to resemble the one that takes place in the development sector. Thousands of critical papers and books of unquestionable validity do not seem to affect the way the system operates as if provided with a certain degree of immunity. [3]There is a risk in the SE sector as well to deepen the division between the critical and the executers usually backed with important amounts of private funding and undoubtedly more enthusiasm than what can be found in some governmental agencies.

This reductive understanding of the SE gives a lot of importance to the economic dimension of SE and to the use of technology. In fact it's not rare to find definitions of SE that only allow the for-profit modality [4], which according to the observation carried out in this work, represent a reduction of the concept and of the reality. This understanding of SE, following Martin (2016) very much focuses on apparently easily solvable realities mainly through replicability of strategies and simplification of social realities (when not plainly ignorant of the culture); that is, the author denounces a tendency that produces much ado about nothing, in the best cases. For example:

> They're making big mistakes—both operationally and culturally—in countries they aren't familiar with. They're solving problems for people, rather than with, replicating many of the mistakes that the world's largest development agencies make on a much smaller scale. They drop technology without having a training or maintenance plan in place, or try to shift cultural norms without culturally appropriate educational materials or trusted messengers. Or they're spending the majority of their days speaking about the work on the conference circuit, rather than actually doing it (Martin, 2016).

[3]My working stay in Senegal in 2010, allowed me, with a syncretic vision, to contextualize the theoretical critics to ODA that, emerging from two intellectually confronted sectors, questioned the convenience of the existence of the official aid system and of the ODA as an instrument to promote economic development and growth. The negative impacts of ODA indicated by the liberal economy(Friedman, 1958; Bauer, 1971) that connected corruption with negative impact on the economic growth and the radical economy (Baran, 1959; Griffin, 1968, 1970, 1986) denouncing the ultimately exhaustion and deprivation of natural resources, linked to economic and political interests as well as to ODA, were actually taking place at the same time in the recipient country; That happened in spite of the confrontational character of these theories that denounced those effects.
[4]As an example see www.centreforsocialenterprise.com/what-is-social-enterprise/

The idea from the preceding paragraph that affirms the smaller negative impact of many development initiatives carried out by some of the largest development agencies does not receive support in this work. A wide vision of the aid development system, which includes the NGOs, the states with their respective agencies, the multilateral and bilateral organizations, as well as the Bretton Woods institutions (i.e., World Bank [WB] and International Monetary Fund [IMF]) enables us to recognize the existence of harmful long reach policies that although known, remain still important. Structural Adjustments Plans (SAPs) inspired on the Washington Consensus which lead to the entrance of neoliberalism in more that 90 countries during the last two decades of the XX century (Zabalo, 2005/2006)South America and many African countries, caused serious negative social impact (UNICEF, 1987; Cornia, Jolly & Stewart, 1987). In fact, in 1987 UNICEF published the report The State of the World's Children. This report included a chapter called Adjustment with a Human Face. It consisted of a preview of the main findings related to the "impact of the adjustment policies which many developing nations have had to adopt during the 1980s"(UNICEF, 1987, no page number). That impact was more extensively and critically addressed in the book with the same title (Cornia et al, 1987). Curiously, at the moment in which UNICEF publishes the first report to take the alarm at the effects on childhood, James P. Grant, SER, is the executive director of the agency. For more information see Bornstein (2004, chap. 19).

Just to show the unresolved lack of respect of the "rights of the poor " as Easterly (2013) says that by these institutions and in this case by the WB, Kron (2011), Oxfam (see Grainger & Geary, 2011) and later on Easterly (2013) could denounce the incident that happened on February 28th 2010 in Uganda:

> According to a report released by the aid group Oxfam on Wednesday, more than 20,000 people say they were evicted from their homes here in recent years to make way for a tree plantation run by a British forestry company, emblematic of a global scramble for arable land (Kron, 2011).

"Too many investments have resulted in dispossession, deception, violation of human rights and destruction of livelihoods" (Grainger & Geary, 2011). Easterly (2013, p. 3) continues:

> …While some soldiers kept the farmers at gunpoint from rescuing their homes, others poured gasoline over the recent grain harvest in the barns and burned that as well. One

> eight-year-old child was trapped and died in the fire…[T]he WB, an official international organization combating global poverty, had financed and promoted the project by the British Company…The WB is not subject to [Uganda] law or courts…[After the appearance of the story in the New York Times on 21 September 2011], [t]he WB the next day promised an investigation. That investigation has never happened.

Having made this declaration with regard to so called official aid "mistakes", which do not seem to have consequences for the "experts" who design them, it's time to go back to the constructive critics on SE and let, from the side of the philanthropists, Peter Buffett (2013) reflect on his own experience with regard to cultural avoidance and development:

> People (including me) who had very little knowledge of a particular place would think that they could solve a local problem transplanting what worked in one setting directly into another with little regard for culture, geography or societal norms. Often the results of our decisions had unintended consequences.

And asks regarding technical simplifications and the underlying reality of inequality: "Is progress really Wi-Fi on every street corner? No. It's when no 13-year-old girl on the planet gets sold for sex".

Dart (2004, cited in Mauksch, 2016, p. 4) addresses the understanding of SE mainly in an economic way in the following terms: "SE's evolution is not an "innocent" and narrow rational adaptation that produces valued results, but emerges in response to a wider socio-political environment attributing moral legitimacy to pro-market ideological notions". And Buffett (2013) adds:

> Money should be spent trying out concepts that shatter current structures and systems that have turned much of the world into one vast market…But as long as most folks are patting themselves on the back for charitable acts, we've got a perpetual poverty machine.

To what extent the reductive understanding of SE doesn't transform it into another well intended technical proposal that has already caused aid fatigue and failed to touch the roots of poverty without increasing the quality of development initiatives. [All this is] "an old story; we really need a new one…something built from the ground up" (Buffett, 2013).

It is the right time in this review of the literature on SE to consider Schumacher's(1973, p. 33)words: "economics play a central role in shaping the activities

of the modern world" and also interpreting them to the extent that "there is no other set of criteria that exercises a greater influence over the actions of individuals and groups as well as over those governments". This happens although "the judgement of economics is an extremely fragmentary judgement; out of the large number of aspects which in real life have to be seen and judged together before a decision can be taken, economics supplies only one, whether a thing yields a money profit to those who undertake it or not"(p.35). "At the same time, they give vastly more weight to the short than the long-term"(p. 35). The problem is that "the science of economics is so prone to usurp the rest even so more than 150 years ago, when Edward Copleston pointed to this danger" (p.38). "Every science is beneficial within its proper limits but becomes evil and destructive as soon as it transgresses them" (p.38).

Papi-Thornton (2016) addresses responsibility in the way SE is taught and promoted: "Many educators and funders share my concern that the focus now is on a distilled and mass-produced version of the promise of the social entrepreneur".In certain spaces there is an"obsession with becoming 'a founder' as if becoming an entrepreneur could be easily learnt". And she adds:

> I believe people need a more holistic set of skills, including systems thinking, an understanding ofcollaboration tools to further collective impact, and lateral leadership skills such as the ability to lead without power and to galvanize movement toward a common goal across a diverse and disjointed solutions ecosystem. They also need a grounded understanding of themselves and their skills…deep understanding of the reality of that problem.

Expanding the lens, the reductive understanding of SE with an accent on technological innovation and moral neutrality is at the basis of Easterly's (2013) discussion of what he calls the "technocratic illusion" in the development sector:

> The conventional approach to economic development, to making poor countries rich is based on a technocratic illusion: the belief that poverty is a purely technical problem amenable to such technical solutions as fertilizers, antibiotics, or nutritional supplements[5] (p.6)…[Without realizing that] "the technical problems of the poor (and the absence of

[5]And he adds..."we will see the same belief prevalent amongst others who combat global poverty, such as the Gates Foundation, the United Nations and US and UK aid agencies" (Easterly 2016, p. 6).

> technical solutions for those problems) are a symptom of poverty, not a cause of poverty". (p. 7)

And he continues:

> Morally neutral approaches to poverty do not exist. Any approach to development will either respect the rights of the poor or it will violate them. One cannot avoid this moral choiceby appealing to "non-ideological evidence-based policies" (a popular phrase in development today). (p.6)

The practical result of supporting the reductive version of ES is the replication of the same old lack of coherence viewed in the development sector: "Inside any important philanthropy meeting, you witness heads of state meeting with investment managers and corporate leaders. All are searching for answers with their right hand to problems that others in the room have created with their left"(Buffett, 2013).

These beliefs have gone deeper in a certain area of understanding of SE and in fact, Easterly (2013) considers private foundations, oftenSE supporters, part of the "consensus" of the development community[6].

According to the same author there is "hope" coming from "a new wave of research" that is provid[ing] plenty of material to finally have a "debate between authoritarian and free alternatives in development[7]. To a certain extent the SE analysed in this work aim to participate and co-create those free alternatives that challenge the "authoritarian consensus". This work and the selected SE and the collected data present the features that Easterly underlines.

[6] "The development community includes policy experts, public intellectuals, economists and other social scientists. Its limits are defined as those who work for the aid agencies of rich-country governments, international aid agencies like the World Bank, think tanks like the Brookings Institution, and philanthropies like the Gates Foundation, or as consultants or advisers to any of the above. It does not include economics professors conducting purely academic research on development, unless those professors cross over into work for the kinds of agencies listed here" (Easterly, 2013, p. 13).

[7] According to Easterly (2013, p. 9) "political motivations help explain why the debate on the merits of ideas has often failed to happen".

These are, firstly,"…emphasis on history" [while] "technocratic solutions view history as not really mattering…(Blank Slate)"(p. 10); It's difficult to understand the situation of the children supported by the organization Ayitimoun Yo in Haiti and the geographical vulnerability of the organization which lies on the border with Dominican Republic, without taking into account the historical relationships in the form of conflict between both countries (Nichols, 2015)that have taken place since the independence of the Dominican Republic from Spain in 1844 and that still exist today in the form of mass Haitian deportations (Katz, 2016). Secondly,"…emphasis on non national factors- for example the technology, values and network contacts that migrants take with them from one nation to another"(Easterly, 2013, p.10); This work focuses on common ways to operate and values shared, for example, among organizations, founders and communities of SE. Thirdly, "the new research shows the importance of spontaneous solutions in politics, markets, and technology…conscious design of development by experts versus spontaneous solutions by individuals"(p.10-11). Although thoughtful, most SERs face innumerable and unpredictable events that in a striking number of occasions they connect with their knowledge of reality as well as with their experience with working with that knowledge. In any case, they have to make and find solutions without addressing a known framework designed by any kind of expert.

"Ironically, most of the economists involved in this recent research were not trying to solve the global poverty problem; they were just trying to better understand and explain the world" (p. 11). The same can be told of all SERs that participate in this study. Besides none of them received formation in development from masters which could train them as experts.

Bornstein (2004, p. 123) adds relevant information about the conceptual background of SERs that complements Easterly's vision:

> You cannot cause major social change unless you really understand what is going on. You pick up the symptoms early that something is amiss. And you focus on it. Because you need to. And so these folks are not ideologues. They are not captive of some framework that someone has given them. They are wonderfully free of framework. They are happy crossing disciplinary or organizational boundaries and they listen really well.

So, what are the features found so far in that more anthropological understanding of SE?

More precisely according to Martin, (2016) the anthropological understanding of SE implies among other things: Recognition of the "underlying complexity of the problems" instead of thinking they are "easily solvable"; recognition of the importance of the role of listening; acceptance of a "long, humble journey of learning" as an SER; "acknowled[gement] of how much you don't know and…[posses a] tremendous amount of patience and curiosity"; A vital attitude that combines "systemic complexity with a kind of idealistic sobriety"; cultivate "a beginner's mind that leads them to ask the best kinds of questions and all that fresh energy for change, which veterans so desperately need"; "putting down roots" and a highly skilled leadership exercised as follows:

> [It is]all finely calibrated moments of risk—when she [the SER] will challenge a local leader, for example—and restraint—when she will hold off on challenging a local leader because she intuits that she hasn't yet developed enough trust with him. That kind of leadership doesn't develop during a six-month home stay (Martin, 2016).

A leadership acquired through long periods of committed action in which the SER[8] and its coherence have been assessed by the community and its leaders in informal ways (Martin, 2016):

> …I know you, and I have known and observed Tostan since 1992. You have always had respect for our culture and our religion, in this and nearby communities. You tell me that the women have told you that there are health problems, and if you tell me this, I believe you. …Go forward with what you need to do[9].

In her article A Study in Risk and Restraint, Martin (2013) analyses the work carried out by the same SE -Tostan- and reports the following aspects about the SER:

> [The importance of the long term implication to build]…trusting relationships with the Senegalese people and deep understanding of the culture [that]…would never have been possible had she been jet-setting back and forth like so many current nonprofit directors do. She set down roots. She learned mother tongues. She invested time in building non-transactional relationships with locals.

[8]The SER Molly Melching is the founder of the SE Tostan, which works in Senegal empowering communities. For more information, see www.tostan.org
[9]Extracted from a conversation with a local leader about feminine genital cutting.

Martin (2013) also indicates the value of generating spaces of discussion, analysis and self-reflection when dealing with feminine genital cutting:

> When she first started organizing groups of rural women to learn about health and human rights circa 1990, she didn't bombard them with messages about what they should and shouldn't do. In fact, she didn't do any of the teaching. She hired facilitators with at least four years of primary school and literacy in national languages, untrained them from any top-down pedagogical style (discussion-based only), and armed them with facts.

And she continues by explaining the importance of respecting the pace of the community: she did not mention the issue "until the women themselves started touching it". As a result, the attention provided to the community does not consist of material things to reduce poverty:" What they needed was not just closer hospitals or better trained medical workers". They needed something much more complex:

> …a way of envisioning an alternative existence in which they understood their right to be treated with dignity. It was only if they believed they were entitled to better treatment that they could demand it and bring an end to those harmful customs.

And as a final conclusion:

> So many social entrepreneurs have aspired to not just create markets or build clinics, but also to inspire the historically dispossessed to see themselves as deserving of those opportunities and spaces, to—in short—expect better. It's perhaps the most radical and long-lasting type of social change, and also the most challenging to catalyze without overstepping cultural boundaries and disrespecting the sometimesglacial pace of community-led development.

Origins of the present research: preliminary work

Years before the thesis took form I started, in an unconscious but eager way, an exploration of SEs that among other things is responsible for the immersion in reality aimed for in this work. Precisely, this process has to do with my personal involvement with SE in India in two different moments, 2003 and 2011 with two different organizations: the Vicente Ferrer Foundation [10] also known as the Rural Development Trust (RDT) in

[10]For more information, see http://www.fundacionvicenteferrer.org/es/

Anantapur and Prayasam[11] in Kolkata, founded by Amlan Ganguly, elected Ashoka fellow in 2006. In many ways these two experiences confirmed my assumptions in the understanding of SE in an anthropological way. In fact, due to those personal involvements I realized that institutions such as Ashoka or the Skoll Foundation, in representing successful and mature organizations did not constitute a statement of all SEs.

What was shown to me through the SERs and SEs that I met was more complex, very informal and raised too many questions, such as the quantitative dimensions of the phenomenon, which were convenient to reply before stablishing fixed categories. To close the issue, it is possible to add that these organizations which are "paradigm building actors" (Nicholls, 2010) "contribute to articulating the boundaries and priorities in the field" (Mauksch, 2016). But reality was showing me from the beginning of those experiences the existence of SEs completely disconnected from the accreditation (Seanor & Meaton, 2008) given by these prominent organizations (Mauksch, 2016) that were solving real problems in an entrepreneurial way. Not big problems but real problems indeed. Reality was also showing the existence of SE projects that were going to be closed down and that from a superficial assessment could be considered a failure, something difficult to evaluate when the SE has actually changed the lives of a considerably large group of people. Reality was showing there was more truth behind the institutional truth of the field. During both stays, in 2003 and 2011, I could experience the meaning of discovery understood as " a person's initial awareness of a phenomenon of scientific value (1) and the meaning this person attaches to this awareness (2)". In other words, the awareness process (1) resulted in a product, a discovery[12] (2) (Stebbins, 2015, chap. 5).

Proceeding step by step I will explain the inputs of each experience. The first time that I entered the field in India in 2003 I had not had any kind of contact with the scientific literature on SE of any kind**.** It may also be important to mention that then the term SE, although it existed already, was not so frequently used (at least outside academic circles) nor was I familiar with it (as in Bornstein's book and the creation of Ashoka). The Vicente

[11]For more information, see http://prayasam.org

[12]Discovering a phenomenon – in social science it might be a group, activity, situation, or process -- is the first step in the scientific process, which if followed, leads ultimately to an adequately empirically supported, or confirmed, generalization about that phenomenon, possibly one so solid as to constitute a scientific fact (Stebbins, 2015, chap. 5).

Ferrer Foundation is a recognized SE, [13]which works with the poorest communities of the rural India in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana[14].

From that personal visit which consisted of meeting my sponsored child, I extracted four conclusions: The first one, the organization I was seeing was not an NGO in the traditional sense of the term. It was not assuming the role of an intermediary NGO; In fact, the organization had a strong local character. There was a strong local team, which managed the organization with the founders leading it. And apparently, the decision-making processes were strongly focused in India, as if the "brain" was settled there. This fact, probably with nuances and limitations, contravened, as I have learnt, a still unresolved question in the aid industry or official aid sector, which is that it is still donor-oriented. So very often the organization that operates in the developing country depends on the directives that come from the one who provides the funds, that is, the one that is based in the western world. The degree in which this dependency manifests itself may vary in different cases, but the essence of the problem is still there.

The second conclusion was that I detected a strong sense of cultural connection and deep understanding of the reality of the life of the women in the rural area covered by the organization. This deep understanding was personified in the person of Ana Ferrer, spouse of the founder, (as far as I could see then) and was exemplified in the qualitative dimensions and quantitative results in the area of sexual health and reproduction, for example, that I witnessed that September of 2003.

Third, the attention provided had a clearly diversified approach –relying on many Indian professionals of many kinds, and commitment with the communities seemed to be understood in the long-term.

Fourth and most important, many people of the group of visitors I travelled with, considered Vicente Ferrer a saint. When I reflected on that idea it always came to my mind the fact that he had a methodology in place. He was presumably working in a certain way

[13]Vicente Ferrer received the Prince of Asturias Award in 1998
[14]For more information, see http://www.fundacionvicenteferrer.org/es/quienes-somos/la-organizacion

which produced many results. Without intending to do so, I was asking myself about one of the objectives of this research: the way SEs work.

The second key exploration experience took place in 2011 in Kolkata where I worked as a volunteer for the SER Amlan Ganguly, elected Ashoka Fellow in 2006.Being already aware of the paradigms, policies and procedures in the Spanish official aid sector (maybe not totally but at least partly), I had read some autobiographies on SE but the fact of being minimally involved in academic procedure, gave me the opportunity to enter the field with a *tabula rasa*and reflect on my own ideas and observations. One of those significant autobigraphies had been written by Sanllorente (2009) who provided me a clear insight about future possible developments of SEs in urban contextswhich shared a similar ethical root to the one I had observed in the RDT years earlier. At that moment in Kolkata, my contact with the literature about SE started to intensify. It was then when, comparing with my surrounding reality, I realized the presence of gaps related to the anthropological (and non-idealized) understanding of the SE and the strong focus on economic issues as if sustainability could only be understood in an economic way.

In this second experience I was consciously looking for a sort of continuity of what I had seen in the RDT years before and a sense of personal utility in other SE organizations heretofore unknown to me, which could help me overcome in part the disenchantment experienced while working in the official development sector the year before. I knew there had to be many more social entrepreneurial projects with probably very different shapes and forms than the one I had seen before.

The stay in India and mainly in Kolkata constituted an intense exercise of exploration and identification of SEs whose quantitative relevance and urgency were unquestionable, but that in absence of any formal (institutional or not) framework were mixed with more traditional approaches. Entrepreneurial ones that over time had lost that essence; religious ones for which having that feature seemed to cover their internal complexities (i.e., the possibility of discovery); SERs whose organizations were being born at that moment and did not know that they were it and did, in their inexperience, as much as they could, sometimes facing the opposition of their own families; projects originally well intended with serious lacks of quality; and ethically dubious endeavors which benefited from the lack of control and governmental care that surrounded them. More often than I

would have wished one could detect cases of personal immaturity of some leaders, which usually included the perception of the project as a personal escape [15]from unresolved personal questions (some SERs have referred indirectly to this question underlining how important is to be mentally healthy before starting anything). All this in a city of extreme inequality and in a country highly suspicious of altruistic endeavors and NGOs in general.

Getting to know the every day worries of some SERs who became friends, their commitment and ambitions, their processes of personal transformation, the occasional opposition within their own families, the innovative and frequently exhausting attempts to get regular funds, their obsession for effectiveness and efficiency (very frequently they have no other option than achieve much with few resources) and their thoughtful and deeply elaborated processes to improve the situation of others for whom they had chosen to work, gave me invaluable information to understand the complexity of this phenomenon in a broader way. The process of creating value inside a community invariably affects every single aspect of the life of the founder of the SE. Without knowing it I was already coming upon another discovery.

At that time, January 2011, the number of projects -- that is, the quantitative relevance of social enterprises usually started by a single individual, a couple or a small group of people, to address a social problem -- seemed to be growing, and not only in India but in many other places.The intense creativity that I observed, happened in a context as complex as the Indian so prone to corruption and therefore little social trust, with cultural codes very difficult to unravel that often makes the SERs overcome “unimaginable difficulties”, as one SER who operates in India told me once. This made me very aware of the price (economic, personal, sometimes familiar and mostly always psychological) that founding anSE has. And therefore, I was very conscious that the motivation of the SE – and being able to maintain it -- had long-term implications (otherwise they would not do what they do or they would simply give up in the process). Moreover, the persistent academic focus on economic sustainability explains a very small part of the phenomenon, which, if given too much space, could lead to misleading and poor understanding of a phenomenon with deep anthropological roots. In any case, the

[15]Bill Drayton (2007) founder of Ashoka explains: “Entrepreneurs capable of making profound pattern changes are rare and have a well-understood and strikingly coherent, consistent life story”. Personal escapes do not show that kind of coherence.

economic dimension cannot fully explain sustainability (i.e., the survival and success of the organization on its own), but on the contrary, other more personal, and unknown ways to work and interact with the always complex surrounding social reality, have a major impact in that matter[16].

In a highly adverse context for altruistic and entrepreneurial endeavors (West Bengal has had for decades a communist government who does not promote SE) the value of "size" of the organization became relative. Many small projects were being born with the support of the personal network of the founders and probably would never be part of any recognized institution, but they existed still and accomplished their function due to the entrepreneurial spirit in them. Small could not only be beautiful (Schumacher, 1973) but also full of sense and mission in the entrepreneurial sense of the term.

Thinking in retrospect three conclusions were learnt from those experiences: the importance of the motivations of the SERs being aware of the costs of the process; the existence of many SEs which were transforming realities which did not fit dominant concepts (both in India, 2011), and the fact that social transformation had to do with a certain way to operate (India, 2003).

Field work: a representative selected sample

This thesis has implied a considerable amount of shift. Two stays in Canada were required. The first one to work deeply on methodological issues after elaborating the research project in Spain (2013-2014).The second one to start writing the final draft (2016). In the mean time, the exploration activities in the field started in September 2014 until February 2016. See the Table 1, which indicates the schedule.

[16] The generation of self-income was not rejected by many SERs that I met at that time and who were operating in highly deprived areas or with excluded sectors of populations, but often it was considered too soon, too complex, or simply they did not know how to do it. Over time, the collective exercise of economic support that we are witnessing in the form of crowdfunding for example, that in some cases have benefitted SEs of this study, shows us there is a line of research and social evolution related to collaborative economy that is also growing and bringing new information about how to make the economy work. Traditional economy, which undoubtedly can offer ideas of support to many SEs, should not go too fast and cover new forms of economic organization that the society is currently finding, creating and developing, with the demand of assumed requirements extensively attributed to the purely economic sense of the word entrepreneur.

Table 1: Schedule

Country	Objective and SE	Period
Spain	Project proposal and literature review	September 2012-June 2013
Canada	Methodology study, selection and agreement of collaboration with the SEs in Calgary	July 2013- May 2014
Break in Spain		
Guatemala	Data collection in Guatemala City	Mid-September 2014-End October 2014
Nicaragua	Data collection in Managua	Early November 2014- Mid December 2014
Haiti	Data collection in Ayitimounyo (AYMY) in Anse à Pitres	Mid-December 2014-Late January 2015
Break in Spain	To recover perspective and health checks	
India	Data collection in Kolkata in Ali. S.K Society Memorial for the Children (Ali. S.K) Data collection in Mumbai	Early March 2015-Mid-April 2015 Mid-April 2015- Early June 2015
Cambodia	Data collectionin Phnom Penhin Action pour les Enfants (APLE)	Early June 2015- Mid-July 2015
Break in Spain	To recover perspective and health checks	
Honduras	Data collection in Tegucigalpa in Asociación Colaboración y Esfuerzo (ACOES)	Mid-October 2015-End of November 2015
Haiti	Data collection (second visit to interview the SER) in AYMY	First fortnight of December 2015
Break in Spain	To recover perspective and health checks	
Kenya	Data collection in Lamu in Anidan	Early January-Mid-February 2016
Break in Spain	To recover perspective and final health checks	
Canada	Writing of the thesis in Calgary	Mid-March- Mid-December 2016
Spain	Writing of the thesis	Mid-December – April 2017

Source: Author's elaboration

Initially eight social enterprises centered on child protection and developmentthat work in seven developing countries were selected for the study. Out of those eight, only five in the thesis are presented as case studies. The reasons differ. The case observed in Nicaragua, did not fit the SE concept and it is therefore not included. The observation of the second case in India was done in a moment in which the schools were closed andas a

result, it was not possible to obtain concluding data. Finally, the case in Guatemala was in such a state of change that fruitful observation and interviewing there was impossible.

All the organizations were unrelated to each other and the founders did not know each other with the only exception of two them, founders of APLE and Ali. S.K. respectively, who knew each other because both of them had created organizations in Kolkata focused on childcare and development. Both were friends. The SERs that participated in this research have created just one organization, with the exception of the founder of APLE, who has created three throughout his life.Unrelatedness was not intentionally sought. On the contrary it reflects a state of the situation. The selected SERs don't have any (with the exception previously mentioned) relationship between them. In some cases they have heard about others, but havenot developed any kind of personal contact. Sometimes this "heard of" was the result of this research.

In general terms SERs, seem very busy with their own duties; a situation that in some cases can lead them to a degree of isolation. At the same time, it's not easy to recognize that other SERs are "on the same page", and that there is indeed a framework for complementarity among organizations. In any case, as observed during this research, complementarity of projects does not imply complementarity of personalities, and this aspect can also work as an impediment to collaboration with each other. The situation of unrelatedness might be different for SERs who operate in western countries, but for those who do in developing countries, there is still a long way ahead. The information displayed in web pages presenting organizations does not seem to build the personal bridges that are necessary to connect. [17]

In any case, the lack of communication between SER and organizations that operate in different countries and continents is an element of considerable value, because it allows us to ask to what extent there is a common operational framework between them. It appears, there is an entrepreneurial culture of aid in developing countries in

[17] To a certain extent, this research has worked as a connecting thread among the different organizations. Some steps in the increase of the child protection levels have been given through the creation of child protection policies for some of the participant organizations, whose expertise derives from the Cambodian organization APLE and that will be now implemented in Anidan (Kenya) and AYMY (Haiti). It is also true that most of SERs like to hear about the experiences of others to compare, ratify or question their own views and experiences.

organizations that center on childcare and development carried out by unrelated SERs. The challenge in this analysis will be to extract those common features in spite of contextual differences but taking them into account at the same time. Determine the common line to all of them in the diversity of each case, situation and country. This work does not attempt to explain how this common culture of entrepreneurship if indeed it exists, emerges in different places at the same time but it can approach the motivations and social realities underneath the founding decision, as well as the way these organizations operate. The acknowledgement of that unrelatedness and diversity is the standpoint from which commonalities can be observed.

Comparing the organizations allowed me to detect the different dynamics that affecting each, taking into account the phase in which they find themselves: the degrees of autonomy and the organizational maturity depending of the age, for example. This fact has implications not only for the organization but also for the person of the SER and the risks that may affect him/her every step of the way. Exasperation and discouragement situations appear more clearly when the organization has crossed the barrier of 10/12 years old. Identification of unreliable partners with interests that contradict the mission of the organization may be a key factor in the first years of the organization. Lack of identification may cause trouble in the medium and long run.

According to their internal structure, the organizations could be divided in three groups: Those who create a strategy and try spread it as much as possible, even at the institutional level. APLE is the only SE of this group. A second group of three organizations that with the aim to provide comprehensive childcare and development have created a home where the children could live protected from extreme poverty and other adverse conditions (Anidan, AYMY, and Ali S.K). In those three cases the homes have a central position inside the organization; They find themselves in very different points of evolution. And finally a third group with ACOES as the only member with an intermediate position dealing mainly with young adults, providing shelter for some students and focusing strongly on an empowering strategy. This is also the only religious SE of the sample and the one with the most extensive impact.

Data Collection

As can be observed in Table 1, the observation of the SEs in the field started in September 2014 and finished in February 2016. This time was divided into four periods. From September 2014 to January 2015, four organizations in Central America were observed. During that time, the organization ACOES, that was not originally included in the project, was discovered. The relevance of the phenomenon of volunteering and the entrepreneurial culture in a religious setting made advisable the introduction of the organization into the project. But in order to respect the schedule, the exploration was put off until October 2015 on the second stint. The second period of exploration started in March 2015 and lasted until July 2015. It included the three organizations in Asia, two in India and one in Cambodia. The third period started in October 2015 and lasted until December 2015. It included the observation in ACOES (Honduras) and a short visit to AYMY in Haiti to observe the founder in the context, since due to extenuating circumstances, it was not possible to observe her during the first visit in between December 2014 and January 2015. The last exploration period took place from January to February 2016 and the observation took place in Kenya, in the organization Anidan.

The revisit to certain projects made me aware of the frugality and speed at which social reality changes in this kind of endeavor. This forcesme to systematize the data and present the results as soon as possible, while they are current. It also speaks to the necessity of concatenating studies as much as possible.

Between every period of exploration there was an intentional break of at least one month that always took place in Spain. The aim of this break was to retain perspective, and have time to assimilate all the information and events that were taking place in every setting. It is very easy to lose perspective in long stays in developing countries.

It is important to say that the observation of the SER, in the setting of the organization may not be as easy as might is thought. That is, the SER may no longer be fully in charge of all operations. This can be due to different reasons such as the search for funds that occupies an important amount of their time, due to health reasons, due to the fact that the transference of power over the organization has already taken place and the main responsible person is no longer the original founder or SER, or due to the period of

autonomy given to the local team to implement the strategies learnt on their own. The fact of having created a SE does not imply that the founder is going to be there all the time.

In every organization I spent a minimum time of a month to a maximum of six weeks. During this time I carried out participant observation and semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions in order to explore in depth the reality of SE in each setting. In Haiti, a context where the language was problematic, most workers and beneficiaries tried to speak Spanish or French instead of Creole during the interviews. In the rest of the organizations English and Spanish were the main vehicle of expression. In Kenya the members of the organization were bilingual (Swahili and English).

Interviews were made, according to the basic of grounded theory principles (Charmaz, 2014)topeople who had immediate experience with the SEs. In practical terms this included the founders, the members of the organizations (workers, beneficiaries, volunteers), and some externals that could provide with valuable information and perspectives to the research. These external figures were sometimes villagers of areas where the SE organization works, who have a comparative perspective with regard to the work carried out by other development organizations along the time in the framework of the official aid; Workers of unrelated non-entrepreneurial NGOs who could provide relevant information about the context, difficulties and resistances present in any kind of altruistic social undertaking. Interviewing the workers of these organizations allowed me to sketch a comparison between the different forms in which an SER and non-entrepreneurial NGOs may face the external opposition or the different processes through which both of them acquire (or try to) acquire legitimacy and the levels of freedom to choose key partners in the field in each case. Partner organizations that complemented the role of the SEsstudied, also were interviewed. Some of them were very specific in their aims, dealing with long-term psychological recovery after sexual abuse, in Cambodia, for example. Official agencies such us the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the same country were also included. In this latter case, due to security reasons, only participant observation was possible and not interviews. This observation delivered relevant and highly specific information.

The exercise of intense interviewing that took place in the whole project was to acquire a sense of data saturation through detailed responses (Charmaz, 2014). It was the

moment at which I noticed it was time to push on and focus on a different area of observation, usually related to the previous one. Indeed I noticed that the observations or reflections that sprang from one project were applicable or of some use to another one. This fact reinforced the sense of a useful exploration and motivated me to continue, since it gave me the feeling that my observations were making sense in a wider framework. Another confirming strategy was to ask an SER about the response given by another participant SER.

In total 108 semi-structured interviews were carried out in the five cases presented in the thesis. Out of them, threefocus groups were also developed during the research. In some cases this type of interview was the best option for minors as a way to protect their vulnerability. No more than six participants were selected in order to maintain the focus on the main research questions. Unlike in the case of SERs or volunteers in which you can pay attention to the past life events that may have influenced their decisions and have some relevance for discovering the research goals, in the case of the minors interviewed, there was never any question that forced them to look back into their lives. This self-imposed rule was explained in every organization before carrying out the interviews. Great flexibility was required to interview teenagers in some organizations who considered the activity like a game at the same time they provided relevant answers.

In other organizations the focus group among adults was used as a way to generate fluent and accurate discussions between the participants about psychological needs that the members of the SE feel and about which it is not easy to respond. In this way delicate issues could be treated in a relaxed manner.

Participant observation has to be adapted to every organization, and it is important to leverage the opportunities that appear in every concrete setting. From the standpoint of the researcher the attitude was to be very active all the time. Sometimes, the more professionalized and bigger the organization, the more difficult it might be to enter into each department. APLE is a highly professionalized organization. That means that, without having lost the connection with the grassroots or mission, the researcher has to modulate more and try to open more spaces for observation, especially in the main office in Phnom Penh, which centralizes an important amount of work. In any case, the time spent with the APLE team in the office of Sihanoukville, allowed a very close contact with investigation

activities, which were later amplified in the main office in Phnom Penh. The smaller and simpler a setting, the easier it might be to observe.

The scope of observation that took place during the exploration in the field has been extended due to active collaboration with some organizations requested by their SER. It's common that SERs ask for feedback after the data gathering process. In some cases I was invited to participate in meetings that took place with permanent volunteers months after the observation time. These occasions gave me the opportunity to understand with more depth the situations that I had observed in the field and revise some of the conclusions reached earlier.

Apart from the interviews and observational activities, this work included other sources of information such as books, published personal letters, memoirs, documentaries (BBC for APLE), official documents (Memorandum of Understanding of APLE with the government) and awareness talks given by some SERs (e.g., Lucía Lantero).

Other aspects of interest: implications of the personal dimension in the data gathering process

With some founders there was an opportunity to have a pre-interview for establishing rapport before going to the field. My experience shows that these moments are very important for the SER and the researcher because it is then when SERs can evaluate the researcher and acquire a first impression of her motivations and intentions. For many SERs, who are accustomed to deal with a complex network of contacts with diverse interests (not always compatible with the organization's aims), the formal information given by the researcher usually has to be confirmed with the personal conclusions they reach after meeting you. It is a key moment in which they decide to allow you to enter their organization, a place to them often more valuable than their domestic home.

One of the aspects SERs pay much attention to, is the kind of relationship developed between the researcher and the children or young adults who participate in the project. As one founder told me in a conversation we had in Spain after visiting the project:

"the kids really love you, especially X. That's one of the things I pay more attention to when anyone goes to the organization". Without realizing it, I had passed an exam.

For many beneficiaries the presence of a researcher does not mean much. It's actually an empty concept. You are visiting them and spending some time with them so they usually see you as a volunteer from abroad with whom they wish to spend some time and in some cases, exchange confidences. Emotional closeness with beneficiaries is usually expected by the SER, in a way to extend the culture of care they have promoted and created within the organization. Many local workers also evaluate you in that manner. During the research in Kenya, a close relationship was developed with two children, a teenager and a little boy, both of them HIV positive. The closeness to both of them taught me not only about the physical and psychological vulnerability created by AIDS, but also about how carefully the children were looked after within the organization. I could follow the line of protection designed by the team (especial food, personal full-time caregiver, medical attention) spending some time with this boy. I could see how extreme vulnerability was protected and treated. It also gave me information about the stigmatization caused by AIDS, in the form of kisses on the cheek that the teenager asked me to give her always in public. The relationship with a handicapped boy in Kolkata and our "evening walks", gave me information about the discrimination and hostility still exercised against these people in at least some areas of that city. Orphan children may expect you to become a mother and ask you, precisely, how many months will it take you to come back. The SERs of these organizations are considered the father or mother by a significant majority of the children and some of the ones that are already adults. It makes sense that emotional demands are also made of the researcher, perceived as a volunteer most times. In essence, as a researcher you are always playing and educational and emotional role with the beneficiaries. You are always a volunteer, someone who is there to help. [18]The emotional maturity of the researcher will determine how well that situation is assumed and resolved. In any case it is an opportunity for personal and professional growth.

[18]During the first period of exploration in Haiti, one of the kids was hospitalized and due to the necessities of the permanent team (locals and volunteers) I was requested to look after him during a few days, at hospital and at home. This gave me an opportunity carry out the same activities that the SER had done some time earlier looking after another kid, and understand to a certain extent, the level of implication of running an organization like this.

Gaining trust and the value of a simple conversation

The fact of spending a substantial period in each organization -- between four and six weeks --did not prevent finding key informants who sometimes disclosed relevant information related to problems faced by the project as a consequence of, among other things, conflicts of power. Power is a very sensitive issue in this type of organizations. The altruistic nature of them does not prevent the existence of different kinds of interests and the emergence of tensions related to that matter. This concrete exercise of exploration shows that the more affected an organization has been by conflicts of power, the more difficult it can be to create a certain level of trust that allows expression of different versions of that issue.

In one of the organizations the interviewees affirmed they could not explain the problems the project had gone through as easily as the SER had described them. After spending a whole month there, I gave a short report to one of the interviewees that I had written about the need to look after the psychological dimensions of the beneficiaries. This report was related to collaboration with an SE not involved in the research. My original intention was that he could help me polish my writing in English. It was very late and the next day I was travelling, so in practical terms it was not an ideal moment to receive any information, which in any case, was unexpected. After reading my text and my emphasis about looking after the psychological dimension of those children, he reacted giving me a fully detailed explanation of the deterioration process that had taken place in the project and the conflicts of power that according to his experience, laid underneath. The first time I interviewed this person he assured me that he had not witnessed the process in which the project had been involved. It was one of the emptiest interviews that I can remember. I believed this person. Now I understand that this member was protecting himself and the emotional link that he had with the project, in spite of the problems there.

Trust cannot be forced in any case. The generation of it can be related to events that go beyond the control of the researcher, like this example shows. For the disclosure of essential information, which can happen in the most uncomfortable moment, the figure of the researcher may appear as someone able to understand the at times conflictive relationships (expectation and frustration) that may exist within the framework of this type of social undertakes.

Turning to simple conversation, I found that living inside the organization meant that most of my leisure time was spent with the children of the organization or the people who benefitted from the action of the SE. Accompanying the Ali S.K. boys to the field where they played soccer allowed me to see how they were discriminated against by the local neighbours, who were *"parar chhelera",* (in Bengali it literally means boys of the neighbourhood) and who did not let them use the field, at the same time they were playing. The possibility of mixed teams was never an option.

Security and flexibility

The researcher has to adapt to the security demands in every context being the only person responsible for his or her situation. For some trips I was accompanied, like to Port-au-Prince in Haiti, by a member of the organization. In Kenya it was not recommended to walk alone in the evenings, and another worker in the organization usually took me home. It was greatly different in Honduras the place where the coexistence with violence was higher. The geographic area where the project is situated in Tegucigalpa is the Monterrey colony with high presence of organized crime (the *maras*). During my stay of 2015, three girls involved in the project were kidnapped and killed presumably by one of the *maras.* The presence of extreme violence did not impede our daily activities, although a member of the organization accompanies every visitor all the time. This organization provided valuable information about coexisting with extreme violence and obtaining respect and legitimacy to operate in contexts full of organized crime.

Goals of the thesis

The goals of this thesis have been clearly guided by the research questions that I formulated during those early exploratory years in which in more or less conscious ways, my intuition and observation often lead to more questioning, a certain level of certainty and later on, discovery. This exploration was always accompanied by the assumption that considerable favourable impact could be achieved through development projects designed to benefit the grassroots, although reality has shown that this was not always the case. The other factor that has delimited the research goals is referred to as the presence of gaps in the understanding the personal processes SERs go through such us motives, risks

and ways to operate in the possible emergence of common approaches among disconnected organizations.

The origins of this research are linked to several questions related to their motivations. Why do SERs do what they do? What motivates them to undertake these kinds of projects, especially in developing countries, in which the creation of value takes place in extremely rough environments with little protection for these enterprises and for their own SEs who frequently have to overcome several and sometimes, as some SERsaffirm, unimaginable difficulties? Why do they assume such a responsibility with communities originally unrelated to them, renouncing better-remunerated jobs and more comfortable professional and personal lives? Why do they assume such a complicated option that affects and transforms every single aspect of their lives? The first goal of this thesis is contribute to the understanding of those subjective processes in which the motivations are included.

Going back to my first visit in India, to the Vicente Ferrer's foundation, I first realized intuitively that they, in this case the organization, had to be using a specific methodology. That is, they had to be doing something differently from other organizations to have so much impact in terms of approaches. In essence, that is the second goal of the thesis. Try to understand how these SEs work, thus contributing, if possible, some hypothetical,basic features which presumably will be linked to the motivations and personal processes of the SERs.

Although at the beginning of my academic process, some teachers advised me that motivation was irrelevant. Yet, for me avoiding the motivational part was like beheading the understanding of the SE and the SER. Motivation explains much of their procedure. The reason why they do things implies and often demands a certain way to do them, a certain way to interact with reality, to maintain openness however problematic this can be. Remembering the why revitalizes the connection with the grounding basis, with the personality and essence of the organization, and gives tools to deal with the moral complexities that inhere in every project and that do not tend to disappear over time. Motivation spans many of the initiatives of the organization and hand in hand with its evolution preserves the maintenance and survival of its essence. The reason why SERs compromise and commit themselves influences how the organization acts and interacts.

A third important question emerged at the time the preliminary exploration was carried out, revealing an independent sphere of study, just like the other two. As said before, from the very beginning of the exploration, more precisely in 2011, I was aware of the hidden price of creating a social start-up in the context of a developing country. That's one of the reasons why, at the beginning of my research, I was disenchanted with some of the literature. Many papers could lead to subjective idealizations (e.g., SER as a hero) or on the contrary, tend toward over-technical conceptions. Still, in sum, much of what I read did not seem to have a human voice. For anyone as enthusiastic as I am about the phenomenon of SE, describing, systematizing and even discovering the serious risks that this kind of entrepreneurship entails has been unpleasant. The biggest risks seem to affect the psychological, personal and biological dimensions of the founder and the first one seems directly connected to the management and in some cases, to the survival of the organization. One of the main reflections caused by the permanent observance of these risks was, as an interviewee once stated, that the concept of "burn out" was inadequate to describe the possible and frequent problems related to SE. In fact, it has more to do with the term improvised by her at that moment "psychological damage", giving to me a deeper, unknown and wider understanding of the phenomenon. A third goal of the thesis would be to identify situations that engender psychological harm and if possible, those which prevent it, however preliminary these conclusions might be.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed ofeight chapters. Chapter One reviews the main concepts and theories related to the understanding of SE from an anthropological perspective, avoiding over-conceptualized approaches which abound in the scientific literature, but which seem to fit poorly the subjective realities of the SERs and the operations of the SEs. Considerable effort has been made to clarify the motivations and the effects that compassion seems to have in the subjectivity of the SER, based on the assumptionthat it prepares the field from which many decisions of the SERs that affect the operationsof the SE are taken.

The second chapter focuses on the historical origins of SE,since that aspect helps reinforcethe anthropological understanding of the SE which is not a new phenomenon

even if its study is. In this second chapter it was also necessary to include a description of the context in which SEs in developing countries operate. That is, SEs coexist with initiatives which stem from the ODAor official development system. To understand the increasing relevance of SE –and the interest to study it- it is important to explain the evolution registered in thatsystem. In fact, from the legal point of view, both traditional NGOs and nonprofits, which are SEs, receive the same denomination as NGOs, a fact that does not favor the differentiation. Therefore it is indispensable to clarify the operationand evolution of the official aid approaches which, among other factors, decimate the effectiveness of traditional NGOs in their growingassumption of roles as intermediaries with considerable detachment from the local communities in contrast with the SEs which operate in those same contexts. The chapter finishes with a review of the different evolutions that the Catholic and Protestant religions have effected in South America, with regard to their respective position with the goverments or the defence of human rights. Again, the purpose of this review is to give a framework which allows understanding the context in which the organization ACOES (see Chapter Seven) in Honduras is involved and how some beliefs and matters of faith, affect the personal development of the recipients of the effects of the SE as well as its operations

The third chapter is focused on the explanation and justification of the exploratory methodology used for this work, which ultimately leads to the elaboration of grounded theory based on the collected data. The main sources for the elaboration of this methodological framework have been Stebbins (2001) and Charmaz (2014).

The following five chapters consist on the five different study cases. The decision to presentthese cases wasdue to the considerable scope of thedata collected. The alternative approach of trying to generalize across the five oftentimes very different cases risked losing important information about SEs and SERs focused on childcare and child and adolescent development in developing countries. Generalizations, by their very nature, omit some details, which at this very early stage of exploration in this area, should be considered further as to how they can be subsumed, if at all, in more abstract grounded theory. In other words, there will eventually be generalizations, but not until we can, through further exploration, see how the details can be linked.

As an example, if a very basic feature of the SERs is the existence of an emotional bond and in most cases a parental role, it was convenient, at this point of the research, to let the reality (the data) speak by itself giving the accurate impression of the importance of that feature to the reader, through its reiteration. In an area of study like the present one, in which the approaches of the SERs differ so much from other widespread more technical approaches, it was also important to provide sufficient details which eventually may become future areas of study through concatenation of studies, an issue which will be carefully addressed in the Chapter Three. This same logic of transparency, of providing as much information as possible makes that in some chapters (ACOES, Anidan or AYMY) there are short paragraphs in which essential ideas are collected and explained to the extent they have been transmitted to the researcher. Being faithful to the reality also implies not overstretching them, with the aim to provide a more conventional structure, which in any case, can emerge in confirmatory studies (another question explained in the Chapter Three) that may follow the present one. So, assuming that any of these SEscan provide sufficient data to write a book, the case studies structure allows a richer transmission of information to the reader, enabling therefore a broader field for grounded theory development. The cases are presented in the chronological order in which the observation was made. In the cases of AYMY and Ali. S.K. it was not possible to use annual reports as sources of information since those SEs do not write them.

The length of the cases is similar in the studies of Anidan, ACOES and AYMY, being shorter in the cases of APLE and Ali. S. K. In this last case, the reason is that, being this SE a dying project about to close down- the circumstances that have lead to this situation are fully detailed in the chapter- the operations of the SE, fully explained in other chapters, are missing. The case of APLE has also shorter length. This is the only SE focused on the creation and implementation of a strategy to fight child sexual abuse. The SE does not have a home or shelter, so the number of the potential participants in the research is lower although the information available has considerable scope, as can be seen in the chapter. The core of the chapter focuses mainly on understanding the strategy and the partnerships the SE has been able to maintain with official institutions as the FBI. This SE stands out as the SE providing the most reports and resources of research. With regard to the length it was necessary to be selective in the case of ACOES, the SE with the biggest number of potential participants in the research due to its quantitative and

geographical scope: 11.818 direct beneficiaries in 2015 in 12 departments of Honduras (ACOES, 2015).

The presentation of the data in the above mentioned form provides insight in order to promote a deep understanding of an SE and its anthropological roots. An SE with a human face that, if cannot be understood or imitated, can at least be increasingly comprehended by giving voice to those- the SERs- who gave birth to it.



Taking notes during the fieldwork in AYMY, January 2015.

Amor exige al amor

más de lo que la inteligencia entiende.

Hadewijch de Amberes

1

CHAPTER 1.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

A number of established concepts guided the fieldwork and then served as interpretive frameworks for the data collected. They are covered in this chapter. Concepts emerging inductively from those data are covered in the chapters where the latter are presented.

1.1Key concepts for understanding SE from an anthropological perspective

1.1.1 Social entrepreneurship

As Stebbins (2010) explains,

> SE is an altruist[19] undertaking [promoted by] morally conscious people itching to solve a particular social problem and possibly make some money in the process. These entrepreneurs execute innovative solutions to what they define as social problems, be they local, national or international. In SE people use the principles of enterprise to foster social change, which they do by establishing and managing a venture. Some of them set up small, medium, or large non-profit groups design to ameliorate a difficult situation threatening certain people, flora or fauna or a certain aspect of the environment, if not a combination of these. Others are profit-seekers. They work to establish a money-making enterprise that also improves such a situation in one of these four areas…
>
> Weather starting and running a non-profit or a for-profit social enterprise, these SERs are practically oriented people. They have a mission, typically one that is powerfully felt and they want action leading to solution of the problem targeted in that mission. (p. 30)

The creation of a for-profit SE does not annul the altruistic dimension of the social undertake. In fact, "nearly all social enterprises are risky business" so if the motivation to create an SE is to make some money, "there are far more secure businesses than this kind (p. 30)[20]".

According to Bornstein (2004, p. 278), altruism does not annul the self-interest dimension of SE:

[19]"Altruism is the selfless pursuit of the well-being and interest of others" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 42).

[20]Jerr Boschee (2001, p. 16) clearly indicates that "[s]tarting a business is not the only path to success for SE. In fact that daunts many nonprofit board members because starting a venture is "something very few know how to do". Instead, he proposes the possibility of creating "earned income strategies lying fallow within its existing programs" which can be a first step where nonprofits can get trained, and later on decide whether to deepen their economic nature or not.

> When I began researching this book, I assumed that the SERs would be motivated by altruism. But SERs are not selfless. If anything they are self-more in the sense that they heed their instincts, follow their desires, and aggressively pursue their ambitions

All the SEs that comprise the sample selected for this study operate in developing countries. All the SERs found in their respective contexts, situations that according to their moral values should not be happening and were unacceptable. As a representative from Ashoka explains: "I heard the same story again and again. Someone had experienced an intense kind of pain and branded them in some way. They said, I had to do this. There was nothing else I could do" (Bornstein, 2004, p. 240).

For Martin and Osberg (2007), and this is particularly true for SERs who founded organizations in developing countries,

> Social entrepreneurship starts with an unfortunate but stable equilibrium that causes the exclusion marginalization or suffering of a segment of humanity. In this context an individual who brings to bear on this situation his or her inspiration, direct action, creativity, courage and fortitude, end with the establishment of a new stable equilibrium that secures a permanent benefit for the targeted group and society at large. (Cited in Light, 2008, p. 15)

1.1.2 Motivation and Compassion in SE

According to Miller, Grimes, MacMullen, and Vogus, (2012) the analysis of the motivations of SE remains undertheorized. Prabhu (1999) speaks about the "motivation to assuage a deep feeling of uneasiness with the status quo" at the same time he mentions "altruism" as well as the "need to be true to one's values and beliefs, [the] need to match with one's self concept, and need to be socially responsible". This definition reflection shows a connection between identity and SE and the need to be coherent with the first one.

In 2012 Miller et al, wrote an article that will serve as a guide for this research in which they consider compassion "responsible for encouraging SE". The article provides with relevant literature useful to understand at the theoretical level, part of the internal processes SERs go through as a consequence of their entrepreneurial interests. The article will anchor some of the positions defended in this study.

Before them, just briefly, Fowler (2000, cited in Miller et al, 2012) had connected SE with compassion and Durieux and Stebbins (2010) had detected at least six motives for SE: altruism, community engagement, generosity, compassion/sympathy, leisure and volunteerism. They defined compassion as:

> [A] deep awareness of and feeling for another's suffering, combined with an active, engaged desire to alleviate it. Compassion is…about action. [It] begins with a generous promise made from one party to another. The promise is generally that the caring party will be there for the care recipients…Compassion test character and integrity-but it also builds them up. (p. 25)

Durieux and Stebbins (2010) clearly affirm that compassion is reserved for "inter-human feelings" whereas "sympathy is to refer to the compassion towards animals and other living creatures" (p. 45). The same authors underline that SERs "have no need to be compassionate" and they can act for other motivations. Nevertheless, the sample observed and the literature review give enough hints to assume that at least in the cases studied in this thesis, compassion is clearly although not exclusively involved. Furthermore compassion is expressed in response to one or more of three human core values which center on humane caring, sharing and social support. These three aspects are very present in the SEs observed.

Going back to the guiding article of Miller et al, (2012):

> Compassion is a prosocial emotion that connects an individual with a suffering community (Goetz et al., 2010; Lazarus, 1991; Nussbaum, 1996, 2001) and produces sensitivity to the pain and needs of others (Nussbaum, 1996; Ortony, Clore, &Collins, 1998). Compassion is a specific manifestation of the broader feeling of empathy (Decety & Jackson, 2006; Kanov et al., 2004; Nussbaum, 1996; Solomon, 1998), which unlike compassion, can be experienced, in relation to another's joy as well as another's suffering. (Cited in Miller et al., 2012, p. 621)

Compassion makes the person look beyond him or herself. "Compassion is other oriented because it directs one's attention from self-concern to concern for others and their suffering (Nussbaum 2001; Solomon, 1998; White, 1999)" (Cited in Miller et al., 2012, p. 621). The emotional nature of compassion is also addressed in the study:

> Compassion is also defined by its emotional connection to others— one suffers with others and feels their pain (Blum, 1980). Emotions are like "a lens that colors thoughts, actions, perceptions, and judgments" (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001: 10), and they become

> important in the awareness, recall, and analysis of problems and decisions (Baron, 2008; Frijda, 1988; Goss, 2008). Compassion is a longer-term emotion (Goodwin et al., 2001), which, through the distinct feelings of suffering with another, supplies information about one's interests and helps channel action (Ford, 1992; Izard, 1991). The intense feelings that accompany compassion (e.g., sadness, outrage) can signal the depth to which one cares about an issue, jolt any feelings of ambivalence, and override contradictory desires (Ford, 1992; Gould, 2004). The emotion of compassion communicates feelings toward the subject in ways that rational language might not (Ekman, 1993; Gould, 2004).
>
> Emotions are also important because they can add immediacy to issues, supplying energy to propel an individual forward (Ford, 1992; Frijda, 1988). Compassion involves an emotional energy that is transacted with another during the empathic response (Figley, 1995) and that influences whether and how a person will act (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Frijda, 1988; Lazarus, 1991). Compassion also ties an individual to a prosocial goal by eliciting an emotional feeling of suffering that the individual wants to relieve (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Lewin, 1935). As a result of this distress, people will work to reduce others' suffering as a way to regulate their own emotions. In sum, the emotional connection to others is an important aspect of compassion. (Cited in Miller et al., 2012,p. 622)
>
> Compassion is also relational in its emotionality, which creates a connection between individuals and suffering communities. As an individual engages in compassion, a deepened bond emerges with those with whom compassion is exchanged—a relationship develops in which the individual is more readily available to appreciate the other's context and to feel the other's experience of suffering in a similar way (Nussbaum, 1996). (Cited in Miller et al., 2012,p. 622)

The following paragraph refers to the impact of compassion on the creation of identities, alluding to the disappearance of distance between "we" and "they" that, according to evolutionary approaches to compassion, ultimately may lead to the creation of "nonfamilial ties":

> Emotions such as compassion shape individuals' social identities such that they begin to view their situation as interchangeable with that of a suffering group and even begin to feel that they are a part of that group (Nussbaum, 2001; Thomas et al., 2009). The emotional connection of compassion can result in a moral outrage that facilitates a goal of removing sources of suffering that are judged to be unfair (Bagozzi & Pieters, 1998), and it motivates commitment until the problem is resolved (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Lewin, 1935). In fact, evolutionary approaches to compassion suggest that its emotional dimension is tied to the need to promote cooperative norms and connection with other nonfamilial ties (Goetz et al., 2010; Nussbaum, 1996, 2001). (Cited in Miller et al., 2012, p. 622)

The emotional nature of compassion generates moral shocks for the person who feels it. This is especially important in the field of SE. In the analysis of the data, those moral shocks will be addressed as well as the possible effects of the accumulation of them. But before that, it is important to understand that:

> The emotional connection inherent in compassion further increases the perceived benefits associated with alleviating the pain and suffering of others. An emotional connection to others and their suffering creates vivid images (Loewenstein, 1996; Metcalfe & Mischel, 1999) and "moral shocks" (Jasper, 1998) that lower emotional investment in the current established order, increase indignation toward it, and create the desire to "go the extra mile" to change it (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Voronov & Vince, 2012). Emotional connection to others creates a moral compulsion or genuine concern for others' suffering (De Dreu & Nauta, 2009) such that it triggers motivated information processing, where an individual attends to, encodes, and retrieves information consistent with others' goals and needs (De Dreu, 2006; De Dreu et al., 2008). (Cited in Miller et al, 2012, pp. 623-624)

But compassion also affects the decision-making processes of the people who feel it, the perception of the risk and also the process itself of elaborating the decision, which seems to speed up due to the presence of compassion.

> Thus, compassion leads to a wider search for and consideration of the benefits of acting. At the same time it also generates an "emotional tax," in the form of guilt in not aiding the suffering community, which serves as an additional cost (Elster, 1998). Last, an emotional connection with others' suffering can alter individuals' stances toward risk such that they will undertake risks because those risks are consistent with their compassionate values and emotional appraisals (Kahan, 2008). This may also occur because emotions "help the normal decision-making process by narrowing down the options for action, either by discarding those that are dangerous or by endorsing those that are advantageous. Emotions serve an adaptive role in speeding up the decision-making process" (Shiv, Loewenstein, & Bechara, 2005, p. 91) In sum, the emotional connection that characterizes compassion overrides a traditional mode of processing costs and benefits and thereby gives way to a prosocial cost-benefit analysis that overcomes the typical individual's reluctance to engage in activities with higher personal risk (Wu & Knott, 2006). (Cited in Miller et al., 2012,p. 624)

1.1.3 The relevance of commitment in SE

Anything SERs do cannot be understood without referring to a particular sustaining force called commitment. Durieux (2011) analyses it as part of the emotion of compassion:

> Compassion entails two elements: practical commitment and responsibility. The commitment part of compassion comes from an internal calling; it comes from the moral compass question with says how could I not stepped forward here…there is no choice for social entrepreneurs. The commitment part is further strengthened by an external calling, which comes directly from those in need. With both these things in place, the commitment for social entrepreneurs is very much irresistible. The responsibility part of compassion recognizes the difference between band-aid solutions and truly meaningful assistance.

Miller et al (2012) also focus on this dimension:

> [Commitment is] a stabilizing force that acts to sustain behavioral direction even when there is no expectation of equitable reward (Scholl, 1981). Compassion, as a prosocial motivator (Bierhoff, 2005), enhances dedication to a cause (Thompson & Bunderson, 2003) or moral principle (Shamir, 1990), commitment to the people who benefit from one's efforts (Grant, 2007), and willingness to continue in the face of negative feedback (Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). When prosocially motivated through other- orientation and emotional connection, individuals are more likely to see others' goals as more important and to increase their willingness to invest time and energy in thinking about and acting on ways to help others, as well as to do so consistently over time (Grant, 2008). (Cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 624)

The same source indicates that there seem to be two types of effects connected to the existence of that commitment (p. 627):

> First, commitment allows for greater persistence and motivation to act on another's behalf, thereby fostering the search for more creative solutions. Making decisions consistently with regard for others (i.e., commitment to alleviating their suffering) results in more creative and flexible thought processes than does making decisions to benefit the self (Polman & Emich, 2011).

And second:

> …[C]ommitment to alleviating suffering, identification with the beneficiaries of such efforts, and a self-image as "helper" may result in creating a social enterprise because one delays attending to possible risks (Goss, 2005). Identifying with beneficiaries corresponds with commitment such that inaction becomes attached to shame, guilt, or other negative emotions, and, therefore, inaction becomes implausible (Bowles & Gintis, 2002). In turn, the emotions of commitment distort one's willingness to confront information that indicates potentially greater risks of failure associated with starting a social enterprise. Commitment to alleviating suffering also delays one's willingness or ability to confront the possibility that social entrepreneurship may not be a plausible or desirable way to help those who are suffering (Brockner, 1992; Staw, 1981). (Cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 627)

1.1.4 The role of the interpersonal, intrapersonal and spiritual intelligence in SE

Taking Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences as a theoretical base, interpersonal intelligence seems to be essential for SERs. According to Torralba (2010, p. 41) this type of intelligence is connected to the capacity to "empathize…and deeply communicate with [other people's] moods. He also refers to the capacity to "transmit difficult truths" as dependent on interpersonal intelligence, something SERs repeatedly do in order to obtain support and give visibility to their work. The same author also connects it with the capacity "to understand differences and singularities of the others…[their] motivations and intentions" adding that "in its most developed stages"…[it] allows reading intentions and wishes of others although they are hidden". There are innumerable

testimonies of SERs who exemplify this kind of situation, which they tend to label intuition. If understanding people in foreign contexts is essential for SERs, understanding themselves is not less relevant. Howard Gardner (Checkley, 1997, p. 9) considers that intrapersonal intelligence “refers to having an understanding of yourself, of knowing who you are, what you can do, what you want to do, how you react to things, which things to avoid, and which things to gravitate toward”. It recognizes the attraction these people create due to their capacity “not to screw up”. A certain degree of intrapersonal intelligence must be essential for SERs to assume their commitments. It seems very relevant in the initial moments in order to recognize the calling (Sanllorente, 2009), but it can also be in the longer run, in order to cope with exhaustion and the side effects of long-term exposure.

At certain points in this study, some participants spoke about the need to detach themselves from results in recognition of the overwhelming reality and the fact that too many things are beyond control even though, they work out. It is interesting to analyze how SERs explain to themselves the way they overcome those difficulties. Explanations seem to be connected at least partly with their spiritual or internal world, and the connection of the recognition of something else with their mental outlook, and the absence of total control over certain events. This ultimately leads to the concept of spiritual intelligence, understood as an "inherent human power" (Noble, 2000/2001, cited in Torralba, 2010, p. 48) with its biological basis (Zohar & Marshall, 2001, cited in Torralba, 2010). It is defined by Howard Gardner as “the capacity to place yourself with regard to the cosmos as well as with regard to the existential features of the human condition such as the meaning of life, the meaning of death and the final destiny of the physical and psychological world in deep experiences such as the love for someone else or the immersion in a work of art” [21](cited in Torralba, 2010, p. 45).

In spite of the state of "spiritual anemy" (Torralba, 2010, p. 18) of the Western world, one of the elements that make SERs so attractive is that they seem to be connected to "something much greater than themselves" (Durieux, 2011). Their prevalent secularity, at least in the sample, helps overcome historical conceptions related to religion, placing their action in the field of the denominated "secular spirituality" which "recognizes the value of the spiritual life in the human life, detached from religious traditions" (Torralba, 2010, p. 65). From this perspective, the spiritual life or the spiritual experiences would be a

[21]Author’s translation.

consequence of the existence of the spiritual intelligence on its own (Torralba, 2010). The same author, underlines solidarity, the arena of the selected SERs, understood as a deep experience of "unity and interdependency" (p. 231), as clearly linked to the spiritual intelligence: "[f]or the person who is solidary [that is, the SERs] the life of the others does not leave him indifferent. On the contrary, he feels responsible for his situation" (p. 233). Spiritual intelligence leads to question among others, the why and the what for of the situations (Torralba, 2010). In many cases of the sample, SERs wonder what all they have received, in the form of privileged education for example, can be used for. Noble (2000/2001, cited in Torralba, 2010, p. 49) connects it with the capacity to "transcend the ego" and maintain an openness towards everything that is alive. Vaughan (2002, cited in Torralba, 2010) underlines the capacity to think in a holistic way intuiting the common elements that exist beyond individualities. Singh (2008, cited in Torralba, 2010, p. 50) connects it with the capacity to orientate the "daily existence" [according to] "a freely chosen wisdom" and Emmons (2000, cited in Torralba, 2010) connects it with the religious but also the ethical experience. For Torralba (2010, p. 57) spiritual intelligence expresses itself "in a deep aspiration of a global vision of life and the reality, that integrates, transcends and gives meaning to the existence". As an internal "dynamism" that searches "the perfect development of our being" (p. 57), it ultimately leads to assuming conscious positions with regard to the state of the world. All these aspects seem to be present in the processes the selected SERs go through whether they are secular or not. The analysis of the data will allow observing how this reality affects the way they operate within their respective environments and how they explain some of their daily involvements.

1.1.5 Leadership of SER, the ones who care

SERs, when known, stand out for many reasons and their leadership and frequent charisma are some of them. An important part of their lives is composed of a series of complex decisions in which high ethical standards, expectations (from donors and beneficiaries, for example), a sense of urgency, limitation of resources and conflicts derived from normal human relationships are usual components. To a certain extent, the success of an SE is derived from the accuracy of many decisions taken (hiring the right person, trusting a certain person or group) which reinforce the importance of social skills and the capacity to read people's interests and their fit with the organization's needs and possibilities. If we were not immersed in a contemporary "leadership crisis" (Greenleaf, 1978, p. 77, cited in Russel & Stone, 2002, p. 145), SERs probably would not stand out so

much, idealizations would not be so frequent and intense and SERs of all kinds would be perceived in a more realistic manner. But, “the need [for leadership] was never so great. A chronic crisis of governance - that is, the pervasive incapacity of organizations to cope with the expectations of their constituents - is now an overwhelming factor worldwide” (Bennis & Nanus 1997, p. 2, cited in Russel & Stone, 2002, p. 145). According to Nair (1994, p. 59, cited in Russel & Stone, 2002, p. 145), in order to overcome this situation, it is necessary to find a new understanding of human relationships and especially of the management of power:

> As long as power dominates our thinking about leadership, we cannot move toward a higher standard of leadership. We must place service at the core; for even though power will always be associated with leadership, it has only one legitimate use: service.

SERs never stop dealing with power. No matter how altruistic an undertaking might be, human resources management and founding in general will always imply dirtying the hands with power: at the grassroots level (human expectations, human resources, local mafias, widespread violence) and at the political and institutional level, sometimes even to protect the SE from them. That’s why, leadership, especially in the case of SERs,“…is constantly reinvented by everyone who engages in it.” (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 263). It is proved and tested on a daily basis and touches components of decisions hard to image in the Western world. However idealized –and therefore simplified- the image of SERs may be: “[Their] ability to express and share [their] vision and to exercise sound practical and ethical judgement every step of the way will be critical to realizing that talent “(Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 257), however exhausting on the long run, this fact may be.

Barendsen and Gardner (2004), Prabhu (1999), Durieux and Stebbins (2010) or Bornstein (2004) have explored among others the nature of the leadership of SERs. Some of the conclusions are related to the inexistence of just one type of SER (Barendsen & Gardner, 2004) and the increasing relevance of servant leadership theories to understand SER’s leading nature (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010).

The leaders who establish SEs in developing countries generally face“trying conditions” (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 245). A very obvious but infrequently mentioned trait is that these SERs are usually young for, as Prabhu (1999) indicates, at that point in life they are “more willing than middle-aged people” to accept the risk of funding an SE

instead of finding a secure position inside the mainstream. Prabhu (1999) also indicates the absence of familial responsibilities as another determinant factor. The SERs interviewed for this study underline as well the biological factor, as key in order to be to able to cope with the amounts of work and stress, specially derived from the initial years of the SE. Meanwhile, Campos and Pizarro (2011) also underline their capacity to deal with a highly complex network of stakeholders. The fact that often, thosewho come from Western countriescome from privileged social situations (frequent, high level of international exposure, education and previous higher paid working conditions) will be elaborated on using the data reported later.

In a study of 2004, Barendsen and Gardner compared SERs with professionals in care and traditional enterprises. They found out that SERs share traits of the other two types. This is essential to understanding the culture of care they develop in their SEs, their sense of family: SERs are more like care professionals but act more like traditional entrepreneurs. Some of the traits that the authors found in this type of leader are the variety among them - there is not just a type of SER- although some elements in the configuration of the personality are shared. Apparently SERs "have deeply rooted beliefs…that are formed early" (p. 44). According to the study, the emergency of the calling is related to a traumatic experience or to a deeply transformative one (fully detailed in Sanllorente, 2009). Similar findings will be present in this study through the data. With regard to the personality they do have several traits that confirm them as leaders: they are energetic, persistent, confident (they do "not only believe that they should create change, they believe as well that they are able to make this change happen" p. 47), very independent, "responsible to a cause or a mission" (p. 45), and "able to describe their business plans down to the small details" (p. 45), which speaks of a high level of intelligence. It is not infrequent to feel like an outsider; On this matter Bornstein (2004) spoke of the difficulty to include them in any fixed category and their tendency and wish to cross boundaries. With regard to beliefs, although theirs are deeply rooted, "religion is rarely invoked" (Barendsen & Gardner, 2004, p. 46). Related to their personal lives, it seems difficult for them to differentiate it from the professional one. "Questions of balance between work and life become moot as the lines between the two blur" (p. 47). Finally, in order to understand how SERs work, the same authors show three strategies (p. 48): …"ability to reframe…challenges into opportunities for growth"; "a strong sense of obligation…that can make them feel they have no choice but to continue with their

work…although they are willing to respond to and act on their obligations"; and finally a tendency to evaluate their work, whether the SE is a for-profit or a nonprofit organization.

Durieux and Stebbins (2010) clearly understand SERs in the area of servant leadership. According to Northouse (1997, p. 245, cited in Russel & Stone, 2002, p. 145) there is not enough support from ``published, well- designed, empirical research'' but in an article called "A review of servant leadership attributes: developing a practical model" (2002), Russell and Stone extract the main attributes of servant leadership which will be useful for framing the data of this study. According to them,

> [s]ervant leadership, takes place when leaders assume the position of servant in their relationships with fellow workers. Self-interest should not motivate servant leadership; rather, it should ascend to a higher plane of motivation that focuses on the needs of others (Greenleaf, 1977; Pollard, 1996; Wilkes, 1996).(p. 145)

The same authors review the functional attributes of servant leadership which are (p. 146): "vision", "honesty", "integrity", "trust", "service", "modeling", "pioneering", "appreciation of others", and "empowerment". They also include other characteristics that complement the mentioned attributes: "communication", "credibility", "competence", "stewardship", "visibility", "influence", "persuasion", "listening", "encouragement", "teaching" and "delegation". The analysis of the data will give the opportunity to observe how those characteristics fluctuate, how some clearly stand out in some projects, for example, the teaching capacities, due to the lack of access to proper education. It will also be necessary to identify the features negatively affected due to exhaustion processes some SERs go through. Finally, it is important to remember how Bornstein (2004) stresses as pivotal axis the honesty "strong ethical impetus" (p. 238, 239) as well as the listening skills ("institutionalized listening", p. 200) as an essential organizational *modus operandi*. Other personal traits of SE leadership stressed by Bornstein (2004, chap. 18) are "willingness to self-correct", "willingness to share credit", "willingness to break free of established structures", "willingness to cross disciplinary boundaries", "willingness to work quietly".

Durieux and Stebbins (2010) affirm that SERs follow the traits of the charismatic leader and the servant leader, being possible that two identities converge in just one person, and modulate according to the circumstances. In order to illustrate this, they give the examples of Mother Teresa and Mahatma Gandhi. For these authors, charismatic

leaders “are leaders whose personal qualities include a certain magnetism that allows them to light the way for others. These types of leaders are often the most direct expression of driving forces” (p. 256). Charisma, an attribute that can result difficult to handle (since associated with “interpersonal skills such as charm, magnetism, and powers of persuasion” p. 258) may not represent a problem as long as “the charismatic leader is …selected from the upset population [and] is [not] only self-proclaimed-in other words, when the leader lacks credibility among those demanding change” (p. 256). In any case, a charismatic SER “will experience the double commitment of your own compassionate response (as in, “how could I not respond to this need?”) and the strong social expectation that goes with the calling”(p. 257).

The authors (2010, p. 258) deepen the traits of charismatic leaders, differentiating between Other-attentative charismatic leaders (OA) and Self-absorbed charismatic leaders (SA), for there is undoubtedly a “dark side of charisma” (p. 258). OA charismatic leaders are inclined to social inclusivity…full participation, and the flourishing of others”… Meanwhile, “SAs are inclined to social exclusion…elitism, domination, and subjugation...”(p. 258). For these authors:

> The crucial difference between OA and SA charismatic leadership types revolves around respect for what the experts call boundaries of identity (the outlines and limits of who people understand themselves to be), both for individuals and groups. OA charismatic leaders respect boundaries and build bridges across them, valuing the differences among people while promoting core commonalities. SA charismatic leaders do not tolerate such boundaries; they are colonizers- boundaries are threats to be attacked, not unique features to be celebrated. (p. 258)

In conclusion, “[t]here seems to be a strong connection between a servant leader’s other focus and the inclusiveness of an OA charismatic” (p. 259). For the authors, the difference between both categories lies “ in the way they serve others” (p. 259):

> OA charismatic leaders motivate, inspire, galvanize driving forces, and passionately critique restraining forces, creating doubt among them. They may lead protest marches, for example, or give public speeches and communicate through popular media. When OA leaders retire…they leave behind a legacy for others to continue.

Martin Luther King Jr. would be a clear example of this category. Whereas servant leaders,

> …are more engaged in the daily lives of those they serve. They are capacity and skill

> builders, as well as educators, who help create a priority setting growth among both driving and retraining forces. If OA charismatic can be said to till the soil, servant leaders sow the seeds. They tend to work far more personally, in more intimate interactive, and face-to-face settings such as a classroom and workshops, and they may sustain their efforts over multiple encounters. (p. 260)

The image the authors present about servant leaders conforms quite well to the concept many people seem to have about missionaries. The reality of the SERs observed confirms how they share both dimensions according to where they are (in the West or in the South) and to what they are doing (in the West trying to get money, in the South, making things work). They also affirm that "[c]harismatic leaders tend to be "home grown"…but they "can also be parachuted in to serve or may accidentally arrive on the scene and end up helping" (p. 260). In the selected sample of five SEs, only one of the leaders, charismatic and servant, was home grown. The rest were foreigners (and probably considered more charismatic in the West than in the South) with important local support.

There is a final reflection on SERs and charisma and Western societies. In the cases that have been analyzed, all SERs are charismatic to a certain extent. Charisma is very important to obtain economic support and is clearly connected to idealization processes held by the public and often the supporters of the organizations. It is inevitably highlighted in diffusion and promotion activities in which SERs do have to participate in order to get all kinds of support. The legitimate thirst in the Western world for reliable moral references probably favors the idealization, which parts from real components (commitment, charm, generosity, intelligence) but that ultimately may lead to more or less conscious exercises of projection made by the public who end up considering them saints. Idealization and simplification work very closely. In a recent conversation with regard to an SE in which after the death of the original founder, the power will be given to the sons, an enthusiastic stakeholder affirmed there would not be leadership problems due to the fact that the father was a clear leader and (in theory) the sons will "automatically" be as well. This is an example of how the image of idealized leadership and everything that surrounds SERs can emerge. Whether having contributed to science or not, this phenomenon of idealization would have occurred anyway. In fact, many SERs supporters do not read scientific papers about it. In any case, it is astonishing how much controversy some figures like Mother Theresa still provoke: love and hate to the extreme. This causes some reflection on the objectivity or lack of objectivity through which SERs are often observed. In

fact, that seems the typical case in which the fact that the SER has to cross or approach an ethical fault line, and reality may force to do it more than once, or does not act the way the stakeholder considers correct, disappoints and frustrates stakeholder's expectations to an extent in which the sense of balance and objectivity is lost.

In order to prevent all those situations, and to keep alive what they consider their real identity, some SERs involved in this study, manifestly rejected having biographies written about their entrepreneurial exploits, since in their opinion, they resemble more hagiographies and they do not want to be considered saints as they know themselves (defects included) very well. In any case, later in the study it will be addressed the effects that the expectations of the Western society may have on charismatic SERs, the feelings of becoming objectified through promotion activities, and ultimately the risks of excessive media exposure, sometimes made with the good intention to offer them support. The fact of being charismatic or having to be charismatic can actually destabilize the person of the SERs. The circuits that channel the activities of the charismatic and the servant leader (here and there) are certainly very different and the complexities of the world "there" are very difficult to apply to the world "here". The difference of roles, expectations and ways to operate may generate a shortage of mental stability, which is difficult to handle and which explains that only balanced SERs may manage successfully, depending on its intensity.

1.2 Key concepts for understanding the practice of SE

1.2.1The development of a career

In general terms, if a person "acquire[s] the skills, knowledge and experience necessary to build a social enterprise, a sense of career emerges" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 48). The theoretical framework to understand the activities that most SERs do, whereas they found a for- or a nonprofit, and the sense of career derived from them, is the Serious Leisure Perspective (SLP). The term SLP was coined by Stebbins (2007/2015)and refers to:

> a theoretic framework that guides theory and research, with the ultimate aim being to synthesize three main forms of leisure, showing, at once, their distinctive features, similarities, and interrelationships The forms are the serious pursuits casual and project-based leisure.(p. xi)

According to the same author the serious pursuits include:

> Serious leisure [which] is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial, interesting, and fulfilling for the participant to find a (leisure) career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience (Stebbins, 2004/2014, p. 49).
> And devotee work [which] is activity in which participants feel a powerful devotion, or strong, positive attachment, to a form of self-enhancing work. In such work the sense of achievement is high and the core activity endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work and leisure is virtually erased (Stebbins, 2004/2014, p. 2).

He also defines casual leisure in the following terms: "isimmediately intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it. It is fundamentally hedonic, pursued for its significant level of pure enjoyment, or pleasure"(Stebbins, 2012, p. 85).

And finally,

> Project-based leisure is a short-term, reasonably complicated, one-off or occasional, though infrequent, innovative undertaking carried out in free time, or time free of disagreeable obligation. Such leisure requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge, but is for all that neither serious leisure nor intended to develop into such (Stebbins, 2005, p. 2).

The SLP offers a classification and explanation of all presently-known leisure activity and experience, as these two are framed in the social, psychological, social, cultural, and historical contexts in which the activity and experience take place [22] (Stebbins, 2007/ 2015).

Keeping these concepts in mind, if an SER creates an organization that is a for-profit then, apparently, what he or she is doing can be considered work. But in the case of nonprofits, taking into account that often founders declare themselves volunteers, is the word work suitable? The SLP provides answers to the professional nature of SE. For the author, what most founders of nonprofits do is essentially leisure understood as "uncoerced activity engaged during the free time...free of obligation" which provides with a sense of fulfillment as a result of implementing the own "abilities and resources" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 47). More precisely, most SERs engage in a precise form of leisure;

[22] A diagrammatic map of the SLP is available at www.seriousleisure.net/slp-diagrams.html

that is, serious leisure (first coined by Stebbins, 1982). Serious leisure, which many SERs do, presents the following traits (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010,p. 47):

> …[D]rive and…commitment to persevere in the activity; [aim] at a career that [wants to be]pursue[d];[will] to put in effort in order to gain skill and knowledge; [capacity] to realize special benefits, such as self-fulfillment, self-expression and group accomplishment; [cultivate] and attractive personal and social identity; maintain a unique ethos and be involved [that particular] social world.

According to Unruh (1980, p. 277) the social world,

> must be seen as a unit of social organization which is diffuse and amorphous in character. Generally larger than groups or organizations, social worlds are not necessarily defined by formal boundaries, membership lists or spatial territory…A social work must be seen as an internally recognizable set of actors, organizations, events and practices that have coalesced into a share sphere of interest and involvement for participants. Characteristically, a social world lacks a powerful centralized authority structure and is delimited by…effective communication and not territory nor formal group membership.

The social world of an SE is composed of "funding contactors, suppliers…service partners, relevant governmental connections and…the target of beneficiaries…(…of the work of the enterprise)(Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 47).

At the same time, social worlds possess an ethos, i.e. a rich subculture (Stebbins, 2009, p. 13):

> One function of this rich subculture is to interrelate the many components of this diffuse and amorphous entity. In other words, there is associated with each social world a set of special norms, values, beliefs, styles, moral principles, performance standards, and similar shared representations.

The line between what is considered work and leisure in the case of SE seems to be drawn according to two internal realities, which are personal commitment and a sense of moral obligation. Commitment is a central condition of serious leisure and implies a notable degree of freedom of choice. The committed SER can refuse to do it. But when SERs have a strong sense of moral obligation,

> they feel coerced by their own conscience into social entrepreneurship [which means that] they aren't doing it as leisure…They feel they have no choice but to act…[t]hey rather be doing something else in their free time [when there is any]…but neither is work exactly because very few of these advocates…will earn a livelihood through their cause (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 48).

1.2.2 The essential role played by volunteerism

The phenomenon of SE cannot be understood without addressing the concept of volunteer in a deeper manner. Within this framework it is clearly inaccurate to understand the word volunteer simply as unpaid labour (Stebbins, 2015) and recognize the complexities for many SERs who are indeed volunteers and not only second quality apparently less-committed workers of the development system. However challenging it may be, many SERs define themselves as volunteers "of the serious leisure variety" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 55). And this is often a meditated personal choice rooted in the concept of SE that usually the SER has in mind. As Stebbins (2007/2015, p. 9)affirms: [SER]"…are also volunteers, and at least initially, unpaid or minimally-paid participants in the nonprofit sector ". Therefore a volunteer is "someone who offers altruistic help either formally or informally with no or, at most, token pay for the benefit of both the target of benefits (beneficiaries of the work of the enterprise who are not part of the volunteer's family) and the volunteer"."Volunteering is motivated by both altruism and self-interest" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 54).

Stebbins (2010, p. 31) finds three different types of volunteers in the world of SE:

> The career (serious leisure) volunteers are the ones who start up and run social enterprises. Their volunteering is substantial and highly complex, and is to be distinguished from casual leisure and project-based volunteers…
>
> The career volunteer who sets up and runs a social enterprise will probably have to engage other career volunteers and possibly some casual and project-based help as well. Beyond the founder or founding group, career volunteers in a social enterprise may include lobbyists, legal advisors, publicity specialists, a secretary or treasurer in a board of directors, among many other possible serious participants. The typical social entrepreneur will recognize such people as kindred spirits, in that they find the same kinds of rewards and levels of commitment in their leisure.
>
> Nonetheless, non-profit social entrepreneurs often need one or both of the other two types of volunteers: those serving in casual roles and those serving in projects. True the serious volunteers could also conceivably act in these ways, but this strategy risks overusing such valuable people. So the wise entrepreneur searches for other helpers to meet casual needs and those met through projects.
>
> Casual and project volunteers can certainly become committed to the tasks they have agreed to perform. But for this to happen, the tasks must be short term. For these volunteers, were they looking for long-term altruistic involvement, would also be looking for opportunities to volunteer as serious leisure.

Durieux and Stebbins (2010, p. 49-50) indicate some rewards and costs of serious leisure:

> Personal enrichment from cherished experiences; Self-actualization through the development of skills, abilities and knowledge; Self expression by using the skills, abilities and knowledge that…have been already developed; Enhanced self-image by becoming known to others as a particular kind of serious leisure participant; Self-gratification via a combination of enjoyment and satisfaction –also known as fun or, the slightly more hip, flow; Recreation or regeneration of oneself, often especially gratifying after an obligatory workday; Financial return, often a minor payment for a serious leisure activity; Social attraction by associating with other leisure participants and in the social world of the activity; Group accomplishment derived from a sense of helping with a group effort in accomplishing a serious leisure project [and finally] contribution to the maintenance and development of the community, including senses of helping, being needed, and being altruistic in making the contribution.

It is important to indicate that "[w]hen asked about their own motivations most SERs place the last two items at the top of the list, though for-profit entrepreneurs also stress the importance of financial return" (p. 50).

Some of the costs found are related to paper work, rejection of funding, management of human resources ("dismiss of incompetent paid staff or volunteers" p. 50) and tensions (such as "dealing with community opposition to their social goals" p. 50).

In practical terms, the division between a serious leisure volunteer and a devotee worker is often blurred. Let us say that SERs who run for-profit SEs can be considered devotee workers (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010). In fact, observation shows that some SERs who have been volunteers for long periods of time, start receiving a salary at a certain point of the evolution of the SE, although the SE is still a nonprofit and they remain underpaid according to their skills. This is the case of some SERs observed in the study, who can be considered quasi volunteers, which is: "a person who works for a public service goal, is recognized socially as a type of volunteer, and receives a stipend that is significantly less than market value of the labor provided (e.g., Peace Corps volunteers)"(Smith, Stebbins, & Dover, 2006, p. 191).For the same authors, when paid employees in the nonprofit sector receive less pay than employees in the business sector for doing the same or similar jobs, the former can viewed as "career quasi-volunteers" or …"occupational devotees." In fact, "they give up higher pay, inspired by their voluntary altruism and other special conditions of their work "(Smith et al, 2006, p. 191).

A qualification must be added to this definition. SERs observed in this study receive not only less salary for the equivalent job in the business sector but also less than that frequently received inside the nonprofit sector, i.e. for example in non governmental organizations that receive ODA. In those cases, the argument often heard that the first ones are just volunteers whereas the latter are workers (international cooperants) does not fit anymore. Although some characteristics might be shared, clearly SERs tend to have a much higher level of responsibility than international development cooperants for longer periods of time and no lesser amount of risk. In fact, since SERs have the highest position in terms of responsibility, promotion inside the organization is not possible and the improvement of the economic conditions usually does not happen unless it comes from external sources that are not incompatible with the values or mission of the SE or due to the transformation into a for-profit.

Later on in the analysis, it will be necessary to address how SERs compensate in practical terms for the lack or lower level of economic resources for their personal lives and if possible, attempt to describe their perception of money. In an email sent to the SER Fabio Rosa, Bornstein (2004, p. 239, 240) addressed this question and received the following answer:

> …About money- I need money. Money is very important to accomplish my projects. But money only matters if it helps to solve people's problems and to create the world I described above. My projects help people around me to acquire wealth and in some ways this comes back to me.
>
> It has been an intellectual and creative challenge to build models that can be used by excluded and deprived people, to create sustainable livelihoods and promote social inclusion.
>
> Creating projects, implementing them and succeeding, witnessing one's dreams come true, is happiness. Money just makes it easier.
>
> For all these reasons, I work the way I do. I am slave to my dreams, thoughts and ideas. That is all.

What does working as an occupational devotee consist of? According to Stebbins (2010, pp. 31-32):

> Working as an occupational devotee is, in many ways, serious leisure. Occupational devotion refers to a strong, positive attachment to a form of self-enhancing work, where the senses of achievement and fulfillment are high and the core activity (the basic set of tasks in a general activity) is endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work

> and leisure is virtually erased. An occupational devotee is someone inspired by occupational devotion. Devotee work is the core activity of the occupation. It is capable of inspiring occupational devotion… Social entrepreneurs striving for success through a for-profit organization are, in effect, occupational devotees who are running businesses.
>
> These entrepreneurs approach their work with the commitment and enthusiasm of a serious leisure participant. The main difference between the two is that the first are dependent on the enterprise for all or a substantial part of their livelihood. In the final analysis, however, the for-profit entrepreneurs are, in a special sense, coerced to work at their enterprise. Here its leisure-like character gets blurred, for in reality, going to work and making a living are also for many people two of life's obligations, albeit agreeable ones for the devotee.

For some SERs who are volunteers who feel they cannot leave the work this may become a form of non-work obligation[23]; that is, they feel coerced. That happens unless the local team can work on its own quickly, which is not often the case).

Devotee work meets the following six criteria to generate occupational devotion (Stebbins, 2004/2014, p.9)

> [T]he valued core activity must be profound…[T]o perform it acceptability requires substantial skill, knowledge, or experience or a combination of two or three of these…[T]he core must offer significant variety; [T]he core must also offer significant opportunity for creative or innovative work, as a valued expression of individual personality…[T]he would-be devotee must have reasonable control over the amount and disposition of time put into the occupation, such that he can prevent it from becoming a burden[24]…[T]he would-be devotee must have both an aptitude and a taste for the work in question…[T]he devotees must work in a physical and social milieu that encourages them to pursue often and without significant constraint the core activity. In the area of social entrepreneurship this includes avoiding excessive paperwork, funding crises, bitter policy disputes, governmental resistance, and the like.

The same author explains:

> Except for number five these criteria are delicate. A number of conditions that weaken them can easily arise, transforming what was a devotee job into one now largely disagreeable.

[23]Non-work obligation is defined as that..."activity that must be engaged in outside the spheres of work and free time. In principle such obligation can be agreeable…[but can certainly be] unpleasant…[Since] it is not part of work or economic activity". It was essentialy leisure that for the SERs had become unpleasant and with a sense of burdenStebbins, 2007, p. 19-20).

[24] Medium and large bureaucracies have tended to subvert this criterion. For, in interest of the survival and development of their organization, managers have felt they must deny their nonunionized employees this freedom, and force them to accept stiff deadlines and heavy workloads. But no activity, be it leisure or work, is so appealing that it invites unlimited participation during all but a few waking hours (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010).

> Should this transformation occur the devotee social entrepreneur, if he or she stays with the enterprise and its mission, becomes an entrepreneur substantially driven by disagreeable obligation. Here the devotee and the leisure qualities of the activity have become appreciably undermined by uncontrollable external forces.
>
> So it happens that work and leisure, in general, and social entrepreneurship, in particular, are not always so easily separated. While casual leisure and non-devotee work can be seen as separate coins, serious leisure and devotee work can only be logically seen as the two sides of a single third coin. The second is serious leisure from which one makes a part or all of one's livelihood.
>
> Up to now in this chapter, discussion has centered on three kinds of social entrepreneur: agreeably obligated volunteer/non-profit, disagreeably obligated (non-profit/for-profit), and agreeably obligated for-profit. Whichever kind the individual enterprise is, it is highly probable that, at least in the early stages of its development, the social entrepreneur will also be engaging volunteers to help realize the entrepreneurial mission. But, to the extent that the enterprise comes to be driven by profit motives, reliance on volunteers tends to disappear in proportion. They are almost exclusively found in the non-profit, or third, sector of the economy, if for no other reason than that their altruistic motive of giving selflessly squares poorly with the business ethic of being remunerated for a job for which someone else can afford to pay.

It is not possible to understand the phenomenon of SE nowadays with its collective dimension and its modes of operation without addressing the concept of volunteering in its different forms. In some cases, the situation evolves and at a certain point the SER and part of the team start receiving a payment. In the cases observed by this study, the high preparation of the SERs most of the times remains clearly underpaid. Some SERs observed in this study have never been anything else than a volunteer and do not contemplate any other possibility. The reasons why receiving a salary can be so difficult for certain SERs will be explained in more detail in the data analysis, but purely economic reasons coexist with moral ones and others related to the protection of the mission or identity of the organization seem to have a relevant position. How much should the SER give to needy others and how much to keep for oneself.

In order to counteract the limitations generated by being a volunteer, some SERs or their partners, decide to found twice, in the sense that in addition to the SE drawn on volunteers, they create a traditional business, such as a restaurant, to earn a living. In any case, as Stebbins (2004/2014) affirms, the transition from a volunteer to a devotee is not always clear; Frequently it does not depend exclusively on the will of the SER but on external conditions; The fact of becoming a devotee worker does not mean to stop being underpaid; Volunteering for long periods of time can create vulnerability for the founder

and even the paradox of ending up depending on those who were supported by him; And, finally, volunteers and devotee workers are affected by the same risks of suffering burn out but, for volunteers, with deeper levels of economic vulnerability and in some cases, more restriction of movement.

These situations do not apply widely or automatically for the local teams. Very often the main priority of the SER is to create jobs for the local people with their corresponding salaries, according to the local standards. Some organizations have been able to provide with middle-class salaries within their limits. The case of ACOES is quite striking with regard to the volunteering phenomenon. Its labour force is essentially based on volunteers and its quantitative dimensions (metrics) are impressive providing assistance to 11.818 direct beneficiaries in the year 2015 calculated on a network of 740 local volunteers (ACOES, 2015).

1.2.3 The transference of power

The way and processes through which a SER transfers the power to an organization remain undertheorized. As normal human beings, it is logical to presume that SERs do show evolution in their life aspirations, and even wish to start a new SE. They may need to occupy different degrees of responsibility inside the organization (from general director to founder, for example) or simply exert it from different angles. For some SERs it might be difficult to let the organization evolve (stop exerting their power) without arrogating it, partly due to the emotional links that exist or feelings of fear, and in spite of having promoted empowerment within the local communities and the local team. Moreover, deciding when and how to do this detachment or transition can be a very complicated question. In essence, the way the personal commitment of the SER is managed in the long run of the organization in conjunction with the passing of a life, remains a mystery[25]. It is also important to address the way the permanent withering of energy of the SER may affect him, his wish to leave, and the organization as well (which implies making the right decisions in order to guarantee sustainability). In a letter sent to the Standford Social Innovation Review (2007), Bill Drayton warns about the risk of transferring the organization too soon to the managers:

[25]Bornstein (2004) explains that most SERs that he interviewed wanted to continue devoted to the SE. Observations and other data gathered in the sample show that it is not the only reaction, since some SERs feel relief when they can transfer the management and even representation to someone else. Others may know they have to do it, but in practical terms never do it.

> The entrepreneur's work is never done. The entrepreneurs's life is one of constant interactive problem solving. The idea evolves as it moves into different stages, and the entrepreneur learns as the surrounding world changes. If you remove the entrepreneur, the idea will eventually collapse. So very few of the Fortune 500 companies from several decades ago still make the list or even exist, precisely because the managers took over. Consider Apple's history. (Drayton, 2007, p. 5)

More precisely, Bornstein (2004, p.88, 89) addresses Jeroo Billimoria's, founder of Childline, grounds for leaving:

> In 2001 Jeroo…made the decision to step down as Childline's executive director. She remained on board until May 2002, easing back from her 100- hour work week and watching how things progressed without her. Some of the Childline's board members felt her decision was premature. But she believed that Childline's expansion had become a technical challenge and felt her energy could be better applied elsewhere.
>
> "Most people think I resigned because I got married…But the truth is I needed a new challenge. And I believe, in principle, that a founder should leave after five to seven years. It has to do with my understanding about the social sector and has a lot to do with the principle of detachment and dharma".
>
> "I am a lousy administrator and I hate routine and systems. I was bad for the long-term sustainable growth of the organization. And most important there was an inner voice which said it was time to go…"
>
> In 2002 [David Bornstein] asked Jeroo what she had learn from her work with Childline. She…replied: "If I have to summarize it in one line, it would be let it go. Everything will not be exactly the way you want it. You have to let people take charge. The best thing is not to have a picture of what you want, but to have basic principles. Anyway, I don't take ownership for Childline. It happens because it has to happen. It is not because of me".

Finding the right moment to leave an organization or transform the role inside it needs to be squared with a tendency very often noticed in SEs in general, but especially in the initial moments of the organization. This tendency is the indispensable character attributed to the SER, to the concrete founder. Bornstein (2004) addresses it with regard to the founder of Resnacer:

> When I try to envision what the next decade may hold, I am reminded of a comment made by Odilon Arantes when I asked him what the key factor had been in Resnacer's success. "Here I can say with absolute assurance that the main element for Resnacer's success was Vera", he replied. "Without her we would still be living in the past. She is perhaps the strongest person I have ever met in my life. She is so persistent; she insists and insists until she wins". (p. 145)

If SEs are recognized as the result of a co-creation process (Durieux &Stebbins, 2010; Montgomery, Dacin, & Dacin, 2012) how does the personal essentiality combine with the collective contributions? Bornstein (2004, p. 145) explains:

> When I mentioned Arante's comment to Cordeiro, [founder of Resnacer] she insisted that everyone in Resnacer had been a "co-creator". She acknowledged that she had been the one to bring people together, but it was their collective energy that made it all happen." "Nobody is more important than any other person", she said. "But sometimes a person has success because that person continues fighting. I think if I have some value it is that I continue fighting"

Founding a social enterprise undoubtedly impacts on the personal life of the SER and his environment. The recognition of such impact helps diminish the misperception of SERs as immutable heros or "saints" (Durieux, 2011). The consequences may differ according to the cases (Bornstein, 2004, p. 139):

> At home every Cordeiro family gathering turned into a discussion about Resnacer. I would go on until Laura and Marina would yell: "Mom, are you going crazy? "Stop talking about Resnacer!"Paulo, Cordeiros husband, recalled: "This work was brought into the home each day of our lives from seven am until midnight."
>
> "There was no food in the pantry", Cordeiro said. "There was day-to-day confusion in the household. I had no time and no interest to do things at home".
>
> It didn't take long for Laura…[one of Cordeiros daughter], to come to despise Resnacer. "It was like suddenly having a younger brother, and it caused a lot of anger in my sister and me", she recalled.
>
> Marina and Laura volunteered at Resnacer, then quit, then volunteered again. Despite their resentment, they found themselves drawn into relationships with Resnacer's families and changed by their experiences. Today Laura is studying law and plans to devote herself to social causes. Marina, who is also pursuing a law career adds: "I plan to use my skills to help build a more inclusive society".

Precisely because of the misbalance that founding an SE represents, it would be convenient to observe more closely the essential bounds of the founder, especially those related to his or her personal life and how they may impact not only on him or her but also on the SE. In other words, they can somehow affect the sustainability or even the management of the organization. Bornstein (2004) pays attention to this issue when referring to the relationship between Vera Cordeiro founder of Resnacer, and her husband. The existence of the bond is recognized in reciprocity, and seems to be linked to the mission and includes the costs of standing by a founder:

> "My contribution on a daily basis was to be a supporter", added Paulo. "To understand than more than anything Vera needed time to devote to this".
> "Without Paulo, there would have been no Resnacer, Cordeiro says. He has been my great partner. He was very punished by this revolution. Without him, I don't think I would have had the emotional strength to do this". (p. 139)

As mentioned before when addressing the emotional nature of compassion, emotional bounds with people who suffer creates "vivid images" (Loewenstein, 1996; Metcalfe & Mitschel, 1999, cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 623) and "moral shocks" (Jasper, 1998, cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 624) that motivate the person to "go the extra mile" (Lawrence& Suddaby, 2006; Voronov & Vince, 2012cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 624) in order to stop or diminish that suffering. "Moral shocks" and the prolongation of "extra mile" periods may cause what Durieux and Stebbins, (2010, p. 282) define as burn out: [SERs and volunteers] "are physically and emotionally exhausted because of the long-term stress, frustration, and excessive obligation they face at their jobs or volunteers jobs". And they continue:

> For volunteers, the leisure character of the volunteering undergoes a metamorphosis- it slowly becomes an overbearing obligation and takes on a work-like quality instead of pleasure or fulfilment. In social enterprises burnout invariably also leads to a substantial reduction in a person's compassion for the target group-which is the biggest loss of all. (p. 283)

Bornstein, (2004, p. 234) addresses the risk of losing the critical capacity that seems to be connected with burn out:

> …[T]he inclination to self-correct is a quality that seems to distinguish younger entrepreneurs from their older and better established counterparts. It is a quality that seems to diminish with time as entrepreneurs become increasingly attached, or even chained, to their ideas.

This risk seems to be related to becoming detached from reality, a feature that Bornstein (2004) in turn relates to organizational growth.

> Moreover, entrepreneurs frequently lose touch with the market as their organizations grow. Increasingly, information reaches them through indirect management channels and problems come to light at later stages. At that point it takes an extra dose of hard-headedness to stop the train and reverse it- because the correction may entail a costly and time-consuming effort to retrain thousands of people. (p. 234)

Bornstein (2004) also addresses the possibility of making mistakes that due to the entrepreneurial capacities might be reinforced. As an example he provides the experience of Mary Lasker,who "was...the driving force behind the creation of the National Institute of Health and, for five decades, the leading proponent for increased government funding for biomedical research in US". Her efforts to create of awareness on the risks of high blood pressure had as a result that "within a few years the nation's attitude towards [it] was transformed" (p. 95).

The author continues:

> Lasker's marketing efforts probably saved countless lives. But they also may have been premature given that, at the time, many unanswered questions remained about blood pressure. Indeed, Lasker has been criticized for her single-minded passion for cures at the expense of other treatments and other avenues for medial research. (Lasker was also the force behind the US government's "war on cancer" which many scientists today consider to have been misconceived.
>
> For these reasons it is important to acknowledge the power of the Mary Laskers of the world and pay attention to them. No matter how well intentioned they may be, they can make mistakes, and those mistakes will be greatly amplified by the force of their entrepreneurial ability. (p. 95)

1.2.4. The relevance of the contexts and the "hidden" capacities to overcome obstacles in developing countries

Commitment is essential for operating in adverse contexts and for moving the initiative toward success. In general terms SE "emerges in contexts where markets are perceived to have failed (Mc Mullen, 2011) or where there are significant institutional voids" (Austin et al., 2006; Dart, 2004; Haugh, 2005; Mair and Marti, 2009; Seelos and Mair, 2005 cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 619). The sample selected for this work operates in contexts with high levels of economic inequality and with communities who suffer from "social distance and a related phenomenon called the politics of exclusion (the systematic sidelining or elimination of certain groups or points of view)" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 28). As a consequence, the SEs selected have to think and act "inclusively" in order to counteract that situation. The motivations for exclusion vary in every context at the same time they are all well known in the history of humankind. Thus, exclusion of Haitian children in the Dominican Republic is because of their nationality or colour of skin or

because they have suffered sexual abuse in Cambodia and that implies a certain degree of social rejection (especially in the case of the girls but also affecting boys). These are just two examples that will be found in this research.

The SE engages in a process of cultural transformation and social change based on aspects that may seem more obvious according to Western values and ways of seeing the world but that are not so much in the targeted communities, although certain forms of exclusion, maybe to a different degree, undoubtedly remain in the Western world as well. One of the founders of this investigation was seriously affected by the violent way in which children were treated inside a community in Kenya. This was a powerful reason for him to stay. Durieux and Stebbins (2010) define culture as "the things people in communities do, feel and think-the ways of living that are socially shared, transmitted and learnt by members of communities"(p. 34). The SEs selected do not underestimate its power in each of the communities, in the sense of recognizing its capacity to support or reject social change. This perception implies recognition of agency within the communities as well as their own evolutionary pace in a wide framework of working "with" the communities – recognized an active agent of the process- instead of "for" them- a passive one- (Martin, 2016). The recognition of agency -understood as "what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important" (Sen, 1985, p. 206)- demands from SERs a highly receptive state in order to understand all those subjective and relevant realities for the communities which will not be necessarily transmitted through the oral language. For foreign SERs, the skills to read feelings, facial expressions or rituals will be highly intensified especially in the initial times. It will also require a humble attitude to let be taught in recognition of all the things the communities do know, do value and you do not.

SERs need to read the social and cultural reality in which they are involved. Sometimes this committed incursion happens unexpectedly (Sanllorente, 2009) and even if it has been wished for, cultural complexities can easily overwhelm the initial moments of the SERs. Moreover, the majority of the SERs selected in this study are operating in cultural contexts originally unrelated to them. Part of this work will focus on the way the learning processes evolve and take place. They seem to be very intense and linked to the level of trust the SER is able to create with the community, since this one is an essential source of information according to the observation that has been done. Bornstein

(2004)underlines the importance of honesty and reliability of the SER who must be perceived in those terms by the community as well as the necessity to “institutionalize listening” (p. 200). Scheiber (2016, p. 1696) contributes with an exploratory study on “how social entrepreneurs obtain the necessary skills, knowledge, and motivation to take on thisrole”. After interviewing 27 SERs in Brazil her conclusions were that SERs “relied on a convergence of experiences including: direct experience with inequality, interaction with target populations, volunteer work, religious institutions, social activism, formal education, professional experience, reading, and intercultural interactions. Some memoirs like Sanllorente (2009) gather testimonies about instinctive reactions that fit unknown cultural traditions in moments in which it was necessary to react: "I laid Kavita's body down. I instinctively touched her mother's feet to show my respect, as Hindus do" (p.57). It is remarkable the reiteration of the intuition or the follow-up of instincts as guidance for SERs in foreign cultural contexts, when they don't have time to learn or to decide. This work will try to bring more light to these issues through the data. In any case Gigerenzer (2007) defines intuition, which can often be felt as " an inner voice" (p. 5) as a judgement with "its own rationale" (p. 17) characterized by its quick appearance "in consciousness, whose underlying reasons we are not fully aware of and [which] is strong enough to act upon" (p. 16). Apparently "intuitions based on only one reason" fit with the type of situations SERs encounter, such as difficulty to predict or foresee the future or "some unknown present state affairs"…or when information is limited. They are also more efficient in using time and information" (p. 151). Typically SERs do not have so much time to react analyzing each and every option, even if they knew all of them. However, it is important to distinguish intuition from what Thomasina Borkman (1976, p. 2) calls experiential knowledge, which refers to "truth learned from personal experience with a phenomenon rather than truth acquired by discursive reasoning, observation, or reflection on information provided by others”. The main characteristics of experiential knowledge compared with professional knowledge which can be observed in SERs, are the following (p. 4): experiential knowledge is “pragmatic rather than theoretical or scientific…It emphasizes obtaining concrete observable results that "work," as subjectively perceived by the individual who is going through an experience”. Besides, it is "oriented to here-and-now action rather than to the long-term development and systematic accumulation of knowledge". Finally, "it is holistic and total rather than segmented"…This means that "it encompasses the total phenomenon experienced, that is, that which individuals distinguish and perceive from their commonsense viewpoint". A final connotation with regard to this type of knowledge is

that it "denotes a high degree of conviction that the insights learned from direct participation in a situation are truth, because the individual has faith in the validity and authority of the knowledge obtained by being a part of a phenomenon" (p. 2). The praxis between intuition and experiential knowledge might be in the case of SERs often blurred. SERs and volunteers might have had experiences in life which help them establish the SE at the same time in certain moments they rely on their intuition. But presumably, a great degree of highly specific experiential knowledge is acquired by them as a result of their undertake over the years. Another question is how that development of knowledge is filtered through the academic channels, if this happens at all. So while intuition is a gut feeling that cannot be control or expected, experiential knowledge is a matter of the accumulation of experiences the SER goes through.

In the meantime, there is another skill, the concept of social insight (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010)which seems highly relevant to understanding the social and cultural realities in which SEs are embedded:

> [Social insight] is definitely out-of-the-box-thinking. It is [an] innovative and creative… reasoned ability to connect the dots from specific facts on the ground -what is happening to real people- to the social realities they are caught up in as cultural members of groups embedded in institutional realities…Without social insight, [SEs] are relegated to just doing charity work. (p. 39)

And they continue explaining:

> Fostering social insight decreases social distance and increases social inclusion by improving [the] appreciation of what others are going through. It also enhances [the] ability to make the most appropriate plans and take the most appropriate actions in the name of compassion. As such, you can think of it as the capstone test for compassion. (p. 39)

Ashoka's experience connects that capacity with the need for SERs to protect themselves as well as their initiatives, especially if they operate in adverse contexts where the status-quo might seem threatened (Bornstein, 2004, p.136):

> Two questions that Ashoka interviewers commonly pose to candidates during the selection process are: "Who are your enemies?" and "Who are your allies?". When you have an idea that is going to change how things are done, that means that you're changing how people relate to one another", explains Drayton. "You are changing their power positions. You are

> threatening to obsolete their knowledge, the ”human capital“ of their experience. This is not always welcomed with open arms. And SER need to be prepared.

The study carried out by Miller et al., (2012) connects social insight with compassion and leads to the following questions. Does compassion activate the social insight of SERs? And if so, how does this process happen?

> First compassion leads observers to understand what it feels like to experience others' pain as a result of either vicarious response to affective cues from others Hoffman, 1981) or intentional role taking (Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997). As a result, "[t]his other-orientation enhances one's awareness of others' vulnerable circumstances and gives a deeper appreciation of their context (Dutton et al., 2006; Frost et al.,2000; Lilius et al., 2008)". (p. 621)

At the same time understanding the subjective reality of the other person becomes more and more relevant. As Nussbaum, (2001, cited in Miller et al., p. 621) indicates "compassion increases one's belief in the significance of others' suffering and one's understanding of the issues contributing to it. But according to the same author, this fact does not happen automatically just like she suggests: "in order for compassion to be present, a person must consider the suffering of another as a significant part of his or her scheme of goals and ends (p. 319)".

Literature in the form of memoirs shows that for some SERs the realization of the existence of a compassionate link with a concrete community may come in the form of a personal and unexpected discovery (Sanllorente, 2009). The ways in which the personal bound emerges and is recognized by the SER and the community might differ according to the concrete cases. In other cases analyzed in this work, for the close environment of the SER the decision to stay and fund an SE was no surprise; In those cases the novelty resides more in the type of organization created, the concrete form in which the bound evolves, the context in which it takes place or even the community committed to the SER. Some of these "new facts" may contradict tendencies or until then, the personal likes of the SERs. Some of them affirm: "I knew I would end up doing something like this, but I never thought it would be here. I always thought it would be in South America". (From an interview to Rafael Selas, an SER of the sample).

At a more rational level, compassion seems to be connected with integrative thinking, a way to express social insight and a holistic perception of the reality. Miller et al (2012, p. 625) explain the following:

> Compassion contributes to an individual's ability to process information in a more integrative fashion. Integrative thinking entails rejecting framing issues and choices as "either/or," thus allowing for a more flexible and holistic view of problems and potential solutions (Martin, 2007). For example, Plambeck and Weber (2009) found evidence that when CEOs process issues as simultaneously positive and negative, which is to say integratively (Weick, 1998), they are able to promote action that is broader and more flexible. Specifically, integrative thinking consists of an ability, first, to see possibilities beyond the status quo (Boles, Croson, & Murnighan, 2000; Stasser & Titus, 1985) and, second, to envision collective benefit from synthesizing seemingly competing interests (De Dreu & Carnevale, 2003). Each of these effects of integrative thinking makes social entrepreneurship more likely by enabling reconciliation of ostensibly competing organizational objectives (i.e., creating economic value versus creating social value).

And the authors continue:

> Prosocial motivation can also increase attention to information about others' perspectives such that an individual can better understand the issue from their perspective and identify more ways to help them effectively (De Dreu, Koole, & Steinel, 2000). In turn, this enhanced perspective taking increases cognitive flexibility, willingness to take risks, and openness to complexity, all of which expand the individual's access to ideas and potential solutions (Grant & Berry, 2011). The other- oriented nature of compassion also increases an individual's ability to make broad and creative associations (Polman & Emich, 2011). (p. 623)
>
> [C]ompassion may also promote more integration of various perspectives to address a social issue because it results in less advocacy of a single perspective that could create conflict between ostensibly competing goals. In the same sense"Carnevale and Probst (1997) suggest that proself orientations are more prone to black and white thinking. Furthermore, Beersma and De Dreu (1999) found that prosocially motivated negotiators engage in more integrative problem solving and arrive at more integrative agreements. (p. 623)

The same article also addresses the impact of compassion on the decision-making processes (p. 623):

> Compassion's other-orientation shapes the evaluation of the importance of another's suffering and the need for intervention. For example, compassion emerges from judgments that suffering individuals are undeserving of their lot in life, which Nussbaum (1996) refers to as the "judgment of nondesert." Viewing others' suffering as unfair and unjust leads the compassionate individual to characterize beneficiaries as more needy and worthy of help,

> increasing the perceived benefits of acting on their behalf (Bat- son & Shaw, 1991). The increased weight placed on the needs of others encourages a prosocial cost-benefit analysis where the individual views benefits more broadly (i.e., benefits do not need to accrue directly to the individual doing the calculation), reducing the importance of clear individual benefit, which is necessary in more traditional formulations (Quiggin, 1997). Similarly, the weighting of benefits that accrue to others may motivate actions that might other- wise be avoided because of the significant costs incurred by the actor (Batson & Shaw, 1991). In other words, high levels of compassion increase the perceived benefits of acting and the perceived costs of not acting and decrease the relative weight of the costs of acting.

This implies the need to reconsider the rewards of compassion on their own:

> [C]ompassion…encourages an effortful response for the benefit of others (Batson, 1987). Specifically, Omoto and colleagues (2009) found that empathic concern generates other-oriented action but does not carry with it a corresponding expectation of reward for oneself. In fact, compassion motivates actions to alleviate others' suffering even at a cost to oneself (Batson & Shaw, 1991). (Cited in Miller et al, p. 621)

This reality seems to be counteracted in the following manner:

> Because compassion produces a positive and shared identity with a suffering group (Thomas et al., 2009), when individuals act on behalf of the group, they are likely to experience positive feedback, emotional energy, and enthusiasm (Collins, 1993). The intrinsic satisfaction of acting compassionately and helping others may itself be a source of personal utility. (Cited in Miller et al., 2012, p. 622)

Observation shows that most SERs go through intense processes, sometimes with levels of stress may affect their psychological balance. According to the next paragraph, compassion, from the very beginning, also affects the identity of the person from whom comes this emotional bound. Just an example of the deep transformations SERs experience as a consequence of founding an SE:

> An emotional connection to others' suffering affects one's identity, thereby clarifying actions as identity relevant and increasing the emotional energy of acting in accordance with that identity. Prosocially motivated individuals may perceive acting to improve others' lives (e.g., by reducing their suffering) as more congruent with their core values, and, thus, they may commit to having a positive impact because acting on those values reinforces a key identity for them (Grant & Campbell, 2007). That is, compassion and emotional connection to others' suffering can create a prosocial identity—images of the self as helpful, caring, and benevolent—that individuals are motivated to verify and enact (Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008). Incorporating an- other's suffering into one's identity can increase one's commitment

> to others (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Flynn & Brockner, 2003; Frost et al., 2000). Individuals become more committed to goals that fulfill the core values of their identity (e.g., alleviating others' suffering; Gagné & Deci, 2005). In addition, acting in a manner that alleviates others' suffering minimizes discrepancies between one's actual self and one's ideal self (Higgins, 1987), which furthers commitment. According to Collins (1993), individuals are motivated to maximize their overall flow of emotional energy, and connections with others are the primary vehicle through which this energy is created. Compassion creates emotional ties that serve as symbols of group membership and encourage one to focus on the goal of alleviating suffering within that group such that the alleviation of suffering produces emotional energy (Goetz et al., 2010; Goss, 2008). In turn, the emotional energy reinforces commitment to those with whom one is connected (Collins, 1993; Goss, 2008; Thomas et al., 2009). In sum, emotional connection to others' suffering has the capacity to reinforce desirable aspects of a prosocial identity that is oriented toward the alleviation of that suffering. (Cited in Miller et al, p. 624)

Compassion seems to be linked to an extensive force. As Durieux and Stebbins (2010, p. 25) affirm, "compassion isn't narrow". The following paragraph connects the wish to help more people with compassion. Curiously, it shows how sometimes the actual persons who motivated the SER to act, are not the ones most benefited from the new enterprise. They woke him up, but the results were for someone else. At the same time, this paragraph seems to hint at where the openness to reality that SERs try maintain in their communities comes from:

> For Batson & Shaw (1991) and Lewin, (1935), compassion can also make individuals particularly attuned to social issues by first making others' suffering personally relevant and then by generalizing this concern to others suffering from similar circumstances (Nussbaum, 2001; Ortony et al., 1988). Transfer of compassion occurs when the attention to another's distress promotes a generalized inclination to aid others, including potential recipients who may not have served as the original source of concern (Barnett, Howard, King, & Dino, 1981). This generalizability of compassion links specific suffering to a broader fabric of suffering (Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978; Hoffman, 1976). The result is not simply a desire for any solution but for a solution that has the potential to reach such a scale that it may impact the generalized population that is suffering. [In fact][i]f compassion extends only to a particular individual and does not generalize to others sharing a similar plight, then social enterprise is likely to be considered a disproportionate and unnecessary response. (Cited in Miller et al., 2012, p. 621)

1.2.5 The specific functioning of some well stablished westernized entrepreneurial principles: metrics, innovation, and vision.

Dees (2007, p. 26) describes the creation of new opportunities by SER as well business entrepreneurs, as an "active, messy, [and] highly decentralized learning process" in which exploration, innovation, experimentation, and resource mobilization channel the

action. Alvord, Brown and Letts (2002) discuss the “emphasis on continuous learning” of SERs during that creative process.

For Dees, (2007, p. 26) “this entrepreneurial process is similar to the path of natural selection, involving a continuous cycle of differentiation, selection and expansion”. This last feature is rather controversial in the context of this work. Once again it can be seen that the economic framework of SE does not match the anthropological one. Data show how some SEs selected in the sample consciously deny that their organizations grow more since, as some of them argue, that could compromise the qualitative dimension of the SE or some of its interventions (from an interview with Rafael Selas). Others are very aware that the cultural transformation processes derived from their actions simply are not properly reflected in the figures (ACOES, 2015). Bornstein (2004, p. 273) addressed this issue in the following manner:

> Metrics clearly have a role to play in performance assessment, but citizen groups and funders should remain cautions when embracing numerical assessments. The quest for quantifiable social returns or outcomes has become an obsession in a sector that envies the efficiency of business capital markets. Given this obsession, it is important to remember that numbers have an unfortunate tendency to supersede other kinds of knowing. The human mind is a miracle of subtlety: it can assimilate thousands of pieces of soft information- impressions, experiences, and intuitions- and produce wonderfully nuanced decisions. Numbers are problematic to the extent that they give the illusion of providing more truth that they actually do. They also favour what is easiest to measure, not what is the most important. They can easily be used to measure failure and success-as when a company boosts its short-term profits by slashing its R&D budget.

During the analysis of the gathered data, this work will try to explain qualitative dimensions of development that the SEs have put in place. Those qualitative dimensions are closely connected to the different innovation strategies created and implemented in every setting. The exploratory study written by Alvord et al (2002, p. 10) admits the existence of two forms of innovation that fit the anthropological approach this study possesses. There is a third form, which consists on the “dissemination of a package of innovation” that is not so relevant for this study and the cases addressed. But the first two certainly are: For them innovation can consist on “building local capacities as well as building a movement that mobilizes grassroots alliances to take on abusive elites or institutions”. The authors fall upon the importance of “mobilizing existing assets of

marginalized groups to improve their lives, rather than delivering outside resources and services" (p. 10). That is the promotion, reorganization and development of local assets.

What the SER creates in an innovative manner, is related to the concept of "vision, broadly understood as an idea or image of an intended accomplishment" (Greenberger & Sexton 1988; Bass & Stogdill, 1990, cited in Waddock & Steckler, 2016, p. 719). Bornstein (2004) characterizes this process as finding a new solution to a problem. For the selected SERs in this study the correct understanding of the problem with its ramifications will be fundamental to envision a solution or strategy that will evolve in time. In fact, as the same author also affirms: "Such and idea does not arrive in a flash of inspiration. It takes shape over the years in an iterative process of adjustments and readjustments, with new pieces continually being added and others continually being dropped"(Bornstein, 2004, p. 119).

Later in time, (Waddock & Steckler, 2016, p. 724) have tried to understand the ways in which the vision of the SER takes form. From a selected group of SERs, a minority "embarked on a deliberate vision pathway with a relatively clear and purposeful sense of what they wanted to accomplish that guided their actions". While a second more numerous group, described "their vision…as more emergent in terms of acting first without a clear or explicit vision and making sense only later of their actions as a coherent idea for what they were accomplishing" (p.724). In essence, the vision of SERs is understood as a process that emerges, in response to a problem whose creative processes might not be clear all the time and instead be blurred at times. SERs usually focus so much on what they are doing that there is an ulterior moment in which some some successful SERs manifest a big sense of surprise when recognize what collectively has been achieved and the big picture of the results can be observed. For more information, see the documentary by Brosa (2012), "El somriure de Jaume Sanllorente".[26] None of the selected SERs of this sample questioned the collaboratively nature of SE (Montgomery, et al, 2012).

1.2.6 A deeper observation of the operativity in concrete cases

SE is essentially a world of action. Actions are invented, created, for concrete situations that usually have little or nothing to do with the life experiences of the SERs.

[26]Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWOwTth3e6c.

There is no much literature on this subject, apart from that obtained from the cultural immersion and learning processes. It is a field of extreme, urgent, long-term action in which flexibility, closeness to reality and adaptation (go with the flow) are essential conditions. All this is rooted in a strong commitment.

Bornstein (2004) carried out a comparison and systematization exercise of some practices found in the innovative organizations (chap. 16) that appear in his book, that complement the six qualities he detected in successful SERs (chap. 18). Some of the organizational practices have already been mentioned in this review at different points, but it is important to remember them. All of them are very connected to the capacity to read reality -- “social insight”(Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 39) -- torecognize reality the way it is. It does not matter how complex or tough, and what the capacity to work from there. Instead of “projecting” what one may wish or want, there must be humble acceptance of reality as a starting point. Instead of an exercise in projection, SE requires an exercise in acceptance which, if properly done, leads the SER to question every single assumption he had made throughout his life. Since everything at the grounded level of the SER will be questioned, the organizational practices will depart from that questioning to embrace a social reality, which is overwhelming, in which social needs will work as guides. All the practices detected by Bornstein are related to understanding reality and serving communities adequately: “Institutionalize listening”, “design real solutions for real people”, and “pay attention to the exceptional” (being open and attentive to the unexpected, which in this territory can be considerable). The last practice is related to the “focus on human capacities” since, as observed, SEs are extremely sensitive to the correct and incorrect management of human resources (chap. 16).

Later, McLeod Grant and Crutchfiled, (2007) studied over twelve high impact non-profits that can be considered SE, to find common patterns in the way they work. There is an important limitation to consider, which is that all these NGOs operate in the USA and not in developing countries. However, the study offers relevant information and organizational features detected in some of the SEs that are part of this study. But the most important thing that McLeod Grant and Crutchfiled, (2007) detect is related to the existence of an informal culture of operationalization that differs and does not fit well into traditional considerations about nonprofits and successful organizations in general. This may lead one to question the assumed validity of some expectations and guidelines for

organizations that are intensely connected to the grassroots and emerge from a very specific commitment.

Among the features found in the study (p. 34-35) is the lack of “perfect management”. Apparently the organizations observed are “not exemplary models of generally accepted management principles. This observation has deeper implications according to the study because: [a]lthough adequate management is necessary, it is not sufficient for creating significant social impact”. A second feature is the relative importance of marketing: “A handful of groups we studied are household names, but a few hardly focus on marketing at all. For some, traditional mass marketing is a critical part of their impact strategy; for others, it’s unimportant”. A third feature is related to the concept of innovation and reaffirms some of the considerations made earlier in the present review: “although some groups come up with radical innovations, others take old ideas and tweak them until they achieve success”. Unlike what is very often thought, innovation, or at least technical innovation, may not be the supreme element for social change. Fourth and with regard to the mission of these organizations, “all of these non-profits look to compelling missions, visions and shared values. But only a few of these groups spend time fine-tuning their mission statement on paper; most of them are too busy living it”. Fifth, with regard to “high ratings on conventional metrics…and traditional measures of non-profit efficiency… many of these groups did not score well because they don’t adhere to misleading metrics such as overhead ratios”. And finally, with regard to budgets, “we discovered that size does not correlate with impact. Some of these non-profits have made a big impact with large budgets; others have achieved similar impact with much smaller budgets”.

The authors explain the six practices found in the analyzed organizations. First, the organizations both serve and advocate and become good at doing both of them. They “bridge the divide between serve and advocate” (p, 35). Advocacy is not only related according to them to legislation changes and replicability, although included, but also to “gain credibility and acquire funding for expansion” (Sagawa, 2006; Smucker, 1999; Rees, 1998, cited in McLeod Grant and Crutchfiled (2007, p. 35).

Second, they make markets work, in the sense that they do not rely just on altruism and, on the contrary, they “find ways to work with markets and help companies do good while doing well”. They do not “see business as an enemy” (p. 37). In fact, the five SEs

that participated in this thesis are very close to private sources of funding, being essential to them, with the exception of APLE in Cambodia. Some donors are or have been business people as well. The tendency toward private economic resources will be analyzed using the data of this thesis.

Third, these organizations build, care for, and maintain communities of supporters. More precisely, they “create emotional experiences that help connect supporters to the group’s mission and core values” (p. 37). The SERs of this study never underestimated the value of the word of mouth. Supporters of the organizations involved in this study sometimes visit the organizations in the developing countries. It is not only a transparency measure, but also an opportunity to create emotional bonds that may transform into economic support or marketing opportunities. In some cases in the study, some supporters have become key in the activity of raising funds on their own for the organization and sometimes involve their own business to do so, in a sort of subconcious Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). For some SERs, the sharing activities that emerge in the emotional encounters are highly valuable and they promote the visits of volunteers to promote a change in the Western mentality (ACOES, 2015). “As Founder Millard Muller has said, he did not set out to create an organization so much as a social movement” (p. 37). The development, sustainability, maintenance and growth of SEs cannot be understood without considering the existence of emotional bonds with particular members of the “movement” the SE represents.

The fourth practice that the authors find is the tendency to create and promote networks between organizations with a certain degree of affinity, which reveal a network mindset. Coordination and creation of networks are a field of its own but not a simple one. In the present thesis some SERs are quite isolated and do not have much contact with organizations of other countries or even of the same cities. Burn out may lead to avoiding contact. It is actually rather frequent: isolation is a sort of protection. In general terms, the more alike the organizational and operational mindsets, the more successful the collaboration will be, even if one of the parts is not an NGO, which is exemplified by of APLE collaborating with the FBI of the United States. Very simply put, for this to happen, the organizations and entities must be on the same page in terms of aims and ways of working. Relationships between foundations that support SEs are not necessarily easy, in spite of their effectiveness, the need of the link and their in-principle compatibility. This is

frequent when a private donor who has not been in the field long gives orders. Other times SEs, and especially SERs, do not want to collaborate or participate in common activities with other SERs, like research activities that may compare two entrepreneurial organizations, as if there were a need to be the only ones doing that. Sometimes organizations of the same nature - NGOs which receive mainly public funds- collaborate but also make decisions that affect negatively other organizations that operate in the same field (e.g., APLE) without taking them into consideration first. Collaboration and networking are essential but they are also complex. The most successful examples may not come from organizations that are "in theory" the same nature. This is a field full of nuances in which the difficulties that derive from human relationships play an important role.

The fifth practice is to "master the art of adaptation", in the sense of having "mastered the ability to listen, learn, and modify their approach on the basis of external clues. Adaptability has allowed them to sustain their impact" (Letts, Ryan, & Grossman, 1999, cited in McLeod Grant & Crutchfiled, 2007, p. 38). The execution of new ideas or measures is probably related to the wider framework of freedom derived from lower levels of bureaucracy. I want to add that it is also due to private resources.

The sixth practice is related to leadership and the capacity to share it. McLeod Grant & Crutchfiled (2007) find that although all the leaders observed were rather charismatic, "they d[i]d not have oversized egos" (p. 39). On the contrary they affirm that most of the organizations "exemplif[ied] a shared leadership model"…[in organizations with] "a founder or a growth leader who has learned to share the power" (p.39). Power is big issue in the cases observed. It has long-term implications, it evolves and is always present. The lucidity of the founder might be crucial for managing the SE properly, especially in contexts in which burn out has occurred, or there are appropiation tendencies by members of the team or even betrayals.

All these practices have to be understood as emerging from a grassroots principle, which is thinking and operating locally, which, according to the same authors (2012, p. 38)has the following advantages:

> Local non-profits can build lasting bonds with community residents and better understand what works on the ground. They intimately know their volunteers, donors, local officials,

> business leaders, and other stakeholders, and they can foster a sense of ownership and pride among local residents. Consequently, community based organizations can also more easily build a trusted brand- it is easier and less costly to reach a smaller market of supporters, and often they are one of a handful of players in town tackling a particular issue. Last, because they are smaller, it is easier for local non-profits to adapt quickly and respond to changing circumstances- they don't have to cascade change throughout a large and distributed organization.

This chapter has tried in a very detailed way to indicate the links that may help understand SE from an anthropological perspective. The next step is to place SE in the wider context of human history starting by its roots.

"Yo no sé si los emprendedores sociales son nuestros continuadores, pero desde luego, estamos jugando en el mismo campo"

Reflection made by the missionary Paz García

2

CHAPTER 2.HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF SE

Chapter 2: Historical antecedents of SE

The present chapter aims to trace the origins of SE as well as the historical evolution of the two main actors historically involved in the development of the society, which are the government (and ultimately the NGOs) and the church, through their religious organizations. The evolution of those actors helps us understand the present contexts in which SEs operate today.

2.1 SERs, those who promote the evolution of the conscience

"SE is not a new phenomenon. While the name and descriptions may be relatively new, individuals who adopt entrepreneurial strategies to tackle social issues are not" (Barendsen & Gardner, 2004, p. 43). In fact, in order to frame SE in an anthropological perspective, Dees (2007, p. 25) makes the following observation:

> To put the current interest in SE in perspective, it is useful to think about human history as a series of experiments in social organization- from family, clan, and tribal structures to the elaborate governmental, corporate and social structures of today. These experiments can be seen as a response to the question: How should we organize ourselves, publicly and privately to move closer to the ideals of a good society?

All through history there must have been examples of SE, although it may be difficult to trace them due to their anonymity. But in general terms, people considered founders in history, (think of St Francis of Asis, for example) do fit the SER concept of today.

Before entering theoretical considerations, and the study of the European Entlightment as a "turning point" in the understanding of the forms of aid practiced at that time and the role that would be given to the government in that area (Dees, 2007, p. 25), it is important to remember the nude essence of SE. An essence that is related not so much to the existence of an organization but much more to favor or promote a cultural transformation that implicitly brings an advance in terms of conscience. That is why SE has necesarily been linked to the existence of "an obsesive individual [used to] working behind the scenes [for long periods of time], a person with vision, drive, integrity of purpose, great persuasive powers, and remarkable stamina" (Bornstein, 2004 p. 92); someone coherent through out his life (Bornstein, 2004, p. 122), who does not identify himself as an SER, because "SER are often unaware of the patterns of their own lives" and whatever they do, they do it "naturally" (Bornstein, 2004, p.118). "Someone really

posessed by an idea" (Bornstein, 2004, p. 122) who works in favor of an advance in terms of collective conscience.

The person of "John Wollman an eighteenth century (XVIII) American Quaker whose impact on American society remains largely unrecognized" (Bornstein, 2004, p. 93), clearly represents the essence of SE:

> Although individual Quakers had been preaching against the evils of slavery since 1680, Quakers did not actually abandon the practice of slaveholding in large numbers until Woolmann, a tailor and part-time preacher living in Mount Holly, New Jersey, took it upon himself to travel the country talking them out of it (Gummere, 1911).
> In 1743 woolman set out on a series of extended walking journeys that, over the decades, took him across New Jersey, Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, where large numbers of quakers lived. Like Vinoba Bhave [27]in India, Woolmann traveled only by foot ("that I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the opressed slaves") and wore only undyed cloth (dyes came from plantations in the West Indies). In his soft-spoken but unyielding way, he persuaded Quakers to free their slaves and encouraged them to make slaveholding illegal in their states (Whitney, 1942, p. 343).

Wollmann represents the essence of SE, and shows how some aspects considered essential nowadays, like the creation of an organization, are purely instrumental and related to the complexity of the problem being addressed. Woolmann did not create one (probably he would do it today, in the context of the third sector). Essentially, he identified himself with an oppressed community and in the assumption of the hardness of a coherent option to himself, he promoted change through many years at his own cost.

On the contrary, William Lloyd Garrison is an example of SER who, in 1833, founded the Anti-Slavery Society. "Publisher of the first anti-slavery newspaper, the Liberator, Garrison campaigned tirelessly for abolition throughout his lifetime" (Barendsen &Gardner, 2004, p. 43).

[27]Born and died in India (1895-1982), Vinoba Bhave is" [o]ne of India's best-known social reformers and a widely venerated disciple of Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi", promotor of the land-gift movement(1951) to provide lands to the Dalits (members of the lowest castes) through the following of the principle of ahimsa (non-violence). For more information, see https://global.britannica.com/biography/Vinoba-Bhave

2.2 Theoretical roots of SE. The Entlightment and the role of the government as problem solver

As previously indicated, Entlightment meant a "turning point" in the understanding of the roles that goverment should play as a problem solver. It represented a critical reflection on the qualitative dimension of the aid provided at the time, with the result of an increase in the level of awareness. Dees (2007, p. 25) explains that the position of the government, "as the main actor in resolving social problems that were not addressed by economic development" would not occur until the late eighteenth century in the context of European Enlightment, with authors like Thomas Paine and Marquis de Condorcet. They "recognized the ineffectiveness of charity and in the spirit of the Enlightment proposed more scientific and secular state-based alternatives". In this regard, charity had to be understood with two main features: related to church and in the sense of temporary relief for the poor. They considered that charity was not able to "always reach all those that could benefit from it, and many feared it exarcebated the very problem at which it was directed, creating dependency and undermining the industriousness of the poor". These ruminations let us think that the culture of aid has been dealing with the same or at least similar enemies for a long time. In fact charity's main utility was connected to the givers, who could "demonstrate their virtue" just like some more modern inititives that seem to benefit the donor more than the recipient.

Without any doubt, the thoughts of the above mentioned authors were "the seed or social democracy and the welfare state". But "the shift away from religious and sentimental approaches was taken to new heights in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Karl Marx and his followers" (p. 25).

As a result,

> Over the course of the past two centuries, the world has witnessed a variety of experiments in government-based efforts to tackle poverty, as well as other social and environmental problems. Over this period, a mixed religious and secular civil society continued to evolve and play a complementary role, but the hope for social problem solving has largely been on the government. (p. 25)

Looking deeper at the way the European Entlightment (XVIII) affected and transformed the culture of aid, raising critical awareness, a parallel can be found in the

increasing relevance and emergency of SE:

> The Enlightment brought not only a shift in political philosophy it also changed private charitable institutions. Many of them embraced the new rationality leading to the rise of what historian Gertrude Himmelfarb calls “scientific charity”. This shift generated a relative boom of new organizations in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The movement included new religious charities with more scientific approaches, the creation of secular charitable institutions, professionally run philanthropic foundations, and the establishment of new helping professions such as social work. The Salvation Army, YMCA[28]Boys and Girls Clubs, and many prominent third-sector organizations and major foundations trace their roots to this era (Dees, 2007, p. 27).

From this perspective, “SE [simply] represents another step in the continuing reinvention of the “third sector” over the past one hundred and fifty years”(Dees, p. 27). The reasons why the present third sector requires a reinvention will be futher addressed in the present chapter. But first, it is important to continue tracing the emergence of the SE concept.

Having recognized that SERs have probably existed all through history, the term entrepreneur itself emerged during the Entlightment. It literally means those who undertake (Durieux, 2011) but the French economist Jean Baptiste Say popularized it according to his discipline, in reference to the person who “shifts economic resources out of an area of lower and into an area of higher productivity and yield” (Drucker, 1993, p. 21, cited in Bornstein, 2004, p. 2)

Dees (2007, p. 26) adds:

> When [years later] the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter formulated his theory of economic development, he saw entrepreneurs playing a central role. They drove development by “carrying out new combinations”. They could modify existing products or services, develop new ones, improve production and marketing processes, find new sources of supply, take existing products into new markets, or create new forms of organization. In so doing, as he later put it, they reform or revolutionize the pattern of production.

[28]YMCA stands for the Young Men Christian Association. Founded in 1844, it aims to put Christian principles into practice by developing a healthy "body, mind, and spirit." For more information, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/YMCA

To a certain extent, the essential question that aims to be explored in this reserach is if SER are in fact revolutinizing the patterns in which aid is provided by them, at least in the cases observed, trying to delimit, in a preliminary form, those "new patterns". Something must be true about that hypothesis, taking into account Drucker's perception: "the entrepreneur changes the performance capacity of the society" (Gendron, 1996, cited in Bornstein, p. 2). This means that vis-a-vis social challenges, SERs – who are just a type of entrepreneur (Durieux, 2011; Stebbins, 2010)- change the capacity of the communities involved to react and interact with their surrounding evironments, including the status quo, in constructive ways.The question then to answer is how they do it. The hows are inmensenly important for SERs, according to Bornstein (2004).

Finally, as a result of this evolutionary process, in 1980 the concept of "SE emerged …from the work of Bill Drayton at Ashoka, funding social innovators around the world, and Ed Skloot at New Ventures, helping nonprofits explore new sources of income" (Dees, 2007, p. 24), increasing awareness about different ways and once again, more effective ways to help, with the peculiarity that increasing rationality this time will no longer be sufficient.

2.3 The crisis of the government as a problem solver

In 1993, Geoff Mulgan (p. 18) wrote: "The dinosaurs that are our institutions are dying . But the new life forms that will replace them are still struggling to be born" . And he added:…"[T]his is the dilemma facing all institutions today: what to preserve and what to ditch" (p. 19). How has this dissolution process happened? How has this increasing feeling of weakness with regard to the capacity of protection given by the goverments evolved?

In the decades of the 50s and 60s of the XX century, the public sector of some advanced capitalist economies (North America and Western Europe mainly) committed themselves in the coverage of market failures intervening in different aspects of the functioning of the market economies creating as a result, the welfare state. During three decades the system was a success able to establish a link between creation of employment and richness, economic growth and the coverage of diverse services that expanded the basic freedoms through education, health and protection against situations

of disability and marginalization. The first crisis of the welfare state took place in the decade of the seventies but it was especially the second one that started in the 90s (Pascual & Garde, 1999, cited in de Pablo, Pizarro, Rodríguez & Santos, 2006) the one that highlighted the existence of an array of phenomenons beyond the control of the governments from the new dynamics of the markets due to the globalization of the economy, the impact of the new technologies that deeply alter the relationships between the nations, and the progressive ageing of especially the European population. All this factors question the sustainability of the welfare system on the long term in a wider context of lack of consideration and over-exploitation of the environmental limits. Therefore increased by the economic crisis and the feeling of vulnerability, there is a widespread feeling in every western society that we are now living in a state of malaise (instead of welfare state)[29](cited in de Pablo, Pizarro, Rodríguez & Santos, 2006).

In a recent United Nations Development Plan (UNDP) report, (Malik, 2014, p. 1) a growing feeling of vulnerability in wide segments of society is described, which leads to recognizing, the increasing feeling of weakness with regard to all that governments seem no longer able to preserve:

> As successive Human Development Reports have shown, most people in most countries have been doing steadily better in human development. Advances in technology, education and incomes hold ever-greater promise for longer, healthier, more secure lives. Globalization has on balance produced major human development gains, especially in many countries of the South. But there is also a widespread sense of precariousness in the world today in livelihoods, in personal security, in the environment and in global politics. High achievements on critical aspects of human development, such as health and nutrition, can quickly be undermined by a natural disaster or economic slump. Theft and assault can leave people physically and psychologically impoverished. Corruption and unresponsive state institutions can leave those in need of assistance without recourse. Political threats, community tensions, violent conflict, neglect of public health, environmental damages, crime and discrimination all add to individual and community vulnerability.
>
> Real progress on human development, then, is not only a matter of enlarging people's critical choices and their ability to be educated, be healthy, have a reasonable standard of living and feel safe. It is also a matter of how secure these achievements are and whether conditions are sufficient for sustained human development. An account of progress in human development is incomplete without exploring and assessing vulnerability.

Complementing this observation in her book, *Un Mundo Común*, Garcés (2013)[30] addresses the different breaking processes that are taking place in Western societies without having an alternative in place. For the author, the fact of belonging to a

[29]Translated by L. Ruiz
[30]Translated by L. Ruiz.

common world is becoming more apparent in each convulsion that takes place, although not everyone suffers them in the same way. With every convulsion becomes more relevant the concept “us”, the recognition of being strongly interrelated in a situation of general crisis. In fact one of the pivotal axes of her speech is that, due to the extreme interrelation no one can escape from this situation and “life has become a common problem” (p. 65). Garcés considers that as a result of this direct experience of planetary interdependency, a new idea of “us” has emerged. We depend on each other, more than ever, but still do not clearly understand the implications of this new meaning of the concept “us”. In the relationship between the individual and the rest of the people, we donot know how to place and manage our bonds, our complicities, our partnerships and solidarities (p. 21). How to behave within this new sense of community in which everyone is involved.

Garcés (2013) also describes a rising wave of rejection from diverse political and social contexts such as, locks of governmental summits (1999-2009), massive demostrations against the war (2004), neighbourhoods and cars burning in Paris (2005), in Greece (2008) and in London (2011), squares taken in the both sides of the Mediterranean and other sides of the world (2010-2011). All these facts question the assumed belief with regard to Western societies about their lack of capacity to get organized in order to resist political power (p. 51). This rejection wave takes place in the context of a capital system that does not work and triumphs only because it imposes itself over the rest (p. 59) whilean increasingly fragmented world appears in a permanent state of conflict (p. 21).

According to the author, at all levels there is a feeling of revolution. The problem is that this revolution does not have a political translation yet, and every given political proposal seems, insufficient, anchored in the field of the already known, resulting therefore useless. In fact, the idea of revolution, of change that propels forward must be disassociated from the concepts that have shaped the modern space of politics, which are based on historic teleology, sovereignty, the concept of citizenship and its democratic participation in the public sphere (p. 59).

This “new revolution” associated to the need to find solutions for a life understood as a common problem, seems increasingly connected to the decisions taken at the personal level and to the idea of commitment. A commitment that emerges when a problem assaults and questions an individual. A problem that cannot be solved with a mere

declaration of intentions and the assumption of that commitment triggers a process full of difficulties. In that sense, the author explains that when the commitment assaults us, it breaks the barriers of our inmunity, our clientelist freedom [31]to enter or to leave, to be or not to be in a particular place, to take or to leave things, situations or people behind. Commitment uproots us from what we are or from what we thought we were. It places us in a new situation in which we do not control everything. When commited we are no longer a sovereign conscience or a self-sufficient will. When commited we are implicated in a situation that exceedes the individual and demands taking a position. Taking a position does not only mean to take part or pass a judgement in the sense of liking or disliking, approving or disapproving something. Commitment implies the creation of a yet unknown, answer, that will change the person for good. Every commitment represents a necessary transformation in which the final result is not guaranteed (p. 63).

The reading of Garcés (2013) allows understanding the increasing emergence of SERs as a probable consequence of having more and more people being assaulted by problems that require their commitment. A commitment that reflects their understanding of the world as a common reality. In fact, and as will be seen through the data, SERs do not understand or give validity to the perception of being just responsible for those things, situations or events that happen just around us (personal sphere and close family). On the contrary, they overstep the traditional boundaries of responsability as if they had understood the life as a common problem long ago. When questioned about their proactivity, erroneously presumed naivity and the "impossibility to change the world" the usually reply with the expression "to do your part" (a leitmotif in many interviews). A part that implies redefinition of ways to interrelate, increase areas of responsibility and acceptance of challenging ethical positions in order to create answers. The emergence of a new concept of citizenship with increasing responsabilities, obligations and presumably rights, however unrecognized at the legal level.

In the meantime, what is the situation of the development sector, i.e, the governmental sector supposed to solve the development issues? Deceptive. Durieux & Stebbins (2010, p. 25) put it this way when pleading for compassion as everybody's responsability. As a society we have understood that nowadays,

[31]A clear example of that process of internal transformation in the terms described by Garcés (2013) can be seen in Sanllorente (2009).

> …receiving compassion in the face of violating and unwarranted suffering is everyone's birthright and that such birthright should be institutionalized and formalized (as in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights). As a result vast international cooperatives…mammoth governmental bureaucracies and many professions have tried to marshal their resources in order to guarantee that birthright.

But what has happened with that goal is the following. First, "the public has become more dependent on these institutional responses" and this fact "has made us complacent about divesting ourselves of our own compassionate responsibilities". Second and as a result, society is to a certain extent "regretting that complacency as we realize that those same institutional responses are proving, for several reasons, to be quite limited in the terms of what they can achieve" (Durieux & Stebbins, 2010, p. 26).

The crisis that affects governments and their solvency undoubtely affects the development sector, as an extension of them. Probably SEs and their increasing popularity should be seen as those new enterprises struggling to be born in the context of older and weaker institutions that still enforce their legitimacy. SE can be simply seen as another organizational experiment (Dees, 2007) emerging in the old paradigm, in a moment in which the "disjunction between existing structures and institutions and what it is needed now" is rampant (Murray, Caulier-Grice, & Mulgan, 2010, p. 4).

Domínguez (2011) is one of the authors that has addressed the drastic transformations currently taking place in the whole development sector in an article called "La Crisis de Identidad del Sistema de la Ayuda" (The Identity Crisis of the Aid System). A crisis that reinforces the necessity of new fresh approaches in tune with the times. Domínguez (2011) describes the critical process in which developed countries lose economic weight, and the aid system as we know it, since its foundation with the Bretton Woods institutions, which have remained almost unalterable (Barder, Gavas, Maxwell & Johnson, 2010) seems unable to solve the contradictions that generates which are dependency on aid (the same problem seen during Entlightment with regard to charity) and promotion of power relationships; A system that also keeps a hidden agenda that weakens "the already very reduced legitimacy of the system" (p.5), that is expert on the elaborations of proposals and initiatives usually headed for failure of policy. With the appearence of new actors (emerging countries and private donors) with increasing

relevance, the official aid system does not seem to understand the new map of the world (Amorin, 2011) with its new power relationships in which the traditional concept of South has imploded and the relevance of the North, diminished. The situation is even more serious according to Hancock's observation (cited in de Haan, 2009, p. 8):.."countries who have not received aid have done well, while those that have received aid have not been developed". In fact after almost 50 years of research and more than 100 empirical studies, it is still controversial to affirm that aid has caused, in aggregate terms, a positive impact on growth (Tezanos, Madrueño & Guijarro, 2009). Is this a dead end? Are we reaching the depletion of the system as originally conceived?

History offers answers for understanding the metamorphosis of the South, or as it has been called in international politics, the ascent of the rest (Zacaria, 2008). It is not a coincidence that the process started to evolve in the decade of the nineties. During that time, a selected group of countries, away from the Washington Consensus principles (and the SAP inspired in them) allowed them to take ownership of a process of economic reforms that eventually resulted in high growth rates. [32]

The aid system is anchored in a "money-metric and donor-centric view of development", (Vandermoortele, 2010, p. 4) forgetting"…how shallow the benefits of economic growth trickle down the social ladder and how illusive it is to think that growth alone will reduce poverty" (p.3); since "the end of poverty will not result from more wealth or aid, but from more equity and justice"(p. 5).

Official Development Aid (ODA)[33]has traditionally been the main instrument to promote economic growth and erradication of poverty. Gradually, the goals attributed to ODA have evolved and increased, from the "mere" economic growth -"ushering

[32] In purchasing power parity, according to Bustelo (2011) China will overcome USA as the first economy within the present period 2015-2020.

[33]According to the Development Aid Comittee (DAC), ODA is defined as "those flows to countries and territories on the DAC List of ODA Recipients and to multilateral institutions which are provided by official agencies, including state and global governments, or by their executive agencies, and each transaction of which is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective; and is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 per cent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 per cent)." For more information, see
http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/officialdevelopmentassistancedefinitionandcoverage.htm

convergence between less and more developed economies" (Severino & Ray, 2009, p.1) - to the social and political transformation but the instrument with which to achieve those aims is the same. This has increased the difficulty to relate ODA with the goals that, at least theoretically, it intends to achieve (Barder, et al 2010).

In two articles, Severino and Ray (2009, 2010) address the deep transformations that are affecting ODA and the development system itself, in a process called the emergence of "hypercollective action". The general overview they offer about the development sector is described in the following paragraph. A phenomenon in which SEs are just one of the actors involved:

> These actors of international cooperation are also much more heterogeneous in size, structure, processes and objectives than before. They each have their own form of legitimacy, very different motivations for engaging in the policy, very different understandings of what is meant by 'development', 'security' or 'environmental protection', different assumptions as to how international action can contribute to these policy goals, and different discourses to explain the policy ecosystem they inhabit. These different legitimacies, motivations, understandings, assumptions and discourses coexist, interact, and often oppose one another. In the absence of any legitimate arbitrator, there is no obvious way to articulate these views or to make them converge – which does not facilitate agreement on common objectives or rules of the game. In this sense hypercollective action is not just more collective action, but very different collective action. This new mode of production of global policies is reshuffling the way international cooperation regimes operate. One of the consequences of this proliferation of actors is that the policy-making process is increasingly decentralised, and that the arenas where action-plans are devised and negotiated are more diverse. Rather than convening decision-makers delegated by their authorities in traditional international negotiations, these new policy negotiation processes increasingly involve the policies' 'stakeholders'…(Severino & Ray, 2010, p.11).

The relational framework within this hypercollectivity is not a simple one. Observation shows that relationships between NGOs and SERs are not always fluid. SERs are sometimes criticized due to what some traditional NGOs consider too much personalism. Other times their procedures are simply not known or understood. Some SEs are indeed very personalistic and do not want to participate in common activities or forums with traditional NGOs. Some NGOs now had the innovation and radicality of an SE but they lost it over the time to become more like intermediary organizations. The bureaucracy of the governmental agencies does not always allow having enough contact with the grassroots, a contact indispensable to assess projects in a critical and constructive manner and to detect those who are promoting real change. But hypercollectivity is also

bringing instruments to finance development operations that go beyond the already traditional microcredits (Severino & Ray 2009, p. 14):

> The 'Oudin-Santini' tax in France is another illustration of the simultaneous diversification of demand and supply in the aid industry. The objective of this levy is to mobilize stable financial resources for the improvement of water provision and sanitation in cities of some of the world's poorest countries. Contrary to conventional taxes it is based on a principle of direct solidarity between the water consumer in the North and its counterpart in the South – channelled though their municipalities. In 2005 the 'Oudin-Santini' law made it possible for local authorities and water agencies to allocate up to 1% of their water and sanitation budget to decentralized cooperation projects in water and sanitation. In 2006 the city of Paris set aside one million euros from Parisians' water and sanitation bill for its 'Water Solidarity' program toward municipalities in the developing world. It total, an estimated eight million euros were mobilised in France that year thanks to the 'Oudin-Santini' law. This form of 'consumer to consumer' donation is miles away from traditional public development aid. Yet it cannot be described as purely private aid either. This hybrid form of development assistance, halfway between states and their citizens, is likely to be one of the ways in which additional resources will be mobilised in the coming decades.

Hypercollectivities are also the crowdfunding operations with great impact in some of the SEs of this study, about which the following paragraph is just an example (Severino & Ray, 2010, p. 10):

> Kiva, an online microfinance platform, directly connects internet philanthropists throughout the world with micro-entrepreneurs in the South who need funds to start or grow their businesses. As of March 2010, a total of $124 million had been committed in 174,000 loans of an average of $398 to entrepreneurs from 52 developing countries. Relatively small-scale today, e-philanthropy is growing rapidly as social networks such as Facebook or Second Life spread the concept. For donors this peer-to-peer form of aid provides the advantage of going straight to the recipient, with concrete short-term, visible impacts. If this trend towards the decentralization of aid is to continue, the face of development aid may well change considerably.

Hypercollectivity also includes the probably erroneously considered indirect ways to generate impact such as all the decisions related to more responsable ways to consume, demanding fair working conditions for the workers of the clothing factories, for example (Sanllorente, 2014). Hypercollectivity means that the traditional areas of responsibility with regard to development (originally given to professionals of the system) are being displaced increasing the responsibility given to common people, to normal citizens involved to solve "the life as a common problem" (Garcés, 2013, p. 65).

For the observers, for private funders, particulars from different economic levels moved to do something, who want to participate in an increasingly open system -in which the governments have lost hegemony to manage aid flows- the complexity is overwhelming and very often it is not possible to discern to whom they should donate and on which basis. This is because the old structures coexist with emerging ones, and not all the new initiatives are effective. Therefore sometimes it is simply impossible to differenciate them, unless they are observed by a trained eye.Bornstein (2004, p. 270) describes the capital allocation problem in the following manner:

> Because it is inherently difficult to measure social value creation, funders and practicioners in the citizen sector historically have shied away from any attempt to compare the performance of organizations. As a result, notes Greg Dees…,the citizen sector today suffers from a serious "capital allocation" problem. "Capital is not being allocated to the most promising enterprises so they can grow and is not being taken away from enterprises that are inneffective" he asserts. Jed Emerson…adds: "an organization that is not creating value can build itself by virtue of political connections and media coverage, with no objective measure of wheather or not it is actually doing its work well".

In the following paragraphs the deterioration process that has affected traditional NGOs will be addressed. It has generated a significant detachment from social reality and social change in developing countries.

2.4 Revision of the evolution of NGOs, which work for developing countries

In an exploratory study made by Smith and Nemetz (2009) SE is compared with what the authors call government foreign aid in an East African village. In spite of the open-ended nature of the study, due to its exploratory approach, the clarity of the findings is certainly a cause for reflection: "In general village leaders were more favourable to SE efforts because they offered the possibility of self-reliance and sustainability over time. Large government foreign aid largesse rarely reached villagers, so had little effectiveness in relieving their poverty" (p. 49).

The aim of this quote is not to justify the ineffectiveness of foreign aid with this article. Rather, the aim of this quote is to call attention to the fact that the aid rarely reaches the villagers and therefore there is an urgent need of reconsidering the procedures of the system (promoted and sustained by some institutions equipped with the

strength of the status-quo which will probably remain unalterable for many years), but more precisely of the ways in which aid is being delivered, the hows. According to the study it seems that SE initiatives are reaching the people. What SEs are doing differently is something that the data of this study will try to answer. The main problem here is that the unreceived aid the villagers of the study speak about is to be channelled through NGOs, officially the most specialized entities to disburse aid and also the closest to social reality, at least in theory. So, what is happening? What are the traditional NGOs busy with?

The answer is not petty. Some SERs involved in this study, realized they had to do something for a certain community or segment of society (enslaved children, for example) in contexts that already were full of NGOs. Explanations related to NGOs specialization ("we do not work with children of that age, we do not work with children at all…") usually lay behind the decision the SER to intervene. As a matter of a fact, the value of the individual has become blurred or irrelevant in face of the priority of technical questions.

In 2012, Wright wrote an article in which he explains the different ways in which NGOs have become mere instruments of "the promotion of western hegemony in the developing world" (p. 123) and neo-liberalism. One of the main conclusions that can be extracted is that, the cardinal sin of NGOs has been to abandon their non-governmental nature -as the author points out, "why are they called non-governmental organizations when they receive substantial funding from governments"? (p. 125) - in expense of economic security, and strict following of the indoctrination of the development system's recipes or agendas.His article shows all the things many traditional NGOs are busy doing, things that, always with some exceptions, have made them separate from the "real people" (Martin, 2016) and from their real goals.

Before addressing the current situation it would be necessary to review their history to understand how the present situation has emerged. Having arisen in the way we now know them "out of the World War I…[NGOs] gained prominence repairing Europe after the World War II" (Wright, 2010, p. 124). There has been an evolution in their aims since their appearance: Focus on "modernisation importing Northern ways to the South" during the 50s and 60s; development of "self-help strategies" during the 60s and 70s and promotion of "empowerment, conscientisation and advocacy" from that moment on. For some authors

(Salomon 1993, p. 1, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 124) [t]he rise of the nonprofit sector may well prove to be as significant development of the latter twentieth century as the rise of the nation-state was of the later nineteenth century".

How did the alignment between NGOs and governments take place? At the end of the Cold War, "donor agencies began to pursue what has been termed the New Policy Agenda". "This marked a new phase in NGOs discurse" (Edwards & Hulme, 1998; Kamat, 2004; Mayhew, 2005 cited in Wright, 2012, p. 124). The aims of this agenda were the promotion of "good governance, democracy and civil society" (Mercer, 2002; Fisher, 1997, cited in Wright, 2012, p.125) "and the provision of services" (Brinkerhoff, 2007, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125). The main consequence of this agenda was the increase of funding from government donors to NGOs "in the belief that NGOs [we]re apt to meet the agenda's goals" (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125).

Which were the two main assumptions, now increasingly questioned (Marcussen, 1996; Mercer 2002, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125) with regard to NGOs that gave them that priority role? First and supported by scientific literature, NGOs have been considered the ideal actor to promote democratic development (Bratton, 1989; Mercer, 2002, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125). "As Mercer notes, this assumption is particularly concerning given the role NGOs have come to play in the deployment of Government, World Bank and IMF funded projects" (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125). The second assumption to have been considered was: "more efficient and cost-effective service providers than governments" (Edwards & Hulme, 1998, p. 6, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125).

According to Mayhew (2005), approximately "15-20 per cent of total development aid is channelled through NGOs (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125). Besides the increase in the number of NGOs (Brinkerhoff, 2007, cited in Wright, 2012, p.125), "NGO reliance on government funding has increased (Edwards& Hulme, 1998; Wallace, 2004, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125). According to Edwards and Hulme (1998, p. 20)…"in the UK Oxfam relied on the government for 15 of its income in 1984, but 24 per cent in 1993" (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 125).

How has this alignment affected thelegitimacy of the NGOs? As Wright (2012, p. 125) puts it, "[p]erhaps the most obvious consequence of the increased reliance on funding from western governments in the weakening of legitimacy on NGOs: why are they called non governmental organisations when they receive substantial funding from governments"? But there is another consequence, a deeper one that affects the core mission of NGOs and that is not easily detectable for the non-professionals of the development sector; a manifestation of the thesis of Easterly's *Tiranny of experts* (2013):

> If an NGO is subject to the whim of a donor, it is subject to the constantly changing policy focus of that donor (Wallace 2004). As an African proverb puts it: "if you have your hand in another's man pocket, you must move when he moves" (Kramer 1981, p. 158). Legitimacy is not only conceptually important, but has real ramifications for development in practice changing fashions in the Western donor states can rapidly move funding away from much needed projects in the ultimate recipient states. (Cited in Wright, 2012, p. 126)

In the same line, de Haan (2009, p. 12) notes that: "Donors procedures tend to be cumbersome and time consuming. Aid flows are often unpredictable often following cycles on the sides of the donors rather than demand by recipients-and donor priorities change frequently". For detailed information, Barder et al, (2010) explain the changing functions attributed to ODA since World War II, an ODA increasingly channelled through NGOs (OECD, 2015 & 2013).

During the data collection, the feelings and perceptions that some communities developed towards official projects and towards the professionals of the development sector when the missions or projects are closed, were observed, especially in Haiti. In some cases the communities spoke of feeling abandoned. This is an issue that deserves several studies in its own right.

Another reflection could be how can initiatives become sustainable if support is fundamentally submitted to the trends in the development sector; that is, if it is basically donor oriented and not for long-term? It would be extremely naïve to consider that initiatives can become automatically sustainable just because the agenda sets it out, but the remarkable absence of anthropologists in certain main organisms like UUNN (Banbury, 2016) who can understand the relevance of internal and apparently imperceptible cultural transformations, helps confirm that "naivety". This is the way the author explains the experience of contracting an anthropologist in Accra to face new Ebola cases:

> She turned out to be worth her weight in gold. Unsafe burial practices were responsible for about half of new ebola cases in some areas. We had to understand these traditions before we could persuade people to change them. As far as I know, no UUNN mission had ever had an anthropologist on staff before; shortly after I left the mission, she was let go (p. 2).

Apparently, one thing is what it is said and another thing, what it is done.

There is another consequence, related to the previous one, that will be further explained with the collected data, which is: "If an NGO receives a substantial amount of funding from governmental donors, it may be perceived as less authentic or genuine and…local participation may falter in favour of bureaucratic control" (Wright, 2012, p. 125). The perceptions of the communities apparently remain as an irrelevant mystery for the technocratic development consensus (Easterly, 2013). However, they will be partially addressed in this study.

But, as Wright (2012, p. 126) warns:

> [t]he most direct weakening of legitimacy occurs when an NGO does not just have its hand in another's pocket, but is actually steered by Western governmental, corporate, or political interests, which can utilise the presumed legitimacy and independence of NGOs as a front.

SERs are not perfect human beings. SEs are not perfect organizations either, but if something characterizes SERs participating in this study, it is their capacity to read social reality and design strategies according to it. Not imposed ones from an external foreign organization or institution. As a consequence of this detachment as a starting point, it would be convenient to ask to whom are NGOs accountable? In general terms, the situation is coherent with the system's logic:

> Typically NGOs are accountable to different groups; for example, to their partners, hosts governments, and staff (Edwards and Hulme 1998) Ultimately, however, an NGO's main accountability is, or should be, to its beneficiaries- their people whose lives their activities affect. The New Policy Agenda has distorted this accountability, because funds given to NGOs by governments must be accounted for (Srinivas 2009), resulting in the moving of accountability away from the people NGOs aim to help to the donors who demand to see concrete results. Programmes are "not accountable to local people but to overseas donors who "review" and "oversee" the performance of NGOs according to their criteria and interests" (Petras 1999, p. 433). (Cited in Wright, 2012, p. 126)

As usual and due to interrelation, this fact has long-term implications detrimental to qualitative and more comprehensive development projects(Wright, 2012, p. 126):

> This shift in accountability changes the focus of NGO practice; the NGO must account for the money according to a western standard that emphasises numbers, statistics and efficiency over the qualitative aspects o development. For example, if an NGO's stated goal is the empowerment of impoverished people, this is very difficult to measure discretely and the NGO may, therefore, move to a specific programme that can be better measured, at the expense of a more holistic approach.

And to reinforce this situation, the same author explains:

> In addition, donor preferences gravitate toward specific projects, rather that support for "long-term operations, organizational support, renewal and growth"(Brinkerhoff 2007), so that is an opportunity cost for NGOs, who accept funding but cannot use it for increasing the capacity of their organization. NGOs must spend more money on meeting their increased upward accountability, rather than spending that money on long- term development and social change on the ground. (Cited in Wright, 2012, p. 126)

Only with the arguments exposed so far, it would be enough to understand the detachment of non-governmental organizations. However it is worth explaining another dimension of the upward accountability and the recurrent contradictions of the system. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness in the year 2005 set a number of principles in order to promote the effectiveness of aid development after the recognition of its ineffectiveness. One of these principles was the management for results. The fulfilment of such an apparent logical principle is conditional and subordinated to the transformation of the paradigm that reigns over the system, which is disbursement of funds (in a prearranged time) and justification (i.e., budget execution of them). In recent conversations with workers of NGOs who participate in this study, some of them have confessed that the justification of expenditures for a particular donor is a crucial process in the development of a project. The following affirmation may help understand how complicated is to change certain paradigms:…"donors suffer from what is known as disbursement pressure that is, both in WB and bilateral donors staff experience incentives for high and fast disbursements" (de Haan, 2009, p. 12).

Whom are the NGOs imitating, then? When a few years ago Dambisa Moyo's

Dead Aid (2011), was published, some development researchers in personal conversations devalued that read pleading that it did not offer anything new since Friedman's (1958) and Bauer's (1971) contributions to the liberal economy positions. However, Moyo, a former WB worker, touches a network of interests with many reasons to survive and to reject public scrutiny. Apart from the liberal economic perspective that she defended, which can be shared or not, the book constitutes a devastating critic with an exhaustive description of the linkages between aid, corruption, inefficiency and promotion of internal elites in developing countries. Her descriptionof the elites shows themfar more interested in keeping the machine working (the aid industry) than in committing to achieve real, profound and sustainable impact. This story is not a new one. In 1989 Hancock declared that "aid business should be abolished and the highly paid bureaucrats or lords of poverty should depart". All this in the wider framework of an "industry's history [that] has been littered with failures and [that] has escaped public scrutiny" (cited in de Hann 2009, p. 6).

If something has been created by the development system it is duality. A duality composed of a community directly benefitted from the aid (i.e., the aid workers), and then the reality of the people, the common and "real people"(Martin, 2016) to whom aid is supposed to support. All the points explained in this paragraph are expressions of that duality, of that separation with reality, of an appearance of being there, without being really connected and present to the real people for the time they need it. Without any doubt the generation of elites in development countries "in the name of poverty erradication" is probably the most shocking and telling symptom of something fundamentally erroneous in the logic of the system. A symptom rooted in the original institutions found throughout the whole system.

There is high job insecurity in the system as well, and this affects more than anyone some NGOs workers. There are therefore underpaid workers. It is not strange to detect abusive situations of workers with weak social protection in their contracts, or no social protection at all, for example. This has to be said since the most frequent critics to the development system are always sent to NGOs and volunteers. It is the easiest thing to do, since they are the most visible part of the system and the closest to society. Anyone can criticize them, with little or no training on development at all. But if NGOs are responsible for something, it has been selling their soul (essence) to the governments in

the search for funding and in the imitation of the ways of life, working and operating of the always detached "lords of poverty" (Hancock 1989, cited in de Haan, 2009, p. 6). For many people, working in an NGO is just the first step to finally reach a more pompous and (detached) institution. And although professionalism can be considered positive, in practice it is fundamentally connected to the fulfilling of the western requisites of the donors and not to the skills necessary to understand and commit (especially if it is for long periods of time) with the social reality of the developing countries. As an anthropologist told me in a personal conversation in Senegal in 2011, a country then packed with NGOs and aid institutions centered on the elaboration of solutions and recipes but without showing great improvement, but then, "who understands Africa at all to decide what has to be done"? Wright (2012, p.128) describes the situation created in the following terms:

> Elitism and professionalism are also on the rise (Petras 1999) in NGO staffing, along with a corporatisation of the running of NGOs. As NGOs become unwieldy bureaucratic machines, elites and professionals are drafted in to run them and the NGO begins to run like a business. While having the best minds at work is not necessarily bad, it must be conceded that these elites and professionals generally come from very different backgrounds from their intended beneficiaries and "often will not understand [them], especially if they are poor, uneducated, and from the global South (Lehr-Lehnardt 2005: 22) Thus, the professionalism and elitism of NGOs further distances them from the people they seek to help (Petras, 1999, p. 434).

The generation of elites is multidimensional and affects foreign and local workers, creating duality inside the local societies as well (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 128):

> In the South, NGOs have in some circumstances a "last chance business, and may represent one of the few sectors where paid, professional jobs are still available" (Mc Dougall 2004 p15), thus attracting local elites who are just as detached from those they claim to represent. These NGO elites live lives of "privilege and comfort, and progressively grow distant from a life of struggle" Odinkalu 1999. This trend has been noted, for example, in Africa (Odinkalu 1999) and Bolivia, where, development NGO activists, supported by international funding…can be found in the best restaurants on any day of the week (Lehr-lehnardt 2005 22).

As a consequence, daily routine can have a lot to do with this (Petras 1999, 434, cited in Wright, 2012, p.128):

> Hundreds of individuals sit in front of high powered PCs exchanging manifestos, proposals and invitations to international conferences with each other. They then meet in well furnished conference halls to discuss the latest struggles.
> Eventually the NGO passes down its plan for development, a plan now devoid of grassroots participation and legitimacy, to the local people at the bottom of the chain. (p. 128)

To a great extent, too many NGOs have lost their freedom to think, their freedom to learn and understand the reality without any filter and ultimately, their freedom to stay. Srinivas, 2009 (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 127) explains:

> This focus on technical management and bureaucracy has homogenised the approach to development, leaving no space for the heterogeneous mix of ideas and approaches that arise from varied local contexts and that are necessary for social change. (p.127)

This last aspect is key. Many NGOs may give the appearance of being in the field, without being really there. They are connected but to their own world, composed by donors, structures, incentives and ways of Western thinking (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 127):

> Instead that context and diversity is eradicated by forcing in the western perspective. Thus, small Ghanian and Ugandan community organizations are now well versed in the language of log-frames and SWOT analysis, a language that has become universal, despite the fact that these bureaucratic processes carry "specific values, definitions and understandings" (Wallace, 2004, p. 211) and are reflections of "western technological objectification[34]" (Murphy, 2000, p. 339).

The author continues:

> Unfortunately as NGO rely on donor funding, when the donor wants efficiency and statistical results, NGOs are driven to corporatize or die (Brinkerhoff 2007) and they, somewhat understandably, make the choice to corporatise, losing some of their essential values in exchange for continued existence and funding. (p. 128)

[34] As Wright, (2012, p. 127) affirms: An interesting parallel can be drawn between western NGOs and colonial states in this regard. Tandon 1991 notes that colonial governments viewed diversity as an obstacle: while civil society was receptive to the unique social, cultural, and political dimensions of their communities, the state created uniform policies that did not account for these nuances, because accommodating them was seen as too much effort. This led to "homogenization of models, approaches, practices, structures and programmes" (Tandon 1991:6). The same Northern governments that lead the colonialist charge are now at the forefront of the New Policy Agenda, pursuing the neo-liberal goal of bringing "the entire planet into one clear, concerted and unified road [to] progress…liberal capitalism" (Murphy, 2000, p. 339).

2.5 Impact of NGOs on governmental capacities and displacement

In many countries, “the greater the devastation caused by neo-liberalism, the greater the outbreak of NGOs” (Roy, 2004, p. 44, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 129). Having assumed this, Wright (2012, p. 128, 129) describes in the following manner the harmful impact of NGOS on the institutional capacity of the countries:

> Rather than helping stated build institutional capacity, Northern donors are funding private actors to run basic services. Yet, if ministries of health and education were given access to the same level of funding as NGOs, they too could, over time, provide the same services in an effective manner (Edwards and Hulme, 1998). Thus, weak state provision, part of a minimal-state neoliberalism (Bendaña 2006) becomes self-perpetuating, as Western donors both fail to provide the support needed to strengthen state provision, and further undermine it by providing superior private provision through NGOs. This gain highlights the disjuncture between NGO and beneficiary, and the lack of accountability between the two…This has led to the emergency of franchise states (Wood 1996)- states where government is no longer accountable to its citizens as it no longer provides services to them. Instead, the government provides weak central oversight for a patchwork quilt of services run by NGOs. Displacement in Haiti where by 2004 aid NGOs provided almost 80 per centof basic services. Bangladesh is probably “the most visible case of a very large and very powerful NGO sector…displacing a government, (Whewell, 2003).

When the former president of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade occupied the government in 2000, he intended to find out how many NGOs where operating in the country. No one could give him an answer. This anecdote, well known in some official agencies based in the country, illustrates the above affirmation on franchise states. The above made description would be accepted in many development forums, because it is undoubtedly part of the existing reality. However, observation, although resulting in politically incorrectness, also shows that as “often argued, many of the aid recipients are not committed to development and poverty reduction and…aid may not manage to help improve governance” (de Haan, 2009, p. 8). This lack of commitment is usually more easily recognized in the facts that in the speeches of the development forums or agendas. The fact of being a poor country does not make a government automatically conscientious about poverty erradication. If Western societies are now clearly experiencing disenchantment and lack of coverage with regard to political responses to serious social problems (poverty with high prevalence among them) what makes us think that that type of precariousness does not happen in developing countries?

If things were so simple, why would advocacy be so important?; why do some SERs unceasingly stress the need to change the general framework and involve the governments in the process? Some organizations included in this study have done some very relevant work in terms of advocacy with the governmental institutions. This will allow observing how governmental changes are sometimes the slowest and hardest to achieve relative to a problem. And it is not only a question of lack of knowledge. Knowledge on its own does not generate awareness automatically. Sometimes cultural transformation has to be created first: a sense that there is something wrong in the way things are and that something concrete must and can be done. This is partly the cause for some SERs to suffer "moral shocks" (Jasper, 1998 cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 623): they witness extremely adverse situations in middle of the acceptance of the context. The SER Lucía Lantero provides relevant information with regard to enslaved Haitian children in the Dominican Republic (Chapter Four).

Going back to de Haan's affirmation connected to the lack of commitment from the recipients (which can be governments or local organizations), another issue would be to accept that some donors might be consciously providing aid to recipients who are not committed to development aims. Questions related to political and economic interests, as well as a hidden agenda, would probably provide an answer in that matter. In 2010 in Senegal, it was believed that the European Commission disbursed millions of euros in the form of budget support, although it was generally assumed by professionals of the sector it would not be used properly. At a certain point, the Dutch government wanted to stop the aid, but the European Commission did not support that political decision. For more information on the Dutch experience, see Ruiz Campo (2011). Data will also show how sometimes NGOs get trapped with local organizations sometimes involved in corruption. Observations realized in Haiti will provide information on that matter.

It is undeniable the depoliticization process that has taken place inside the NGOs as subordinated to the governments and their agendas. NGOs…"act as a softener for the damage caused by the West's structural adjustment policies in the developing world, thus lessening resistance to those policiesand…they diffuse the grassroots political resistance to neo-liberalism"(Wright, 2012, p. 129). For Petras (1999, p. 430, cited in Wright, 2012, p. 130) depoliticization has occurred partly in this way: "academics, journalists, and professionals have abandoned earlier discussions into the poorly rewarded leftists

movements for a lucrative career managing an NGO". "This form of depoliticization is made easier because, as noted previously, NGO work is often one of few jobs available in countries already blighted by the neo liberal project".

As a consequence of a need to appease donors, "[s]ome NGOs…have homogenized and corporatized development, reinforcing the Western way as the only way…". But "NGOs [in order to become] true agents of change…[can]not allow a Northern viewpoint to constrain them". And to achieve that, "development must be de-homogenised and ideas for change must be permitted to flow freely"; Which is something that does not actually happen. Because in the end, NGOs "do not have to be the cogs in the machine" (Murphy 2000, p. 345). In other words, the debate on development ideas that Easterly (2013) claims, must take place. "In order to challenge [neoliberalism, among other things, which is a totally artificial construct (George, 1999)] ideas need to be able to develop and be discussed and debated" (cited in Wright, 2012, p. 130).

The critical perspective shared by the mentioned authors in this work leads one to question the essence of NGOs, going back to their roots, setting aside all the excessesand domestications, working through a reconfiguration process that will draw the line with the prevailing concept of NGO.

Wright's (2012, p. 131, 132) recommendations stress the necessity to increase "self-awareness", start the process of becoming "economically self-sufficient" and develop an "accountability [which allows] that the voices on the ground are at least heard in some way". For this to happen, "donors should rethink [their] strategy…mov[ing] toward long-term institutional support" (Smillie 1994, p. 187). For this study, the most important recommendation has to do with becoming "smaller",…[and what is even more important], "opting for strategies that promote development and the heterogeneous mix of ideas that are necessary for real social change". Petras (1999, p. 439) goes as far as to say that NGOs should deconstruct themselves altogether, converting themselves into members of social/political movements in order to "avoid being lumped with the tens of thousands of NGOs feeding at the donors trough".

In conversations with the participants of this study, some workers of the development system showed disenchantment as they expressed their wish to work in smaller organizations where the sense and finality of their work would not be lost in the process. Some of these workers are already highly paid, after having had periods of job insecurity inside the system. Without doubting the veracity of such aspirations, working in an SE affects the pocket at least in the cases observed. Period. There must be something strong at the internal motivational level for a highly paid worker to disembark from the first league: a discernment with a very heavy moral dimension. In the exploration realized for this study only one situation like that has been observed, in the case of a woman who used to work for UUNN and finally joined an SE where she volunteered. The spiritual dimension seems to have played a big role in her decision, an aspiration that could not be fulfilled in her previous positions. The SE APLE in Cambodia managed to hire some foreign development workers, being that their salary was quite small. In general, SERs tend to come from outside the system. When the opposite has taken place, professionals, people with master degrees on development who volunteered in an SE and who left immediately, the SERs laughed because they noticed so clearly they did not fit in. To what extent are we speaking about two different worlds with different aspirations, two different cultures to help, two parallel tracks only physically close to each other? As Roy (2004, p. 46 cited in Wright, 2012, p. 130) notes, “there is no substitute for true social change at a grassroots level: [r]eal resistance has real consequences. And has no salary”. Some professionals might have noticed that affirmation.

According to the conversations held with some of these professionals, a highly paid position inside the system also has a price: The fact of working more for the system than for the community itself. Later on I will address the rewards system that SERs claim to have, which seems to be far away from the ones obtained by the professionals. Just to mention that human resources management is never easy, not even in SEs. But it is striking the frequent tensions with local resources found in the development system. Just after mere observation, the tensions seem to be stronger and the trust weaker.

2.6 Reasons to believe. Which is the freedom framework that NGOs have to fulfill their mission and preserve their essence?

As said before, being the most visible part of the system NGOs (and volunteers)usually receive the highest amount of criticism forgetting that the agendas are not set by them. That is why, to a certain extent, the previous critical exercise is killing the messenger. NGOs do not rule the system. This being true, each organization should assess on a case by case basis its own responsibility in the loss or preservation of essence and identity. There are no rules. Each organization is responsible to discover its own space and freedom, which is, its concrete capacity to exercise its own mission, to protectit, accepting the limitations and opportunities given by the context in a particular period of time. An exercise that combines self-awareness and risk, and for which there are not fixed recipes. The preservation of its own identity is to an important extent out of the box thinking; A kind of thinking full of sense in present times. This paragraph reflects three examples of organizations that have found a certain scope to protect their essence and mission. It is important to remark that in two of the three cases presented "the freedom of choice" is somehow connected with the existence of private funds as the main source. The third case that cannot be confirmed, due to lack of information available from the organization. The cases also show how SEs may be forced at certain times to protect their own mission through the assumption of strategic decisions. The essence is something that every single organization may lose, SEs too.

On June 17th *The Guardian* published the following piece of news (Kingsley, 2016):

> The aid group Médecins Sans Frontières [MSF] will no longer take money from any member of the EU, including Britain, in protest at the way Europe has responded to the refugee crisis.
> The decision could see the organization miss out on €60m (£47m), the amount MSF was given by EU members, EU institutions and Norway in 2015.

MSFoffered the following reasons to justify their decision:

> MSF says it can no longer take money from countries and institutions that are "intensifying attempts to push people and their suffering away from European shores. This decision will take effect immediately and will apply to MSF's projects worldwide."
> In particular, MSF has criticized the EU-Turkey deportation deal, the agreement created in March that is meant to ensure the deportation of almost all asylum seekers arriving by boat to Greece, and which has seen thousands of people stranded in legal limbo in squalid

> conditions on the Greek islands.
> MSF has also condemned Europe's ongoing attempts to pay dictatorships in Africa to stem migration flows before they reach Europe. MSF says these moves risk stranding refugees in precarious conditions – just as the EU-Turkey deal has contributed to the trapping of thousands inside war-torn Syria.

Jerome Oberreit, MSF's international secretary general is even more precise in his allegations and in the opposition to the current crisis:

> "Deterrence policies sold to the public as humanitarian solutions have only exacerbated the suffering of people in need. There is nothing remotely humanitarian about these policies. It cannot become the norm and must be challenged.
> "MSF will not receive funding from institutions and governments whose policies do so much harm. We are calling on European governments to shift priorities: rather than maximising the number of people they can push back, they must maximise the number they welcome and protect."

As the article in *The Guardian* continues explaining: "MSF's decision is not expected to jeopardise its operations as 90% of its funds come from private sources". This gives and example of how the insistence of some SE literature on promoting self-sustainability is not only thinking of corporatizing and might be of some use for all NGOs. However, since that option is not an easy task and not even a suitable one for all SEs, the mere reliance on private funds has serious implications with regard to the freedom of choice, the capacity to assume political positions and the sustainability of their interventions by the organizations.

Action Aid is another organization that at a certain point realized they had to change their accountability system in order to remain closer to social reality (Wright, 2012, p. 126):

> "[w]e realized we had no end of upward accountability systems in place, but what we really did not know was what difference our work was making" (Rowden & Irama, 2004).

According to Wright (2012, p. 126), ActionAid took the bold step of doing away with data-centered reports and moving back toward a holistic approach to development. There is no information about probable costs, procedures or consequences of this decision.

The last case comes from a session of exploration and a conversation that took place within it. It shows the importance of self-awareness for the preservation of the identity and mission of SEs. In 2011 I had an interview in India with an SER whose organization was considered quite successful and so was his founder. This organization, a nonprofit, due to different promotion activities experienced an impressive growth in a very short period of time: 400 percent in one of the initial years. Experts who knew the case were indeed surprised the organization did not have to close down and the team could assimilate the growth. Shortly after this success and in full whirlwind the founder listened one day to a conversation of two workers in the office in Spain. This office was mainly established to undertake marketing activities and raise funds. The two workers were elaborating a problems tree (which aimed toreflect the problems of the community in India) without having never been there. Immediately the founder realized that one consequence of success could be to lose the connection with the reality since the strategies had always been elaborated in India, in the central office. This fact had characterized the organization from the very beginning and was partly a cause of its singularity and success.

In this case, soon measures were taken by the SER, which included the elaboration of an internal report that warned about the risk of losing closeness to reality and becoming a traditional organization where the North rules over the South. This closeness was endangered, and could be substituted with the production of papers and applications that could more easily fit the Western requirements and modus operandi to raise public funds. The need to increase funds could have been easily justified as a consequence of growth. Andgrowth could have been considered an aim on its own. This was not the case. Realizing and reacting quickly against this drifting was a conscious decision. There was an option to let the drifting gain force and weaken the strength of the main office in India; an office that does not raise funds and that is economically dependent on the one that does not rule in terms of strategy.

The example shows how some SEs and NGOs in general at a certain point in their evolution may lose their essence, totally or partially, (in the form of connection with the grassroots, for example) and adopt more usual and comfortable ways to operate closer to sources of funding and less so to the social reality to which they are supposedly devoted. It also shows how being considered an SE does not in itself guarantee protection and SEs

can lose their essence just like some traditional NGOs have done. NGOs that in their initial moments could have been considered SEs. In any case, the organizations show how the qualitative dimension of development has a central position to preserve their essence. It would have been an option to justify business as usual, with the help the metrics. As Bornstein (2004) with regard to SERs insists, it is essential to ask ourselves about the how-to – questions (pp. 119, 120, 120) and this study adds, not only to start things in the sense of how to achieve them, but also to assess how things are being done, their quality, and the preservation of the essence in each of them.

2.7 The evolution of religious organizations in developing countries

Since the Entlightment, the confluence in the matter of addressing social problems had been primarily composed by goverments (agencies and institutions created by them) and Faith Based Organizations (FBO) that by no means have abandoned the development scene. NGOs (some of them were funded by SERs) with the great break in the seventies of the XX century, incorporated to a scene that has become gradually more complex to referee, due to its hipercollective character. As a result of the frequent private nature of the funds disbursed by FBO, these scaped the framework of ODA. In some professional sectors of development, FBO are often undervalued in terms of what they can achieve. But the identification sometimes heard between FBO and charity (i.e. lack of agency or mere charity) is too simplistic according to cases observed in and outside this work, since FBO can also be entrepreneurial. Vicente Ferrer, an SER, founder of the RDT in India –see the Introduction Chapter- was an ex-jesuit schooled in the theology of liberation. The priest Luis de Lezama, founder of the Lezama Group[35], a social enterprise with a chain of hotels, restaurants and hotel management schools operating in Spain and USA is another example of the entrepeneurial capacity of some FBOs. At the same time, the connection between being faith based and exercising proselytism is not necessarily an identity.

The above mentioned organizations are not unidimensional in terms of identity. Another issue is how the prioritize the different features that conform it or where they consider they are rooted in their mission. In any case the existence of an entreprenuerial culture is compatible with a faith based nature. The way that faith is exercised will give clues about how inclusive and open the organization is.

[35]For more information, see http://www.grupolezama.es

SERs are motivated by several factors, some of them very deep. The fact of being a secular SER does not obviate having a spirituality of its own and this may conform to impact the identity of the SE as well.

The specialist on development and fundamentalism Emanuel de Kadt shows in the article “Does God Play a Role in Development?” the evolution of the FBO in the field of development. The article is very relevant to understanding the evolution of FBOs in the context of this study.

As he explains, religious organizations’ impact on development has followed two courses: through the delivery of social services and through the assumption of political roles that have “also been development-promoting”. With regard to the delivery of social services and taking as example his personal observation of the role of missionaries in Africa, de Kadt (2009, p.1) explains:

> In the 1970s, when I was working with colleagues from IDS on a large scale project to focus on Primary Health Care, our field work in Africa brought us in contact with many such church-related facilities: above all hospitals, but already with a sprinkling of lower level health centres run by religious organisations. With public health care very thin on the ground, those missionary facilities were often the only ones available to rural populations. The dedication of such missionaries, mostly working in extremely difficult conditions, to the well-being of their poor patients was admirable. Their role became even more crucial when structural adjustment policies cut down on public funds for social services: mosque-linked educational and health services have filled the void left by a retreating state since the 1980s in many African countries with large Muslim populations. Yet such dedication of religious health or education workers often went hand in hand with efforts at proselytizing – when not directly undertaken by the social service workers themselves, ‘delegated’ by them to clerics and imams at local places of worship.

And de Kadt continues explaining the role of FBO in the assumption of political roles:

> …[it] has been through their confrontation of political dictatorships and their standing up for human rights. The best known examples, here, come from Latin America – Brazil, Chile, and a number of other countries, where the fight for human rights was basically ‘fronted’ by the Roman Catholic Church (de Kadt, 2009, p. 1).

and adds:

> …the effect of the political system on development is complex. To take the example of Chile, there are now few who would deny that the *economic* outcomes of the policies of the government of General Pinochet were largely positive⁻, yet that shouldn't lead us to forget that development is more than the growth of GDP, and that political repression and the trampling on human rights are clearly incompatible with development, however understood. In this context it is important to remember that in most countries of Latin America the Catholic Church vigorously opposed the dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s, often explicitly characterizing their repressive policies as 'anti-development'(de Kadt, 2009, p. 2).

In the Latin American context it is important to observe the different positions that the Catholic Church and the Pentecostals had in the assumption of political roles. The characteristics of those postitions and their political and sociological roots are explained in the following paragraphs:

> As Christian Smith has observed, we often hear that Latin American Pentecostals are an otherworldly, dogmatic and reactionary group of people with limited political participation; they are said to have little concern with social injustice, frequently to endorse dictatorships, and to hold to a reductionist individualism in social analysis – a belief that change comes about through the individual, with little or no concern for underlying structural issues. Even though, on balance, one might subscribe to this as a reasonably accurate picture, it does oversimplify a rather more complex situation (Smith, 1994 cited in de Kadt, 2009, p. 2).

> In the first place, there was the effect of the ideological dominance of what Latin Americans like to call neo-liberalism (the market-led economics that first emerged during the Thatcher/Reagan era). Over the past twenty to thirty years, market forces have increasingly come to dominate people's lives. They are seen to value people for *what they are worth* rather than for *who they are*. This had led to a reaction, as Newton Gaskill explains: "Consequently, the family and religion are experienced as the principal remaining private enclaves in which meaningful and fulfilling social interaction can take place." This has notably boosted Pentecostal movements, which "…with their emphasis on individual expression…provide spaces in which believers can construct and express a sense of personal dignity and community" (Gaskill, 1997, p. 74 cited in de Kadt, 2009, p. 2).

> In addition, Protestantism promotes a respect for the rule of law. This has often translated into support for authoritarian governments, but it has also made Protestants willing to challenge regimes that, in their view, did not act like the 'servants of God' by violating their presumed public roles, and thereby "…their God-bestowed legitimacy". (Smith, 1994:134) It has occasionally led Protestants to come out in opposition protest against a regime: for example, in Nicaragua they challenged the Sandinistas, and in Guatemala they protested against the gross violations of the Human Rights of the Indians who were Protestant converts. Their respect for the 'system of laws' may lead to challenges of personalistic rulers, and to demands for accountability from the political authorities when legal violations occur. Traditional Catholicism didn't create that critical distance from the state (de Kadt,

2009, p. 3).

Even so, it remains true that during Latin America's authoritarian period, when the Catholic Church engaged itself in a defence of human rights, Protestants often remained bystanders at best. For the case of Chile, Sepulveda (1996) – himself a Pentecostal minister, there – seeks at least a partial explanation for this fact in the hitherto 'second class' status of Protestants, even in this largely secular country. He argues that when the dominant Catholic Church withdrew its backing, the military government began to look for moral support from the country's second religious force. So Protestants, and specifically Pentecostals, emerged into public life. While some of them distanced themselves from this backing of the military regime, the predominant thrust was clear: Evangelical leaders held official and public meetings with the military authorities, and the latter offered them their support and recognition, including public celebrations in the main Evangelical churches. From a continental viewpoint, the difference in those years between the Catholic and Protestant churches in Latin America has been well captured by what Christian Smith calls [Mark] Stoll's grim image: "[L]iberation theology was very effective in filling graves, while Protestantism was effective in filling church buildings" (Smith, 1994, p. 138 cited in de Kadt, 2009, p. 3).

Yet, in an update of Max Weber's linkage of Calvinism to the rise of capitalism, in a broader sense such Evangelical 'fundamentalists' – in contrast to their Islamic or Jewish counterparts – are sometimes argued to be 'modernizing', because of their rejection of many traditional obstacles to modernity (machismo, hierarchical attitudes) and because of their promotion of family values and of personal discipline and hard work – the classical Weberian development-promoting values. As Berger noted: "The new Evangelism in Latin America exhibits these values in virtually crystalline purity" (Berger, 1999, p.16 cited in de Kadt, 2009, p. 3).

Even so, I have to enter a note of caution about their social impact. This has not been unambiguously positive, because of an issue that arises among people for whom religion is *all-important* – not merely among Evangelical Protestants in Latin America, but also among the wider category of religious people active in the development field. Here I come to my central concern in relation to faith-based organisations (FBOs) in development. Taking religion seriously is one matter, but it becomes seriously problematic when it is promoted as the only identity that counts, disregarding the many other components of identity that should be salient in different situations, thereby truncating a broader sense of self. As a result, people become blinkered. Hovland, even if not quite so explicitly, drew a similar conclusion in her discussion of the virtual impossibility of separating, in the work of Norwegian missionary aid workers, the 'development' aspect from the more purely religious aspect (oriented to proselytising and conversion). The beliefs of missionaries drive them to 'do good' for the poor, and indeed they help them in often life-saving ways, but their conviction that those beliefs represent the 'ultimate truth' also makes them want to convince others – all the more so as those beliefs are believed to lead to 'salvation'(de Kadt, 2009, p.4).

The side-effects of the activities of FBOs in development are likely to be even more negative when the beliefs promoted are rigid, inflexible, and self-assured. This will limit individual freedom, also through setting the parameters for social and cultural interaction – notably around such development-related questions as gender, patriarchy, and the

> maintenance of original cultures. One needs to be aware, of course, that the 'religious' responses to these contain significant non-religious (viz. cultural or traditional) elements, a point often made in relation to Islam. Moreover, I certainly don't want to suggest that all aspects of such original cultures are necessarily 'good', and even less that 'tradition' should be maintained whatever its content. Yet I do want to stress that the certainties about right and wrong, the conviction that certain beliefs and behaviours are right because 'God told us so', places clear limits on what is regarded as acceptable 'development' (de Kadt, 2009,p. 4).
>
> I deduce from this that the stricter forms of Christianity have unclear, ambiguous effects on the possible course of development(de Kadt, 2009,p. 4).

In fact those ambiguous effects can be more clearly appreciated in Chapter Seven with the SE ACOES. The understanding of religion, precisely, "the stricter forms of Christianity" seem to have implications for the concept the person has over his own development, developing more or less proactive attitudes with regard to his own responsability to promote it and which is more or less compatible with the SE's vision of the person. In Chapter Six there are some reflections with regard to some Protestants FBOs, their proselitysm in Cambodia and the overcoming of child sexual abuse. In both chapters those stricter approaches seem to present a dubious understanding of human dignity and one not very compatible with the one that inspires most SEs of the sample. Those implications undoubtely deserve more especific observation, which could not be provided in this thesis for reasons of lack ofspace.

"A theory can be proved by experiment;
But no paths leads from experiment to the birth of a theory".
Albert Einstein

3

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Chapter 3: Methodological approach

The present chapter explains the methodological approach followed to achieve the research goals of this thesis. Let us remember that the origins of this thesis are related to the lack of sufficient understanding of the subjective processes and motivations which lead SERs to establish their social enterprises. Besides, the exploration was also considered the best way to approach the ways SEs operate in developing countries. This goal is related to the fact of having visited SEs in India with a considerable level of effectiveness, a fact which leads to thinking that presumably there are specific operations in place. Finally, initial experiences of exploration also lead to establishing the risks of the founding experience as another aspect worth observing, especially due to the implications it might have for the long-term sustainability of the SE.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) the question which precedes every conscious exploratory exercise is, what is happening here?,with regard to unsufficiently known and understood social processes. Anyone with first-hand experience in the area of SE can argue that there are still too many areas poorly understood, such as the expansion of the organizational phenomenon; or the extended social mobilization of many individuals who assume new areas of responsibility and freely commit themselves to a social purpose.

The present thesis consists of an exploratory, qualitative, open-ended research from an inductive perspective with the aim to build grounded theory, or theory derived directly from the collected data (Charmaz, 2014). The reason why this approach was chosen for this research is the insufficiency of works that, from an exploratory perspective, analyse basic aspects of SE. It is true that in recent years there has been an increase in the number of exploratory works but there is still scope for further exploratory investigations. Some of these works bring meaningful insights frequently about a single aspect such as Scheiber (2016)focusing on the acquisition of skills for the assumption of the role as SERs, or Braun (2010) on the motivations of *successful* SERs but with no fieldwork. Smith and Nemetz (2009) contribute with a comparative study on the perception some communities in Africa have about SEs and traditional aid approches, which seem to go is the line of some perceptions that can be observed in the present work (see AYMY case, for instance). However, in spite of the complementarity of the previous studies, no comparative studies about SE that focus on childcare and development in developing countries have been found so far.Having said this, and according to (Stebbins, 2001),

SEas a field of its own fills at least two of the requirements that pertain to exploration. First, it "has received little or not systematic empirical scrutiny" especially in some areas where the gaps are more evident like the anthropological process of funding, including motives, risks and overcome of difficulties; or the hypothetical commonalities in ways to operate that may appear in organizations that share a common purpose. Second, it is true that other aspects of SE, have been intensively analyzed from an economic perspective, but primarily "using prediction and control rather than flexibility and open-mindedness[36]", the latter being the second condition of exploration (Stebbins, 2001, p. 9).

3.1 Exploration: main concept

Exploration, which can be both qualitative or quantitative (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is referred to the creation of a mental framework of observation as open and possible, that allows the researcher, through the discovery of new ideas, combining both open mindedness and flexibility to draw the big picture of a social reality (Stebbins, 2001). In essence exploration is destined to generate "discovery of phenomena which in social science might be a group, activity, situation, or process" [and] consist on "the first step in the scientific process, which if followed, leads ultimately to an adequately empirically supported, or confirmed, generalization about that phenomenon, possibly one so solid as to constitute a scientific fact" (Stebbins, 2015, chap. 5). According to the same author (2001, p. 3):

> Social science exploration is a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life. Such exploration is, depending on the standpoint taken, a distinctive way of conducting science- a scientific process- a special methodological approach (as contrasted with confirmation), and a pervasive personal orientation of the explorer. The emergent generalizations are many and varied; they include the descriptive facts, folk concepts, cultural artefacts, structural arrangements, social processes and beliefs and belief systems found there.

"The outcome of these procedures and the main goal of exploratory research is the production of inductively derived generalizations about the group, process, activity or

[36] The third condition for exploration is when the issue "has grown to maturity along the continuum described in Figure 1 but has changed so much along the way that it begs to be explored anew"(Stebbins, 2001 p. 9) condition does not apply to the area of SE, which is still a novel sector in terms of scientific maturity.

situation under study" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 6). After that, the researcher weaves these generalizations together to form grounded theory or theory that emerges from data.

3.2 Validity and reliability in exploratory studies

How does validity operate in exploration? Glaser & Strauss, (1967) argue that the generalizations emerging from exploratory data do not constitute proof of the validity of those generalizations. Validity in exploration differs from validity in confirmation. "Validity in exploration centers on the need to gain an accurate or true impression of the phenomenon under study"(Stebbins, 2001, p. 25). This is it because the aim of exploration is to elaborate "hypotheses, tentative generalizations about a group, process, activity or situation being studied. These hypotheses…must eventually be verified, as when they are tested in a research design expressly created for this purpose"[37](Glaser and Strauss, 1967 cited in Stebbins, 2001, p. 25).

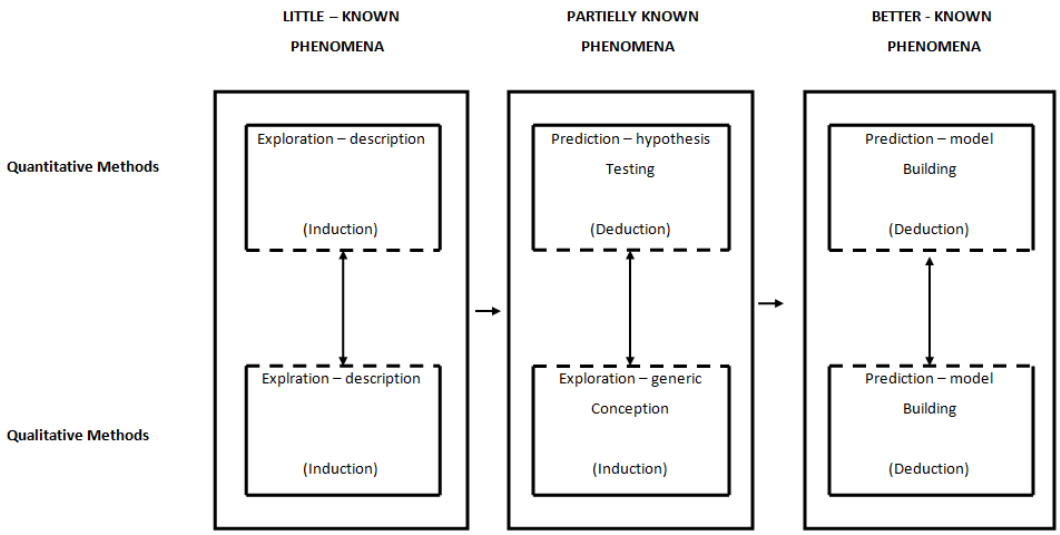
Regarding reliability, in exploration it "refers to replicability, to whether another researcher with similar methodological training, understanding of the research setting and rapport with its members can make similar observations "(Stebbins, 2001, p. 25). In situations like the ones observed in this work the type of rapport can be very relevant. So is the flexibility to adapt to the different settings, since every organization is a world of its own in spite the common goals they share. At the same time, as will be seen in the following paragraphs of the methodology, the maturity of the researcher will play a definitive role in obtaining the information in contexts like these, in which the levels of vulnerability among the human relationships are rather high. There is an important number of immaterial skills and aptitudes operating in a study of this nature. They are mainly related to emotional intelligence and maturity, two key aspects as well in the creation of any SE or SER.

[37] Stebbins (2001, p. 26) explains:"Validity in exploration is, in at least one way, substantially different from that in confirmation. In the first, concern lies with the explorer's capacity to acquire directly an accurate impression of a group, process, activity or situation, whereas in the second, concern lies with the investigator's capacity to find measures and indices that indirectly convey an accurate impression of this phenomena. In fact, compared with confirmation validity, exploration validity is more easily resolved".

3.3 The role of concatenation in exploratory studies

How can the open-ended character of any exploratory work with its inconclusive and ungeneralizable conclusions be countered? It has to be done in the medium- or even long-term process of research; that is, it has to be done through the concatenation of studies. The term concatenation or concatenated exploration, firstly coined by Stebbins in 1992[38], "refers at once to a research process and the resulting set of field studies that are linked together, as it were in a chain leading, to cumulative grounded or inductively generated theory" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 12).

Figure 1: The relationship of qualitative and quantitative methods



Source: Stebbins (2001, p.7)

Figure 1 shows the evolution of the scientific process. On the left side of the figure, it can be seen that exploration can be both qualitative and quantitative but applied to little-known phenomena. In both cases it takes the form of induction. When the chain of studies continues over the same issue, "over the course of several studies…in concatenated fashion with reference to the earlier ones"(Stebbins, 2001, p. 6), it becomes a partially

[38]For more information see, Concatenated exploration: Notes on a neglected type of longitudinal research. *Quality and Quantity*, 26, 435-442

known phenomenon. In this moment the quantitative studies will focus on the prediction and testing of hypothesis (in form of deduction) and the qualitative ones on exploration and elaboration of generic conceptions (in form of induction). In fact, the present work moves between the first and the second chart in the qualitative framework, since some areas of SE touched by this study already are little or partially known. The "movement across Figure 1 is paralleled by an expansion of the grounded theory and the development of generic or overarching concepts" (Prus, 1987).

Stebbins (2001,p. 6-7) continues:

> The far right side of the Figure 1 represents the final stages of the scientific process as seen in a coherent grounded theory about a reasonable range of related phenomena. At this point, concern is chiefly with enhancing precision of the theory, processes commonly pursued through prediction, quantification, and heavy reliance in inferential statistics.

Concatenation of studies is not very frequent although possible and desirable. Its realization, according to Stebbins (2001) brings about the following advantages. First it serves to refute the charge that qualitative research consists chiefly of ungeneralizable case studies in the sense that a chain of qualitative case studies steadily expands the range of applicability as well as the level of validity of the accumulating findings from each component of the field investigation. Second it capitalizes on the cumulative expertise of those who do it. Third some qualitative researchers pay too much attention to individuals and not to the social processes and relationships in which the individuals are involved. In that sense, longitudinal exploration of a set of related groups or social processes helps correct such oversights by forcing researchers to recognize and compare these two basic sociological elements of human life.

In exploration results are, as explained before, ungeneralizable and inconclusive. But "inconclusiveness comes in degrees; research can be more or less inconclusive" and "the degree of inconclusiveness in exploratory research is reduced when the sample is highly representative and tentative generalizability is possible" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 40). Having this said, one of the aims of this work that was taken into account when elaborating the research project, was to obtain a sample as representative as possible. The selection of the SEs was based on the discoveries and research questions that emerged during the two main exploratory sessions that took place in India in 2003 and 2011 as set out in the Introduction of this thesis (see, p. 16).

In exploration it is important to note that some factors stand out dramatically in every organization and context. The realization of semi-structured interviews in depth according to Charmaz (2014), allows defining very much the peculiarities of each SE –that is the context, the personality or identity of the organization and the organizational stage of development (i.e., the age of the organization)- as well as the commonalities.

Exploration corrects the limitation of focusing just on recognized successful cases. The successful/failure concepts can be too simplistic for a thesis that is focusing on the processes of social change rather than on the quantitative dimensions of the latter. All the organizations selected are pursuing and have given proof of achieving social change in different degrees. “A dying project”, qualified in that manner by its SER (see Chapter Five) can provide highly valuable information about hindrances and contextual social resistances. At the same time it can show effective change and impact on the lives of those supported by it, which may lead to the question of how is success in the area of SE understood.

The aim of this procedure was to explore in the deepest sense of the term, starting from scratch with direct observation of reality and open-ended data from interviews.

“A Lucía le duele Haití,”

said by an Anse àPitres neighbor.

4

CHAPTER 4. CASE STUDY AYITIMOUN YO: THE EARLY STAGES OF AN SE

Case Study Ayitimoun yo: The early stages of an SE

4.1 Preliminary considerations

Ayitimoun yo [39](The Children of Haiti, a name chosen by the children themselves) -- from now on AYMY-- is the youngest SE in the sample. Founded by Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache in December 2010 and based in Anse à Pitres, a small village in the Southwest of the country bordering on Pedernales, a village in the Dominican Republic[40]. The fact of being based at the border implies a certain level of complexity taking into account the tense political relationships between both countries.

AYMY's mission consists of providing "a safe environment, adequate health support, and enough food for the children living in vulnerable conditions in the border area of Anse-à-Pitres and help strengthen the community where the children live". [41]The work that the SE has developed so far is focused on three areas. The home and seed of the SE, where currently 43 children [42]live and receive comprehensive attention; Education, which implies running a school with an inclusive strategy to favor the reincorporation of those children from the community already detached from the educative system. The school also offers one meal a day to all of them. This is especially significant for those who do not belong to AYMY and therefore do not have that need covered on a daily basis in their homes. In total 43 children of AYMY and 60 from the community receive educative attention. The final area is rural development, mainly in the form of training received by members of the community, having focused lately mainly on women. Approximately, the number of direct beneficiaries would rise to 143 people (including local workers, children and women involved in training activities).

Like in other SEs, AYMY is the main job provider in the area of Anse à Pitres, having developed a policy, which tries to give priority to Haitian people in high vulnerability situations. AYMY has 22 local workers and its bugdet is 5.000 euros per month, coming

[39]For more information see, www.aymy.org.
[40] Map available at http://www.mapmonde.org/central-america/dominican-republic/provincia-de-pedernales/anse-pitre-131519/
[41]Extracted fromwww.aymy.org
[42]There is always a certain degree of fluctuation in the number of children who receive assistance. Figures were calculated at the end of 2015. AYMY has so far never elaborated annual reports. Figures are calculated from informal consultation with the SER.

from private sources, most of them in the form of small contributions. So far there is no source of self-generated income. In a very critical moment for the sustainability of the SE, AYMY launched a crowdfunding operation [43]to build the home of the children, which raised 70.000 dollar. There are also foreign volunteers, some of them with very especific task. With the exception of two of them, volunteers do not receive any salary. One of AYMY's fundamental principles has been to avoid middle costs, allocating if possible all resources to the children, the mission of the SE. The payment of a small salary to the foreign volunteers is due to efficiency reasons, which will be later addressed.

The observation was carried out in two periods during 2015. The first time, from mid December 2014 until late January 2015.The second, during the first fortnight of December 2015. The return was considered necessary since during the first period, it was not possible to interview Lucía Lantero due to health issues. During the exploration, 28 interviews were carried out and many informal conversations with workers, volunteers, children and neighbors were held. Participation allowed involvement in occasions of the care of the children (looking after them in hospital) when it was necessary and develop relationships of friendship, during leisure time, which allowed observing the qualitative side of the care provided. Interviews with workers of traditional NGOs also provided information about the problems they face when implementing traditional aid approaches.

Governance of the SE is structured in two committees, one in Anse à Pitres and another one in Spain. The Spanish committee is mainly focused on funding activities and formed by Lucía Lantero's herself and members of her closest family, while the Haitian one is focused on concrete management and implementation issues. The Haitian director of the home is a member of the second committee, along with the permanent volunteers, they have weekly meetings.

[43]The crowdfunding operation was launched through www.indiegogo.com

4.2 Subjective processes of the SER in the founding experience

4.2.1.Preconditions: arrival and connection

Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache met in France while attending a course in permaculture[44]. Lucía's education allowed her to be in touch with people from different cultures since an early age. Having a strong personality and a highly developed sense of empathy since a child, as well as an environment of affective security, her leadership skills had clearly emerged during her childhood and youth. At school she was in charge of the activities destined to support abused women –the activity she liked most at school- and years later she promoted the creation of the Youth Food Movement, linked to Slow Food [45]. Having studied gastronomic sciences – a degree created by the founder of Slow Food Carlo Petrini-her studies helped her developed her concerns about sustainability. Her future involvement in the green party as well as the Slow Food Movement was apparently clear until she decided to join his friend Alexis who had decided to continue the permaculture activities for a few months with an NGO based in Anse à Pitres, Haiti. Thinking in retrospect Lucía Lantero recognized having a tendency throughout her life to choose the option, which had more weight, the one more meaningful. Generally assumed standards of professional success (having a well-paid job and a nice home) did not mean much to her.

Alexis Derache, sociologist, also interested in sustainability issues (mainly through permaculture and woofing [46]) had developed a certain degree of exposure travelling to Africa and South America. He describes those trips as an opportunity to reflect on the qualitative aspects of the aid in developing countries, emerging a conscious critics towards "heart without head" (Domínguez, 2010) projects, as well as a perception of the absence of neutrality in Western aid approaches, as an extension of subtle forms of colonization. The aspiration to be in deeper contact with local people was also found in him. Alexis

[44] "Permaculture is a system of agricultural and social design principles centered on simulating or directly utilizing the patterns and features observed in natural ecosystems". For more information, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Permaculture.
[45]For more information, see www.slowfood.com
[46] "World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms or Willing Workers on Organic Farms, is a loose network of national organizations that facilitate placement of volunteers on organic farms". For more information, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/WWOOF)

Derache contributions to AYMY have been essential for several years and in several forms to AYMY although currently detached from the running of the SE[47].

4.2.2.How it all started

While doing woofing in a farm in France, Alexis Derache read about a project of permaculture in Anse a Pitres in a newspaper he found by accident in that farm. He shared the information with Lucía Lantero, who intended to travel to Africa and later on to incorporate as a university teacher in Spain. Listening to her own internal aspirations, she decided to change her plan and go with him. Due to health issues, Lucía had to postpone her arrival in Haiti. It was Alexis Derache the one who first experienced disappointment with the NGO, theoretically involved in permaculture, mainly due to its distance towards the community. Such attitude, also affected the reforestation strategies, considering that these could be carried out without effective participation of the community. Let's briefly say that the researcher Williams (2011) describes Haiti as "once covered by forest, this country has been heavily logged and now mostly deforested…[being its]…environment…one of the most devastated in the world".

When Lucía arrived, they decided not to follow that initiative for not fitting their conceptions in development. In order to use time properly, Alexis decided to travel for a few days through the country while Lucía stayed in Pedernales to recover fully from her health issues.

In the meantime, she met some children who lived on the street, who could speak Spanish and who lived under conditions of exploitation, neglection and abuse, in Pedernales, the bordering village in the Dominican Republic. Some of these children spoke of *mi amo.* According to the Global Slavery Index (2017) Haiti and the Dominican Republic are the countries in the region of America with the highest percent of population in modern slavery. Frequently the slaves of the Dominican Republic have a Haitian nationality:

[47]Who is and who is not an SER in any given SE is not always clear to all concerned. That is, the lines of collaboration and leadership can be blurred in SEs, at least until they become more formally organized. In case of doubt, SERs tend to show signs of leadership since childhood although that dimension emerges just momentarily.

> In the Caribbean, limited job opportunities in Haiti leads many nationals to illegally cross the border with the Dominican Republic, where they live, work and sometimes perish in the sugarcane field *bateyes*. Conditionsreported include indebtedness to recruiters and employers, physical confinement in the work location, no rest days, lack of potable water, deception about terms of work, withholding of wages and unlawful overtime performed under the threat of deportation.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) [48] considers child slavery as "pervasive throughout Haiti" (2012). The same source affirms that UNICEF estimates that in Haiti there are,

> 225.000 children, primarily female between the ages of five and seventeen, living as *restaveks* [49]in Haiti…Their average workday lasts 10 to 14 hours…In addition to working long hours, these children are often physically, sexually, and verbally abused.

In a situation of moral shock, when discovering this reality, Lucía spoke with two people in the village who informed her that there was a committee to deal with child protection issues but it had remained inoperative for two years. In consequence, like in the origin of other SEs, there were organizations theoretically involved with the issue, which in real terms did not, drifting in a permanent situation of neglection of those street children. Their situation was like in other cases, seen, known and however brutal, normalized. When Alexis returned from his trip, he found a Lucía already committed with the children, who explained him that the children were the absolute priority and that "something had to be done for them". Like in other SEs cases, Lucía and Alexis initially tried to find support in local organizations, something eventually impossible due to inoperativity and lack of transparency reasons.

It will never be sufficiently underlined, the impact that discovering a situation like that of those children may have on a would-be SER. The shock, however, and that might be a distinctive feature of SERs, does not block or paralyze them at all. On the contrary, proactivity and extreme dedication explode to change their reality in a consistent manner.

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[48]For more information, see

http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/features/WCMS_187879/lang--en/index.htm

[49]According to the same source *restavek* is a creole word which literally means "to stay with". At present is considered "one of the worst names to be called in the Haitian society".

It is important not to overlook that those shocks lead to question every single aspect of the previous life[50].

4.2.3. Putting the magnifying glass on the initial moments

- *The urgent emergency of the emotional bond: love, affection and the brutal need to protect them.*

Very quickly, in the initial moments, the affective connection with the small group of kids emerged in the recognition that they were a priority. Lucía Lantero explains it,

> When you see a situation like the ones you see here you say, how am I not going to do it? …The feelings are a mixture of responsibility and affective bond, it is difficult to explain. The affective bond is there because you feel empathy, because you feel their pain, because everyone has been a child and everyone knows the need of a child to be hugged by his mother and everyone can imagine what it must be like to be on the street being a child.

The presence of affection and responsibility clearly stood out. But the decision to stay also has to do with a sense of urgency and the recognition of the brutality the child is exposed to. From that perspective, even if recognizing the future complexities that the decision may bring, the value of being able to preserve human rights at a very basic level, to protect them, helps them prevail and stay protected against the harm. It is a primary way to react, it is basic and rough, simply human protection. Lucía considered the value of her permanency in the following terms: "If I stay here, this child will not be raped". According to her testimony, one of the children she got involved with, was raped every night by an older man.

The long-term perspective was implicit in the decision to rent a home for them for two years in Anse à Pitres. They remembered the experience in the following terms:

[50] Lucía Lantero wrote a letter in the initial moments which allows understanding the moral challenges she was facing and the logic that would be later on followed by the SE. For more information, see http://www.eldiariomontanes.es/v/20101227/sociedad/destacados/ninos-haitianos-viven-horror-20101227.html

> On 2nd December we were drinking a beer on top of the roof and at nine or ten pm five kids arrived shouting, Lucía, Lucía, and we, amazed, looked at each other in the eyes and realized that something strong was starting.

A week later, in January fifteen 2011, they were already nine.

- *Initial moments: management in scarcity and overwhelming demands*

In the first house, Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache rented, they used to sleep on the roof. "The children woke up at six am shouting and there was not time for anything…so many things had to be done: look for internet connection, bring food, make the organization legal". Founding an SE creates a situation of tension and overwork that according to some SERs who have gone through it, they would not have been able to do if they had been older -especially at first-. Since looking after oneself becomes impossible, health may start to deteriorate from the very beginning.

The initial times are those moments of assuming the full weight of decisions without knowing the cultural environment. Therefore, the two qualified those initial moments as a "brutal learning period" in which they also learned how to organize themselves under extreme pressure. Extreme is also the nature of some of the decisions that had to be made, without time for reflection: "we felt the two loneliest people in the world". Loneliness and in some cases external or familiar oposition can be counteracted with strong conviction: the feeling of having found "something real" something worth fighting for.

- *Experience with street children*

The observation indicates, and this is not the first case, that SERs often do not have experience or formal education in the area of childcare. In this case, they had to start living together with street children, a reality that Alexis Derache describes in the following terms,

> [it] was madness, we did not have experience with children, [me] only in summer camps, but that is totally different; street children do not have rules…The first door [they had in the first rented home] was used as a closet to keep the food and the materials safe. We used to enter that closet to be able to speak…

In the process of loving them and protecting them in a way they had not experienced before, "many beautiful ideas about education" had to be discarded since their behaviors did not conform to the SERs beliefs: "the children were wild, they hit each other…wanted attention…never ate at the table". In the initial months, an aunt of Lucía Lantero visited them and taught them to eat at the table for the first time in their lives. In essence, it was a very tough period in which some of the kids did not trust and tested the strength and the love of the SERs to check if once again they were going to be abandoned. [51] It is also a period in which some sort of structure was introduced provisionally.

- *The paradox of those who show reality*

A paradoxical situation is observed in this case. Those children who revealed the reality to the SER unleashing the commitment were not the ones who indeed have benefitted more from the impact of the SE. From the group of the first kids, none of them was in the home that was built later. They simply could not adapt to a home with rules and went back to the street where they have been for too long. They would have needed an intermediate step that could not be offered by AYMY. Although this situation is sometimes felt by Alexis Derache as a failure, the affective bond that emerged in the initial moments remains and they are protected by the organization in practical terms. If one of them is ill, AYMY will take him to doctor. When one of them was threatened with being taken to Port-au-Prince, they went immediately to AYMY to find support. At Christmas 2014, they had a special dinner with the children of the home. The presence of the emotional bond becomes more apparent when Lucía is in Pedernales. Then the presence of a familiar relationship between her, her family and those boys can be observed. She is a clear reference to them and an expression of the continuity of the emotional bond.

- *Implications and evolution of the affective bond: questioning the sense of "what has been given to me"*

Affection is key and remains through long periods of time. It is at the base of the commitment achieved with the children and explains how they are cared and looked after. Therefore, it is not possible to speak about neutrality as Easterly (2013) points out. In any case, it is the same "neutrality" parents have towards their children. Positive involvement is

[51]Even after six years, the first thing the children ask when a volunteer goes to the project is "how long are you staying for?", in a sort of calculation of the emotional cost once the person leaves.

very high, like in a parental relationship. According to the data, there is reciprocity in the bond, and the children are loved as one's own, with all the implications that may have for the life of the SER: "They are my kids, they are as if they were my own kids and when they are fifty I will still worry about them. I love each of them". In essence, it is the same type of bond she experiences with her parents, who would help her at any point of her life if she needed it. That is why she tells the children, especially the older ones, "I can tell you off until you are one hundred years old" to which they reply, "we know it".

- *A released capacity to love*

The capacity appears in the form of predisposition towards the new ones. When the capacity to love them is already active, there is no need to know the child personally in order to experience that love. The capacity to love is already released. Lucía Lantero explains it:

> I loved them when I met them but I feel that I love them without knowing them. It might seem crazy but it is real, I love them already. If a child comes tomorrow for the first time, I love him already. I might not have a story with him like the one I have with the first ones, but it will be created [and] I already love him.

- *The role of a mother*

The children who grow up in the SE, tend to, automatically, give the SER the role of a father or a mother. This seems to be a normal reaction the SER does not have the capacity to oppose, just to adjust and manage as well as he or she can. The attribution of the role seems to be connected with the previous absence of physical or emotional security (sometimes both), by their original mothers or families. The child makes the SER a role model. A psychologist, who explained her the following, resolved Lucía Lantero's concerns about this issue when she felt overwhelmed: "If they need to feel that you are their mother, let them feel that you are their mother". It is not a question of objectivity or knowing the truth:"..they already know they have a mom". It is a question of feeling safe and accepting their need of those emotional references: "if they need to feel the bond of thinking that I am their mom, who I am to deny it?" At the same time this emotional reality exists. AYMY has been as proactive as possible to establish and recover relationships with the biological mothers, in order to avoid uprooting.

Even during the initial years of the organization, a certain evolution in the emotional bonds can be observed. The transition of the roles seems to be related to the acquisition of capacities by the local team and the increasing sense of security that the kids perceive in them. Whereas the figure of Lucía as a mother remains untouched, some children have started to affirm that the local director is their father, and not Alexis Derache. According to Lucía Lantero, the local director already has a passport and therefore can cross the border between both countries; he can increasingly solve issues and speaks French, Creole, and Spanish. To an important extent, in this case, the transition of the parental role works as an indicator of the empowerment process that is taking place inside the SE. In the case of the first children, the ones who have developed a deeper relationship with the founder, it is doubtful that the link will disappear. Observation shows that when the SE evolves in time, new children are received and sometimes they do not know the SER so well. In those cases, the most logical thing is to understand that the link will emerge with local workers. Therefore, empowering them is key not only to manage the SE but also to cover and support the emotional needs of the children.

- *The affective bond and the capacity to read reality, intuition, empathy and openness*

Lucía recognizes that having such a strong connection with the reality that surrounds them that in some moments it can be overwhelming. Apparently, it seems connected to the affection felt for the community, and not just for the actual children directly involved in the SE, and to an extreme development of empathy and intuition. As she explains, "you don't know the trouble people are going through, but you feel it". The emotional connection developed with the community means being very conscious of the reality without needing physical data. It is the capacity to "read the faces" which makes them understand without translation. At times the connection can be "too intense, [since] you cannot help so many people and be exposed in a place in which there is so much pain". Here in Haiti you always live "in present tense" which makes you stay "always connected". That can bring the SER to a point of saturation in which "you don't want to be connected anymore…You can get afraid of your own capacity to know, to feel [what happens to the people]". Recalling what happened to her in a moment of exhaustion, Lucía Lantero explains that at a certain moment "I decided to cut my intuition and I ended up in hospital".

- *Affective bond, guilt and remorse*

The level of connection can lead to guilt and remorse. Here is an example of how the process works:

> And old man looks at you and later on you discover that he came to speak with you because his son was ill but he did not dare talk with you because he saw you were busy but you stared at him and saw his expression of anguish. The following day you ask about him and you find out [what happened to him] and you think if I had paid more attention…It is impossible because there is no capacity to manage everything but the incredible thing is that you remember him.

This type of situations overcome the SER because of the quantity of cases and the limitation of the resources. And Lucía Lantero continues:

> It is not a question of ego: it is not because you think you can do everything, but is assuming that if I had focused on that person or baby he could be alive because very often they have simple things that can be healed with serum. [It is] the fact of not having multiplied yourself, not having given priority, not having known…

For some founders, it is indeed very difficult to place limits. In trying times, like after the fourth dengue fever, Lucía Lantero thought she had to establish them. But once she came back from the hospital, it was impossible to maintain those limits. Guilt can also be related to having made mistakes, usually with the best intention especially in the initial times, a period during which the assimilation of information is very high.

- *Affective bond and the impossibility to separate: see life through the eyes of them*

Some events reveal to what extent SEs are "life projects" in the sense that it becomes very difficult to separate them from the personal life, a feature already observed by Barendsen and Gardner (2004). The situation experienced by Lucía Lantero when she gave birth to her first baby and she was kept in the unit of intensive care, reveals how events of personal life are perceived through the eyes of the commitment acquired, a fact that increases empathy and the capacity to commit to new areas. That is, personal events work as catalysts revealing new areas where commitment is based on an emotional bond and through the reception of emotions. Precisely, her experience at the hospital made her realize,

> the luck of living in countries with hospitals and means in which life is given a value. [It also made me] think of all the mothers in Haiti that at a certain point had had to give their kids away because they could not look after them. There is nothing worse than to see your kids suffer. Until that moment I had not been aware of the level of horror that it must be that is why I wanted so much to return and work with the [women], to protect them more.

This example shows the nature of the connection of the founder with the mission. A mission amplified through the discovery of new levels and realities of vulnerability. Founders may function at a deeper level of perception as long as they remain connected with the mission. Personal painful events can be channeled into proactive strategies in the SE. This can also have an exhausting dimension. In her return after giving birth, Lucía Lantero established a series of training activities with the women of Anse à Pitres.

- *Affective bond: questioning the traditional framework of social responsibility*

The sense of responsibility and commitment of SERs implies a free, conscious and sensible choice based on the free will about how life is lived. In Lucía Lantero, thankfulness for all the good things received in life is observed (love, education, health, the capacity to face and solve problems in life), as well as the recognition of life as merely temporary. This aspect seems to be connected to the use that is given to that life and summarized in the question, how do I want to use me, and all that has been given to me? SERs expand emotional bonds and what is more defining, a sense of responsibility, beyond the traditional familiar circles, to those who were unknown before creating the SE, embodying a sense of brotherhood due to the altruistic dimension, undoubtedly always present. The expansion of traditional borders of responsibility is explained by Lucía Lantero, who considers that,

> the use that one gives to one's life is not going to be measured only in terms of the amount of affective bonds created with the closest ones (something which can be difficult enough) but also in the fact of trying to leave something yours behind, in the way you wear yourself down, in the way you use yourself.

The fact of consciously using one's own life for the sake of others beyond the immediate familiar seems a feature common in all SERs, religious or secular.

- *Intuition, decisions and trascendence*

Lucía Lantero expressed once "I still do not know what I am doing, it is only intuition, it is only love". When asked about the importance she gave to intuition, she qualified it as extreme. Something she connected with the fact of not having references to understand the society in which an SER gets automatically involved and where decisions with wide ranging consequences for others have to be made, sometimes recognizing the uneasy feeling of “playing to be god”, and underlining the stress of “the loneliness of the decisions”.

The importance repeatedly given to intuition reveals to what extent rationality does not suffice and actually the decision of funding surpasses it. A volunteer of the SE explains that from the very beginning, logic was not a priority in the decisions taken,

> …who welcomes six children giving them a project of life?...and does it at the age of 26?...one day they found six children at the street and they carried them on their backs indefinitely…there was no expiry date…[I think] it was not a conscious decision for none of them, they were instruments, things were made through them…It is [a matter of] docility to the intuition…Trusting that intuition allows you not giving up.

This secular volunteer who had observed overcoming a crisis by the SE continues connecting intuition with something else, religious people would say divine providence, that helps overcoming obstacles when the right thing -clearly for others in the case of SEs- is made:

> …this is not mathematics…but if you are doing what you have to do, not what you choose to do but what you have to do, in the end things happen and they happen not because you control them…if you are doing what is right, because you feel it is right, it surpasses rationality…

In essence she speaks of the subordination of one’s own conscience for the sake of others. Then, things happen or find their way. Religious SERs will explain similar features in the ACOES chapter. A religious SER who also supported AYMY in critical moments underlined the importance of “doing your part first” without paying too much attention to the obstacles, however “big” they may seem.

Lucía Lantero recognizes the relevance of the spiritual dimension in the sense that it nurtures her, although she does not need to base her, let's say "work", on it. She defines

her values as extremely "internalized", without needing to refer to a concrete religious background or a matter of faith. She also admits not being the main protagonist, receiving an energy that does not belong originally to her. As in other cases that positive interference for the sustainability of the SE shows in concrete examples like the fact of receiving exactly the amount they desperately needed by someone who did not know about the emergency of the situation ("it is magic"). There are also visits from certain people, which happen in what turn out to be key moments for the SE (the short visit of a cousin planned several months in advance to record a video which coincides with the existence of the refugee camps close to Anse à Pitres). The recognition of such events makes her understand they are the channel of something bigger than themselves (Durieux, 2011). The capacity to maintain the connection to that energy is related to a sense of "self-criticism" and "self observation", to remain internally "clean" in the intentions detached from "egos" or "your own things…in order to be able to continue".The maintenance of that internal cleanness is connected by her with the sustainability of the SE in the long run.

4.3 How the organization works

4.3.1 The wide perspective of the SE and the long-term commitment

Unlike the fragmentation approach shared by traditional development projects which usually develop in a relatively shorter period of time, Lucía Lantero explains a feature observed in other SEs. The commitment is not with a particular project, it is with a whole community –one so far- in the sense of remaining as long as necessary to change the atmosphere and all what that aim requires, i.e. creation of opportunities so that they can live with dignity. As in other SEs, it is an effort sustained in time in the direction of dignity. This obviously implies the development different processes of cultural transformation, which will be later explained. Lucía affirms:

> I try to generate the favorable atmosphere so that they can be dignified human beings, [so] that they can live with dignity and they are able to live, not just to survive and be elements of construction for their own people and improve the life conditions of those who will marry them and their own children and neighbors. That means that I have to create a society that will accept them, where they can have opportunities, and they must give example, have empathy [towards others]. [I must] create a space where they can introduce themselves, where they can have an economic option.That makes me think of a lot of homework, of a long term [process] I cannot stop…

The relevance of staying for long periods of time is not only key to achieve social transformation. In many conversations with Haitians involved with the SE in different degrees, they underline the fact that the other organizations (traditional NGOs) “do not stay with them”. In essence, trust is broken because from their point of view they see them making a profit and leaving, without sharing, without getting to know what happens to them, without getting really implicated in their daily realities. It could be argued that the demand to stay may come from Haitian organizations or people related to them, but the truth is that those who affirm this, do not belong to the development system in any form and could not benefit from it in any way. They are too humble. It does not matter how much corruption foreign traditional NGOs find among the organizations, and they do, in terrific and almost unbelievable amounts. In Anse à Pitres, there are many people who do not belong to the aid industry. A lower level of people who will never have access to those structures, who suffer and who through the years have witnessed that they cannot expect anything from them, who see a permanent dance of professionals coming and going with much higher life standards. This detachment is clearly observed in the video “LosFantasmas de Fond Jeannette”[52], elaborated by a cousin of Lucía Lantero. The humility of the people from Anse à Pitres does not prevent them from detecting when an organization is devoted or even open to a community or not. They see it over time. Such is the case of one of the organizations based in the village for several years. Very humble people are perfectly able to detect if the mission is done.

4.3.2 Openness to reality

SEs have an attitude of openness inspired by their members, very much related to the affective bond with the community and the difficulty in placing limits. In essence, successful SEs tend to become a cell of the reality in which they were born. Conceived to serve that community, they get involved with real people and work to promote their emancipation over a long period of time, following several initiatives involving local people in the process. Openness seems to be connected to the strength in which the mission is lived inside the SE. In dying projects or those with intense internal trouble, it is more difficult to detect it. Openness is problematic because no organization can do everything and the risk of dispersion is real. Some SEs try to live openness according to certain

[52]Video available at https://vimeo.com/155996197?from=outro-embed.

matrix lines, such as education, and expand their strategies as much as they can; that is, giving opportunities to as many people as possible. However, in contexts of extreme poverty such as Haiti, it is very tough to say no. As Lucía Lantero puts it: [if you don't do it] "where can you send them?". The perception of being alone does not have to do with the lack of NGOs. It has to do with the recurrent absence of effective and accurate responses by those organizations due to lack of knowledge, commitment or to being trapped in not very honest nets created by local organizations [53].

Openness starts the moment in which the needs of the children become the center. Openness is challenging, opening space for new moral demands, but it also works as a constituent factor that helps soften and legitimize the relationships with the community. It is what makes local people perceive that you really care, that you are there for them. Lucía Lantero describes openness in the following way:

> You are here in a situation of absolute privilege, [so] when you are in that situation, there are not barriers towards what you can be responsible for, at least that is the way I see it. I feel responsible for all those things I could have done and I did not. In the moment in which you don't feel responsible [for the people] anymore, you are not useful here.

Openness emerges naturally. It seems the natural way to relate with the local people, without placing preconceived filters or distance, in an honest interaction with reality: "We never stop, we are always in movement, always doing things and then you meet people who need you". This attitude springs from the fact of being truly involved every day. And it does not require looking for drama: "people turn to you, they know you. I have never gone house by house searching for extreme cases. I wish I had because that would mean that there are just a few".

[53] A volunteer who worked for a traditional NGO stresses the incapacity to detect honest local organizations to work with, the lack of a real sense of appropriation by the country regardless of the alignment with the national policies, the lack of support from national authorities in cases of dishonesty of local organizations, the widespread aid dependency and the dysfunctional framework elaborated by the official aid system in which the recipient country is the most interested in the correct implementation of the development policies. There is interest, but clearly not linked to the common welfare.

- *Implications of openness*

Openness can be problematic. Its daily exercise can easily lead to exhaustion: "Lucía is known in Banan [a village relatively far from Anse à Pitres], where [at the beginning] she went to help as well, she wanted to help everybody and that is impossible". Openness implies dealing with reality, a moral sense of obligation, resources and even the physical strength of the body. That's why openness can often be related to illness and lack of planning. However, several SERs seem to have gone through this process wanting to help everybody. Openness is a highly distinctive organizational skill of SEs that has to be learned and balanced. It is very much related to listening. AYMY shows implication of openness in simple cases in the daily life, as a strategy that touches the main core of the organization, or as a way to respond to alarming situations of vulnerability (like in the displacement camps close to Anse à Pitres).

- *Daily life examples*

As a result of a car crash, a Haitian child got a head injury. The doctor who assisted the child prescribed medicines that no one could pay. Alexis Derache was at the hospital at that moment looking after one of the AYMY's boys who suffered from asthma. He paid for the medicines. There have also been several cases in which unrelated people to AYMY were sent to Barahona's hospital in the Dominican Republic paying for the transport in ambulance. During the second phase of observation, one night Lucía was called by the hospital in Pedernales where there was a Haitian mother with her severely malnourished child. She covered the expenses and the price of the ambulance to send the child to Barahona's hospital in order to try to save his life. The mother could not breastfeed him and the baby, only months old, had been fed just with rice for several months.

- *Strategic openness*

AYMY's school in Anse à Pitres represents openness in the form of strategy, reaching all those children not accepted by the traditional school that existed in the village. "The most rewarding thing has been to open the project to the community", explains the volunteer in charge.

AYMY's school emerged from an initial situation of exclusion against AYMY's children and has been transformed into a tool to increase opportunities for the excluded kids of the whole community. AYMY's children initially went to a normal school where they were discriminated because of coming from an orphanage, so the SE decided to create their own school in 2012-2013, following the standard Haitian educational program. At a certain point, Alexis Derache met an organization that was working in Port-au-Prince which had a program of accelerated pedagogy and which implied fulfilling primary education in a period of three years instead of six. Many kids are not able to finish the primary education or they are too old when they do it (around seventeen) so they are not accepted in conventional schools to continue with their studies. Besides, education in Haiti is privatized, and thus unaffordable for many families[54]. The NGO provided AYMY with two teachers to implement that system of accelerated pedagogy. A year later, this NGO left Haiti and AYMY managed to absorb the two teachers who knew the accelerated methodology in a clear example of absorption of capacities under their own budget.

Now, AYMY's school is open to the community: 43 kids from AYMY and 60 from the village receive the accelerated education program. The school has overcome a process of double exclusion: the kids from AYMY due to their origins and those detached from the system. If local schools were working properly, this type of accelerated methodology would not be needed. Opening the school to the community children, revealed a new degree of need, a new commitment from AYMY.

Some children from the community could not learn because they were malnourished, and therefore they stayed on the same level for several years (some of them just ate once every three days, according to the teachers). The so far affordable solution for AYMY was to feed all the kids at school once a day, according to the existing budget. The challenge now is to increase it, in order to provide the community children breakfast as well, a key meal to favor the learning process and motivate punctuality of those who do not belong to AYMY, a cultural revolution on its own. This case also shows the need to go back to simplicity. Experts in development tend to recommend complex recipes that often only they can understand. But reality, when connected to the needs of

[54]Families with an average of five children can apply for grants but these are unstable, which means that a normal family should pay around 120 euros at once to have one child enrolled.

the people, is much simpler. The challenge is having access to an extra meal, so that the children can perform in class. With this regard the volunteer in charge explains:

> The fundamental thing is that you have the capacity to adapt and break the previous mental scheme. There are obviously self-made expectations when you know the organization mainly externally, and soon you realize the need is different from the one you thought you would cover…That capacity to readapt and read the reality with more depth and realism is what allows giving responses to what daily emerges [covering] the most immediate need.

This must not lead to thinking that SEs do not have a perspective or do not know what to achieve, as if everything was a matter of improvisation and good intentions. But it means that in order to achieve those very same aims, it is important a high degree of detachment from the own expectations and an assumed way of working because once the real needs are discovered- and these are usually more basic than expected- there is an implicit recognition that a more technical approach would not work. In essence, it is about facilitating a cultural change which requires persistence in order to establish a different learning atmosphere. In this sense the achievement of very basic things such as being punctual, understanding of the causes and avoidance of absenteeism and avoiding objects which may be dangerous for the children in the playground become essential.

Cultural transformation is not only related to the children, it affects the local teachers, too, who are new to the conceptions of the SE and who are requested to gradually implement a new mentality of work. An anecdote, which happened during the observation shows how deeply rooted some principles may be in spite of a theoretically agreed acceptance of the new ones. At seven am, just before the class, there is the flag ceremony, which lasts 30 minutes. The traditional way of working is that when the child is not present at the ceremony, he or she is not allowed to enter the class the whole morning. But in this school, there is an agreed new rule that when the child arrives late to the ceremony, he will not be allowed only during the first hour .The day in which this interview was made, when the volunteer arrived, there were two dozen children waiting outside because they were late and this was after the first hour of class. The traditional Haitian educational system has a high degree of rigidity, which is clearly internalized at all levels. Working in a traditional way implies that the mission of this school cannot be achieved. That is why the role of a permanent volunteer is essential for permanently promoting those transformations. Classes in Haiti tend to be passive with an absence of dynamics or ludic

activities, instead promoting memorization as the main learning strategy. A high degree of social intelligence is required from the end of the volunteer to show the teachers respect but at the same time, that there is a great variety of ways to teach which definitely have better results than traditional ones (the only ones they until recently knew). All this shows the kind of constant fight SERs and volunteers encounter in transforming reality to create real opportunities for the children, i.e, so that local people create real opportunities for own their children. However, in spite of difficulties, in the first promotion, ten children out of thirteen passed the national exams of primary education. All these attainable changes could not be achieved without long-term permanency, an arrangement the importance of which cannot be underestimated. In the case of the volunteer, her decision to expand her stay was due to the fear of destabilization that could jeopardize what has been reached so far. Further positive expectations come with the construction of the own school (current installations are placed on a piece of land owned by the church), which will favor a new degree of stability in order to protect the results. Besides, AYMY has signed a collaboration agreement with the Real Madrid Foundation[55], which allows both AYMY and the school children to properly play football twice a week. The complementarity with the foundation allows the SE to gradually develop a more comprehensive education covering more aspects of the personality of the kids. There is a certain degree of openess and flexibility allowing other children of the villlage not originally included in the program to play with them in order to avoid exclusion. Openess can have very concrete dimensions.

This is a clear example of a successful strategy, which has transformed reality, but sometimes reality does not allow developing openness in a specific sector. AYMY has had three girls under its protection, the only cases they could take care of. Slavery of girls is a hidden problem in the area, compared with the situation of the boys in the same situation, which is more evident. Girls are usually kept inside the houses of the Dominican Republic, remaining invisible. Developing a strategy of openness in that area would require investigating where the girls are kept, and enter the houses, something for which any organization would require an important level of institutional collaboration or legitimacy. Although the organization is willing to do it, that level of institutional collaboration has not been achieved yet.

[55]For more information, see http://www.realmadrid.com/en/about-real-madrid/foundation

- The Dominican Republic ethnical cleasing: Parc Cadeau and Fond Jeannette, two displacement camps in the area of Anse à Pitres

In certain moments the maintenance of openness can be a fundamental moral principle, however overwhelming for an SER it might be, and although all the SE members are fully aware that the solution of the problem does not depend on them, they can only mitigate it very slightly. The tension and "racial animosity" between Haiti and the Dominican Republic "dates back to the colonial period before Juan Pablo Duarte and the Trinitaria founded the republic in 1844" (Nichols, 2015). According to Katz (2016),

> People of Haitian descent make up by far the largest ethnic minority in the Dominican Republic, though stimates of their numbers vary widely, from half a million to more than a million, out of a country population of 10.4 million…[these] *haitianos* are frequent targets of discrimination.

In the Dominican Republic…"anti-haitianismo has always been a political tool for scapegoating social problems" (Nichols, 2015). Besides, as AYMY members affirm, the education does not favor understanding between both countries. "The mass deportations"…also qualified as "ethnic cleasing" started in the summer of 2015. In the Dominican Republic there were approximately "200.000 undocumented residents of Haitian descendents" susceptible to deportation (Nichols, 2015). In January 2016, according to Katz (2016), the Dominican authorities declared to have deported 14.000 *haitianos*. The same source explains "70.000…have become voluntary migrants of the least voluntary sort, fleeing an atmosphere of fear and confusion created by ever-shifting laws, vague threats, byzantine registration programs and spasms of racial violence". The origins of the conflict (Katz, 2016),

> …stemmed from a court case filed in 2008 by Juliana Deguis Pierre, a Dominican of Haitian descent whose local civil registry in the central Dominican province Monte Plata refused to issue her a national ID card. Deguis claimed the bureaucrats discriminated against her because she had dark skin and a Francophone name — markers of Haitian identity. The case eventually arrived at the Constitutional Court, a high court created in 2010 to interpret constitutional law. In one of its first major rulings, the court decided in 2013 that Deguis should never have been a citizen in the first place because her parents did not have enough documentation to prove legal residency before Deguis was born.
>
> Using the same reasoning, the court determined that anyone born to undocumented immigrant parents was not a citizen —revoking for them the guarantee of birthright citizenship written into the Dominican Constitution in1865. All those newly minted

> foreigners, as well as actual undocumented immigrants, were then ordered to register with the government in what became known as the “regularization plan,” or face expulsion. Nearly everyone affected was of Haitian descent. The 2013 ruling became known simply as la sentencia: the verdict.

Many of these *haitianos* (some of them were interviewed)settled in the surroundings of Anse à Pitres before the end of the summer of 2016 in the camps of Parc Cadeau, closer to Anse à Pitres and Fond Jeannette, further from AYMY (between two and two and a half hours by car). The situation of the refugees at the moment in which the observation was made, can be qualified as extreme vulnerability with no access to drinkable water, food or prospect of a solution to their problems in the near future. Katz (2016) describes the situation of Parc Cadeau in the following manner:

> The conditions were worse than anything I saw in the Port-au-Prince displacement camps after the 2010 earthquake, which attracted the attention-for better and for worse-of a flotilla of aid groups, nongovernmental organizations, and foreign militaries, as well as the Haitian government. When it came to the people fleeing into Haiti, though, the same organizations did not seem to know what to do…

Apart from the moral duty, which leads AYMY to react and help however possible, the eventual death of the parents of the children who live in the displacement camps would cause a probable increase in the number of children hosted by AYMY, although their legal situation remains unclear. Lucía Lantero explains the commitment achieved in the following way:

> You don't give up, but you are conscious of the limitation of resources, that they are for the kids so that they live with the minimum conditions, they don't live like princes. That goes first, but you continue searching for ways to help in whatever it comes.

At the moment in which the observation was made, AYMY volunteers used to distribute food especially in the camp of Fond Jeannette once every two weeks, according to the existing budget. Being the camp relatively far from any community, with extremely difficult accessibility conditions, it was the least visited by any NGO. The video “Los fantasmas de Fond Jeannette” (see, p. 139) reflects clearly the conditions of the population as well as the indifference from the institutions, corroborating Katz’s (2016) perspective.

Openness means not only to distribute resources, or search for them. It also means to get implicated in defense of the most basic human rights, when something can actually be done, even if the legal boundaries are not clear or have to be crossed. Here is an example. The legal responsibility of AYMY with regard to the kids is clear and delimited. But some situations, like the one suffered by a four-year-old girl from the displacement camp, clearly shows the need to breach that limit to defend life. In one of the visits to the camp, the nurses who are volunteering said that one four-year-old had to be taken to the hospital or she would not survive. Security forces (UUNN) at the beginning did not want to bring her down to the hospital in their own vehicles due to security and bureaucratic reasons; Although they are very supportive in general terms, moving individual people may affect their mandate.

So there takes place the first argument with them and the SER Lucía Lantero. They finally took the child to bring her to the hospital to Pedernales, which implied traveling for several hours until reaching the Haitian border and crossing the Dominican one. Crossing that second border with the Haitian girl (i.e. introducing her into the Dominican Republic) is in principle not allowed, so one volunteer of AYMY in good relationships with the Dominican security forces had to intervene, explaining the situation and they finally let them pass with the girl. Once at the Dominican hospital the doctor asks if the girl is Haitian because if she is, she cannot be treated, which provokes the second argument with the doctor this time. Finally, a pediatrician starts checking her. When trying to perform a hemogram the blood did not come out so the doctors wanted to leave her instead of keeping on trying. Lucía Lantero insisted, and after 40 minutes they finally found blood.

After the medical check, the girl was taken to the house of one the workers of AYMY in Haiti, an old woman to whom money was be given (extra budget) so that she could look after her and feed her properly during two weeks. In that time, the recovery was impressive. During those two weeks, another volunteer took her to the hospital to continue with the medical checking (HIV and others). After those two weeks, they had to bring her back to the camp. Lucía Lantero summarized this process in a very simple way: "If the mother had means, she would do it, but she cannot do it, so, who can do it? You. And if you do not do it, what happens?: the girl dies. It is that simple".

- Adjustment of budget due to openness

It is timely to ask about the impact of AYMY's openness on its budget. In order to preserve the main mission of the organization, many events that happen unexpectedly are supported by the private money of those who started the SE. Otherwise, it would be impossible to cover those extra needs. The price of sending a child to Barahona (to a better hospital) by ambulance is around 200 euros. The money spent on food for the refugee camp also comes from their pockets and extra donations. As a result, some members permanently involved have never stopped putting some of their own money.

4.3.3 Human resources: the principle of sharing andprotectingvulnerable people

In the process of hiring human resources altruism is present as well, trying to share as much as possible all the goods available. AYMY's local team has got twenty-two people, having become the main job provider in the village. Lucía Lantero explains:

> You cannot invent jobs that the organization does not need but you can divide the work and this way two people will have a salary. Positions could be reduced but this way you are giving work to more people. In the end, AYMY is the main local enterprise, the one that creates more jobs.

In the hiring process, another qualitative dimension can be included, which is, the capacity to detect and protect against extreme vulnerability: a worker has a daughter that due to a syndrome she endures, finds herself highly unprotected and she has been raped several times; It is a case of extreme poverty and vulnerability. Mother and daughter did not have a home. AYMY's job improves that situation and the mother's previous working conditions.

4.3.4 Towards a more horizontal power

The SEs observed tend to have a more horizontal sense of power. That horizontality is very much related to the complexity, the scarcity and ultimately to the need to create something out of nothing. In these contexts, it would be impossible to achieve results otherwise. "No man is an island" and using the image of having to cross a river without having a bridge built, it is necessary that people work and get organized in a sort of a chain, in which each person works as a necessary link. Horizontal power does not exclude the vertical kind. Decisions need to be made and references to be established, so

horizontal and vertical powers coexist. But an SE is necessarily the result of a sum of collaborations and the horizontal dimension can be very clearly observed in the initial years. In the case of AYMY, the committees were established in the fourth year of functioning of the SE. So in the first ones, although there was a clear idea of what had to be done, the lines of authority were very flexible. In older SEs, the structure probably tends to become more rigid. Recognizing the importance of horizontal power implies being willing to recognize the value of essential collaborations, maintaining an attitude of openness towards people the founder may not particularly like:

> There are some people that I don't particularly like and they don't know it because what I see is what they do for AYMY. But they have a freedom to leave if they want to, and I do not have that.

So that horizontal power works, it is necessary to have a correspondence between the personality, skills, and expectations of the volunteer and the concrete task. One of the volunteers of AYMY was given the task of leading the building team of the home for the children. Having taken his higher education in Europe -Political Science- with brilliant results and with some professional experience, he was in charge of leading a group of Haitian workers, with whom no cultural or emotional bonds existed. The construction process evolved quietly at a good pace without conflicts. When asked about how he managed to create that atmosphere of collaboration, he spoke of being "humble" while he was working hard with them. He also explained that he had always had a group of male friends in his hometown and therefore he knew "how men function and are". He also looked after them proactively- if someone needed medicines, he would try to get them for them- developing a sense of trust, protection and collaboration among them. It is doubtful that the working process would have gone so smoothly without those personal capacities and skills. Not being humble, something that can be easily noticed among the Haitian society due to their cultural sensitivity, could have easily jeopardized the project. It is striking the relevance of the emotional intelligence skills as well as previous life experiences.

Horizontal power also interacts with openness to reality and can be exercised by the children. Some children who already belonged to AYMY invited others to the home. Their social networks and capacity to recognize is always much wider than the one any foreign volunteer or SER will have. They also have more time to interact in informal ways

(they invited another child they knew while playing football with him). This “chain effect” has become very intense and distinctive in SEs like ACOES. Having the capacity to preserve that openness may become more necessary when the SE gets older.

4.3.5 Volunteering instead of professional workers

In the case of AYMY, the approach that favors only volunteers for running the organization became apparent in the initial moments of the arrival, when the operations of the professionalized official development system was witnessed revealing a lucrative industry that mainly benefitted those directly involved in it. In the origins of AYMY it was very clear that an alternative way of working needed to be created, giving priority to two factors. First, all the resources would be for the local people, including the remunerated jobs of the local team: "we wanted the money to go directly to the people here. We did not want to spend anything on silly things. Some local people in Haiti still don't believe [that we are volunteers]", explained Alexis. The SERs of the sample tend to avoid middle institutions. They get personally involved in the search for funds. Private funding gives a degree of freedom and stability rarely found in public funding. Private support tends to be “more faithful”, according to the SER Rafael Selas.

The second reason why foreigners have to remain as volunteers is to protect the mission of the SE; that is,.avoiding falling into the temptation of putting onself ahead of the interests of the SE. Lucía Lantero expresses "horror" at such possibility, at the same time she qualifies their measure as quite extreme. Receiving just volunteers allows a selection process, in which the motivations of the candidates can be clearly observed.

- Implications for the locals: community, beneficiaries, and workers

The policy of working just with volunteers, although still difficult to believe for some local people, has implications at different levels. If the foreigners, founders included, had normal salaries, AYMY would have a very different relationship with the community in terms of legitimacy and affection: “we would be considered just like the rest of the NGOs…They know [that] we are here for our heart, they have seen it. We are here due to our will, mission and love [to them]”.

The community saw that Lucía and Alexis started with their own money. While the observation was made, the children mention that Lucía had to travel to Spain to raise

funds. They are very aware that the money does not come from a magic source. The director of the school also witnesses this reality as a member of the committee: "we speak openly about expenses and income, if there is enough money or not, he sees how we continue buying things with our own money". This way to work allows asking the local team for more involvement when it is required, in the form of extra hours when they were needed and the team has so far always responded.

- Exceptions to the rule

In AYMY, two long-term volunteers from abroad receive a salary[56]. The reason is directly related to the unsustainable bubble generated by the official development system. This bubble works directly against efficient organizations like AYMY, which have fewer resources because when they need to hire some local people who may be accurate for the job, their salaries are unaffordable. In Haiti, only a few people have gone to university, and those who have, are paid by big NGOs who give them unreachable salaries [57]for an NGO like AYMY with a monthly budget of approximately 5.000 euros. In that sense, having a foreign volunteer is much more efficient: "a Dominican person who knows about building and crosses the border every day would be much more than 500 euros a month", Lucía explains. Hiring a Haitian with superior education to implement the school project would amount to between 1800 and 1900 euros monthly, more than three times the salary received by the volunteer.

The local team understands that these two volunteers receive a compensation for their long-term commitment that allows them, if not making money, at least not losing it. If national employees were hired to cover those positions, their motivation would be at stake. As the volunteer in charge of the school explains revealing her commitment: "In a period of six months I could have had all the experience that I was looking for, but I am staying longer in order to implant the school because I am worried about its sustainability".

Salaries become a moral issue for SERs. As Rafael Selas, founder of Anidan, in one of the first interviews explained, "it is very difficult to give yourself a salary in this work". SERs face extreme situations of need -they do not live outside poverty- so it might be very difficult to find a balance assuming that what you receive is not going to be given

[56]Each receives 500 euros a month.

to someone who needs it far more than you. There are no general solutions to this problem since SERs also need to be minimally sustainable, so each seems to find his or her own solution according to personal experiences and circumstances while trying to maintain a clear sense of efficiency and absence of middlemen. They strive for a balance between what is morally acceptable for them and the operativity of the SE. In the case of AYMY, the salaries of the volunteers come from supporters who have expressively decided to cover that need. It does not come from the general contributions of donors.

- *Implications for the funding team*

Maintaining such a demanding policy affects the personal life of the SER. While volunteers and collaborators have in principle a higher degree of freedom, the SER has created an independent source of income, a restaurant, which also provides resources to the SE when necessary. This means assuming the complications derived from running two enterprises at the same time, and a having a life divided between two places, with two different types of demands.

4.3.6 Institutional constraints

In the process of establishing an organization, different types of constraints must be overcome. In many SEs, institutional constraints clearly stand out, in others, they are more lenient. Sometimes local people with specific interests get involved with institutional power to stop the SER, like in the Indian case in Kolkata. The vulnerability of the recipients of the SE is also another factor to take into account, since it is not rare that they are used by those against the SE. In the case of Haiti, these constraints cannot be separated from the problems created by the official development system. This has created a privileged social class formed partly by Haitians with high life standards who live on the lucrative business of the foreign aid and with a perspective highly detached from reality; that is, there are neither emotional bonds with people in a situation of need nor a sense of responsibility towards them.

In essence, the dynamics of this system are related to keeping the engine working, with all its incentives (social, as members of the high class, and economic). Only in this context can be understood the affirmation of a volunteer of AYMY, who had also taken part in official aid projects, explaining that in a project like AYMY, in which the money goes directly to the beneficiaries, with no middle men or middle institutions, the authorities have

no incentives to give support. The economic bubble fed by international institutions does not keep any sense of proportion if this was ever intended inside the system. For relevant stakeholders[58] of the SE who have observed the evolution of Haiti for long periods of time, its people have become more reliant on aid, requesting more than they used to, due to their pride. The problematic observed in Haiti derived from the implementation of official aid approaches, is not an exception in developing countries, (the aid industry tends to replicate those problems due to its functioning) but the case of Haiti [59]stands out by its intensity.

> AYMY is the typical SE case in which although in the village there was a considerable number of organizations, apparently, there was no real interest to solve the problem of kids who lived on the street. And since the SE does not bring economic incentives to those already linked to foreign aid the people who have finally supported them [have] go[ne] through an impressive natural selection process.

From the very beginning another relevant stakeholder who had lived in the village for a long time warned them of the network of interests they were going to affect negatively, by opening a home in which the money would be mainly for the kids and the local workers:

> AYMY occupied a space in which many people wanted to enter, people with institutional and political positions who kn[e]w how the development system works. A network in charge of child protection issues wanted to build a home with traditional NGOs. They said they wanted to be part of AYMY but when they saw the salaries, they rejected.

The relationships of AYMY with the authorities have gone through and intense evolution. Taking the environment into account, they started from the bottom up, fulfilling all the bureaucratic requests, trying to open a space for them, being respected and avoiding complications, in order to, among other things, be able to stay in the country. Undoubtedly there is a learning process to smooth relationships with institutions, which includes avoiding taking things personally: a relentless process in which the SE learns how to protect itself. Gradually there has been a public recognition of their work by the council, for example, in public events: "they are looking after our children". AYMY tries to implicate

[58] From a conversation with a middle-aged Dominican man married to a Haitian woman who has known and experienced the evolution of both countries for several decades.
[59] For more information see Raoul Peck, a Haitian filmmaker, who in his documentary “FatalAssistance” (Peck, 2013), describes the dynamics and effects of international aid relief in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake.

local institutions as much as possible. During the first period of observation, AYMY was visited by some members of the Unité Départementale pour le Maintien de l'Ordre (UDMO) (i.e, the Haiti police) to express their availability to support the organization and the children in whatever they might require. The visit was completely unexpected by the SE members.

The attitude of a given person at a certain institutional level can have serious consequences in a country- any country- in which the law enforcement is weak. A person in charge of child protection at the local institutional level tried to discourage them initially from building a home for the kids, finding defects and claiming it was better to leave the situation the way it was. When this person saw that the project continued, he privately spoke with one of AYMY's children and offered him a bicycle if he said that Alexis Derache had sexually abused of him. Alexis Derache found out and reported the false accusation.

Thinking in retrospect, another factor that apparently generated trouble, was saying "too loud" that the new organization would not collaborate with corruption. This may have caused some people to feel questioned or challenged.

Geographical factors can play a huge role in institutional relationships. AYMY is situated on the border with the Dominican Republic and the communications with Port-au-Prince is thus very complicated (it takes almost one day travelling by road). Geographical distance in this kind of context works against official recognition and communication.

Anse à Pitres is a village at the border. The relationships between both sides are tense although the inhabitants, in spite of the historical problems, have reciprocal interests [60]and need each other to survive economically. But in situations of political tension, the border can be closed, as it has actually happened, depriving the children of medical assistance, for example. Volunteers[61] live in (Pedernales) the Dominican Republic while

[60]The market of Pedernales is filled with Haitian vegetables and the *motoconchos*, motorbike drivers main source of income relies on the frequent movement of passengers from one side of the border to another.

[61]During the first year, Lucía Lantero, and Alexis Derache lived in Haiti with the children, when the local team was not reliable. Once this was created and due to operational reasons, lack of electricity, current water and need of rest, they moved the volunteers home to Pedernales, where it is still based.

the organization is settled in Haiti (Anse à Pitres). This implies a very specific way of functioning which forces participants to overcome constraints from both sides and manage the political relationships at the border especially carefully, with a high level of expertise, which does not derive exclusively from formal education. It is a matter of skills, experience, and legitimacy. One clear sign of this recognition is that when the border is closed, AYMY's car is practically the only one allowed to cross.

4.3.7 Legalization requirements, unrealistic for the situation of Anse à Pitres, copied from Europe

Legalization requirements represent a hard task for this type of organization. In the case of AYMY, conditions to obtain legalization of the SE are part of the European heritage, which means that they are disconnected from the possibilities of the SE and its surrounding environment. Legalization requires that the director has attended university for two years, that there be one social worker, and that the educators have formal pedagogical credentials and lately, better physical conditions of the house. This last aspect is the simplest to achieve, but it is part of a building process not completed at the moment in which the observation was made. People with higher education could be found in Port-au-Prince but due to the economic bubble, their salaries are unaffordable for an organization like AYMY. At the same time, the fact of hiring workers who fulfill the formal requirements does not guarantee an emotional connection with the SE and what is more important, with the children. Someone from Port-au-Prince, with the highest degrees, was initially hired but did not fit in the SE, wanted to fire everyone and said that workers made him voodoo.

Besides, the rhythms of bureaucracy do not fit with the real and urgent need of protection of the children. Lucía and Alexis soon realized that the priority was to keep the children safe first, and then legalize the organization.

4.3.8 Rejection and great support from the official sector

Observation shows a worrying lack of interest and understanding of what SERs mean and represent, as evident in some organizations in the official development sector. Embassies play an important role in orientation, as information providers and as key contacts in situations of crisis. But with regard to development institutions, the lack of knowledge and contact with SEs is at least striking. In the initial moments of an SE, it

might be difficult to differentiate the entrepreneurial qualities of an SER from other widespread “heart without head” (Domínguez, 2010) initiatives. As a volunteer who collaborated in AYMY affirmed who was linked to official aid approaches,“…at the beginning I had doubts about the sustainability and their intentions…until I spoke with them and realized all they had in their minds…”Seriousness and commitment can sometimes be seen only after a period of time, and not immediately, in the middle of the fight with the status quo. It is relatively easy to mistake SERs with “a pair of crazies”. Trust is a big issue, not only for SEs but also in the official development sector, where it does not seem to abound. In the concrete case of Anse à Pitres, the level of trust between workers of foreign NGOs, local NGOs, and the community is very low. As an interviewed manifested, "there is no honesty within the framework of those relationships". A key issue then is to understand why the present SEs do have a higher level of trust in the community.

The relationships framework where SEs move can be quite extreme, especially when involved with other elements of aid. While some traditional NGO workers have tried to practice devaluation alleging that the SER Lucía Lantero was not a cooperant (professional worker of the aid system) being was just a volunteer, others have been extremely supportive, having been earlier with other SERs. Relationships with another SERs in the same village have been extremely supportive to overcome situations of crisis (being both organizations and leaders in the same boat).

4.3.9 Difficulties with local teams: feeling tired of repeating always the same

The difficulty in forming and maintaining a local team is a frequent complaint related to development. Cultural differences seem to be at the root of the conflicts that emerge, being some of them incompatible with the mission of the SE. AYMY’s policy was to receive local volunteers in the initial moments: from the first ten who came and stayed for three months, none of them continued later in the SE. Some of the cultural reasons that made it impossible were: the use of violence against the children (something considered normal and accepted by them); A very passive attitude towards work; the influence of Voodoo among the local Haitians, which implies, in one of its manifestations, that a local worker will never say anything wrong about someone else, mainly because they are afraid of the consequences in terms of voodoo. Voodoo's influence weakens responsibility since

it favors trouble avoidance. With regard to the children, some of them are still influenced[62] (the older more than the younger ones), but their fear is not as strong among the adults. In fact, when a local volunteer hit the children and threaten them with voodoo[63], it was the children who revealed it. Another important feature is the excessive slyness. Local workers sometimes know everything there is to know about the laws, the work code, their rights and do not mind going to court;

Although AYMY has a committed core team, it is not easy to find good quality human resources. This complicates the aspiration to transfer the organization to the locals, noticing that it is a long-term process of cultural transformation and evolution.

The present director of AYMY was initially a volunteer. During the first year, he had to interrupt his support for a few months to go to the town of Jacmel to finish his baccalaureate. Then he returned to AYMY as an educator and later on he was named director. Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache noticed his skills from the very beginning when he was working with the children, who were much wilder. He is a natural leader in the community, but not a political one, since political ones have their own interest to achieve (according to an interviewee). Without tenure, it is impossible to find those natural leaders. He encouraged his sister to join the project, after explaining to her that AYMY was a different initiative, where the children were properly looked after.

Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache affirm the use of intuition to detect valuable human resources, although it can sometimes fail. They also affirm the need to trust once the opportunity is given, because permanent lack of trust can drive the SERs mad.

Some Westerns involved in the organization perceive the tendency to cheat as a big problem as well as the fact of not being sufficiently proactive. The fact of creating an SE does not eliminate human weaknesses and trouble with human resources, but it allows creating a different framework of relationships in which certain honesty rules will not be negotiated. AYMY's raises funds in Spain and chooses the people they work with. There

[62]One of AYMY's oldest kids, says that the devil will enter through the windows of the houses where they will sleep.
[63] Voodoo is a permanent reality. According to them, people do not need to believe in it to be affected. It can be shared with other religions.

are no middle institutions, which allow them establish a different set of power relationships, compared with the projects of the official development system in which there is a counterpart –a local organization which is assigned from the very beginning[64]-. If these local counterparts are not the best partners to work with, they can cause serious damage for the first organization that filters the money.

One last factor detected with regard to Haiti is the recognition and management of group sensitivity, in the sense of a collective wound, like the one created by the existence of slavery. Sensitivity can be very high and the cultural heritage is always present. Dealing with local resources implies being able to manage all those psychological aspects, as will be explained later.

4.3.10 Private support, towards a model with more personal implication

In general terms, SERs stand out by investing their own money in the SE at different levels, and by their proximity to private sources of funding. AYMY's money has always been private with the exception of 10.000 euros conceded for the personal security of Lucía Lantero, who after asking for permission, were diverted to the building of the fence that surrounds the home of the kids.

In this area, the personal involvement seems essential. As Lucía Lantero explains it: "AYMY is not external economically to me, AYMY is me. If some extra money is required it will come from the restaurant". There are concrete examples of that involvement. The night of the 24th December 2014, Lucía Lantero worked in the restaurant while pregnant to pay the salary bonus to the workers, as she had promised to them. Delaying moving out from the parents' house after a wedding and doing it only after two years of marriage (with a baby) is a sign of how the resources were not only channeled for personal interests. At the same time, all the expenses used for travelling and promotion of AYMY have been covered by her and her family. The fact of coming from what could be considered a privileged context has positive implications in terms of legitimacy to raise funds:

[64]Interviewees who work in the official development system explain their relationships with local counterparts with the expression “being in their hands”. They speak of the difficulty to change that counterpart, even having the evidence that things do not work as they should or that they are not reliable once the intervention is in progress.

> I live in a small town and people know each other; they know my family, they know that I don't need to steal for the living; [they know] that I have had a very good education and that I could make money doing other things…People trust you will not keep the money and that gives reliability…At the beginning, they deposited the money in my own personal account.

But it also has implications in terms of tranquility and peace of mind:

> In some cases, having family and friends who have a certain level of acquisitive power allows them to give a bigger amount every once in a while. Sometimes a friend tells another friend about the project and we suddenly receive 500 euros extra. I have the tranquility to think that in an extreme situation, I can ask relatives or friends. At a certain point you can ask for someone for 500 euros knowing that it will not affect their personal economy.

In any case, the economic engine of most SEs of the sample (the only exception is APLE, which relies mainly on public funds) seems to be the middle class. The importance of small contributions is very high in the long run. AYMY clearly experienced that importance through the crowd-funding[65] operation that served to buy land and build the home for the kids in 2013, as the result and solution of the main crisis of the SE. Some SERs, and Lucía Lantero it not an exception, recognize there is a framework beyond their control, which allows them to reach the amount they need every month. They find it hard to explain that reality:

> It is magic, is a miracle, every time we are in the worst situation someone spontaneous who does not know what we are going through appears and donates what we need. You have to be there, you have to be active, you have to speak with a lot of people, but it is a miracle.

Lucía underlines the importance of middle classes: "the richest people that I know have not given me anything". Wider observation suggests there are singular big supporters of SEs, but compared with the vast majority of smaller contributions from the middle class, they are not so visible. In some cases, big supporters select and support several SEs. Three of the SEs of this sample have had the same big private supporter, apparently for efficiency reasons.

[65] A video made by a relative served to launch a fund-raising campaign, which ended with the impressive amount in that context of 70.000 dollars, giving a degree of stability to the organization unknown until then.

4.3.11 Towards a new model of participation, support and involvement

A feeling of disenchantment is also observed in SERs like Lucía Lantero with regard to the traditional model of private funding since it does not favor personal involvement. The challenges of an SE are considerable, that's why it is necessary that people commit themselves to them, in the sense of understanding what they are doing, and develop a commitment to their process, which goes beyond the economic dimension. This is due to the inherent complexity of these undertakings and therefore, to the need to integrate links in a sort of a chain – more horizontal power- in which some contributions (not necessarily economic) might be essential. In the end, instead of a one-way relationship, a symbiosis is established in which a cultural transformation takes place from both sides. ACOES is the SE of the sample, which probably has developed this symbiosis most from a quantitative perspective. According to Lucía Lantero, the need to create this symbiosis emerges,

> because it is part of our poverty…[in the West] people need hope…understand how privileged we are, share that privilege…understand how lucky we are even in our worst moments…If you create a bond or relationship with this type of project you will be nourished when you see that [bad times] pass and things evolve and impossible problems are carried through…we have a lot of people who really loves us.

- *Do your part as a form of culture*

The fact of inviting other people to develop a commitment to the SE reveals the existence of a shared responsibility underneath. Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache started this SE, but this does not mean that it is exclusively their responsibility. SERs are not naïve. From a personal perspective, naivety is one of the first things that gets lost in any development activity. That is why moral shocks are there too. It would be more accurate to say that SERs are more tactician and survivors than naïve. And they are, indeed, pretty realistic thinkers in concrete terms. Lucía Lantero explains what she has been frequently told when people around her tried to confront her with her life option:

> -Do you know how many people die of hunger in the world? You cannot save the world, [people told her]. But I do not intend to save the world, I have the intention to save the worlds of these children and if they are able to save the worlds of their own children, wives, and families, then I can pinch myself to wake up.

The emotional reward is felt as “enormous” at that level, but not so much at the economic or physical levels.

With regard to the people who might be doubtful about how to do their part, her understanding is the following:

> Many people really want to improve the world, but it is not about bringing our grain of sand, [th]is is a stair and each person leaves his step and although they leave, that step is already done and that has a purpose; It is not about helping just for the sake of it, it is because you really want to build [something] and that changes everything, it changes the perspective of everything because you have the dream that people deserve to live better and each person inside of that dream is willing to do their best. Not everybody has to do what we do but not everybody has the reward that I have: I see that the children are fine, I see them grow, I see there is a light, [sometimes] hesitant and blurred at the end of the tunnel in the mouth of the wolf…
>
> We see the poverty and injustice from a million different perspectives every day and you cannot stay petrified, because if you stay petrified, [then] it is over, but many people may say ok, many people die of hunger in the world but if you manage that [some] do not die, you are already doing something.

4.3.12 Risks and demands of the founding experience: personal perspective

-Projection of roles and the emotional costs

One difficult issue that SERs have to manage in order to maintain their own personal balance is the dominant influence of roles over them and frequently of idealizations that limit the understanding of SERs. For Lucía Lantero the explanation resides in the tendency to see “just one layer [and in] how easily we judge: if you do this [then] you are that…Everyone tends to identify himself with something, a position, a study or with what they do, and [ultimately] that is not you". In her case, the image she had for herself broke brutally when she came Haiti.

In terms of personal exposure she is willing to do whatever is required to continue protecting the children and guarantee their future. "For them it is the same what I [have to] do, they want to eat and to go to school". In essence, the key to the problem is related to the emotional cost of exposure and how the SER manages to process it:

> …I have been very aware of how much soul I have left speaking of all this. You tear because you have things [inside you] that have hurt you a lot and you keep that hidden and when you realize, that in order to make people understand you have to open that door and

> tell something maybe you have not even shared with your husband…I feel that I have taken a knife and I have slit open myself and I have stayed there in the sun.

As a result, a high level of vulnerability and of idealization takes place, (identifying the SER with the events) may affect the collaborative understanding of the SE as well as personal balance: “You expose yourself and that makes you very vulnerable". The experiences "do not belong to you, life has shown them to you" but they are not yours. SERs are to a big extent, transmitters although exposure that leads them to be perceived as heroes. But even if some of the acts are heroic, the success of the SE cannot be understood without the participation of many:

> What has happened is not mine, it belongs to the life that has shown them to me, that has allowed me to participate in them. I am the vase, many people are putting water and now there is a mixture that acts.

High levels of exposure may make SERs feel like objects. Lucía Lantero has reflected on how to recover a certain sense of equality between people: understanding her assumption of responsibility as the result of a process in which many other people formed and educated her:

> You are not more valuable for the experiences you have gone through, I have had this in life but this is not me, what I am doing is not me, I have no special value for doing what I am doing, I am the consequence of many people who have left seeds in me, who have said things, who have treated me in a certain way, I am a genetic consequence, the consequence of books that I have read, of films that I have seen…

Exposure is necessary and worth it if, apart from helping, the SE helps "people to see things in a different way". Idealizations are simplifications of reality and of the inherent complexity of the human being, SER or not.

Being put on a pedestal has several implications. It creates distance between the SER and the public, but it can also create distance in the group of the closest friends. The following sentence was told to Lucía Lantero: “I am not going to tell you my problems anymore with all the things that you have on you”.

Idealization also may diminish the capacity to change people in the West. It removes the idealized person from the individual capacity to make change consciously present in every human being.

> It hurts to see that after all they just think that you are good or a saint…I have tried that my ego would not put filters between what I have lived and what I explain about the reality when I explain it…The idea of a saint does not allow you understand we all have a capacity there that is not because of ourselves.

Idealizations have more implications for the person of the founder. They may affect authenticity in the communication, diminishing it, favoring sucking up to him, and reducing existent sources of authentic feedback and positive criticism. Depending on the intensity of this tendency, it can be not only harmful to the person of the founder but for the organization as well. Idealizations are rigid and therefore they do not allow the natural processes of evolution SERs, as common people, go through. Idealizations do not represent real life. As Lucía explains,

> the problem is that our story changes, I could never give again a talk like the one I gave two years ago because my story has changed. We are water from the river. I could never speak with the same anguish because there has been a change, there is something alive that does not depend on AYMY and that is in the souls of the kids. I could never have the same bitterness.

Some SERs have lately rejected having books written about themselves, because they reinforce the saint image. In the selected sample of this study, two out of five have rejected this possibility, not without persistence. The tendency to make saints persists and although not intended, even this study may not be totally free of that tendency. In any case, there seem to be resistance to understanding SERs as parts of a much richer and complex phenomenon, even when they try to expose it that way. In a conference, an SER of this sample described the roles and tasks of the SE using the term "us" all the time and a journalist asked him, if he thought he was the pope. He explained that he was "just" trying to explain their work as the result of a collective effort.

- *The evolution of the role of the SER inside the SE*

The role of an SER is evolutionary, changing with time, according to the evolution of the SE. Quick adaptability is very important in SEs, since most SERs interviewed affirm

that the social reality changes very quickly within these organizations. In some cases, it is not necessary to wait long to see evolution in the role of the SER. AYMY illustrates it:

> I do not take roles that have been taken while I was away; why should I displace people who are able to cover my absence in the daily life of the kids?; it would be ridiculous just because I want to feel again like the mom of the kids.

If the SE is moving forward, the presence of the SER must fade ever more into the background. Capacities tend to be transferred. Things must tend to work on their own. The displacement of the functions of the SERs seems key for the sustainability of the organization and the future of the children. Lucía Lantero's main duties right now focus on

> work[ing] with the educators and start[ing] dealing with all those areas that will make the [children] have an option in the future…[eliminate the difficulties] so that they can have an economic option, a place where to incorporate, and also the motivational part, give them means so that they can remain active…

- *The demand to combine two different worlds: duality*

The fact of starting an SE in a developing country while the resources usually come from the West implies dealing with two completely different worlds whose specific requirements and demands are hard to imagine respectively. The reality where the SE is based is difficult to translate by Western standards. Besides, feelings of "shock" or needing one month to reconnect when coming back to the West are also experienced. Some of the detected realities difficult to translate for the Western world are the following. They can affect communication and coordination between teams:

1) Difficulty to communicate the sense of urgency. In Haiti, vulnerability requires quick decisions. In the West, that sense of urgency is almost diluted. In comparison, people in the West may look numb, especially when processes are fulfilled with bureaucratic demands. In Haiti, a child dies in hours.

2) Incapacity to communicate the implications of the commitment and emotional links the SER has created: A boy from AYMY who was severely ill had to be hospitalized and a lot of extra money had to be invested in his recovery. The permanent demand for money was not always understood by some of the

supporters of the project who, considered there was a lack of balance in financial responsibility in this situation.

3) Incapacity to communicate certain levels of pressure an SER may go through. Lucía Lantero did not reply to an email and she explained,

I could not do it because I was treating a baby that was not from AYMY and the reply that I got was, "you cannot wear yourself out with things that are not from AYMY because you are an asset of AYMY".

SERs live in present tense, facing situations where it is very difficult to say no. And if they do, the order of priorities changes so it might be difficult to respond to all the demands unless the SER is very organized or delegates to a major extent. After five years, Lucía when she is in Haiti still "sleep[s] four of five hours a day…the mind does not stop thinking…physical exhaustion is not as bad as mental exhaustion…I have been ill for three days, those are my holidays…I cannot stop when I am here".

4) Difficulty to make some people understand the evolution the SE has gone through. Some people only see the most external layer; for them, it is impossible to imagine the conditions of the starting point and the progress that has been made, so they tend to focus on minor defects without appreciating the general evolution. As Lucía Lantero puts it,

some people do not see that in the chaos there is evolution. They have no idea how things used to be here if they think they are still tough now. I know what I have to do here, I know that I have to leave my soul here and that it is going to be super tough but you have no idea what this used to be like, this is heaven on earth.

Some people do not understand the way the emancipation process takes place and never will. They just see what remains, without being able to appreciate reality from the circumstances of the context. Wolfgang Müller, Ali S.K. SER, used to say that criticizing is easy until you start funding on your own. Then you realize how difficult everything can get.

- *Personality transformation*

Some SERs recognize having had strong personalities all their lives, but describe the fact of having become "implacable, like the iron" to overcome the difficulties faced. That implacability seems a mixture of clarity and total conviction of what is right in a particular case. Lucía Lantero explains these feelings when a severely ill child needed to be taken to the hospital and there were constraints at the border, which implied critical and direct confrontation with people with power. Implacability is explained in the following manner,

> …it is not [about having] bad blood, it is total conviction: there is no way this can happen you are not going to tell me no, you cannot say no because all that is fair in this world is that you say yes, and then, you cannot say no...The feeling of what is fair is overwhelming. You feel so full of that feeling and you are so convinced that you can eat anyone up. You don't doubt, you don't ask for permission you don't have time to think, there is no strategy…I have much more bad blood than earlier. You don't care what people may think about you, it is survival instinct. I walk through a very difficult path but when I get like that is because I see it so clearly and such strength emerges that you cannot imagine.

Lucía Lantero assesses herself by asking if what she does is because it benefits her. If the answer is no, she continues relentlessly. Undoubtedly it can be exhausting to maintain that level of conviction for a long period of time, but SERs "…have to…because the [children] need that support". It also implies the need to be "super coherent all the time", however hard it might be to prevent certain behaviors that have serious consequences. In that sense, giving rules is a way to protect the children and prepare them for their future. For example, stealing in Haiti may result in having a hand cut off with a machete. That is the kind of consequences Lucía Lantero needs them to understand, combined with love, in order to help them protect themselves.

4.3.13 Cultural misunderstanding

- *A different understanding and expression of pain*

Lucía Lantero underlines the importance of not simplifying the cultural differences as if we could never be sufficiently aware of the different vital circumstances and how they condition the expression of emotions. That is, in certain contexts pain is overwhelming and the fact that local people react differently towards it does not mean they do not feel it. From that perspective, it is easy to fall into simplifications. One night Lucía Lantero was phoned from the hospital to assist a mother who was with her extremely ill baby at the

hospital; the mom did not want to see or hold the baby because she could not bear to see him suffer; Lucía Lantero explains that in Haiti,

> they have the concept that if the baby cries a lot, maybe a spirit will have mercy and will not take him away. Some people may say it is apparent that they feel differently…That's is not true; It is because it is their culture. Or when other people say it is different that a Haitian or a European child dies, it is not true, but they do not have the luxury to stay at home crying for five months, which is what any of us would do.

In a similar line, Father Patricio in ACOES explains the difficulty to manifest love to a child, even to the own child, in situations of scarcity (see page, 265).

- *Existence of cultural or collective wounds*

The weight of the heritage in Haiti, with regard to slavery, is still huge. As another SER in Haiti explains, "sometimes you feel that you walk on eggshells". For any founder, it is essential to detect and manage the national susceptibility. As Alexis Derache explains, the experience of slavery is a trauma inside the Haitian culture. A collective trauma, which shows mainly in two opposite ways: Superiority (among the people who speak French or have gone to university) and inferiority complex. The fact of having been internalized is shown in the children in the form of automatic response. AYMY' s children were once told off once by the volunteers and the local team, for being naughty, nothing very serious. The automatic response from the children was to call them *esclavagiste*, the French word for slaveholder. In any case, for working with Haitian people it is necessary "to dedramatise all that with humor", as Alexis Derache advises. Volunteers need to be in tune with that sensibility. Otherwise, conflict can easily emerge. Paradoxical situations for example, when a white person is accused of not treating a Haitian respectfully, having raised the voice, that can cause a serious misunderstanding; if a Haitian hits a child, it is ok. The fact of being white, the dominant race, is still a problem.

Some volunteers value positively the contact of the children with Western volunteers since it helps them interact differently at the emotional level, showing more affection with them, something they do not do with Haitian people. It also gives them the opportunity to interact with people whose motives are basically altruistic, without economic compensation. The father of one of the workers says her father told her “not to argue with those white people, respect them, because they are good…they are doing a good work”.

The children and the local team and even some members of the community seem very sensitive to affection. It is not only that some of them search it, it also means that they can detect if you really care- as well as if the relationship is understood in terms of equality- as if they had a sensor. It might be because they are more used to detecting disaffection but they seem to read more quickly Western approaches and attitudes towards them than in the other way round, in spite of the cultural distance.

4.3.14 Leadership challenges: "the battle is ours"

In the initial moments (2011), AYMY rented a home in Anse à Pitres for two years. Renovations were made in the house so that the children were in good conditions. When the contract expired, the local owner of the house, a Haitian woman, increased the rent to an extent in which it was unaffordable for the SE. Also as owner of the house and employed by the SE, she considered she could exert power over the children in ways that were incompatible with the organization, mainly through violence. The situation became unsustainable, not only due to the rent, but also due to the treatment she gave them. In essence she undid the progress that had been achieved with the children in terms of inner tranquility.

Since they could not stay in the house, the children were moved under the protection of the Peruvian Blue Helmets who had been assigned to Anse à Pitres. The children stayed in their tents, who provided clothes, materials, food and whatever was required. The connection lived with the Blue Helmets who literally put themselves at the service of the children is still remembered as memorable by the SE members. [66] The period under their protection lasted from mid-February until mid-April 2013. The fact of having to move the children from the house to the tents destabilized them affecting their behavior increasing violence due to the insecurity.

In this period of uncertainty, another key supporter emerged: a nun who belongs to the organization Ananda Marga [67] who has created several projects in the country offered them the classrooms of the school she was building in Anse à Pitres, guaranteeing that the

[66] The Peruvian Minister of Defense when traveled to Haiti visited them in Anse à Pitres, instead of the troops based in Port-au-Prince.
[67] For more information, see http://www.anandamarga.org

children would have a place to stay for as long as necessary, until AYMY could raise funds and had a home of their own. An architect, who was also a volunteer of AYMY, was supervising the construction of these four classrooms. In this case, many approaches where common between AYMY and this nun: she volunteered, worked just with local resources in conditions of extreme efficiency, providing direct help to the most vulnerable and creating out of nothing. Her support and experience were very relevant during the storm at the "spiritual" level and helped the team of the SE reinforce their convictions. The government of Haiti, when it found out about the situation, threatened them with taking the children away. The nun, did not consider that threat would be effective, since the government had neither intentions nor means to take care of them. She strongly believed that "do[ing] your part your part first", things would find their way and the problem would be solved in the end. She gave them a meaning to resist in such a critical moment.

Lucía Lantero had very weak health at the time. Fortunately, during the time the border was closed, none of the children was ill, because it would have been a serious problem. Other volunteers of the SE started looking for homes in Port-au- Prince because the possibility of not being able to keep them could become real. Some of the parents of the children did not agree with that possibility, preferring to have them back on the streets than in Port-au-Prince.

Lucía Lantero had an important contact related to the Clinton's Recovery Commission who, aware of the situation, put her through to the Spanish Ambassador. This way she could have a meeting with the *Institut du Bien-Etre Social et de Recherches* (IBESR) in order to try to solve the situation. As a result of that meeting, they managed to stop the idea of bringing a bus for taking the children away. What they finally did was to send a delegation in charge of checking the situation directly. Lucía Lantero was taken by helicopter to that meeting in Port-au-Prince. In that moment, her cousin, who travelled to Haiti especially for the matter, recorded a video to start the crowdfunding operation in order to raise funds and provide AYMY with a home of its own. When the delegation arrived in Anse à Pitres to check the situation- mainly to prove that the classrooms existed, that is, that there was a real place for the children- Lucía Lantero had been hospitalized in Santo Domingo and her return to Haiti, remained unclear. Thinking in retrospect the role of the embassy is essential, since the tension diminished and a possibility to verify the situation of the children emerged through the delegation.

Traveling to Port-au-Prince was for Lucía Lantero the last act of strength she could carry out to protect the children before being hospitalized. Her story reveals to what extent creating an SE can be demanding in terms of leadership, tension and health. The crowdfunding operation based on the video made by Lucía's cousin, displayed in April 2013, raised 70.000 dollars, although they had initially asked for 40.000. In those conditions, they could start looking for a piece of land where to build the home.

The evolution of this crisis shows the relevance of horizontal power and the essentiality of the individual links and their respective contributions. It also recognizes the degree of vulnerability that surrounds SEs, how much is beyond control and how things evolve on their own.

4.3.15 Cultural changes in the children: *mwen te chanje an pil*[68]

In informal conversations with long term AYMY's volunteers, it was often mentioned as a very noteworthy element the decrease of violence among the children and the emergence of a sort of a comradeliness among them. The fact of feeling safe and loved in an environment which for the first time guaranteed their rights, and sense of stability, seem key in that process: they do not need to fight with each other to survive. In order to respect their privacy, since most of them were minors, interviews were held with the oldest ones – already teenagers- and following the focus group model. In order to make me understand the evolution he had gone through, one of the teenagers explained: "I used to be a lion and now I am lamb" to which he added, "here we learn how to live". They come from a world marked by survival and the fact of receiving a more structured life "with rules" is received positively, probably because they also feel loved.

During many informal conversations with them, the recognition of Lucía Lantero as a loving mother "who has always been very good to me" and her role model was reiterated, with idealizations included: "I am going to marry a woman like her". The fact of learning how to live and have a more structured life involves aspects as not getting marry soon, "because it is necessary to work and have money to get married first". It also implies

[68] I have changed a lot, in creole. The sentence was repeated expressively by the children.

“changing the mind for not doing bad things…learning the things you can do to help other people…to live calmly, without violence, without problems with the police…without hitting women, help[ing] others, with respect”.

Having a different attitude towards violence has also entered in the community. Lucía Lantero explains how a woman from the village told her that when she saw a neighbor hitting a two-year-old child with a bar of iron, she threatened to tell Lucía if she saw him doing it again. Small cultural changes can have relevant impact.

The affective dimension -- the value of love -- seems very relevant according to another testimony: "before there was no love in my heart…in the house where I used to live people always argued, but now I have love because the educators have taught me how I can have love for the people, for the family". He also affirmed how much his life had changed, revealing a certain degree of difficulty to feel understood in his original environment. What he would like to do later on is to work helping those who cannot do anything, to help others. Earlier he thought the way his family used to live was fine and he spoke the same way they did. He also went to school but did not learn. When he came to AYMY, his life changed due to a different education- understood in the widest sense of the word. There he experienced the power of going to school, and now knows that he wants to help other people who are on the street.

- *Informal evaluations of how the SE is assessed: simplicity*

SEs get evaluated in informal ways by the people of the community who directly or indirectly relate to them. Families in Haiti are very large, -some of the children in AYMY can have up to 12 brothers and sisters- so if one child is helped by AYMY, many people connected with the child will know the task of the SE. A friend of Alexis Derache visited the SE as a volunteer and he decided to travel by boat from Anse à Pitres to Jacmel in the initial moments. The conditions of the trip are very hard. The boat gets filled with people and the trip lasts minimum six hours during the night in the Caribbean Sea. In a certain moment, things were getting uncomfortable and one of the passengers exclaimed, in order to feel more comfortable, “throw the white man into the water!”. He repeated it several times making the volunteer feeling scared until someone else he did not know in the same boat exclaimed, “no, he is from AYMY”. The conversation ceased immediately and the trip continued.

Inhabitants of Anse à Pitres explain that AYMY's home is well known in Jacmel in spite of the distance. Although it might seem a minor issue, it is not. While crossing the border with Lucía, during the second period of exploration, from Anse à Pitres to Pedernales, a Haitian young and strong man who was leaning over the border fence, greeted her with an spontaneous expression of tenderness and softness impossible to remain unnoticed especially after having observed the prevailing sense of masculinity in Haiti. It becomes apparent that she is loved in the community.

Evaluations of the Haitian volunteers in the initial moments also reveal how they give importance to the basic aspects, those they feel are not covered in the traditional aid approaches. In essence, informal evaluations tend to assess the mission of the SE. One of the first volunteers explains how he realized the value of what they were doing with the children, since in the first home, the children ate very well, there was food three times a day and every morning and every day there was something different for them: “They gave them corn flakes, yogurt, ham, cheese, things that people do not eat here…there was a closet in the house and all that was kept there for them”.

Another sign for this volunteer was the way the house was organized, "with beds, clothes, everything clean…if a child peed on the bed, the sheets were washed, they dried in the sun and the child slept with clean sheets again”. He also saw how people came to work every day to look after the children.

The recognition of their task provoked in this volunteer, who almost lived with them in the house, the need to protect Lucía and Alexis and make them aware of the risks and interests around them. He describes the relationship with them in terms of equality, with a lot of trust, they ”used to have a drink together every night”. He gave them a lot of information “to protect them, to make them understand where they were working and which the risks were”. The aim was to help them detect “people who wanted to make the same path…with them, who wanted to come and help”. He precisely explains that many people were interested in “selling them” a project or an initiative pretending its viability or even social character for mere lucrative reasons.

Another current worker of the SE did not believe her brother when he told her there was a real social initiative in Anse à Pitres in which the children were taken care of. Her first thought was, "*autre merde"* until she saw that it was true. This SE "is not made for the money, it is made for the children" she affirms nowadays. This worker mentioned the fact AYMY remains while "the rest stay for four or six months, get money, take pictures, speak and in the end, nothing". In her own words, she described the crucial attention the children were receiving:

> Lucía and Alexis are the family of the children…if a child gets sick, he will be taken to the hospital, here it is normal that there is no way to bring a child to the hospital and he dies…People in Anse à Pitres eat once a day if lucky, here the children eat three or four times a day…people are violent because there is misery and misery changes the people…education at the street is very bad…sometimes Haitian children are used to take drugs to Dominican Republic…one of those children died…

The director of the home had the opportunity to defend AYMY during a meeting in which the SE was criticised. Previously there was an organization theoretically in charge of the children who lived on the street, but their situation did not show any change. During the meeting in which AYMY was criticised by other Haitians, it was the director of the home the one who confronted them by asking: "what did you do for the children before AYMY? The same worker who described this situation explains about Lucía " she does a real work, that shows her heart…people are surprised because she pays the people with her money…the children are not beaten, she does not want that the children to be beaten…"

4.4 Final considerations

AYMY is the youngest SE of the sample. It is an extremely lively SE. It is especially eye-opening because it shows how certain attitudes and logics which seem to be distinctive of SEs–like openness to reality- are already present in the initial moments of the SEs. The following cases of ACOES and Anidan, will particularly show how those features reappear without having any form of connection between the SEs. Due to the similarity of the contexts (extreme poverty in rural areas in Haiti and Kenya), AYMY seems Anidan's younger brother. In fact, if some sort of connection between the SEs took place, Anidan's insights, experiences and strategies to boost the economic development of the community could be quite significant for AYMY. AYMY still has a long way ahead, but the acquired legitimacy is already an asset of the SE. In a very short period of time, it has become an engine of cultural transformation for the village creating opportunities for the youth. It is too

early to make predictions about its future, but if properly managed, its consolidation is more than foreseeable. The chapter devoted to Anidan, can give clues about what AYMY can turn to be.

From a more personal perspective, after the first exploration period of AYMY in December 2015, I wrote in my notebook, “funding an SE means to be up to the mark of something more important than yourself". After all the different angles from which an SE can be seen and analyzed, what remains in AYMY is a clear feeling of peace that can be felt around the home where the children experience a dignifying love and are properly looked after. However subjective this appreciation may seem, it was corroborated with Lucía Lantero in one of the last encounters and it is not an exception: Anidan’s home in Kenya transmits the same feeling. I used to walk around the home with the group of the smallest three who went to the nun’s school. One day, while walking hand in hand with them we bumped into a father with two daughters in the middle of the way. He was trying to heal one of the legs of a donkey, which he had previously tied with a rope. When she saw me, the smallest girl, around four years old, run to me and hugged me, while the eldest one, shyer and reserved, observed the situation with big eyes full of attention. While welcoming her, I gave her a sounding kiss on her cheek in return. No words were necessary between us. To me it was the first time that I saw them, obviously, the contrary was not true. Acceptance from the community does not have any ornaments or decorations, it is pure and direct, whether the foreigner is able to admit it or not.

Just before leaving Anse à Pitres I was making the last interview in the house with some former volunteers of AYMY still emotionally involved in the SE. Their cozy house with no water or electricity was in the middle of vegetation and on the way to the school where the smallest children went every day. In my interview I intended to explore aspects of legitimization and informal assessment of the SE. We had eaten some boiled vegetables and some leftovers remained. While chatting we heard the three kids at the door. My interviewees smiled. After having had breakfast at AYMY and lunch at their school, they passed daily by their home to see if they could eat something else, before the afternoon meal in AYMY. With joy and no surprise, a single big metal plate was given to them full of vegetables. Peacefully, sharing it and unaware of us, they started eating outside, while speaking about their things in creole. There were only two chairs, the third child sat on the wall rocking one of his legs. I could not help staring at them for a while,

sharing so peacefully, safe and relaxed in the net that has grown for and around them, to protect them, in the middle of nature. I could not help feeling blessed, as if in that moment, while sharing, they were showing me the meaning of life.



Lucía with one of the kids. The presence of an emotional bond is apparent.



Lucía with the first group of kids at the beach in the initial moments.



Two young kids of AYMY in January, 2015. I chose this picture for the feeling of brotherhood and confidence they show.



Image of the home built with the resources of the crowdfunding operation.



Nemours Santana, current director of AYMY in Haiti with two of the kids.



Image of the school, AYMY.



Leisure time in AYMY.



After-school activities in AYMY



With my friend Kesnel Toussaint, former caregiver of AYMY. One of those meaningful relationships that are created.

“Projects are always temporary, they survive through their sons”

Wolfgang Müller

5

CHAPTER 5. CASE STUDY ALI S.K. MEMORIAL SOCIETY FOR THE CHILDREN: UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF SUCCESS

Case study Ali S.K. Memorial Society for the children: Understanding the meaning of success

5.1 Preliminary considerations

Ali S. K. Memorial Society for the Children [69]is an organization based in Kolkata, India, founded by Wolfgang Müller in 1998 at the age of thirty. It has been running for eighteen years with the mission to provide food, shelter and education for street children. Observations were made in March 2015 [70]for the whole month and nineteen interviews were carried out with the founder and some of the children involved in the SE. At that time, the number of beneficiaries (children and young men) in the project was 32 and the number of employees 5. The annual budget of the organization is 40,000 euro, coming all of it from private sources of support. The organization has not developed any kind of independent financial sources or revenue generating activities although they were open to the idea. In the context of the economic booming of India, they had thought of a bakery. The SE is therefore a nonprofit. There is an Ali S. K. e.V. (which stands for eingetragener Verein, i.e, registered association) set up in Germany to provide the funds. Ali S. K. was officially registered in India as a society with an elected governing body of seven persons. No official or institutional partnerships have been developed, although an informal collaboration was set up with Bayern Munich Football Team for several years, complementing Ali S. K's work in the years in which it was run as a football academy. The fact of being run as such was a highly distinctive and successful feature of the SE. The initial design and conception of the project included three phases, which consisted of the construction of two buildings run with solar energy and a third one related to the construction of a biodynamic farming in the countryside. This last phase could not be achieved due to the overwhelming presence of problems over the years. The state of the SE is described as a dying project by the SER. As he affirms: "projects are always temporary, they survive through their sons."

- *What is a dying SE?*

According to the observations made of this case, a dying SE project is an SE that finds itself in the process of being closed down due to accumulation over a long period of

[69]For more information, see www.calcutta.de
[70]Ali S.K. does not write annual reports at present. Figures are calculated from informal consultation with the SER.

time (eighteen years) of external and internal problems that have managed to wear down the resistance of the SER. Its dying nature does not weaken the commitment to the beneficiaries, in the sense of continuing to offer long-term support, provide comprehensive attention and achieve a cultural transformation process among them. Although still running and giving support, the SE is not in the best position to provide full protection to the children: the systematic denegation of the renewal of the license since 2008–apparently due to the revenge of a fired employee well connected at the political level –has caused an important degree of vulnerability: if an inspection came, the minors would be sent to public institutions. In order to avoid that possibility, they have been sent, with the exception of eight of them, to different boarding schools in West Bengal. The exhaustion of the SER is easily observed and there is a decline in the spirit and strength of the SE parallel to the maintenance of the commitment by the SER.

5.2 Subjective processes of the SER in the founding experience

5.2.1 How it all began, profile and fight against rationality

Wolfgang Müller is a smooth leader and a very thoughtful person since he was a child. He was educated in a Catholic family and raised under the influence of the revolutionary spirit of the 60s environmental and peace movements, which very soon became very important in his life. As an activist he participated in demonstrations against nuclear power and the presence of an army in Germany. He remembers himself as a very thoughtful, reflexive empathetic child, always willing to help others, with a clear feeling of affective security during his childhood at home. A person who quickly develops a critical perspective, and whose search for a mission made him combine formal and informal education, which nowadays he appreciates ("an absolute clear line"). Capacities from both sources would later be essential for the SE.

He studied physics due to his interest in renewable energy and after that experience an intense period of travel started, visiting places where "people would not normally go". He wanted to see the world with his own eyes due to his mistrust of the Western media and, in his opinion, their brainwashing operations. There he confronted the reality between "the island of wealth and the normal world," which is where most people live. Overwhelmed by the state of the world, he decided to spend more than a year in Canada in the wilderness, where he developed huge improvising skills and realized that, although he could not change the whole world, he could make "his own small contribution". That

experience gave him the confidence that when he started the project in India, he could make it work. The university period allowed him to use the internet earlier than most people, knowing that it was the future and that he should create a web page of the SE as soon as possible, when they were still only a few. This allowed him to get money from unexpected sources and establish the organization. A short contact with official aid from Germany carried out in the form of a seminar took place in winter 1994/95 but its intense focus on money, retributions and incentives, made him lose all interest in that approach to development.

5.2.2 Appearance of the partner of mission and first oppositions

During his travels he met Ali Salem Khalifa, perfect Arabian businessman, with experience, good organizer, and a gift for working with street children; A very good friend with whom he shared a sense of mission, which lead them to commit and do something together. This sense of mission was mutually recognized and seems to help overcome limitations of each of the partners. It generates complementarity. In general terms it does not exclude friendship or any other type of personal relationship, so apparently there is affection, and seems to be connected to the fulfillment of an activity felt as a common mission. A shared sense of adventure inspired them to travel over land from Libya to Kolkata by way of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iran and Pakistan.

As in other cases, geographical context where the SE will settle is the result of several circumstances and not of a prefixed idea: Ali S. K. proposed Somalia and Wolfgang Kolkata, to which he had already gone three times to visit a friend. At that time Wolfgang was thirty years old and Ali just a few years older.

As a repeated feature, SEs usually emerge in circumstances of informality and without a formal recognition by the governments: with a student visa the two started studying local languages at university and explored existing projects looking for any fit of their idea on how to improve the conditions of the people. At a certain moment due to a worm infection Ali collapsed, and was sent to a private hospital in Kolkata where he should have an operation. Wolfgang travelled to Germany to work and raise money to cover Ali's expenses. The conditions of the hospital were terrible, and he witnessed events that he still cannot speak of. They were also cheated routinely. As he remembers,

> [I] got the first insight in what it means to drag somebody's money and that's what the hospital did, they just saw the foreigner, they saw lots of money, they started to suck money at the of the hospital already, the huge bill was there and the first thing I always had to do everyday was getting a huge bill.

Wolfgang was also told to buy extra medicines that in reality were for other people. His friend was operated but, due to an infection after seven months in the hospital, eventually died.

After that intense period of looking after his friend, Wolfgang went to the mountains, to recover and try to understand. As other SERs, he remembers a moment of revelation after the shock in which he decided he would stay in Kolkata and would make a home for street children because his friend loved them and would name it after him. In retrospect, like in the other observed SEs, it was a decision taken against all rationality, especially after the inhuman cheating he suffered at the hospital. He explained that decision based on two causes. First, an already developed sense of mission:

> …coming back to why I did not run away from India…I was already on a mission I had already made up my mind when I came here…it was a long procession to India, that aim to do something, that is why I could not drop the idea.

And second, a degree of naivety also observed in other SERs who cannot imagine the difficulties they will encounter in the process of funding. This naivety seems to protect the motivation and help launch the SE, to a certain extent. Wolfgang said:

> …you have to be naive about it otherwise it is not possible, if you knew only one per cent of the troubles ahead, you would probably not do it and that is why you have to be naive about it, you have to; You will encounter so many problems on the way that if you foresee them, you would really run away, right from the beginning, not do it.

As in other cases, some SERs decide or search to do something but not thinking of children originally. That is probably the reason why, in so many cases, their formal studies are not directed to that area. It is usually the recognition of a situation of extreme vulnerability, which leads them to that sector. Wolfgang actually decided he would work with them raising them in the spirit of sustainability, passing it over the next generation, thereby introducing in the SE his core interests. As peculiarity, he decided to work with children before actually meeting them, an event that would happen years later. As in many

other cases, his family reacted with concern, since his decision could affect his career as a scientist in the long-term, but evolving ultimately into full support (this is not always the case of the other SERs).

5.2.3 Understanding the particular circumstances of Ali S. K. and its dying situation:inmediate context and social distance and other cultural considerations

Ali S. K. Memorial Society for the Children, is settled in a very orthodox Hindu neighbourhood in the south of Kolkata called Santoshpur. The relationships within this dense urban community in terms of population are closely knitted with a very clear differentiation between those inhabitants who come originally from the neighborhood (*parar chhelera*, literally means boys of the neighborhood) and those who do not. For example, the fact of not being *parar chhele* denies access in the same conditions to some common public areas: the soccer field can be used by Ali S. K. boys only when *parar chhelera* are not using it. Ali S. K. SE, his founder and their beneficiaries are still considered outsiders. Besides, the high density of population and the urban environment do not offer visibility to the activities carried out by the SE and its positive impact on the children. In rural environments like Anse à Pitre in Haiti, everyone in the community can easily perceive the work carried out by the SE, which facilitates its recognition and legitimacy.

Another exceptional example of social rejection can be observed in the fact that at the beginning, eighteen years ago, it was impossible for the founder to rent a home, as a foreigner, and even more difficult to bring street children in. This forced the SER to build a home first, before having the children, which made it more difficult to raise funds. Fortunately opposition to renting homes to foreigners has decreased over time for several reasons: tourism has increased and foreigners are now considered more reliable for paying than locals; landlords can easily overcharge them and it is easy to expel them, which is not so much with local tenants. Some local people still do not rent due to the fear to lose their property. Taking advantage of SERs as tenants, overcharging them and ignoring the negative effects that this may have on the stability of the children can be observed in other cases like AYMY in Haiti. But this initial level of social rejection towards the outsider by denying rental space has only been observed in Kolkata.

In the Kolkata area there is a widespread belief that NGOs (SEs erroneously included) have a kind of criminal intent. People believe that NGOs are set up with an ulterior motive, which is to keep the donations received. This fact generates, according to the SER two reactions among the local population: first they wish to tap into that project and "get a piece of the cake" and second, if they cannot do it, they try to bring it down and stop the SE with all the means available. Once again, the first reaction and belief can be observed in other cases like AYMY in Haiti. However, the length and the sophistication of the opposition to Ali S. K. is unique in this study's sample and has affected negatively the proper and definitive establishment of the SE. There is no support from society at any level. Moreover, for the inhabitants of the area, the SE brings the uncomfortable reality of the street children ever closer and makes difficult maintenance of social distance. At the institutional level, barriers to essential aspects are still working. Mistrust with regard to NGOs is a frequent feature among local people, though it is not rare that SERs gain gradually recognition through the visibility of what they are doing. But in this case, no sense of ownership has been observed from the community, beyond the criminal intents to take over the property by members of the commitee.

The work culture in West Bengal and the quality of the human resources constituted another big problem for the SE. There is a high level of in-migration from rural areas and in general, no proper training at any level. More precisely, a very relaxed attitude towards work (they would like to have an income but without working); they rarely stick to what has been agreed and go on holiday and seldom return on time. They fail to speak clearly in face-to-face interaction, so issues cannot be treated openly (a common feature in Hindu culture). As a result, the replacement leads nowhere. There is also a rigid sense of status in the functions attributed (e.g., the person in charge to look after the house will not take the trash out). This lack of commitment has been observed even in people with professional degrees: one psychologist used to speak over the phone instead of giving direct counselling and did not do the reports; with the educators, (one in each of the seven groups of five or six children) the SER needed to be constantly behind them. They were unable to develop a plan and never stuck to what had been agreed on the staff meetings. In this concrete project, no sense of ownership is observed from the local team. They have not felt it as theirs. In the end, human resources actually worked against the project due to their collaboration with the local mafia.

There are two other external forces that work in coordination that seem to have figured in the exhaustion of the SER. There is an extreme level of politicization in Kolkatan society, a high level of interference from the Communist Party of India. It has been in power for more than thirty years, and works with the local mafia connected at the political level. Observation shows quickly that in Kolkata everything is politics: the Marxist party has their local offices and authorities, which means that if there is trouble in the neighbourhood, the party people will come and solve it. In that sense, a political party allows people to carry out initiatives, if the party can get part of the profits from it. As will be seen, in some points it is not possible to distinguish both forces, since they form a continuous line between both spheres (politics and local mafia). I concluded that these two generate an anti social-entrepreneurial environment that inhibits any kind of private and honest social initiative.

Meanwhile,local mafias must be understood as non-professional criminal groups -unlike the ones found in Mumbai described by another SER (Sanllorente, 2009) -that emerge out of opportunity, and are based on relationships of identity, loyalty or family, (e.g., *parar chhelera*). These mafias protect their members, and collaborate to eliminate the founder, expel the children (both are outsiders) and ultimately exploit the SE. In the concrete case, the local mafia appeared as friends, willing to offer support. Dealing with local mafia is not uncommon for SERs but in this case, these neighbours entered the organization through its commitee and used their political connections to work against the SE. As a result the license of the SE was revoked in 2008, after he was expelled from the country in 2007.

5.2.4 Experience of intuition as a source of valuable information

Intuition is recognized among SERs as a valuable source of information. In other cases it seems to be close the empathy, connected to the capacity to read what happens to the local people. In this case, described as a “belly feeling” it is connected to the detection of a danger, something the SER thought that was happening but could not prove. He knew that the people (“committee members”- a sort of board of directors) who started this were stealing money but he also knew “they wanted the entire property and get rid of me” and they were not doing that alone. A Bengali family settled in Germany approached a very well connected person with the Marxist Party in India, in order to help

the SER solve some visa problems and give him the Indian citizenship. This person found out that:

> …[the SER] is indeed doing very good job there but I have found out that some local people [in connection with] the local party are trying to snatch the entire property from him and I strongly advice him not to take Indian citizenship because as long as he is a German citizen, his country can protect him. Once he has taken over the Indian citizenship anything can happen to him.

5.2.5 Cruelty and extorsion in Kolkata: a different degree

In the line with this previous example, and as has probably been noticed, this case offers the opportunity to understand the harm that having the wrong people in a committee may bring to the project. This harm cannot be understood without reference to the existence of political and institutional connections of some members of the committee. These connections enabled them to block the natural course of development of the SE, while bringing the SER to his limit several times. The intensity of extorsion in Kolkata is remarkably severe; it shows the evolution of greed and the total impunity in which this local mafia had been acting for several years. All this generated a state of severe isolation for the SER who could just focus on solving the problems and remaining alert, while preventing him from making headway on completing the third phase of the project and just focusing more deeply on its qualitative aspects.

1997 Ali S. K. was registered as a society and therefore required seven members including the founder for the committee. Having given the appearance of being supportive, three started to steal from the very beginning. A fourth left the committee scared. One of the members, became a real partner of mission for the founder. He did not steal and, instead, got involved in the project, sharing responsibility with the SER, but due to reasons of loyalty and inspite of his awareness of the activities of the other three, could not speak up. Initially the founder was very dependent on the members because he did not speak Bengali, so in every purchase to build the home for the children there was a disagreement over price due to previous hidden agreements with the sellers and among them. One of the members stole a piece of Ali S. K's land and with the same construction material (having stolen cement, bricks and two pumps) built two houses, one just by the gate of Ali S. K. painted in the same blue colour of the home built in the piece of stolen land. The secretary of the SE and member of the committee changed the accountability accordingly. He was responsible for sending several files to open investigations against the SER to try

to expel him and take over the property. In the first one, in 1999, he tried to link him with terrorism. In 2005 another investigation was opened and the charges were also dropped after an intense period of investigation and interrogations by the authorities. The SER's friend's influence was key in that case in dropping them.

In 2006, his friend and partner of mission broke the loyalty bond with the members of the committee and told the SER everything he knew. In order to get evidence, he started recording his conversations over the months with the secretary. In those recordings, the secretary explained in detail what he had stolen and how he had spent it. He also spoke proudly about his affairs with neighbourhood women and his visits to the red light area in Kolkata. Hints about the possibility of hiring a killer if it was necessary to get rid of the SER were also mentioned. Due to their increasing greed, they became too dangerous. His idea was to make the property a profitable hospital and he even brought some doctors one day to show it to them. With the recordings, the SER and his friend confronted him with all the information they had in order to make him leave. He was not afraid because going to court and solving a case may take 20 years in Kolkata and the recordings were not valid in court; the situation changed when they told him about the information of his private life; that only scared him and after doubting, and threatening him about publishing all that had happened, he resigned and gave all the documents back. This was 2006.

The dismissal of the secretary in 2006 made him the biggest enemy of Ali S. K. continuing his operations from the outside. In 2007 there was another investigation against the SER and eventually managed to expel him from the country. Fortunately he was not blacklisted and could get a visa to come back with the help of the Indian consulate in Germany and the support of Bengali friends in Germany. Since 2008, Ali S. K. has been unable to renew the license of the project. They apply every year for it but they never get an official reply. The other member of the committee who cooperated with the secretary, the man who built the house by the gate of Ali S. K. used to rape women, filmed it and blackmailed them when raping was still not "an issue" in India. One day some people, presumably relatives of one of the victims, came to beat him to death, so he left to Mumbai for ten years. At the time when this research was conducted, he had returned and the SER was being harrassed again.

According to the SER, creating a society in India is riskier in the sense that requires more members than a trust –only two or three- according to the Indian legislation. He considers that the whole process was not planned, it emerged out of opportunity, which made them too dangerous eventually. The harm caused through the investigations, the expel or the systematic lack of pronunciation over the license renovation since 2008 cannot be understood without invoking the presence of political connections. There is a similar case to this one observed in Kolkata: the first organization created by Thierry Dardaunet, founder of APLE, was expropiated by the committee.

"Getting stuck" with the wrong people in the committee - at the beginning he saw that two of them who would not work- can have severe long-term consequences for the organization as well as for the SER at the psychological level, namely, a fear of being harmed since the property is valuable and the local mafia is still there. Being a foreigner there is a disadvantage in the long run. The locals play in their own field, whereas the SER does not.

5.2.6 Personal dimension: how does all this affect the SER?

How do all the events just briefly described with their emotional impacts affect the balance of a healthy person over the years?. The concept of burn out seems inadequate, especially because it was conceived of in Western environments and does not include the dimension of being permanently exposed to evil: the fact of being in a highly laudable mission and having to deal with and protect yourself from criminals.This section examines the factors that lead the SER to a state of personal exhaustion.

- *The partners of mission*

Partners of mission seem to be very relevant for SERs as a tool to recharge, to find balance and help compensate for what they have been through. In practical terms, the sense is not only related to sharing the responsibility, but also to sharing all that has happened to them, which is too complex, too hard and often too incredible for Western people. In 2014 Wolfgang's second partner of mission, died due to an illness. As he explains, he lost "his only witness". He had supported him during the struggles with the local mafia. "This was a huge blow for me," after having lost Ali in the initial years. This means that the whole responsibility now falls on him. The lack of trust generated over the

years impedes the possibility of hiring new people, even if that could help reduce the burden of work for the SER.

- *The capacity to resist: what does it mean in emotional terms? And how long can it last?*

This case is particularly hard given the loss of the partners, but with regard to the capacity to resist, Wolfgang considers it is a totally unnatural process:

> The natural reaction…would be, ok this is not bearable, this is not possible [but SERs keep on trying] because you are not giving up, you just carry on and carry on and carry on…you have to eat that shit again, again and again and it slowly wears you down over the years… It is the unhealthy part of it. It isolates you completely.

How long can that capacity to be relentless last? How can the psychological damage be managed if SERs are usually alone, without any king of psychological support detached from their cultural origins? In the case of partners of mission, that function to recharge can be found, but what happens if they disappear? How can SERs themselves, and not the projects, become sustainable and healthy people?

Observation shows that they seem to function taking into account what they want to achieve, in terms of aspirations but not necessarily considering their whole being. In fact, one of the aspects that seems to suffer more is the health. They just focus on what they want and continue trying. In some moments it might be simply too much.

At a more personal level, apparently it is not the fact of having lack of support from the society in general ("if you want to do social work, do it in your country") and the government (who has tried to stop the SE in every form) what harms more; it is more the interest to persistently bring the SE down and make the SER look like a criminal. This places the SER in the paradoxical situation of being able to assume that while trying to help others and giving up his career, what is received in return, according to Wolfgang is "people trying to stop you, cheat you, harm you kill[ing] your motivation and wear[ing] you down over the years". It can lead to the question detected in another SER in the same context in 2011: "what I am working for"?

- *Isolation of the project, isolation of the person*

Isolation cannot be separated by the accumulation of problems and does not seem to be an infrequent feature. According to the SER, it affects the project and the person of the SER: [SERs] "are too much tight up to their project [and]…too busy with the problems in its own project". Although some sort of coordination or even a higher level of communication would desirable, SERs "cannot do extra work linking [SEs]" although it could benefit them in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. Observations in Kolkata show that founders are incapable of networking even if they work in similar projects. Previous observation in the same context shows that some SERs, after a high level of saturation, seek isolation purposely as a way to protect themselves, even from well-meaning or just curious people. Yet, some SERs like Wolfgang "would be very welcoming to somebody from outside to help us, to organize that linking part."

Not only practical problems isolate the person; other societal factors do it as well. The loss of partners of mission is one reason but another is the simple accumulation of events in India which are very difficult to understand for foreigners. With regard to a personal life, in Kolkata, after a certain age (after the twenties) it is "impossible" to meet women, since the sexes do not mix and from a certain moment on, all women are married. The development of friendships is also a hard task, especially after having being cheated so many times by false friends like the members of the committee. For all SERs trust is a very relevant issue from the outset and in some cases, it may end up being very low. In Kolkata the idea of cheating is not understood in the same way it is in most Western societies. What a Western person understands as cheating, is in Kolkata understood as making profit. And the normal thing is to do it if you have the opportunity. The fact of being permanently cheated at all levels[71] (from the highest to the lowest) generates a tendency toward paranoia.

Basic things like travelling, even for a short time in the mountains, are not easy for an SER who is "stuck". This is common even in young organizations. Nor does the weather in Kolkata encourage going for a simple stroll.

[71] Staff members used to protest against Metro Food, a big food store that sells in big quantities, until the SER found out the staff had a hidden agreement with local shops that used to charge Ali S. K. more for the food. Over the years, Metro was the only store where they were not cheated. Manipulation and cheating work very closely, causing intense harm for the SER and leading to frustration and permanent lack of trust.

- *At this point, how is the obligation managed?:The feeling of being stuck and the emergence of a non-working obligation*

There is a moment in which in spite of the severe accumulation of problems and the personal exhaustion, the SER realizes that due to the responsibilities achieved he cannot leave the project, because that would be inconsistent with his core values; that is being a decent guy, Wolfgang explains, “I could not leave my kids behind” and, at the same time, the project is not able to run on its own. There is a feeling of internal disappointment, thinking in retrospect, which leads to questions such as “why did I do that to myself”?,in the recognition of all the possibilities that a professional life as a scientist in Europe could have delivered. The SER explains:

> I think it would be unnatural if you do not ask yourself those questions sometimes; I mean, I gave up a huge career opportunity as a scientist…I gave up all that life, I had in Europe all the possibilities, I left it all behind to do this work…

The feeling of being stuck shows a situation in which the freedom of choice has eventually disappeared, and what started as a form of serious leisure, has been transformed into a non-work obligation. The evolution seems to be gradual and according to the case, to a big extent, not easily perceptible:“…somehow slowly and gradually [you] get…stuck”. On the base of that reflection seems to lay a mistake of perception of the nature of many SEs, which essentially are life projects. Many SERs start their SEs thinking they will be just temporary and that logically, they will be able to transfer the responsibility of the SE, because there will be a right moment to do so and because that is the nature of any altruistic undertaking like this. Initial confidence and naivety may lead to miscalculating the costs of giving up a career and being uprooted after a long period of time. Successful transferences of power can be observed in the selected sample, but at least in certain contexts, they do not seem to happen easily. Observations shows that projects, although desirable, cannot always be transferred. Wolfgang observes:

> …[Y]ou really think in the beginning you can build something and can sometimes come for a visit, but it does not work out at least for a series of other projects around me run by foreigners who have built something here in Kolkata and just come twice in a year to look after it and it is just not working well.

For the SER, this situation shows one key difference from missionaries in the sense that the latter probably see with more clarity the implications of a life option, recognizing it

as such from the beginning. Another advantage, in the form of assumption, might be for the latter, the opportunity to share the burden with religious fellows, although it might not always be possible (Oliveras, 2000, p. 76).

The feeling of being "stuck" does not annul the joy of "seeing some of them succeed in life" as young adults very soon, with increased possibilities in a booming economic context in which they are well situated (fluent in English and good education); But it would be insensitive not to recognize, [that] "I could have had a much better life somewhere else", Wolfgang explains. In this case, the manipulation of the kids by the local mafia (local team) against the SER and his partner of mission, also "killed the motivation a little bit inside" him since they felt "stabbed on the back". Motivation according to this SER is very relevant, and seems to be connected to the recognition of core personal values and to acting accordingly. The fact of being a "decent guy"…"they are still my kids", the SER explains. It was in 2002, during a crisis between India and Pakistan, when he clearly realized he could never leave them behind at the cost of his own security. A situation that is not over yet.

- *The future: welcoming uncertainty*

After so many years away from Germany, there is a clear feeling of being "absolutely uprooted". Assimilation by the society does not seem possible even if you speak the language. At the same time, an essential element of the project was to volunteer since according to him, "charity comes from the heart and not from the purse". This means that no pension from the German government will be received although support from the organization in Germany might be possible in the future. As other SERs who run non-profits, he runs a small travel agency online to cover his personal expenses and medical insurance. Receiving a salary raises critical moral questions for SERs who do not see clearly how they can justify taking part of the money that is for the children and what would be the balance, the right amount. Although in India, the children are a financial resource and that is not a desirable option, in this case it can be seen in the long-term implications of volunteering at all levels.

5.2.7 Impact and cultural transformations on the children

- *Starting point*

The children come originally from train stations in Kolkata and are supported by an NGO that has a half way home[72]; If the kids are ready for transition they are sent to places like Ali S.K. Street children value very much their freedom and do not want to lose it. If the transition is voluntary there is high probability that the kid will stay and adapt to the new home.

In this case, the incorporation of the children was a gradual process. It took him five years to get all the money to be able to receive them. The first wave of ten was formed by very wild kids. There was an intense period of three months before school in which there was no time for anything, and no personal life of any kind, like in other cases of the sample. Wolfgang explains that "they were wild and just to get them organized, getting used to and facing things you don't even think about in the beginning like how to use a toilet…all that, I had to explain to them". This allowed developing a sense of family that grows gradually in which "things came quite naturally". And he adds:

> …so I reacted more like a father who is going to have yet another child, and sees the family slowly growing…forty from the beginning straight from the streets, it would have been completely impossible, it would have meant complete chaos.

The SER remembers it smiling, impressed by the progress made by them in their lives.

- *Relationship with the kids and evolution: Skills required*

Like in many other cases, Wolfgang Müller did not have special preparation to deal with children. He recognizes a natural capacity connected with remembering how it was like to be a child, including having "vivid memories about my childhood"…an asset since it allows for speaking on the same level".

There is a mutual affective bond, playing the father role with a whole generation of children: "they are all my sons. [I am] a loving parent and a worrying parent as well, sometimes too much" in the form of worries when they come late, for example. The presence of comprehensive attention and long-term commitment is probably a consequence of that bond, recognized by the SER: "I will always support my children". Also the possibility that probably not all of them will maintain a relationship with him over time is accepted and understood.

[72] A half way home is what according to Alexis Derache, is missing in AYMY for the first kids who cannot adapt to AYMY for having spent too much time at the street.

The way the children are treated, educated and loved is well connected to core aspects of his personality and to his "philosophy": the capacity to smooth them, to lead them to reflection, the rejection of violence and the avoidance of physical harm which generates respect from them towards him in return. A certain balance is observed in the daily life of the organization. The presence of love is for this kind of kid more important than for those who come from well-established families. According to the SER, they do not go beyond the limits because they love him. The three main tools recognized as creating a sense of family and brotherhood (recognized by the boys as well) have been the sense of humor and the use of sports (football) and art.

- *Psychological realities of the kids*

The affection given by the SER does not impede recognizing the existence of psychological problems- with different degrees- in some of them due to the lack of affective security in their initial years. As a result, some of them are "craving for love and attention; they compete for [it]", as Wolfgang explains. These experiences do not seem to undermine in most of them the capacity to overcome those initial difficulties showing a great degree of social intelligence and practical skills for life, i.e. "being as sharp as a needle."

The creation of an emotional bond is not immediate and therefore, there is a waiting period of at least three months until the SER started "to dig into the story and try to find out what happened to them and why they had ended up on the street". In any case they tend to change their personal lives and stories; it is also common that their names have been given by themselves, since some of them were left alone before memory sets in. They do not have papers [73]of any kind, with the exception of those given by the school. Papers become essential for future identification and official requirements.

With regard to their initial years, cases of mistreatment can be observed having caused extra damage in the case of a boy already born with some degree of mental retardation: "it took him three weeks to reply to an adult", since he kept hiding from them, Wolfgang explains.

[73]In fact they are considered illegal immigrants by the government.

There are frequent cases of abandonment of children at the stations where they are picked up from, due to remarriage or economic reasons: either the new partner does not want the kid and the child will be forsaken, or, since the family has too many already, the same decision will be made. Such is an emotional shock for the SER-from which it is not easy to recover. The practice challenges the existence of a "natural maternity bond" generally assumed in most Western societies. The same story is told by many children, who are also in shock: The mother tells the child they will visit some relatives and they go to the train station. At a certain point, she tells the child to wait there because she is going to buy something and she never returns. In the cases detected, the children were no more than four years old.

In most cases the strong wish to have a mother remains over the years but at the beginning of the adolescence (age of thirteen) they start inventing them through the writing of stories: the SER asked them to write an essay once about a picnic they went to, but instead of mentioning him, they explained they had gone with their mothers, changing the story "slightly", as Wolfgang observed. In other cases, tendencies to hurt themselves have also been detected. This forces the SER to increase the affection given to that child, giving him a hug every morning when the others did not see it, in order to avoid resentment and jealousy.

There is need to reinforce the psychological service at all levels across the years. In this case, a problem has been the lack of professionalism of those human resources, for example, the psychologist, who instead of counselling was chatting over the phone. Lack of emotional balance in the children may facilitate brainwashing or manipulation at lower level of autonomy in their relationships, as it seems to have happened in this case. Forgiving is very difficult for them, almost "unknown" a feature observed in other organizations that work with children who have lived in the streets. Every little thing creates a drama. Frustration can be difficult to handle in some cases, and it may lead to some young men to shut down completely.

- *Cultural transformation detected in them*

A whole generation of children, some of them already young men, have been educated under the framework of a pacifist German atheist and activist for the environment. An intense process of cultural transformation has taken place since from the

very beginning, where the children come from, cheating, lying, and stealing are essential for survival: exactly the opposite codes. Transformations in several respects have taken place while in others are still to be achieved. The increasing consumerist tendency in Indian society creates a degree of pressure against the education received at Ali S. K. as well as brings professional opportunities for their future. To what extent is Indian society ready for them? Have they grown in an island? According to Indian terms, they have not achieved anything yet, because they have not finished studying. Their acceptance in Indian society taking into account their background may be now possible due to their qualifications, and the education received. As one of the older boys told the researcher with regard to that matter: "we know how to handle that, untie". The SER considers India a country full of "parallel universes" in which they will be able to find a place if they try to.

In any case, some of the cultural transformations detected in the boys show that if they have not grown in an island, they have gone through an accelerated process of transformation. Some of those transformations resulting from a certain type of education are:

- Development of a sense of limited family, with clear consciousness about overpopulation problems.
- Recognition of a lack of pressure for getting married, giving priority to studies.
- Critical awareness of gender inequality issues and frequent and intense expressed concern about sexual violence against women in India. In some cases, conscious rejection of the traditional role given to many women in India. As one of the boys explained, "after school or college, some of them just become housewives"[74].
- Habit to do their own things such as cleaning and ironing.
- Usual behaviours as gentlemen, permanent feeling of security with them, although according to the SER, under situations of pressure, that gentlemanliness can be at risk. In essence they could behave adequately in both worlds.
- Higher consciousness about environmental issues, than expected by the SER. The initial aim of the SE was to raise the children in the spirit of sustainability and pass it over the next generation. The SER considered the project in that

[74] Educational degrees in India still play a role in the process of finding a partner (arranged marriage) and thereby increasing the value of the person.

aspect a failure. But surprisingly, and although phase three of the project could not be done, a certain degree of knowledge about environmental issues has been filtered and assimilated by the children over the years. Wolfgang explains:

> …we had an exhibition and I was taking snaps and all of the sudden one of the kids said uncle, why don't you film us and we will give a shot and I started to film and I was surprised what they were telling me, so many environmental issues they were talking about and what are the solutions, should we change after this video I thought, oh, they did learn something, even so I thought I was not able to instill anything into them.[75]

Indian society does not help educate them as environmentally responsible citizens. On the contrary there is a very low consciousness with regard to that matter.

- A certain detachment with their original families when they exist is also observed among the children. Undoubtely, they have changed faster than the environments most of them come from. To reduce that detachment, there is a conscious effort from the SER to help them recover or even create a bond with the original families. Precisely, they spend part of their holidays with them. The development of a sense of responsibility with the families is aimed to be promoted.

- *Creation of situations of risk and turning back points in the evolution of the children*

Affective insecurity may facilitate manipulation by external forces. At the same time, the learning of the new code of conduct must be carefully looked after in order to avoid a return to violence. The second situation took place by way of the local team, who allowed the children to watch aggressive movies during a period of time, which had huge impact on them and made it difficult to make them peaceful again. The first situation took place when mafia in coordination with the local resources pitted the kids against the SER and the atmosphere became aggressive. This affected especially the group of the first ten and the emotional bond between them and the SER: “something that cannot be so easily forgotten”, Wolfgang explains. As a result of the manipulation, two of the kids, had to be removed from the home after being offered continuous support for their studies. But due to their behaviour, stealing and breaking things (alleging that people had donated them to

[75]The video (Ali. SKMSC, 2011) is available inhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ATpFN4wDJM0.

them) life together was impossible. Eventually they joined the local mafia and one of them has been in prison in Mumbai for having stolen.

- *Indian society*

India is a country with great inequalities and some studies are too expensive to be paid by the SE which will make two of the young men go to Germany to study medicine and aeronautical engineering, respectively. For this option, the support of the organization in Germany is essential. SEs do have limited budgets and some limitations can only be overcome through networking.

Indian is also a very status conscious country. Some of the boys are experiencing the pressure of living in boarding schools with much richer middle-class boys and reject any sort of vocational training, even though it might represent an opportunity for the future since India is craving qualified people. The rejection of those practical options by those kids with lower degrees, increases the dependency on the SER. The new economic context brings opportunities and pressures that needs to be overcome in the most constructive and possible ways.

5.3 Final considerations

Cases like the present one reveal the profound inadequacy of terms such as failure, success, or even project when connected with the lives of real people. A dying project can have changed the lives of many in substantial and sustainable ways, although it did not achieve its maximum expression and although its end is near. External considerations fall too short when confronted with the transformations of the real people. SERs tend to have certain ideas in mind from which it is not easy to move them and which they defend with tenacity as their core of vital understanding. Many values and life experiences are compressed in them in the form of a, say, specific “DNA”. Wolfgang Müller is not an exception. If the expectations of Ali S.K. were too high in a context such as the one described here and with the once available human resources is a question that only he can answer. In the same way, he is the only one entitled to read his own experience in subjective terms since reality can be harder than words can express. Nevertheless, due to his generosity and transparency, it has been possible to show how the implacability of the crudest survival instinct and greed can be a distinct response to altruism, disregarding the intrinsic value of the lives of the children. Any reasonable mind educated in the value of the human rights would have expected something different. Along

with these considerations, by the light of the data, the question of how to help SERs to become sustainable grows ever more important. But the same data also confirm how Ali S.K. boys have undoubtedly developed a sense of family, and gender respect among other values; The older boys start degrees in the country or abroad, live new lives in places like Mumbai studying and working part-time or in Kolkata to the beat of Indian booming economy with their reestablished right to keep on fighting, in a society that has assimilated hardness as an inherent part of its identity. But they can cope with it now. The younger ones study in good schools while fighting with their developing adolescence, in a world sometimes too complex carrying the insecurities of an origin they gradually learn to accept and handle, just like anything else. Private schools are the way to prevent them from ending up in public orphanages as the one recently shown in the film Lion. Suffice it to say, that India is still very much real. Ali S.K. boys still celebrate their common birthday on November 19th, -there is no official evidence of their birthdates- and share a proud and healthy sense of belonging to the SE; Football still joins them and is a cause of celebration, -they still are the best team compared with many other local ones[76]. A sense of family is clearly there and there is an open future for most of them. That is enough. That is plenty. The following videos are included to show past moments of the SE when run as a football academy with extra activities such as music or yoga which aimed to provide holistic attention, in order to be fair to the whole existence of the SE. The present transformations and the opportunities created cannot be understood without noting the intense care provided in the past for several years. [77]

[76]Football is very popular in West Bengal.

[77]A sample of the care provided and the intense life of the SE can be seen in the following videos
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6kLYgkVLbgk

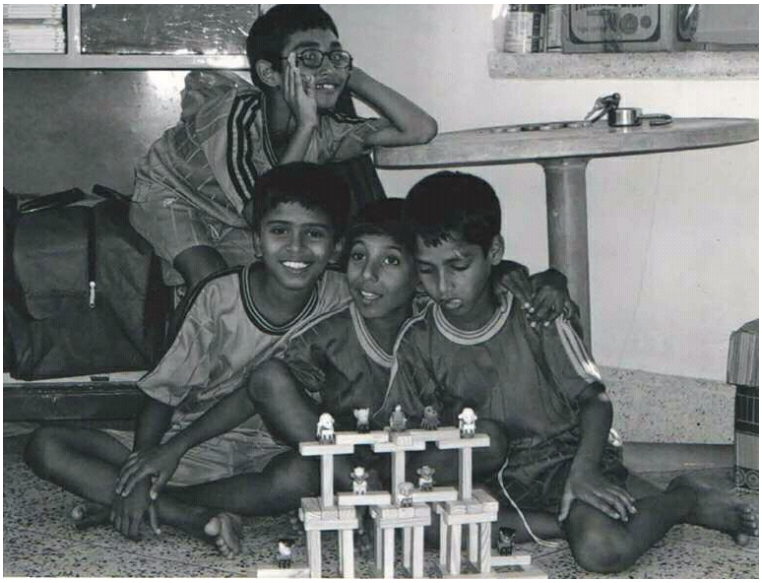
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NlNpMRci6oM

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6twpKTGqJYM

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sp52A5C9AEg

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P40rzrzy7gM

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0JA2VcRKxE



Some of Ali S.K. children in the initial moments of the SE. Playing while wearing their football training clothes



Time goes by but the brotherhood remains.



Ali. S.K. boys ready to play a football match in March 2015.



Birthday cake of their common birthday on November, 19th. It is clear how meaningful football is in Ali. S.K.



Some of the older boys ready to play.



This picture with some of the older boys was taken before one of them travelled abroad to continue his superior education.

“To me it is interesting how professional APLE has become andstill is local”,
an APLE former foreign worker

6

CHAPTER 6. CASE STUDY APLE: AN STRATEGY TO FIGHT

Case Study APLE: An strategy to fight

6.1 Preliminary considerations

APLE Cambodia (Action pour les Enfants) [78]was founded by Thierry Dardaunet in Phnom Penh (Cambodia) in 2003. At the present moment, the organization is run by its executive director Seila Seamlang, who started in the organization as an investigator in 2005. The organization represents an example of success in the transference of power from the founder to a local team but it also stands out for their ability to create institutional networks and achieve institutional recognition in a relatively short period of time.

The mission of the organization refers to "reduce all forms of child sexual abuse (CSA) and exploitation through prevention, protection, promotion of prosecution, and partnership" (APLE Cambodia, 2015, p. 6) in Cambodia. They provide social, legal and psychological support to the victims of CSA in parallel to a sophisticated strategy to prosecute child sex offenders in collaboration with national and international authorities. APLE's main expertise is on street-based exploitation [79] but has been involved in establishment-based [80]and institutional-based exploitation[81], an increasing worrying trend in the recent years (see Apendix II).

The organization has three delegations all over the country based in Phnom Penh (2003) Sihanoukville (2005) and Siem Reap (2007). A fourth office opened in 2014 in Battambang was closed in 2015.

[78] For more information, see http://aplecambodia.org

[79]"Street-based exploitation is facilitated personally by the sex offender or an intermediary, who approaches children directly on the streets, beaches, markets and other public areas in order to commence a relationship with them that will lead to sexual abuse. This type of exploitation is perpetrated largely by foreign tourists and residents and the majority of these sex offenders are Westerners" (Keane, 2006, cited in APLECambodia 2014, p. 5).

[80] "Establishment-based exploitation is facilitated through established sexhouses (e.g. brothels, karaoke bars, etc.). In Cambodia this means is favored by Cambodian and other Asian men for access to children" (APLE Cambodia 2014, p. 5).

[81]"Institution-based exploitation occurs when an individual uses an institution that is intended to benefit the well-being of children to gain access to, groom, and/or sexually exploit children. Based on APLE's observations, this type of exploitation is favored by foreign child sex offenders." The definition was created by APLE to describe this increasing modality of child sexual abuse (APLE Cambodia 2014, p.5).

The observations were carried out for a period of six weeks between June and July of 2015 mainly in the main office of Phnom Penh and briefly in Siem Reap. This latter allowed closer contact with investigation activities. Social support, psychological, institutional activities were also observed, more precisely, with presence at institutional meetings with members of the Cambodian government, personnel of FBI in close collaboration with APLE and victims (being assisted) and families supported by the organization. Sixteen interviews were made to workers and volunteers of the organization.

APLE is formed by a team of forty-four people from which forty-three are locals.According to the Annual Report 2015 (APLE Cambodia, 2015), sixty-two victims were rescued, twenty-seven suspects convicted, two hundred and eleven clients received legal counseling, four hundred and six received social support and one thousand and sixty-six people participated in their training and awareness activities.

Its income in 2015 was 561.488 dollars and its expenditure 530.207 dollars. The nature of the funding is preferentially public 95 percent over the private (5 percent). No sources of self-generated income are present or considered for the near future: it is perceived it could affect negatively the legitimacy of the organization. There are APLE offices in Switzerland, Belgium, and France with the aim to promote networks and raise funds.

The following paragraphs will try to explain why APLE is successful, finding features in their operations that explain it.

6.2 How the organization works

6.2.1 La raison d' être the APLE Cambodia and its peculiarity

Since 1990s "child sexual exploitation has been increasing in Cambodia…with sexual predators coming from abroad as short-term tourists or as long-term residents"(Renault, 2006, p. 5). During some holidays in 2003, Thierry Dardaunet, discovered the extreme vulnerability of Cambodian children who were sexually abused openly with total impunity, often by traveling sex offenders. He realized that the police were not being proactive the way they should be, they had no proper training in the issue

and lacked means. As a result, impunity was widespread. The essence of this project, like many others came from a basic feeling "we have to do something" to stop this, originally emerged and walked a very fine line. Cambodian law allows taking pictures of people in public places so APLE's team promoted collaboration with the national police, developed surveillance activities and gathered evidence of CSA forcing the police to act and defend their own children. The documentary "The pedophile hunter"[82] shows part of APLE's methodology and collaboration with foreign law enforcement. Nowadays, APLE's work is wider covering legal, psychological and social areas but it's *raison d'être* has always been linked to the institutional recognition, mainly with the national law enforcement, (with whom they have ratified a Memorandum of Understanding –MoU- that delimits the framework of collaboration) generating an impact on the whole system (legal and social as well) and forcing it to change. The change in the environment towards child protection cannot be understood as the single work [83]of APLE. Apparently, from 2003, several organizations realized the unacceptable situation with regard to CSA and started to make pressure. However, APLE's success is due to the concatenation of several links that have worked adequately for the achievement of a common aim. These events are not controllable and do not depend on the work of one single organization, but the following paragraphs will try to explain what APLE has done to explain this headway while recognizing the long way that remains to fight. That success is related to long-term hard work and productive reactions to unexpected challenges. With regard to cultural transformations, note the capacities achieved by the police (including the report of corruption in some cases) and the increased sensitivity in court towards the victims declaring separately from the offender (although penalties are still too short -- not exceeding five years time --and the general awareness seems to be sustainable). Many pieces have started falling into place creating a "unique environment" in which APLE's functionality has been a clear causant agent. However the fact remains that a drastic change in the political environment could exclude APLE's participation jeopardising future improvements in the fight against CSA.

[82]For more information, see (Egan, 2011) on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m5Y7EyD-xFo

[83] For increasing awareness and education or pressure from other NGOs on issues like orphanage tourism, see (Davidson, 2014) on https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/02/cambodia-child-protection-workers-call-for-end-to-booming-orphanage-tourism. Those factors, as well as the introduction of legal changes like the Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, enacted in 2008, have caused change in the system and the understanding of CSA in general.

6.2.2 APLE: A link between two worlds

APLE's complexity is partly evident in its link with the grassroots level with collaborators, often very humble people, who are trained and who volunteer for the organization as informants and the governmental level, with intense relationships with national and international law enforcement agencies. APLE needed to change the dynamics of the police (filling the gap between what they were doing and what they should be doing to protect the children). The creation of institutional links was, therefore, indispensable to fulfill their mission. Without them, APLE would have been only a private service of investigation. At the present moment APLE collaborates with the Government of Cambodia having ratified a MoU to delimit the collaboration framework; They are also in close relationship with the Cambodian National Police and the Anti-human Trafficking and Juvenile Protection Police; Finally, they have developed relationships with fifteen international law enforcement agencies, among which the relationship with the FBI stands out.

- *Creation of links at the institutional level*

When asked about the initial moments of the organization in 2003, some workers remember the insufficient resources the police had and the need to be complemented, at the same time they gradually realized how serious and widespread the CSA problem was. In some provinces, there was not a trafficking department and police did not have enough resources for surveillance. Essentially APLE and the police needed each other to protect the children. When Seila Seamlang joined APLE (2005) there was already a good level of acceptance from the national enforcement agencies due to their success in prosecutions. He does not remember governmental opposition to having an NGO participating in those matters. Lack of knowledge of CSA was widespread and hindered social change. As a result, some evidence could not be considered as such but it nevertheless forced the police to act. Grooming [84], a key sign of CSA, was not understood as evidence, whereas now it is, defined as,

[84] See (APLE Cambodia, 2014, p. 23) to identify the different grooming techniques used by child sexual offenders in Cambodia.

> …the techniques and behaviors that child sex offenders use to develop a relationship of trust, control, and dependence with their victims (and often the victims'' families and communities). Common techniques for traveling child sex offenders are to provide their victims, the victim's family or the victim's community with monetary support, food, and shelter, gifts, holidays and education. The giving or withholding of rewards, in the form of money, gifts or attention, can be used in a later stage to misuse the relationship of power. Some offenders develop a 'godfather' relationship with victims and their families. They present themselves as a caring 'uncle' who is only concerned with the best interests of the child, his or her family and the community (see Keane 2006, cited in APLE Cambodia, 2013, p. 2).

This lack of knowledge must have been most stressful at that time, since grooming also signals the probability of the abuse:

> [It is a]step in the process that will lead to abuse, [consisting on] prepar[ing] the victim and possible other people surrounding the victim…The child abuser will create opportunities to abuse the child and also put efforts in place to prevent disclosure. The fantasy of abusing a child is at this point so intense that the abuse will take place(APLE Cambodia, 2013, p. 7).

Earlier, the police would not see danger when a foreigner brought a child to a restaurant, for example. This practice favored abuse instead of working to prevent it, a maximum of APLE: the protection of the child is the top priority.

Another widespread misconception at the time, which still remains in some areas, was related to the sexual abuse of males:"[m]ale victims of sexual abuse and exploitation…are, as a result of beliefs about masculinity, not taken seriously. Many people in Cambodia do not even believe that males can be sexually abused" (APLE Cambodia, 2014, p. 7). Statements saying abuse to males is not possible since they do not have a vagina or if that happened, it would affect them less than for girls, still remain. APLE Cambodia (2014, p. 9) shows that:

> …foreign offenders (i.e. traveling sex offenders)…victimize males more often than females and this is in line with the fact that foreign men in Cambodia often engage in street-based exploitation. However, foreign men are not homogenous when it comes to gender preferences. APLE's statistics show that Asian men prefer females, while Western men prefer males.

The NGO First Step Cambodia[85] has developed a highly specialized system of assistance

[85]For more information, see http://www.first-step-cambodia.org

and support exclusively for male victims. They provide regular training for professionals of the sector. With regard to the role of women in CSA…"APLE investigations have never led to the arrest of a female perpetrator…[However] females play a significant role in organizing and facilitating human trafficking and child prostitution". In APLE's experience, "females have a particular important role in the recruiting and transporting stages because females contact children and gain trust easier than males" (APLE Cambodia, 2014, p. 9).

Another factor that stopped the police from acting was the involvement of foreign offenders and the fear that their intervention could affect negatively the diplomatic relationships between countries.

Creating a link at the institutional level implies that legitimacy will be acquired gradually. In fact, the initial relationship between APLE and the national law enforcement was informal and the result of a process. Some workers of APLE explain: "It takes a lot of time, a lot of investment, they saw we were reliable, trustworthy, that we would not release information".

The value of permanency is explained in the same way by Seila Seamlang:

> At the beginning, I was not so highly educated but those people agreed to create a relationship with me because they saw my patience. [They saw] the hard work that I was pursuing all those years. I think it was just working hard. One they day began to tell me I appreciate the way you work and we would be willing to cooperate and work with you.

It took 12 years to reach this point of collaboration, to build the relationship. The acquisition of formality only happened in 2010, with the signature of the MoU to delimit reciprocal competences. APLE's team underlines the wisdom of having been proactive, accurate, reliable, trustworthy and patient.

Seila Seamlang also stresses the fact of being local as very relevant in order to establish those institutional links. Authorities tend to be more open with local people; the culture of losing face is still "massive" in Cambodia, so generally speaking, local people have more frank and honest conversations, without fear of being criticized. Also for advocating, APLE workers consider that being from the same culture has been an

advantage: to train local people, to communicate the message, to address the problem, familiarity plays an important role in benefiting those relationships.

- *Work with international law enforcement agencies*

Fighting against CSA, especially if it is committed by traveling sex offenders, exceeds the national borders of one country and requires international collaboration and huge amounts of "out of the box thinking". At the present time, APLE collaborates with international enforcement agencies from the United States (FBI and ICE), United Kingdom, France, Germany, Swiss, Sweden, Netherlands. Unfortunately, this level of collaboration has not been replicated in other Asian countries. One of the main points of APLE's advocacy is the deportation of sexual offenders from Cambodia to avoid recidivism. Ideally, it would be necessary to obtain deportation and incapacity to re-enter South Asian countries where offenders can easily commit the same crimes again. A possibility explored with judges and NGOs is related to "an amendment in the law to make deportation of convicted foreign child sex offenders mandatory[86](APLE Cambodia, 2015, p. 21).

International collaboration started in 2003. As the other part of George Bush's legacy, the PROTECT Act was elaborated to assist the American law enforcement and give it "unprecedented authority to arrest US citizens who commit[ed] sex crimes overseas"(Egan, 2011). Previously, the situation was quite different:

> …prosecutors had to prove that a suspect had left the United States "for the purpose" of molesting a child, a standard that authorities said made it almost impossible to bring charges…The Protect Act eliminated that and imposed a 30-year sentence for a conviction(Lichtblau & Dao, 2004).

As the documentary the Pedophile Hunter shows, to achieve effectiveness, US law enforcement and other international law agencies require support from local organizations like APLE. In a delicate network of collaboration, APLE has a privileged relationship of

[86] "Currently, less than one out of three convicted foreign child sex offenders are ordered to be deported after their imprisonment in Cambodia. The situation in the USA and the UK is very different. In those countries, the law dictates that almost all convicted foreign child sex offenders are deported, unless an exceptional circumstance applies to them" (APLE Cambodia, 2015, p. 20). Deportation is linked to recidivism:…"adults who sexually abuse children on average victimize 76 children (Metzner, 1988) while, a more recent study found that the average adolescent sex offender will, without treatment, go on to commit 380 sex crimes during his lifetime" (Barbaree, Hudson & Seto, 1993, cited in APLE Cambodia, 2015, p. 17).

collaboration with several international law enforcements including the FBI developing an "invaluable [role] in terms of information sharing". But what does this collaboration more precisely mean? APLE facilitates collaboration between governments overcoming huge bureaucracy. For a foreign country, obtaining a simple criminal record requires a long bureaucratic process with the approval of the top positions of the national police. Being Cambodia's government involved and aware (MoU), APLE can provide that information in a much quicker and effective way. Agility is essential for CSA cases. Moreover, international law enforcement agencies cannot conduct investigations in foreign countries. And without APLE's proactivity, foreign governments through their embassies, very often would not be aware of the presence of their national sex offenders in Cambodia. When dealing with the investigation, APLE can also offer "insights and support in culturally sensitive issues" which often appear. Finally, APLE's presence guarantees that, throughout the investigations carried out by the Cambodian police, international standards will be respected and therefore, pieces of evidence can be accepted during the trials that will take place in the foreign countries (mainly the USA).

- *How did the collaboration happen or start?*

SEs show how big the missions they pursue are, and the importance of specific partners of mission, aligned with that common aim. These partners of mission can seem to be very big, too important or too far from the traditional concept of NGO but any of those considerations implies that if the alignment is real, the collaboration will not work. CSA can be very sophisticated, especially in the case of preferential sexual offenders, which is what most Westerners are, and it requires a permanent exercise of "out of the box thinking". Traditional measures do not work. Moreover, traveling sex offenders commit crimes in South Asia because they reflect on the ease as well as a low penalty for relapse. The process is calculated.

The contact with the US law enforcement was made through Seila Seamlang first through the embassy, being proactive but respecting the institutional channels. Later on, other approaches were made to other foreign law enforcement agencies. With the FBI, APLE created options for collaboration, but did not push. In many cases, offenders from the US were found guilty by the Cambodian court but were not deported, which meant that in a short period of time, they would be again in the streets (APLE Cambodia, 2015). APLE's starting point consisted of setting out whether those US citizens that were allowed

to remain in Cambodia, could be condemned in their own country according to the US legislation.

APLE found a partner more than willing to cooperate and a framework in which both entities needed each other to achieve their aims. Every side understood the limits and possibilities of the other. They share worries, values and "work alongside, not substituting each other". Very often good initiatives do not succeed since there is too much ego, inferiority or superiority complex involved. The communication between FBI and APLE is frequent and real with weekly meetings (the FBI has officers permanently assigned to that task) and a high amount of trust among the parts. Both teams know each other, and the professional relationships include some moments of casual leisure that reinforce trust. During the conversations witnessed, confidential, clear, frank, precise and honest information was shared without any filter of superiority or inferiority. What ruled over the situation is the shared mission and a very practical and precise sense of commitment. This can be logical if we consider that in most meetings all of them are investigators and therefore share a common ground but, how many times do operations among peers fail, because of personal issues or for simply not being up to the task? When asked about the success of the relationship with the FBI, APLE workers underline the accuracy of the information given over the years, the proactivity and the trust reinforced sharing moments of casual leisure. The Cambodian government is not only aware of those headways but also participates in them regularly. The same attitudes that favored the national institutional relationships have also favored the international ones.

Until July 2015, 30 US citizens with APLE's support, had been sent to the USA to face prosecution and found there guilty. The collaboration with FBI has since 2008 been intensified. The same can be said about other foreign law enforcements since 2009 and 2010 respectively. The collaboration with them has become so intense and full of acknowledgment, that sometimes they are the ones who let APLE know about the arrival of a national sex offender with previous convictions in the original country in Cambodia so that they can start the surveillance activities.

- *The creation of awareness at the grassroots level*

APLE's work suggests the image of a chain in which different links are joined in a virtuous way. APLE's effectiveness would not be the same without the commitment and

implication of citizens, often very humble people, who once aware, decide to take action. Three interviews were made with these informants, essentially volunteers. All of them have been involved in at least one case of CSA and have received recognition and appreciation from the organization in the form of a personal letter.

APLE's informants are their permanent eyes on the street, complementing the investigator's work, providing them with evidence, and remaining in permanent contact with them. There is no economic compensation for the work they carry out. An outstanding sense of shared responsibility towards all the Cambodian children is observed in expressions like "they are my own children" or "I do my part".

When these, let's say permanent, volunteers agree to cooperate with APLE, they receive training (to detect grooming and other suspicious behaviors) on the street. The collaboration is ratified through a letter with the organization. Casual collaborators also emerge in certain communities. An APLE investigator remembers a woman from Svay Park [87]who allowed him to stay in her house pretending he was his nephew so that he could observe. As a result, he gathered pieces of evidence that eventually took him to testify in the USA.

The need to have eyes everywhere corresponds with the widespread and visible way in which children were abused in 2003. This organized and systematic way to act helps transform the culture of impunity, mounting resistance against the abuse. Very often, these are very humble people carrying out invaluable work by providing information.

Informants analyze the CSA situation connecting it with poverty and with a certain degree of naivety that still exists in the country. They describe themselves as a people long time afraid, due to the politics, who still see foreigners as someone who will automatically improve their lives. In the few cases in which the role of informants is shared with relatives, the deterioration of the situation between generations is observed by the locals (parents affirming absence of this type of abuse in the past).

[87] The journalist and former correspondent in Asia David Jiménez describes the presence of CSA in Cambodia in an area called Svay Park, close to the capital, well known to the APLE workers. In 2003 the presence of brothels in the area was alarming. For more information, see (Jiménez, 2013).

Informants assess the organization very positively, a fact that motivates them to do more: “APLE replies quickly when we send a report to the organization”, one informant explained. They also refer to the replacement of investigators in the field (when one leaves, another is sent): "they don't leave the field”. The three informants have developed a strong link with the organization: “APLE is part of me”. In some cases, the link with the organization has a coherent reflection with the type of business that the collaborator runs, accepting only clean money, as in the case of a hotel manager who refuses that his property gets used for establishment-based exploitation. Unfortunately, not every hotel is willing to collaborate with APLE. This informant based his decision on his belief: “what goes around comes around" and sense of responsibility towards "my Cambodian people”.

The training is very simple. APLE trains these collaborators with regular workshops. Informants volunteer but the attendance at the workshops is compensated in places like Siem Reap with 7’50 dollars and lunch (to cover the time they did not work). Sometimes, investigators provide them a phone card, when they are in permanent communication to avoid making them spend their own money. Collaborators value the fact of learning English at the workshops, something useful for their jobs. Some informants recognize having learned a lot and developed skills for following suspicious people without being noticed, detecting signs (e.g., seeing a child going to a hotel). In general terms, they keep this activity secret. When shared with a member of the family, a sense of pride and recognition is received.

Motivation and commitment seem to be connected to a shared responsibility in the recognition that the problem is too big and one can only play his part. And in an emotional bond with those unknown Cambodian children: "I save my children, my Cambodian people”. “These are my Cambodians”. “What I can do, I will do ”. “I do my part to help”. “I have three children also”. The wish to protect every child is also present: “Bring luck to them”. “Work for the future generations”. Finally, the aspiration to have a safer country: “I want to make safety in my country for children you know, so that’s why I give information”.

- *Personal cases: when the informant has been a victim and “stands strong to fight”.*

An informant described the CSA in 2002 as widespread, “everyone could see it”: “[sexual offenders] went to temples at night, [around] 10 pm when there was not police [or] were not controlling. It happened to my sister…she was ten years old, with a German guy”.

At that moment they experienced the ineffectiveness of the system, and the impunity. The offender as in many other cases was close to the family, they thought he was good and found out too late. He abused his sister and a close friend of hers. In the first moment, they went to the local police and later on to Phnom Penh. He explains: "He never went to the prison, he paid [to] the police". At a certain point, he offered 5000 dollars to the family in the form of compensation, which he never gave to them. With regard to the effects he explains:

> She became very shy, we lost everything. People in the village looked down on her. I have my experience already in my heart, my sister you know, my sister. She wanted to die, but my family controlled everything, when she grew up she was very shy.

During the interview, he repeated the fact of having lost everything. When asked to describe what everything was, he emphasized, "the money is not important, we can work every day, [but] we lost the happiness, the life, lost everything, people looked down [on us] and my sister [became] very shy". It is clear that the weight of the social recrimination in cases of CSA was and still is very high in Cambodia[88]. Frequently victims who have been rescued from being trafficked do not want to receive psychological assistance when it implies the situation to become known in the village. In some cases, they need to move to different communities.

The motivation, in this case, stands out with a clear sense of shared responsibility: "I am standing up strong to fight…I want to take care of all the children. I can help my country, not all but for me, but I have 10 percent for me…" Critically, he reflects on the vulnerability of the children who live in more remote areas where offenders are increasingly moving due to the pressure in the cities: "children don't go to school [there], so they don't know anything about the issue".

[88]"A long-held belief in Cambodian culture is that when a female loses her virginity, she has lost her value. At that point, no 'respectable' man will marry the female anymore. There is thus enormous pressure on females to keep their virginity until getting married. Although beliefs are slowly changing,females who have been abused, exploited or raped will often not disclose this. Sometimes, victims feel pressured to marry their abuser in order to maintain their reputation…Male and female victims ofsexual abuse and exploitation feel ashamed, embarrassed and often guilty for what has happened to them" (APLE Cambodia, 2014, p. 7).

His sister is fine now, married and expecting a baby. She never received any kind of psychological support. The situation has improved a lot, according to him. Offenders "used poverty and with money they were free…It is safer now…Here there are forty informants like me".

6.2.3 Commitment of the donors

The commitment of the donors maintaining support on the long run can be essential for an SE which relies greatly on public support. Not all SEs selected in the sample consider that creating a source of self-sustainability is a suitable option for them. In conversations with Seila Seamlang, he foresees that such a possibility for an organization like APLE could create a lot of conflicts of interests especially…"when dealing with the prosecution of an offender":

> when you are dealing with specific issues like human rights, anti-human trafficking, legal or judicial human reform, you must have a high level of independence…Don't be affected by anything that you do in the income generation. They [could] say [for example that]…you use the stories to attract clients.

The same level of independence must be maintained with regard to the national government in order to defend the own positions. That's when and why foreign donors may become essential. Another possibility would be to develop a private source of funding but requires to establish a program and have a fundraiser. Until July 2015, the possibility had not been explored. Private funding is considered more complex to manage for some workers and brings delicate aspects especially in the sense of how and to what extent make donors participate. Tourist companies could be interesting partners on the long run.

Unlike many organizations, APLE has had long-term public donors. Fulfilling legal considerations, APLE's donors seem to have been aware of what and why they were supporting, and why the commitment was renewed. In the context of the development sector, it also means that the donor, instead of following the trends that change every once in a while, decides to continue funding something that is not trendy anymore, but which is valuable. APLE workers recognize the value of that fidelity. Its frequent lack makes many SERs move to the private sector, where they find longer commitments, which allows planning with better perspective and more certainty. In this case, some of the donors have

repeatedly funded APLE year after year, expanding the period of three years support, “which is pretty standard”.Probably, the commitment ofThierryDardaunet explaining APLE’s mission at the beginning, a person with credibility for insiders, favored recognition towards the “baby” organization and have made some donors support APLE fully. This is a clear example of how the institutional support of a founder can be essential in networks and moments when the local team does not have so much expertise or is simply too focused on the mission other than on raising funds. APLE’s expertise has never been in that area.

This case is worth observing because the commitment of the donors remained even in the period 2012-2015, a moment in which nearly all the money that entered in Cambodia was for human trafficking. APLE team explains: “our existing donors wished us to keep with what we were doing, focus on what we were well known for and we were experts, and that should be enough to convince them”. In this case, the donors used their margin of autonomy to maintain their commitment instead of moving towards trendier sectors.During this research, the case of an NGO in Central America which used to work with children in street situation was detected. The same trends that reached Cambodia in 2012-2015 affected this NGO, which decided to focus on human trafficking after sending all the children back to the streets again. The example shows how priorities can change irresponsibly disregarding the negative impact this may have on vulnerable populations.

Another point to bear in mind is the Western tendency to establish those priorities as watertight compartments, as if in reality, the latter were not interrelated or connected. In one of the reports of the SE can be found the following declaration:

> APLE is specialized in investigating street-based exploitation. However, any case of child sexual abuse or exploitation is extremely serious and has devastating consequences for the victim(s). Therefore, APLE investigates every report about the sexual victimization of a child, regardless the form of victimization (APLE Cambodia, 2014, p. 5).

Once duplication with other organization is avoided, there might be cases in which the exploitation is halfway between two. Offenders feel the pressure and modify their techniques: they move to more remote areas [89]; or develop very sophisticated strategies[90]:

[89] “It was suspected that traveling sex offenders were moving into more remote areas as a result

A first group recruits the children in a community, e.g. Sway Park. A second group transports them. A third one rents a house and contacts costumers. When the victims are taken to a hotel, they go in a group, pretending that they belong to the same family. This is type of abuse is between establishment and street-based exploitation. Another example is the increase of institutional-based abuse, which will be addressed in the Appendix II. Fighting CSA requires openness and adaptation to a changing and cunning reality. The Western tendency to rigidity, –we only support this and therefore you only do that- frequently leads to surrealistic situations in the field that seriously undermine the legitimacy of the organizations and force them to accept very complex moral situations in which it is not possible to say no, at least at the grassroots level.

APLE has also been understood by their donors in their administrative overhead. Formal aspects might not be so important for all SEs but in this case are, especially related to the security of the information received and the security of the organization itself (later explained).

6.2.4 Internal operations: organization and permanency

APLE gets informed about suspicious behavior by going to the hotspots, though collaboration of volunteers or through their hotline. They start gathering preliminary information in order to decide to open the case according to its suitability to their criteria[91]. If the case is approved to be opened, a plan to investigate will be developed. Cases can be opened and closed, distinguishing between closed concluded cases (the offender was arrested and went to court) and closed but unconcluded. Unconcluded cases are those in which the offender is in court, but APLE and the police are still looking for more victims and evidence.

Open cases can be active or inactive. If a case is open and after a period of two or three months working on it, gathering information, making interviews with the victims or

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ofthe strengthening of law enforcement activities with respect to child abuse in Phnom Penh" (Renault, 2006, p. 5).

[90] Asian mafias make up the victim and carry out a medical examination to verify the absence of HIV infection and obtain a virginity certificate, before the encounter with the offender takes place. It usually happens in hotels where they book as a family.

[91] The criteria are related to minors in situations of CSA, exploitation or human trafficking. Grooming is one of the first signs that lead to suspicion of abuse.

witnesses there are no pieces of evidence, it will become inactive. However, those cases will be followed up on a mandatory schedule of at least five hours per week. When the case is active they work on it full time, exhaustively.

The value of permanency is essential, especially because most APLE cases imply dealing with preferential child sex offenders[92]. When a case is opened and pieces of evidence need to be gathered, a very complex process starts for gathering them without arousing suspicion. Some of those techniques were shared during the research, but for reasons of privacy will not be presented. They are cunning. In any case, this process full of nuances, intense observation, evaluation of perceptions, and insights often from unexpected witnesses, starts.

For APLE workers permanency is essential. They say it is impossible to predict how long it will take to solve a case and close it. Some cases required just a few months and others can last up to ten years. Here are some examples. A French citizen was a pedophile and had an adopted son. He used to go to the street to see children every day. He abused a child but got away with it since there was no evidence. He was very clever and had very good contacts. They checked his background and realized that there were antecedents in Thailand. In the meantime, APLE found out he had abused another child by paying for sex, leaving no evidence either. APLE kept the case open and prosecuted him for the sexual abuse of three different children years later. He was sent to prison in Cambodia where he died. He had criminal records in France and in Thailand. Arresting and prosecuting him took eight years, from 2002 to 2010. The adopted son never alleged to have been abused.

Another example of permanency was the case of a married French man with a daughter, highly involved with street kids: he gave them food but did not show a

[92] "Preferential child sex offenders, [unlike situational ones]…are characterized by the service of deviant sexual needs (paraphilia's). In the field of child sexual abuse and exploitation, these offenders will mostly experience a sexual need to have sex with a child (pedophilia)". They can invest a lot oftime and use "well-developed techniques: evaluates experiences, lies and manipulates, often skillfully, has method of access to victims [and] is quick to use modern technology (e.g., computer, video) for sexual needs and purposes" (APLE Cambodia, 2013, p. 12-16).

preference for boys or girls, which led APLE to think that the situation was in order. However, maintenance of surveillance made them realize he had increasing physical contact with girls, so they decided to open that case. Married to a Cambodian woman, testimonies from people around him affirmed that everything was in order. Years later neighbors reported he was taking their children to take pictures of them. He was doing pornography and selling it. It took four years to solve the case. Frequently sex offenders evolve from pornography to more harmful behaviors.

One of the main problems to fight CSA for the national authorities is that, according to APLE's team, the police does not usually remain on a case for so long. In that sense, the responsibility still falls on them. It is not only a matter of being proactive, it is a question of, as they say, keeping suspecting, looking for data, filling the gaps. A silent, laborious and committed work on the long run.

6.2.5 Other internal factors that lead to a sense of ownership and healthy local appropriation

Several aspects tend to work in favor of that endogeneity and appropriation. The first factor is local leadership, currently established in APLE, which will continue to be. Its lack in the initial years caused complications at the institutional level, because every time the executive director was changed, it was necessary to rebuild institutional relationships and trust again:

> [Foreign leaders] had commitment, but they had their own lives. Without local leadership it is not sustainable you can have foreign expertise but in the long run, you need someone who lives here, who knows the people, who does the job.

Certain tasks and positions are so delicate that they cannot be considered just another step in the (ascending) professional career ladder.

Another key aspect seems to be the permanent focus on internal issues and not only on the external ones. Organizations cannot live only to meet external concerns. APLE's team tries not to relax and pay attention to "where they have gaps [or] to what is needed to increase capacity".

Focusing on internal issues leads necessarily to ego management and a certain degree of healthy self-criticism and honest self-observation that is often missing in successful organizations that finally go wrong. Seila Seamlang explains:

> I have put aside my personal interest or my personal ego. Everyone says family first, I have not been fair to my family but I am fair enough to many children and many families here. My family is ok, they accept that. I don't work for my personal interest, I am sure this will not go wrong…If you get away personal ego and personal interest, there is little option it goes wrong.

This position implies a high degree of personal exigence and awareness:

> APLE is number one in the priority list…I will not change until the last minute when I leave the organization…I won't just give up all the hard work that I have built for these ten years… [I will] keep the image just the way it is under my leadership for the benefit of others.

Concurrently, APLE's team seems to have a high opinion of the organization. In informal conversations, they underline their internal lack of corruption, something some of them experienced in previous jobs. Seila Seamlang, recognized not having to do much in order to motivate the team: "they are close and attached to the problem they are dealing with…everyone has the own family, the own children. That motivates them to take the fight".

Western members of APLE also underlined "the commitment of the staff, [the fact that they] work hours and hours [finding that] inspiring and surprising".

It might be a cultural issue, maybe related to Cambodian history, but nonetheless APLE's team is highly is committed and disciplined. Period. It is normal to arrive to the office at least fifteen minutes earlier every day and there is an absence of gossip or bickering.

Some investigators underline the importance of having worked with children before, in rural areas, as social workers, especially the fact of understanding the situations they face and how they think, including avoiding opening the subject of grooming to protect the foreigner, for example. That previous experience is considered advantageous for getting

information without being noticed. The social and legal departments seem equally committed.

6.2.6 Burnout and psychological harm, a worrying issue: how long can that level of commitment last?

The staff of organizations like APLE, centered in the development of specific strategies may not have the same type of emotional bond that others who provide full care and daily attention do. However, an emotional bond exists; it is linked to commitment and compassion but it also increases the presence of a psychological damage, probably mainly caused by the permanent exposure to abuse and to dramatic situations. According to data gathered in the interviews, psychological harm includes burn out but is more than that. As a Western APLE worker explains: “People work so much here, burn out is there, they work weekends, and nights and don’t take compensation days. They don’t spend enough time with the family”. The sense of obligation is described as a “pervasive guilt that if I take the time off, it might leave one child at risk”. A fact that is "not arguable because it is true". Western workers of the organization who have also been long-term observers add:

> Burnout is overwork but what people here struggle with could be psychological harm for being exposed to horrible kinds of things…and then having to go home and see their own child and pray that the teacher of their own child at school is not a sex offender from another country…I can’t even imagine the stress and the difficulties.

Overwork is an accepted reality, so far unavoidable, that involves the whole team. There are no easy answers to explain a resilience that so far does not seem to show any cracks:

> They are amazingly resilient people in this country, it is incredible, they just show up the next day. I really don’t know how they do that. It affects me and I just listen to a bit with no details…how to keep perspective? You see a foreigner and think all of them are abusers and it is not true…[I] really don’t know how they can smile, [with] horrible things happening to children all over the country…[That’s why it is so important] that they have access to counseling. [93]

[93] At the time of the research, the APLE team had access to two sessions of counseling each year.

Culture[94] may play an essential role here in the way suffering is managed and understood: “In Cambodia counseling does not exist as such…[it is] not considered an option…Here it is not said or believed that talking with someone will make you feel better. They accept it and move on”.

APLE's case reveals with clarity an issue frequently observed in other SEs cases. The central question in SE, at least in developing countries, maybe should move from how to make SEs economically sustainable to how to make SERs and their committed teams personally sustainable. However, in this case, the fact of being local avoids the uprooting process. Having salaries as devotee workers also fosters a more settled life. In general terms, however hard reality can be, the APLE team plays in their own field. Moreover, casual leisure activities are frequently shared by the group, particularly playing soccer or going out with volunteers who visit the office. That side also exists.

6.2.7 Another peculiarity: APLE, an example of power transition. One organization and two founders

All the SEs studied do have one founder: a person visible and recognized as responsible for the creation and further establishment of the organization. APLE Cambodia is peculiar in the sense that, whereas the concept and idea of the project came from the person of Thierry Dardaunet, the establishment of the organization is traced to Seila Seamlang. In his commitment and perseverance, Seila's profile suits the SERs. This is a case of successful transfer of power in which a mission is shared by the essential links, two leaders, which followed one another in time. Nowadays, the transfer of power is complete to the rare extent that, since August 2014, Seila Seamlang appears as the present founder of APLE Cambodia. As he explains:

> The excellent point of Thierry is that he is not like many other people that want to keep the ownership of whatever, he just wants the world to take his idea and follow that model to be successful…his dream is about the safety of the children and he does not care who does what…

[94] Learning rules like “you don’t cry, you don’t make a scene” start at a very young age in Cambodia with the upbringing.

APLE was not the first SE created by Thierry Dardaunet. It was the third one. The first two were founded in Kolkata. The second one is still running, whereas the first one was taken over by the local committee. In that sense, Thierry Dardaunet whom it was not possible to interview directly, seems to represent the type of founder with a “DNA” that encourages him to do something to solve social problems, mainly through funding. This perception was confirmed by Wolfgang Müller, founder of Ali S. K. in Kolkata, and personal friend of Thierry. During some holidays in 2003 in Cambodia, Thierry Dardaunet had the opportunity to witness how visibly children were abused. It was a time of widespread street-based exploitation (mainly related to travel sex offenders) and overwhelming presence of brothels. As many other SEs, APLE started from the grassroots without much experience, evolving over time and becoming what it is now. The urgent imperative “we have to do something” was clearly there in the beginning. For some of their foreign workers, APLE amazes for having become so “professional” while remaining “still local”, being able to create a “unique environment“ of coordination and collaboration with institutions, filling an uncomfortable gap, difficult to sell, where other organizations prefer not to enter.

During the founding process, Thierry was not permanently based in Cambodia. He came every once in a while to make the project work and Seila Seamlang, involved in APLE since 2005 as an investigator, had repeated opportunities to discuss with him the sense and direction of the SE, its evolution in the long run. From the very beginning, Thierry trusted the local staff, probably realizing that they would be very quickly able to implement his idea successfully. According to Seila Seamlang, Thierry's idea was always to build the capacity of the local people, since it would be their responsibility in the long run, to continue to do all this for their own citizens. Thierry acted like a founder from the very beginning, without being involved in the daily management. However, he continued representing APLE institutionally by finding economic support for the organization, approaching his network and motivating them to support the organization: He was directly involved in the creation of APLE delegations in Switzerland, Belgium, and France, which operate as fundraisers networking developers. For a newborn organization probably it would have been very difficult to survive, in spite of the outstanding capacities of the local resources, without the presence and support of a founder sufficiently detached from the “need of recognition” who intensively focused on finding economic support. Presumably, at the beginning APLE workers were too busy engaging in the essence of their work, - they

still are - building institutional networks, learning, convincing, creating awareness, “chasing the bad guys” and therefore their expertise consisted not, and still does not, like in many other successful and committed SEs, on asking for money (a significant difference with many middle organizations which give strong preference to that area). This is probably the first factor of success in the transfer of power: the permanency of Thierry’s support while APLE’s team did their work. Even nowadays, APLE's strong point is not fundraising, which is an initial positive sign when analyzing SEs and does not have a specific department [95]for that matter. But the lack of that support -- it still continues -- could have been critical at the beginning. Thierry’s behavior shows how eschewing personal recognition can be compatible with commitment to the organization, even on the long run. According to Seila Seamlang:

> That was the beauty of the decision he made…Thierry was always like that. He used to say, I would be happy if other organization in this country would focus on that [issue as well]...Do not talk much, take concrete action…He does not like to own it to himself for the sake of his name or reputation or whatsoever.

The first country director of APLE Cambodia was H.V, a trusted Cambodian person to Thierry Dardaunet, linked at that time to the world of childcare and protection, who apparently fitted the requirements of the organization. The evolution of this relationship will be addressed later. After a year, H.V was followed by a series of foreign country directors from Australia and other European countries. Their temporary commitment with the organization represented a serious challenge every time the country director was changed because it forced a rebuilding of all the delicate relationships at the institutional level, a central aspect of APLE's mission. One reflection can be made here. Official development system praises expertise and foreign people who work for that sector sometimes do have it; but personal and professional interests and circumstances do not necessarily work in favor of sustainability of organizations. This aspect should be taken more seriously. This situation was resolved in 2007, when Thierry’s trust was given to Seila Seamlang, promoted from investigator to country director and recognized as a person able to look after and promote long-term key relationships with the police and government officials; a moment in which the process of local leadership was complete. Seila was the fourth country director of the organization since its founding in 2003, which gives an idea of the

[95]At the time in which this research was done, a foreign worker dealt with donors relationships, monitoring, and applications.

challenges faced in the initial years due to the frequent changes in that position. The development system does not promote permanency, a frequent feature in successful SEs, and social change requires it.

Thierry Dardaunet fits clearly the profile of founder. He is described as a beloved person, recognized among insiders and passionate about childcare and protection. A practical man, proud that his idea becomes useful and successful, who does not get lost in concepts or proposals, with a fine common sense who can talk with anybody -highly developed social skills- in order to promote the organization and its mission: "He always has APLE in his heart and he is willing to help with fundraising". Like in other cases, a sense of mission is recognized and shared between him and Seila (“of course, of course”). A feeling for the latter that became apparent since the incorporation in the organization in 2005:

> We [both] love children, we want to protect children, we don’t care too much about our personal life and that is not common. I don’t enjoy my only happiness also enjoy the happiness of the others and that is Thierry as well.

As in other cases, the mission is expressed in naïve terms with expressions like "having the same heart".

- *Seila Seamlang profile*

The current country director of APLE Cambodia was raised in a “decent family”, and during his childhood, he never knew the reality of children in situations of vulnerability. At the age of nineteen, after finishing high school, he started a job as an English teacher in an NGO. In retrospect, he considers that job was a “life event” that changed his perception of the world and of his own country. Something similar to what happens to other SERs, but this time, inside his borders. The daily life of those children was so different to his life: they had no water, no hygiene, no care, no family attachments. He discovered something unexpected in his society. Realizing this motivated him to work hard to provide a standard of education that would not have reached them without that NGO. In his discovery of vulnerability, there was the seed of the future activity felt as a mission and the sense of responsibility that comes from it:

> I began to realize that the society was not a good place for children, there were many bad guys over there who were preying on the children. I [also] began to believe that as a human being, we have an obligation to do something. [In fact], you are part of the protection of the poor…[and]…the most vulnerable people, [are] the children.

At the university, he studied foreign languages and English literature and later on obtained a master's degree in law. As in other cases, the formal education offers capacities that help to build the mission on the long run.

In 2005 he identifies another life event or inspirational moment when he enters APLE, changing from being an educator to a child protection officer: "I was moving closer to direct fight against the evil and had more opportunity to work closer with the children and in their situations, provide them protection". He remembers working as an educator teaching English as a rewarding activity lived "with the dream that we could do more to protect them".

As most founders, Seila has experienced the difficulty to put into words all the difficulties an SER goes through: "It is very difficult to describe what I have gone through, all those crazy moments all those relationships I have had over the years". In some cases, this difficulty helps create a degree of isolation.

The process of assuming this responsibility has also forced him to overcome personal difficulties: at the beginning it was hard for him to speak with all those big people, feeling like "a small person". Go to the street and then to the police, speak with judges, court officials, who were perceived very high for him. In 2006 he went to India to a conference and presented APLE's work, a tough and important task at the time. SERs often face their own limitations in the process of managing and founding.

6.2.8 Loyalty and trust: When the biggest menace is inside the organization and not outside.

Creating an SE and funding, in general, implies managing trust having recognized people previously in order to give them that trust as part of the team. SERs select among those people they encounter along the way who appear as supporters. At the very best, they can be prescient for choosing the right ones. Ali S.K. is an example of how the

biggest enemies of an SE can be internal (not external) while having an essential link with the project. Disappointments and personal letdowns are not rare in the field of SE. Apart from the personal impact that they may have, the question is not minor since a considerable amount of trust is always required in order to create something new and achieve social change. This paragraph shows how unpredictable the evolution of (former) members of the SE can be and how organizations can and must react in time in order to prevent their own damage in the face of unacceptable and sometimes even criminal behaviors. It also shows how certain challenges, if faced properly, can lead to reinforcing the mission of the organization. The following quotations are extracted from a clarification[96] note published by APLE Cambodia (2015) in which they state their procedures in the investigation process of H.V., first country director of the organization.

Thierry Dardaunet hired H.V. in 2003. The latter had experience in the field of childcare and protection and,

> a clean criminal record. [He] seemed ideally suited for the role. During his tenure, H.V. was also running an orphanage. In 2004, he left APLE amicably to focus fully on his work in the orphanage. There were no suspicions at this time that he had ever abused a child.

Years later in 2014,

> [t]wo French individuals reported their suspicions to Friends International, First Step Cambodia, and MoSVY. Friends International later reported the case to the Ministry of Social Affairs Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSVY) as well and requested for an investigation. In July 2014, MoSVY requested APLE's assistance in corroborating the claims.

Thierry Dardaunet was not involved in the investigation of this case: "APLE then started a preliminary investigation to gather more information and determine possible abuse". Being in permanent communication with the Anti-Human Trafficking and Juvenile Protection Department (AHTJPD) they were forced to continue investigating. As a result, APLE found evidence in the form of the testimony of three adolescents who affirmed having being abused and indicated other victims from the same orphanage. With the

[96]For more information, see http://aplecambodia.org/note-of-clarification-from-aple/

assistance of APLE, the AHTJPD “reinterviewed” the adolescents and the four witness of the case.

> In addition, the AHTJPD and a Department of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation (DoSVY) official conducted interviews with fourteen children, who were living at the orphanage. APLE was not present during these fourteen interviews and had no contact with any of these children in the past.

In March 2015, H. V. was arrested. APLE advocated for “the closure of the orphanage and transfer of the children to safe places”. In order to prevent being accused of creating a conflict of interest, the legal representation of the victims in court was transferred to a different organization instead of APLE.

When interviewed about the case, Seila Seamlang explains that the whole process was “an opportunity to change mentality”. The general perception in Cambodia is that anyone with power or special relationships could have got away with it and, if this person had been a former director of APLE, the organization would keep a low profile. For Seila Seamlang "people should be clear that we [were] not on his side". In fact, they investigate any case notwithstanding the relationship there might be with the organization. APLE’s child protection policy forces them to do so, even if a case emerged inside the own organization. As a result, and being conscious of the delicacy of the situation, APLE was the first organization to make it public and open it: “we understood that could harm APLE so we chose the frontline”.

Two questions are appropriate at this time. Is a situation like this foreseeable? According to the interviews, it does not seem so. In fact, “[c]hild offenders do not fit within one profile. [They] look like non-pedophiles and are among us" (APLE Cambodia, 2014, p. 4). Apparently, there was nothing that could lead to foresee something like that. And the second question is, which lessons can be extracted from APLE's reaction? Previous and existing relationships (H.V was involved in the development sector and shared donors with APLE) did not interfere with the organization's mission. A Seila Seamlang explains: it did not affect their commitment and professionalism. They were clear in their publicly-exposed position from the start, proactive and cautious in the sense of adjusting scrupulously to the legal procedure in order to avoid potential accusations of mismanagement or conflict of interest. A deeper aim to fight the general perception (i.e. cultural change) that corruption,

networks, and relationships can save sexual offenders was key in this case and apparently worked as a main driving force during the process.

The challenges that SEs and their leaders face continually is assessing their coherence. The biggest challenges are not necessarily economic. As such, they can increase legitimacy (if managed as opportunities) or reduce it. Ambiguity, never considered an option, would have taken its toll. SEs must accept the complexity of their challenges in order not to lose their spirit and put their missions at risk.

6.2.9 SEs and mafia, defining the concept of status quo

The meaning of dealing with the status quo for many SEs is simply dealing with criminality. APLE's case is no exception. The delicate and narrow framework where the organization operates, forces them to depurate their strategy and protect themselves, from repeated, increasing and organized attacks made by organizations known to APLE as "mafias". They are sophisticated, mainly online, and aim to destroy the credibility and reputation of the organization. Their power has increased in the last two years and seems to be connected to offenders. The policy of the organization is not to respond to those allegations, collectively or individually. A certain degree of acceptance of this situation is observed among the team, a result of routinely dealing with criminality. According to Seila Seamlang, APLE is not an exception and other agencies like the FBI are facing the same problem. These attacks have not discouraged donors or funding, and the issue has been discussed with them. This speaks of an important level of transparency and trust in those relationships. At the same time, no negative effects have been felt with national law enforcement although APLE has been accused of fabricating cases. So far they have been able to clarify their positions when necessary. Legitimacy does not seem in danger. One investigator explains: "if that were true, we would not be where we are now".

APLE's main strategy to counteract these attacks consists of providing more information about their role, which includes not only chasing and prosecuting pedophiles but also educating communities and providing legal and social support. However, there is a risk of misunderstandings. One false accusation they have tried to correct is the claim that APLE receives money in correspondence with the number of people they prosecute. This could generate the image that they fabricate cases in order to obtain more resources,

something completely false. Such misunderstandings could also affect how new people would support the SE. In the long run, the continuation of attacks may force a modification to the approach of the investigations. So far the whole process is under the management of APLE. It would be appropriate in the near future for the police to assume the main role and for APLE to give support only for concrete questions like training or communication with international law enforcements. A main question would be if the procedures would meet the same qualitative standards. In spite of their improvement, the police are still not proactive enough(APLE Cambodia, 2014) and do not always have the means that meet those standards. [97]

The attacks have a personal dimension, which affects APLE physically and emotionally: they try to “put us down from this fight [but we will] continue fighting". Seila Seamlang feels bad for the work of the people here because it is not fair. They do not mind constructive criticism, but you expect respect and appreciation. Attacks tend to focus on him and Thierry Dardaunet, especially. In general terms, APLE tries to preserve their security as much as possible by avoiding external signs of identification or with frequent relocations of the office.

6.3 Final considerations

The author David Jiménez has addressed on several occasions the abuses committed by some NGOs as well as their depersonalization and loss of independence in the hunt for resources. Some of these critics were rooted in Cambodia. The country is a laboratory for experimentation in self-sustainable initiatives: beauty parlors, hairdressers, and restaurants are started to explore new development possibilities. Many of these initiatives seem to have an Anglo-Saxon influence. Some of them present radically opposed approaches: whereas in some of them the respect of the privacy of the workers is absolute, denying even the possibility of an interview for this research, in others their past is public, in the sense that everyone knows what kind of experiences the workers have gone through. To me, there is a contradiction there. I do not get to understand why victims

[97]Carrying out an investigation without gloves could affect the validity of the evidence in foreign trials. APLE Cambodia(2014, p. 12) considers that…”a lack of motivation and willingness to properly handle cases persists”, mainly in the rural areas. In urban ones, Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville and Siem Reap, "immense improvements have been made. Police officers are underpaid, which affects their motivation and the…"lack [of] knowledge, skills and equipment to conduct high-quality investigations” is present mainly in rural areas.

do not have the right to maintain their privacy fully and I wonder if that lack of privacy may affect their recovery process. I guess any victim of abuse should have the right to carry out a job without being reminded of what they have gone through. Al least, they should have the option. The habit is not only present in international organizations but also in some local ones. During an interview, the worker of a shelter explained to me that often the victims of trafficking or sexual abuse, when are rescued and brought back to their villages, reject long-term psychological support because that implies that the NGO will visit the community, presumably showing their logos, and the whole community will be aware of what has happened to them. How is possible at all that the visibility of the organization rules over the right of privacy of the person? How is it possible that apparently professionalized NGOs show surprise at those rejection reactions? How is it possible that the right of privacy can be so easily discarded? In general terms, the social support offered to victims in Cambodia is highly fragmented. APLE offers that attention in the short term but the long one is transferred to other NGOs. This means that the victim has to explain the story on several occasions in a process that can affect their dignity. And dignity is mainly what CSA is all about. If it were not, it would not happen that some families of the victims withdraw the lawsuit or reject applying for economic compensation alleging all that the offender has previously given to them (never underestimate the power of grooming). APLE workers, affected, recognized that some families were not aware of what actually happened totheir children in the company of the offender but undoubtedly, others were. In the same line of insufficient acknowledgement, the Cambodian government still rejects thepossibility of deporting every prosecuted sex offender alleging that it could actually reduce theeconomic growth of thecountry,placing the dignity of the own citizens as an afterthought and disregarding the long-term negative effects that CSA brings. Economic success sometimes seems to be the only thing that matters-. But many NGOs do not seem to have a clear idea of the value of dignity either. Dignity can be disrespected by violating the right of privacy or imposing a certain faith to the victim, still a person, when is rescued. Why do they often have to become Protestants if they were already Buddhist or nothing? Is psychological support more effective complemented with a religious dimension? Effective work against CSA should not lead to necessarily adopt a new religious faith from the victims. No, if it is not their will.

NGOs in Cambodia, and in many other countries, should try a change in their mentality themselves before applying that concept to their communities. There is an

important degree of competence among shelters and visibility should never come over the rights of the victims. Unloyal behaviors have been detected with regard to funding. The NGO International Justice Mission (IJM) released a study in which they explained the decrease of "commercial exploitation of children for sex…since 2012". (Blomberg, 2015, p. 6). Their perspectives were opposed by APLE Cambodia and Agape International Missions who explained a change in the strategies of the offenders due to the policial pressure…"the criminal networks that supply sex offenders now operate in a far more clandestine and organized fashion…"It has been suggested by a knowledgeable source that, the wish of IJM to change their sector moved them to publish data that could justify their decision but affected the situation of many other organizations and were not fully faithful to the reality. The still pending change of mentality in many NGOs should place the mission before any other consideration, even if that affects the visibility of the organizations themselves (dealing with ego again). As a suggestion, the only officer I met from the FBI in charge of the collaboration with APLE, gave the external impression of being an ordinary tourist, not a person dealing with the prosecution of CSA, being more impressive to listen to him and the accuracy and consistency of the data he managed. The mission over the visibility: being what you do but not necessarily showing it for an elementary question of respect and dignity. Until this is achieved, the whole social support system will be jeopardized. The quest of a life with freedom of choices demands the integration and collaboration of diverse tools and approaches, some of them already available for achieving deep collective change. The former victims of CSA urgently deserve it. We are the ones who have to pursue the mission of putting them first.



Part of the APLE team in a meeting with the Cambodian local authorities.



APLE provides legal assistance to child sexual abuse victims.



Part of the APLE team receiving recognition for their work against child sexual abuse.


An APLE worker providing psychological assistance.



Awareness activities with children against child sexual abuse.



Image of training activities with the national Cambodian police.



Workshop with national authorities to raise awareness against child sexual abuse and advocate for mandatory deportation

“Todo esto es muy simple. Solo consiste en amar mucho”

Father Patricio Larrosa

7

CHAPTER 7. CASE STUDY ACOES: SPIRITUALITY AND EXPANSION OF AN SE

Case study ACOES: Spirituality and expansion of an SE

7.1 Preliminary considerations

Asociación Colaboración y Esfuerzo (ACOES) was officially constituted by Patricio Larrosa in 1996, four years after his arrival in Honduras in 1992. In the moment in which the observation was made, October and November 2015 for a period of five weeks, the organization had been active for nineteen years. This fact allows extracting features and conclusions with a long-term perspective. During the observation, 22 interviews were made and participation in several activities with volunteers of the organization was carried out. ACOES is the only religious SE selected in the sample. Defining themselves as a Christian community, the term SE caused considerable rejection as well as the term SER. The sense of identity is very strong in the organization. The main reasons to include it in the sample are related to its impressive entrepreneurial capacity, which finds a representation through its quantitative dimension, as well as the fact of relying mainly on volunteers, called collaborators in the Annual report (ACOES, 2015). [98]In ACOES, social emancipation is not possible to understand without the concept volunteer or collaborator. Its deep sense of altruism joined to the previous two factors made highly recommendable its exploration. Its impact – just in the form of 11. 818 direct beneficiaries in 2015- is a clear sign of how religious beliefs do not exclude entrepreneurial capacities. It actually allows exploring if those realities get somehow reciprocally reinforced. Many features found in ACOES give clues about secular SEs. The mission held by ACOES is as they express it, related to

> …defending their access to education as a right and as a tool for social transformation in order to promote solidarity and justice, learning how to share and generating opportunities in Honduras and in the other side of the world. [ACOES is] a family and maybe, an NGO. [99]

Although the main area of expertise of ACOES is education (from kindergarten to higher education), this mission is complemented with a helping approach taking care of elderly people in situations of poverty or extreme vulnerability through the construction of homes and providing them help and attention. The SE also develops other construction and reparation projects (some of them for public schools) as well as delivery of assets

[98]Concrete data about workers, beneficiaries, budget or collaborators are extracted from the annual report (ACOES, 2015)
[99]Extracted from http://ww.acoes.org/quienes-somos/que-es-acoes.html

received from Spain and Canada on a regular basis to the people in need in all of the projects.

ACOES employees 187 local workers, in the sense of people who are actually hired. Many of these people work as teachers in their schools. But its main strength comes from the 740 collaborators in Honduras, people who could be considered volunteers. Some of these collaborators work in kindergartens or cooking for the children. But most of them are the students who are supported by the organization to develop their studies who give some of their time, mainly in the mornings, as a way to return and give something back to the society that surrounds them, collaborating with the project. Some of these students, a group of 239, live with their families in Tegucigalpa (the abreviated CCJ, Centro de Capacitación Juvenil). The rest of the students are called the *populorum*. They are called such since that denomination is given to the students' residence where they live, since they come from communities where the access to secondary education is not possible. ACOES has 11 *populorum* all over the country and six in Tegucigalpa. The number of *populorum* students is 249.

ACOES annual budget in 2015 was 2.330.475 euros. 84% of that budget was designated for education. Until very recently, 2012, 90% of that support came from small donors in Spain, having a private nature. The situation changed in the year 2012 when the Honduran government started to provide 30% of the budget to cover the expenses of three schools in Tegucigalpa. The SE does not have any source to create income and the only experience in that area was cancelled due to its lack of proper results.

Most SEs develop long-term commitments with communities. ACOES develops it with so many that its presence can be found to a greater or lesser degree in 12 departments of the country (Tegucigalpa, Francisco Morazán, Copán, Lempira, La Paz, Olancho, Intibucá, Valle, El Paraíso, Comayagua, Choluteca, Gracias a Dios y Santa Bárbara).

Altruism in ACOES is not only directed by the Honduran people but also by them in welcoming foreign volunteers to allow them to participate and if possible, change their perceptions about their reality and discover a different way of living. Participation is apparent in the sense that only in Spain 22 organizations were created by these collaborators. Besides, there is one in Germany and two more in Canada. Following their

own initiative, they organize activities regularly to raise funds and support in many different ways.

With regard to its governance, ACOES has a board of nine members and an assembly of 60. The assembly is formed by all the managers of each project, those who have been involved in the SE for more than two years and in general people with higher responsibility. All the members of the assembly are candidates for entering the board. In fact, the board is selected by the assembly.

The geographical context where most of the observation of ACOES was made is Tegucigalpa, precisely its periphery. Tegucigalpa stands for the sixth most dangerous in the world (San Pedro Sula, second most relevant city in the country is the second) being Caracas the first one in the world according to the NGO Seguridad, Justicia y Paz (2017):

> …many people come running away from the poverty of their villages and fall in a city that is not ready to receive them and have to start surviving in the outskirts…look[ing] for a space. Most of them are young people starting the life, elderly people stay in the villages most of the times…They find a life with very much against them…everything are difficulties, there is nothing favorable for them.

The features of that reality can be summarized in the words: "poverty, violence, youth, childhood, scarcity of means and social protection, survival environment…work for survival…[absence of] long-term life projects…just scraping along…"according to a leader of the SE.

7.2 Subjective processes of the SER in the founding experience

7.2.1 Personal encounters and its relevance for the development of a mission

ACOES is an SE created by Father Patricio and the community he got involved with when he arrived in 1992. Six months later arrived his friend Ramón Martínez, both being diocesan priests, had been friends since very young. When asked about this old encounter and the effects it has had in time, he says, "there is much mystery in the core of life".

In Father Ramón's village there was a retired priest who had the talent to detect children and young people who could long to have a vocation and through correspondence, he looked after and guided those potential vocations. At the age of ten, when he was about to be sent to the seminary[100] this priest told him: "When you go [there] …look for Patricio" who was at the time eleven and a half. When he arrived and after a week looking for him, he finally found him and they "immediately became very good friends…It has always been like that, with a big degree of freedom between us". Since then, Patricio has been a "partner of path and that path includes life and mission". The bound is felt reciprocally between them. Thinking in retrospect, after all these years, if Patricio had not been there, "it would have been a poverty" although he also believes that God would have given him other people. He recognizes the value of being next to valuable people and the positive impact it has on you. Some of the elements that form the bond are a common vision of life although with different parameters, the possibility to let loose, to share a spirituality, a common substratum in the form they understand the service and the love to the neighbor, and the maturity and affinity which allows feeling acccompanied.

Feeling the word missionary too big but not identifying only with the parish work, Father Ramón aimed to develop his mission in a more free way that "had to do with the direct service in the charity…"I don't know if for doing that I had to be a priest, but I was it already". The main aspiration was to "open horizons, go out to a needy place" and serve in a "direct, personal and with the sleeves rolled up" way, following what for him is almost the most fundamental part of the Gospel:"…whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me" (Matthew 25:40) He tried to translate that affirmation in the task that he could perform in Honduras. That clarity in what he wanted to do was always present in him and still is. He remembers an experience as a child which illustrates this coherence. His grandfather used to have a tobacconist and a grandmother went there with a letter because she did not know how to read. He remembers, being seven or eight years old, thinking clearly that if he helped her to write the reply, he would come off best:

> I remember being in [that] house…and having the same vertigo [that I had] in Casa Zulema, [a home he created years later in Honduras. Feeling] reckless…I wrote the letter because I knew as a guiding line in my life "whatever you did for one of the least"…and it makes me happy that I am fifty-four years old and I continue doing the same with that search of

[100]Described as an affordable and safe residence at the time for many children who came from villages, where they frequently lacked high schools.

> honesty, with that continuous line…that has always been in my life. And that happened, that is real…as children we can have enough lucidity to know those things and they mark the whole existence…That is real. It goes back to it…And it is the same idea of the direct charity, it is the same…I am doing what I wanted to do at the age of seven with the letter of the old grandmother…It was clear [to me] that it was good and that God wanted it too.

Coming to Honduras, a common decision between Patricio and him, was also coordinated with the small diocese they belonged to, with the aim to open a new path of mission, have more open-mindedness and foster twinning which theoretically would allow a regular transfer of priests. Apparently, the final destination was a matter of circumstances but in Honduras[101] the language was an advantage.

During the previous eight years in which they had worked as priests in their parishes, Father Ramón had the opportunity to travel to Venezuela (in 1989) as the first approximation to those realities. There he discovered situations of misery and extreme vulnerability that marked him, especially some people living in the country –still remembering a severely ill old man- and in the urban outskirts. Having had that experience, Honduras caused him a milder surprise when he arrived. On the contrary, he remembers Patricio more alarmed when witnessing inequality and a sense of injustice around them. He defines Patricio's reaction as more passionate and his more calm, probably in coherence with their respective personalities. Father Ramón remembers his first impression of Honduras as a sad country, having at the time an inferior degree of violence, and not much in common with the lush Venezuela, which to him, represented a different Latin America. In the initial moments assuming the role as a priest in the parish delayed his aspirations of direct help and service but opened and intense learning process, which lasted for five years. That period reassured him in his aspirations to help directly and taught him how to approach people since he recognized, "I was not ready to act immediately after arriving, not even for preaching…how shall I approach the people here? Something told me that I could not launch me so easily…[there was] a shyness…an apprenticeship [that was required]". At present, and after 17 years he recognizes the fact of not having fully understood the surrounding reality as well as a certain limitation in the sense of not having become Honduran: "I have not fully understood the reality here; I have not adapted myself completely, I have got used to it and that feeling comes with me".

[101]The other options were Cuba, more difficult in religious terms, and Haiti, where the language was an obstacle. Like in other cases there was not a clear preference for the context in which finally the SE emerges.

7.2.2 A common sense of mission and two different paths

For Father Ramón, the opportunity arrived after those five years with public support from a small town hall, to make a social and familiar center for people affected by AIDS. AIDS in Honduras was very prevalent at the time in a moment in which antiretrovirals did not exist. [102]Observing his task, he recognizes a tendency to embrace fragility: “maybe it has to do with my own vulnerability”. But as in other cases, it is not something searched for, it simply happens: "I don't look for extreme [cases] but reality here is extreme". He launched to open it with naivety, boldness, and vertigo in the trust that it could give reality to the mission of helping in a direct and personal way. In this concrete case, naivety means that if he had thought certain things for too long, he would have never made them: being a priest, coming to Honduras…his projects "are just what I always wanted to do and that is a deep satisfaction. It is what [still] today keeps me here". He reaffirms its coherence:

> [it goes] in the same coherent line, which tries to be honest…a continuous line,…but the best part is that I do it with my limitations, without comparing me with anyone…what I do has…sense and many people would like to do it as well and it is a great luck to do it…

And continues:

> I [once] left [the SE called] Casa Zulema for a retirement…and while I walked away, I realized how beautiful this is and that is worth spending the life like this…I don’t regret it. There [are limitations]…but there is a lot of satisfaction as well.

As other SERs, looking back in assessment, he would have liked to have been more prepared, have given better service, but “it is history” and part of the learning process that even with the best intentions, remains imperfect.

[102]According to (UNAIDS, 2014) at present Honduras in a country with "high antiretroviral coverage" (p. 85) just like the rest of Latin America. In 2013, 2% of the population was infected with AIDS. From 2005 to 2013, there is a clear fall in the aid related deaths in the country due to the increased access to this medicine.

7.2.3 The origins of ACOES

According to what is described in the interviews with Father Patricio in the initial moments, there was not a fight (other SERs like Lucía Lantero speak of having lived a war) to achieve legitimacy. He always felt loved by the community and people did not doubt them. They came to serve as priests and they continue. Father Patricio also emphasizes the first years as being very busy doing basic things, starting to understand how people worked, functioned and thought. The fact of having been catholic priests in a catholic context seems to have been essential in the natural recognition. While taking care of the parish, giving masses, communion, "people started to come to help". It seems they were very quickly perceived as a cohesion element. Father Patricio describes it like a "small river, giving grants, helping people, accompanying them, receiving containers, listening…" and when he went to Spain, people there started supporting very quickly and getting organized until acquiring the present structure: only in Spain there are 22 organizations linked to ACOES to support it in Honduras. The importance of having shared power and being open to the community, integrating the people as factors of change, will be addressed later.

7.2.4 The importance of childhood: learning to love

Father Ramón Martínez has been a privileged witness of the creation of ACOES. He believes that Patricio learns from others, reproduces features, uses his intuition, and also reproduces what he has absorbed during his childhood. He does from what has settled in him: "I think we all function like that and childhood has much to do with how we develop life. [Several things] are born of how one lived that period". As witness, he remembers,

> his intelligence and goodness and a very solid base that came from their parents…He learned to love when he was a child having a deep sensitivity for loving people and [being] in his own way, passionate…and under the simplicity, complexity. Patricio may have moments of that apparent carelessness, of launching himself recklessly and trust…and on the other hand, he can be apprehensive and dubious…[but with a] practical intelligence and much stability of being there, faithful, faithful, faithful to love and to work. [Patricio] assimilated a very good synthesis of the best of his mother and father: from his father the sense of work, of obligation…of integrity, a free man [who doesn't make a fuss about small things]. And from his mother who is a very intelligent woman, who worries a lot, with a lot of sensitivity and love, in an environment of affective security. He grew up surrounded by a rural atmosphere of work and honesty, that has done him good, and stability, with

> conservative leanings and at the same time the almost reckless but healthy audacity of the father, combined with the reserve and reflection…of the mother and the sensitivity, and all that seasoned with a granny who [was] very close and who gave her contribution…of stability.

He does not remember him as a leader as a child, but there were moments in which his capacities stood out: Ramón remembers a checkers competition in which he defeated the whole class. Or a night in which he detected the aspirations of a group of students, captured their attention and inspired them with regard to a different way of living. "He had a big basis…to do the good as well as capacity and intelligence, since he was a child…his great heart".

7.3 How the organization works

7.3.1 Humanistic management/spiritual management: ACOES spiritual hardcore

ACOES is the only SE in the sample with a religious nature. It stands out clearly in the way its operativeness is connected with the Christian values of the Gospel. Therefore, in the interviews, there is a consistent reference to the Gospel as the main source that inspires the core management principles, which indeed, constitute a *modus vivendi* for many people who belong to and collaborate within the organization. The fact that some of these principles are also shared by secular SEs, will be more carefully addressed in the Conclusions Chapter. In any case, part of the systematization chapter has consisted on explaining into detail the practical dimension of those religious inspiring values. ACOES does not exercise proselytism. That aspect is a "red line" in the present study. The practice of proselytism is considered to vulnerate dignity, and corresponds with a vision that prioritizes the interests of the organization over the interest of the person.

- *The questionability of the concept SE*

ACOES is the only organization, which has frontally rejected the denomination SE. The concept they feel identified with is a Christian community. The rejection speaks of a very strong sense of identity felt by some people in the organization, especially in the hardcore and in those who share a stronger sense of mission, regardless of their position. Declaring themselves as such and trying to realize that identity has several implications in terms of the type of relationships promoted. For example, considered the internal dynamic

of the organization with a strong exercise of giving and taking based on volunteering and in which altruism rules, essentially in the cases of the people who decide to remain in the organization being underpaid, compared with the salary they could achieve out of the SE. The fact of being a Christian community is not a mere act of internal marketing to promote sense of belonging. It has concrete implications that can be assessed.

- *The questionability of the concept founder*

This is the organization in which that concept has found more resistance, considered as "grating". There is a double consideration to opposing that resistance. First, Father Patricio reiterates that the SE is the result of a phenomenon of collaboration with a very high degree of decentralization. Nevertheless, there is a more subjective dimension of the opposition which is related to the role of intuition –"the one that guides"- and the following of the own conscience: they perceive themselves more as "servers" or "followers" than as founders. What they follow is a certain intuition which allows realizing their idea of service which is connected and inspired by the figure of Jesus. In that sense, they do not found anything since the values that they pursue existed already. What is admitted is the fact of having helped and promoted an organization and a reorganization of the already existing capacities and values, inspiring the people in the process. Secular SERs do not create the values either, but the values they pursue are not usually connected to that Christian source although they converge in something very similar, if not the same.

- *The quest for a dignified life for everybody*

The understanding of the person in ACOES is linked to the understanding of the person in the Gospel: dignity and the value of sharing are matrix lines of the organization, considering that sharing is a person's "natural essence". Father Patricio explains: “We are still educated in the idea of my house, my family, my country, my property…we don't say our world, our earth, our society, we are not there yet. That's why Jesus said our father". ACOES is understood as a place for sharing where everyone can participate, give and take, which is "the essence of the Christian religion". The importance of sharing has deeper implications in the big picture of the world: "they try to solve the problems of the world without sharing and that is impossible, it complicates everything more".

With regard to dignity, a value which seems to be pretty much behind the efforts of all SEs studied so far (to a much deeper extent than compassion, which seems to

determine in the initial moments), it has much to do with the capacity of the person to fend for himself, with the inherent value which needs no justifications: “Above all, the recognition of dignity…the engine of ACOES is the fight for the own dignity and for the others’…[and] the maximum development of their capacities”. The overwhelming recognition of so many people who "cannot decide their lives…or plan their future" leads Father Patricio to consider that in spite that the opposite is usually thought, we are, as species, "not very developed yet, and are rather primitive still"…There is a huge debt in terms of quality of life, rights, and opportunities:

> The bread is divided and shared but we have not learned it yet in these 2000 years…We try to make progress in the direction of the dignity of the people…the world should be ready so that every person born in it would do it with dignity…consumerists and wasteful societies and societies in which people cannot have a future are inhuman, both of them…It is very difficult to get out of both circles.

In ACOES that dignity is reminded in its religious dimension, in the sense of human beings who are the image and likeness of God and therefore, from a great dignity, from the highest level, which leads to trying to increase the levels of equality and opportunities as much as possible in as many people as possible. In the initial moments, just like in secular organizations, people approached him, spoke, expressed and revealed him what it was needed to be done, but in this case finding a spiritual echo:

> God speaks through the people who suffer. When people suffer, God is speaking. I was hungry…I was thirsty…[In essence] the Bible is about the dignity of the people. God is in the poor, that is the revolution. If you forget the poor, you forget God.

- *Altruism, collaboration and personal transformation*

ACOES philosophy is sustained on four pillars (study, spiritual life, collaboration, and communal life). The spiritual life and collaborative life are strongly linked (in the sense of a spirituality that becomes practice) and they should have and effect in the way the living together is made. However, for this study, the most stunning dimension is the collaborative one. It is frequent for secular SEs, that SERs show concern in the sense of providing not only opportunities but also educating beneficiaries with high moral standards, i.e. being "good individuals". In the case of ACOES, the framework where to find inspiration is the Gospel with their values and practices. That is where the value of

educating oneself and serve others finds its root. In words of a responsible person from ACOES: "the best way to help someone is to make him useful".

In several interviews to beneficiaries, the fact of having become agents of change becomes apparent and very relevant. Students value their efficacy in good terms as well as the effort from many foreign volunteers and supported, perceived just as "common people, who give what they have"...which is what in most of the cases are. Essentially, the fact of entering ACOES cannot be separated in many cases from the presence of an internal transformation in which altruism is clearly developed. This transformation also takes place in people from remote communities, who become aware of their luckier life. In the sense of being more dignified with less violence, having more structured families in which children are not so often left alone due to the parental work, having access to clean water from the river, and in general, more solidarity when confronted with the reality of the outskirts: "when you see the reality of the people, what they need, it is no longer an obligation. Until you don't see you don't realize things. [When] you realize how you can serve, it makes you feel good". Receiving education makes these young students privileged and therefore, ready to give something back. In concrete terms, one of the group of students which were interviewed was involved with the good performance of Santa Teresa school, where 1800 students have the opportunity to receive education. Their affirmations confirm Michael Herr's (1977/2014), a war correspondent in Vietnam, appreciation in the sense of being responsible for what we see.

Another one student explains the personal transformation in the following terms as well as its permanence:"…when a person enters, brings what belongs to the world, people are indifferent…[they] just look at their needs...that change is what stays in each of us… [when] young people get that consciousness…"Developing altruism seems very connected with becoming aware and implicated.

Students refer to the wish to improve their lives, to have dreams, but there is also a collective dimension: the wish to improve the country through their studies, a perception also Father Patricio shares. ACOES is an example of giving and taking. Everyone who receives collaborates. In some cases, some people who collaborate decide to stay in the organization in spite of the smaller economic reward they receive compared with the possibilities they would have outside. This issue will be addressed later on, but seems to

be connected with other realities that prevail over the economic ones, related to the sense of mission.

- *Altruism and a more horizontal perception of power*

Deep thankfulness can be observed in the local collaborators who are neither students nor hired employees. Some of them were part of the community when Father Patricio arrived in 1992 and have witnessed the growth of ACOES in a process that due to the concatenation of links has achieved the quantitative dimension that it has today and that they qualify as "a miracle". One of these volunteers works as a cook and has been collaborating for 15 years. Today, at the age of seventy, she still works from seven am to five pm in one of the kitchens of one of the kindergartens and receives a financial assistance, which, however, does not seem to be the main motivation of her devotion. She describes the transformation of the area in the following terms:

> …before, people were sad…he [Father Patricio] saw there were great needs. From him, we have learned how to serve…how to work…how to get organized…we have known the faith…the love…the great love he has for the people…

Altruism is not only connected to the material dimension of the term. ACOES shows it also has to do with sharing power, with giving responsibility and opportunities to give, to create, with taking the person, however humble, seriously, with dignity. Observation shows and ACOES is not the first case, that apparently small or humble links may be indeed essential with big consequences, breaking the false correspondence between what seems a small contribution and its effects. This same collaborator explains: "I had the idea about the kindergarten, I told him I was going to help him". Father Patricio had helped her build her house and she started to cook food for the children at her home: "children used to take food from the garbage...my idea was to give them whatever, even a glass of milk". Father Patricio took her initiative seriously (her wish to do something) and took her to the first meeting with a group of supporters from Spain. Very quickly, economic support was confirmed and the communal center was built. It started with 115 children. It was the first kindergarten of ACOES where she is still involved. At present, there are 15.

Maintaining her commitment while infirmities of age are felt, she expresses the value of service in radical terms, as a life thread: "whoever does not live to serve, does not serve to live…service is a great thing…Father has helped so much…he helps young

people until they get to work. This is a miracle of God"…Whichever explanation she finds in spiritual terms, altruism in power is the only way to create agents of change. For Father Patricio, it is just a matter of capacity recognition and value.

- *Altruism and the type of relationship promoted by ACOES*

Altruism modulates relationships within the SE. ACOES tries to promote relationships of friendship and collaboration characterized by freedom and their own will. People may get more qualified and with more skills, but the core of the understanding of the relationships created is not merely professional. It is not an exchange that can be valued just in economic terms. This is another dimension of trying to be a Christian community. This feature is clearly observed in the people who although they could, decide to stay being underpaid. They seem to have a bond in the sense of fulfilling a mission. Having it is not necessarily connected to a position inside the organization and very humble people seem to feel it, as well as some highly skilled human resources.

This philosophy does not contradict the wish and the effort to become more effective, more professional and the permanent training, the search for opportunities of exposure abroad (studying masters, for example) are clear examples. However, it might have a cost in the sense of losing capacities, from which they seem to be very aware. Again, altruism and the wish to continue creating opportunities- i.e. fulfill their mission- seem to be key. When interviewed about this matter, Father Patricio explained: "I want to stay always in the main floor, where people can grow…the ones who have already grown can go". This perspective is absolutely coherent in terms of mission. In any case, the possibility to collaborate would be open for someone who wanted or needed to look for a work outside and collaborate at the same time, in an expression of realism and flexibility.

In any case, ACOES has rejected clearly so far being an enterprise: they consciously try to be a family and their personality should be respected. However challenging and even uncomfortable this might be, they try to develop "familial relationships inspired in an *evangelium* of brothers". In the end, founders probably just try to create the model they bring inside, they do what they can, what they know, no more and, if lucky, no less than what is conceived inside them, a certain type of organization, with a permanent tension towards the ideal. This is by nature an open-ended field. The fact of assuming the cost of their option is a sign of authenticity.

Most of the students that receive support and collaborate leave the SE once their studies are over, but some others stay. Two collaborators who have decided so far to stay after finishing superior education were interviewed. These are their stories.

Ana[103]received grants since primary education. In secondary school, she already coordinated a group of children who received grants in her colony. When secondary education was finished, she became a formal collaborator developing activities every day from seven am to twelve pm and attending the formation activities organized by ACOES (*Lectio Divina* and training). At present she coordinates a group of seven volunteers who manages the San Miguel grants project, for children and young students who do not have resources and study in public schools from Tegucigalpa and other rural areas (primary and secondary education): they get sponsored, receive uniforms, books, and money to pay the school guards. In 2015, the number of students whose educative needs were covered by this project was 3.939 in the whole country.

The decision to continue working in ACOES is connected to a personal feeling of satisfaction and meaning, compatible with the lack of external material needs and the presence of familiar support:"[It is] the joy of doing what I do…of seeing how the children are helped…the time give[n] enriches you as a person...". With regard to the decision of remaining in ACOES receiving a small help as a collaborator instead of a higher salary, the personal bond with the mission of the organization seems key, as well as the experience of thankfulness: "it depends on each person because one is aware of the [existing] need[s here]…[sometimes] there is…a disposition to help, to leave your interests for other people". Being thankful seems just part of the reasoning. The role of the mission seems more relevant: "life receives a meaning" when the task is connected with helping develop others.

Ana is not the only case for whom the possibility of having to leave causes sorrow. María[104] is another example. For her, it is impossible not to connect "the life of the project with her personal life". For her, "meeting the Father was like seeing a face of God that recognized my worth" in the sense of seeing a value in her she did not notice. From there

[103]Pseudonym to preserve anonymity.
[104] Pseudonym to preserve anonymity

takes root the feeling of "thankfulness". When asked about her reasons to stay, she explains: "I stay here because I feel full [fulfilled], not only at the familial level but also at the professional one. I am here because I want to, because I am happy and I am developing myself as a person". With regard to material considerations, she declares having "embraced a more simple life without so many accessories that in the end are a problem". She recognizes the need for a house in order to get married -"I have to get organized"- but it is not felt as a problem for her.

When asked about how to retain talent she confirms, “there is a real risk to lose capacities because we are managing 42 projects and there must not be so much rotation”. In her perspective, it is necessary to try to "look after certain key positions with more responsibility…and strengthen the sense of belonging to the project". It is a difficult balance, how to give without losing too much, but at the same time being aware that if you get too professionalized, or just function in professional terms, there is a risk to lose personality. She understands her mission in the following terms: "What I have received, [I try to] transmit it as intact as possible to the ones who continue coming". She has got a close relationship of friendship with the Father, recognizing that "every person goes developing the bond that he or she can, according to their personal circumstances as well…"

- *Altruism and personal resilience*

Resilience is a key issue not only for SERs but also for any kind of collaborator or volunteer, especially on the long run. A person highly committed with ACOES considers altruism in an extreme sense, in the way of not expecting anything in return, as key to resisting exposure and obstacles:

> The really important is to give yourself…well focused, but knowing that it may be for nothing…if you have very clear that that is the important thing then you are indestructible and that is the key, that's why the Gospel is so powerful…the important is to do something for nothing, then you are not afraid of anything, nothing stops you, it is the same, threats, extortions, natural disasters…

It is not clear how long that capacity not to expect in return will last. However, in the initial moments, a certain degree of altruism must be liberated and it seems also essential to overcome big shocks.

- *Putting the person in the center*

This principle leads inevitably to embrace imperfection. As a leader of the organization explains:

> If everything here would be perfect we would be doing something wrong: good people should leave and others should come…this is a place for making mistakes…The priority is that people move forward. Mistakes are not incentivized but learning must be promoted and when someone has done it, give an opportunity to someone else, also [assuming the fact of having to] repeat things 100 times if necessary. If you just focus on results, you have an enterprise without heart and you select just the good ones and eliminate the rest.

- *The difficulty of planning in the very long-term.*

In the same line, as a result of not detaching from the person, from their concrete evolution implies for the same leader that,

> it is very difficult to make a strategic plan: with four or five basic ideas, you jump…[you] helping people, as things happen, you go adjusting, seeing what is happening…If something is not working, you try to find out but it is a give and take…You make mistakes, you are in the line of the path. It does not mean to be perfectly in the path, you are almost on the line.

Cultivating the spiritual dimension helps to maintain that focus on the person, on the service, mentioning specifically the "prayers and the *Lectio Divina*".

- *Relativity of efficiency and effectiveness when confronted with the value of the person*

Effectiveness and efficiency including the popular achievement of results can be sometimes against the service if the plug is not placed on the development of the person. The same leader explains:

> …we ask people to produce, to get organized but the final decision cannot be based on that, it has to be subordinated to a superior principle which is justice, which is love…that love leads. If I ask for results, it is not for the result itself, it is so that they learn what they will be asked for in the world. [And] that changes many things: the organization will not go so quickly, or will not be so efficient or will not be so perfect….

Essentially it will bring back to imperfection. In addition, assuming a priority commitment with the evolution of the person requires listening and sometimes slowing down: "sometimes you [just] have to stop the machines, sit down with a group of ten and talk with them because they need it…[It is] a difficult balance".

- *How to maintain impact: be afraid of heights*

The fact of remaining connected to the people's real needs requires controlling bureaucracy or as Father Patricio puts it, be afraid of the heights:

> I think it is where we have to act, if you enter offices, you get into bureaucracy…you impact less. It is very difficult to be far from the problems of the people (go to the shop, have money for a book, for a school fee) and try to have some impact.

There is also a wish not to lose identification with those who live around them, "scraping along". ACOES has always tried to grow horizontally, not vertically and sharing power, and empowering the links is essential for that matter. Their impact in quantitative and horizontal terms is beyond doubt (see ACOES, 2015).Therefore the tension in ACOES like in many SEs is between giving opportunities to as many people as possible maintaining a certain level of quality. The tension and the merit increases if taken into account that the tasks are mainly made by collaborators (740), most of them students, who in some cases are as effective as an "army" but at the same time are just students learning.

- *Recognition of divine will*

Observations and interviews with SERs, secular or not, indicates a recognition of something else that helps them achieve their altruistic aims. This strength is felt as an engine and has connotations and insights of intelligence (there is a reason for everything). Sanllorente (2009) mentions it as a phenomenon, which ends up moving things in favor of the aims of the SE, when things are done for the love and wellness of those the SE is committed to. Other SERs of the sample –religious or not- connect it with the fact of having always found sufficient resources over a period of years. The SER Vicente Ferrer used to speak of the presence of the divine providence. Three factors seem key in the perception of this force: the fact of having clearly an altruistic motivation; the recognition of the

limitation, of the many events and factors that do not only depend on the human effort, that there is too much beyond control; and the impossibility to express success in only rational terms. In this case, that divine will, "invisible hand" or "providence" has implications in the attitude adopted, as a leader explains:

> [you have to] think in precise terms, open these schools, create vocational training, but in the [reality of the] general project that transcends, you have to be very humble…[and] … let God pull the strings…
> [That there is] a group of people who gives up on themselves and wants to help people who are in need, and want things to work…God is interested in that. It does not mean that you are passive, you have to smarten up, speak with people, move yourself…In the end, you know that things are going to succeed, one way or another, they succeed…

In essence, those affirmations seem to speak of a strength which supports the achievement of the common good and the overcoming of obstacles. And the way the realization of this common good is perceived requires not only the rational mind but also intuition, according to this source. Intuition is found to be very important in this case, but does not represent a novelty since most of the SERs of the sample do this. But this precise source connects it to that divine providence or will: "the reason can lead you to absurd situations". Intuition seems to increase in the process of being coherent with their own mission: "If you get on the road, you notice it" as a sort of feedback: the more you stay in the mission as an SER the more intuitive you become. And that mission is a realization of the common good, so intuition could be considered as another tool to realize and preserve that common good, that expression of altruism.

In a wider framework, recognition and trust in what is called divine will, or at least recognize its existence, seems to have implications in the way the founder understands his role, and his ego, in the relationship he develops with the organization, as a leader explains. In essence you learn to be lead, assuming that

> preconceived plans…or very prefixed ideas can be contaminated and [understanding that] serving others is not about putting a certain stamp of perfection, effectivity or effectiveness in the organization, which sometimes just leads to search for the own brightness and recognition.

It also has implications in the way the limitations of the organization are understood. Apparently, it seems to help develop an attitude of humility and referring to

Saint Ignatius, he expresses: "…a bad spirit has entered the SE if you think you can solve [the whole] world. You are not going to solve it, the world is solved by everyone giving what they have to" (as secular SERs and volunteers often express, doing their respective part). However the beliefs of religious SERs are shared or not, just like in secular ones, their commitment is not caused by a naïve understanding of the world. On the contrary, they understand "the world is the way it is because people do not do their part".

The exploration carried out since 2003, has also given the opportunity to observe situations in which some SERs developed dysfunctional relationships with the SEs, in the sense of considering it as an extension of themselves, or as owners with the capacity to close it down without much attention to the negative impact of their decisions. In those cases, these SERs did not seem to recognize the presence or existence of another will or strength beyond their interests and needs. Divine will might be inherently linked to altruism (something some SERs may end up losing) although secular SERs may label it differently. It is also linked to an objective perception of their own limitations as humans, to a certain humility. However, when the SER considers himself the absolute owner and protagonist, the perception of that divine will does not seem to be present in his understanding of reality.

- *Acceptation of vulnerability: do we really need to be stronger?*

Father Patricio considers that the organization has always been and still is vulnerable. In ACOES there is a solid group of people very able to fulfill the aims of the SE. But it is also true that in Tegucigalpa it is based in a very poor area where violence is prevalent: the type of contexts where conventional entrepreneurs would not invest. And most of its tasks are performed by collaborators (740), many of them students (488), namely, people who are still learning. Economically, the organization does not have any initial focus on achieving self-sustainability. The westernized way of thinking would try to make it be as strong as possible (economically or through the professionalization of human resources). However, its undeniable vulnerability does not mean that things go wrong, or that it is not effective and maybe it is just a more realistic way to understand how SEs work. Concrete examples show how that vulnerability is coherent with a certain impermeability to events that potentially could have damaged the SE seriously and they have not. The *coup d' état* in 2009 and the economic crisis emerged in 2008 do not seem to have affected ACOES, which works "like a micro universe, which proves that a group

that does not move inside the traditional structures can resist and work [and]…cannot be measured by traditional standards, i.e. like a traditional enterprise", a leader explains. There might be fewer resources available, but it continues. Vulnerability does not impede another reality, which is that "…it is difficult to find a group of people who collaborate in such an intense way and so well oriented to make the world work". The strength seems to come from immaterial values that move the energy of work towards an altruistic aim, towards its mission.

- *Absence of neutrality, religion, and interference*

As opposed to a widespread conception that considers that development can be achieved in neutral terms, that assumption is contested by ACOES, considering neutrality as something that in practical terms, does not exist. Father Patricio explains: "Everyone takes a position. The one who does not take it has a position too. We all are in a place". On the contrary, there is an acceptance of total interference: "we are always interfering in others people's development for good of for bad. Not interfering or not doing something is interfering". In that sense, the only option is to respect; that is to offer but also truly respect people's freedom. ACOES' position with regard to the surrounding religious reality and their approaches will be more deeply explained later on, but in principle, the SE gives opportunities to study to everyone without prejudice of their beliefs. However, it is true that people who belong to sects and Protestants often do not adapt to the rhythm of life and the collaboration requirements of the *populorum*. For the students who come from Tegucigalpa and receive support but live with their own families, (the denominated CCJ) it is not so problematic the maintenance of their own beliefs since life together is not so intense.

When asked about the need to find a common parameter between beliefs, Father Patricio refers to the equivalent theological meaning of the concepts God, life, truth and love, according to the theology. Secular SERs do not tend to mention God in their tasks, being closer to any of the other concepts. Nevertheless, laying God aside, the complexity of the others is also intense, especially if trying to be lived in practical terms and connected, in an exercise of coherence, with the daily task of the SE. This is, giving reality to the aspiration of living like an "*evangelium* of brothers" or simply like a "family". Father Patricio explains:

> Love is trivialized…it is the total health, it means to develop the capacity to love fully, which is very difficult…learning to love and be loved is a life task. In extreme poverty circumstances, it is difficult to show love, I love my son but I don't give him something to eat…

In the recognition of this complexity, for them, the New Testament is still a valid guide, "the fastest way, a straight line" to embody those values.

7.3.2 Openness to reality

Openness to reality seems key for successful SEs not only in order to obtain crucial information and being effective but also as an expression of the commitment they achieve with a certain community and in the present case, with several of them. This last form of openness is related to the acceptation of a permanent tension, of the need to go beyond even if that implies to give up a certain degree of comfort. Father Patricio considers openness the only way to wake up, something he applies for Honduran people and foreigners:

> We make concepts of the world according to what we see every day, a boy who lives in the Nueva Capital [105]makes his concept of the world according to what he sees every day. The same happens with someone who lives in New York. We need feedback from people from the outside as well with ideas and opinions. Becoming aware is the opposite to live being drugged.

ACOES does not only aim to serve Hondurans. It also aims to give the opportunity to see a different way to live to the volunteers who come from abroad (an average of 120 every year). Personal transformation takes place in some of them who become long-term supporters, not only economically. ACOES has only in Spain 22 associations createdby volunteers with the aim to support the work done in Honduras. ACOES is an extreme case of decentralization. These organizations tend to follow their own initiatives in order to obtain resources. As an example, only in 2015, 540.688'50 kilos of assets (food, clothes, furniture) were received in containers from organizations in Canada, Spain and Germany and delivered to the people who need it in all the projects of the SE. As an indication of openness, during the observation, part of the content of one of the containers was taken to some villages around Copán, in the north of the country. For doing so, a group of students

[105]An area in the outskirts of Tegucigalpa.

traveled to those areas on a trip that took approximately ten hours. They spent a whole weekend delivering the assets in those villages, some of them very remote from each other. Another example of openness is how the SE is involved in the repair of public schools in that same area where some children receive grants from ACOES (through the San Miguel grants project) to go to these schools (ACOES, 2015).

That ACOES is extreme in the sense of allowing collaboration is confirmed in another example. The organization does not have any source of income or self-sustainability. It is not part of their expertise and according to their present circumstances, they are not for that option in what it compromises the rights of the students. The widespread tendency to demand economic self-sustainability from SEs is clearly contested. Father Patricio explains:

> …since we are born until we become productive there are many years of investment…and usually those who demand it, invest on their children for many years without producing anything…People who have means do not send their kids to sow beans, they send them to study…and pay for many years a good university so that they can be productive [later on]…

However, and although Father Patricio never thought it would work, a friend of the organization, a businessman, bought a piece of land to make a profitable chicken farm with the students being partly responsible for running it. The initiative did not work basically because the students could not cope with the amount of work required to generate some profit and their studies at the same time. The organization does not think they have the specialized resources to manage that kind of initiative. The person who finally stopped it, still considers that young people must have the right to study and carrying the weight of an enterprise is "craziness and unfair". However, this same person described the initiative of the businessman as very well intended and which allowed him to experience a personal transformation in which altruism and a deeper perception of reality increased as well as his personal commitment. Probably in not many SEs, a collaborator would be given the freedom shown in this case. Understanding participation in such a way may actually complicate the functioning of the SE. Nevertheless, this man was given the opportunity to try it. The experience has also allowed ACOES to have a very clear position about self-sustainability, based on their own experience. Father Patricio explains: "a child and an old person will never be self-sustainable. You will be when you are 30 or 40 years old, if you are lucky". That option also presents other challenges. The initiative required hiring some

sort of foreman who could take care of the farm. In a context with so much inequality that could affect ACOES' culture, in the form of potential disrespect or abuse towards the students being very likely to end up having someone who would not understand the value of service in the terms ACOES does.

The position of this study is not against self-sustainability but it is against the so-called obligation to become self-sustainable. Internal capacities of the organization, context, and the like should be taken into account. Revenue cannot be a pre-condition of dignity. Some SEs create business as a way to respond to the lack of jobs in their environments and that can fully match with the respect of dignity. But economic trends should not lead to not reading concrete realities and even potentialities. There is not only one type of SE. Besides, and ACOES clearly shows it, it is not necessary to be self-sustainable to be very effective.

- *Strategic openness of the project*

As in other cases of SEs, these often develop specific strategies to reach further. Their importance is essential to fight inequality and create opportunities from the early stages. Just as an example, in ACOES there is a project called Maestro en Casa (Teacher at home). The aim of the project is to help young people in communities where there are no school or the schools are one-room, one teacher, and when they get to sixth grade, they cannot continue. The project relies on the existence of the IHER [106] (Instituto Hondureño deEducacion por Radio, by its initials in Spanish), a religious initiative born in Costa Rica and Guatemala, founded by Franz Tatebanch which reached Honduras in 1989, founded in this country by the sister Marta Eugenia Soto. The initiative itself could be considered another SE although deeper analysis has not been made. Maestro en Casa follows the lines of the IHER creating an environment that allows incorporating the opportunity given by this institute of receiving education through radio, reinforcing its effectiveness and overcoming daily obstacles.

The IHER provides education by radio at the same time it creates an official framework so that the studies are recognized by the government (allows enrollment, provides official exams and sells the books). In fact, some communities only work with the

[106] For more information, see https://honduras.elmaestroencasa.com/quienesomos.html

IHER, without the extra support of ACOES. Without the existence of the IHER, the students could not be enrolled.

ACOES' logic consists of reinforcing the IHER's effectiveness by providing volunteer teachers, monitoring and coordinating the development of the initiative, taking care of 856 students enrolled in October 2015, when this research was made. Among the obstacles that take place, Maestro en Casa tries to make sure that the classes are given, that the students attend, that if a teacher leaves a substitute is found and provides the students a grant (in fact to most of them) if they cannot pay for the books. The general rule is to be asked to pay for them in the period of a year and if they are unable to do so, they will be donated. ACOES also provides some economic help to the volunteer teachers. When a person from any community asks ACOES for support from Maestro en Casa, this person is asked to provide a list with potential teachers from the community and also a list of people who need to study. This way a degree of commitment is required to the future beneficiary at the same time the initiative is opened to more people.

In general terms the coordination of this project implemented in 32 communities (in the departments of La Paz, el Paraíso, Francisco Morazán, Lempira, Copán, Olancho, Valle, Choluteca and Santa Barbara) takes a lot of time and its monitoring is carried out by 13 collaborators, all of them ACOES' students. The coordinator of the project is a student, who also teaches in the evening school of San Francisco, and would like to have more time to go to the communities, to pay more attention to the young people, supporting and motivating them, opening more opportunities and increasing the quality of the project. But their daily obligations make it impossible to go to the communities every month in spite of being conscious of how much the Honduran society needs it:

> …in the communities…there are a lot of capacities. We have to get ahead. If we don't approach them, it would be very difficult, there is no other way. We have to help as much as possible, it is our responsibility to do so…It is very difficult to say no…

He remembers as a deeply fulfilling experience, when he made a petition to ACOES in order to give grants to 120 children from his community and other two nearby, who at the time were in the kindergarten and primary education. Many of these students maintained the grant for ten years and some of them are currently at the university. In fact, giving continuity to the student's aspirations is tried, trying to move them to some of the

populorum houses placed throughout the country once they have passed the university exam (28 students from this project had taken it in 2015).

As in other cases, the spiritual dimension is very relevant for the assessment of their work:"…in ACOES we do the practice of the spiritual part…I was a spiritual person earlier, I went to church and prayed…I knew a theoric religion, but here that faith becomes practice".

Collaboration takes its price as well. It is very difficult to value the personal experience from the outside but in cases like the present one, the fact of having supported other initiatives might have caused a delay in the studies that seems to be felt as personally compensated by the opportunities created helping others. This is an experience that can only be assessed by this collaborator with 12 years of experience.

7.3.3 Progress happens and opportunities are created in vulnerability: Tania's story and the importance of the links

Progress happens in conditions of vulnerability and often depends on the activation of real individuals, who altruistically decide to work in favor of other people's development. Vulnerability does not disappear but activation in favor of others seems essential.

Tania[107] is a 26-year-old woman who has managed to continue her studies in ACOES. She comes from a village, which is four hours and a half from Tegucigalpa. Until she was 21 years old, she lived in that community, the moment in which she arrived in ACOES. Belonging to a family of four siblings, she wanted to study higher education but due to the lack of resources, at the age of twelve, she had to stop it for seven years, after having finished primary education at the age of 12. The death of the father some years later did not improve her expectations to continue her education. At the age of nineteen, she and two other girls from the same community decided to continue studying and do the *ciclo común*[108], while supporting each other in the process.

[107]Pseudonym to protect anonymity
[108]Secondary education in Honduras is formed by two cycles: *ciclo común*, three years of general culture and *ciclo diversificado*, with a higher degree of specialization and practical orientation. For more information see, https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sistema_educativo_de_Honduras

The conditions to continue studying were the following: due to the lack of educative institutions in their community, they walked between two and a half to three hours each way to the closest village where they could receive classes by a volunteer teacher, member of the governmental program [109]Educatodos. As often happens, after a short period of time the teacher quit. Apparently, tiredness and the lack of salary –teachers are volunteers- are the reasons to leave. When this happened, they had already invested money in buying the books, having worked specifically for that aim. They were also receiving support from the neighbors of their native community, who encouraged them to continue studying ("…now that you have started, continue…") and gave them time to do so, unloading them in concrete ways: instead of working in the field, giving support later on in the kitchens, that is, reorganizing work.

Just after being left by the volunteer teacher, her cousin offered herself to substitute the previous teacher. This woman in her early thirties was a single mother with two kids who worked and at the same time she was finishing her degree as a teacher at the university (studying on the weekends). Altruistically, she taught them three hours, three days a week. The students walked the same distance they did with the first teacher to receive the classes. She remembers gratefully an old man "who one day gave them courage along the way" when scared by a boy on the way to those classes.

Out of the 16 students who started the *ciclo común*, only three finished it. As explained in the interviews, the cousin had a serious commitment revising homework, explaining themes, just wanting them to get ahead. In fact, Tania and the other two finished in two years instead of three. Seeing in retrospect the role of the cousin is considered essential:"…we paid her with lemons and oranges". People in the villages do not have everything and they cut them to thank her, "to acknowledge what she did with small things like that [and]…it made her happy". In the end, they made a dinner to express their gratitude: "She was very happy because we had finished, because we had not given up". When asked about motivations, the interviewee describes the cousin as a woman of faith, willing to do acts of compassion and translate the lectures into acts.

[109]For more information, see https://alfabetizacion.educatodos.hn

The motivations of Tania go from very concrete aspects such as efficiency to personal and familiar values. The fact of having invested in the books, having worked for doing so, committed her to continue: she could not waste them now she had them. More personally, she recognized having believed always in herself; the aspiration to experience wider horizons "out of the kitchens of her village" and of not having to get married so soon, played an important role sustaining her in the effort. As she explains, sometimes when the father dies, the girls get married early trying to acquire some short of security but the husband, frequently another kid, is not responsible and does not provide a better situation. "There is no need to marry so early, at the age of 14, 15, 16". Women married at a young age ask their husbands for permission to do things something she would not do now, "I can give my opinion, make my own decisions".

From the influence of her father, she recognizes having learned that money is not a primary factor to achieve things, a value that seems to have helped her to overcome difficulties and more precisely, the capacity to feel able in scarcity: "if you do not have money to travel by bus or car to the other village, you can do it on foot". The fact of not considering the lack of money a decisive impediment, allowed her thinking on a longer term, taking advantage of the opportunity maintaining the effort in time. One key aspect of the education provided by ACOES is based on the recognition of the capacities over the existing material limitations. Father Patricio reiterates the affirmation "we are multimillionaire in capacities" whenever he can. There was also an aspiration of her own independence and in the future to be able to help people from the communities giving them similar opportunities to the ones she received.

A second unexpected opportunity emerged just before finishing the *ciclo común.* Another villager who knew Tania's mother showed apparently altruistically again interest for Tania's future and her wish to continue studies, working as a link and information provider between her and his brother, who was studying engineering at the time in ACOES. She had never met any of them before. The informant, a man without studies, looked for her on purpose and asked her if she really wanted to study, to what she replied very sure affirmatively, recognizing her absolute lack of information about how to do it. That same night after the informant's intervention, overcoming the lack of signal, the brother managed to phone her and explained her the ACOES operations and the opportunity to join the SE in the following year. While living in the communities the access

to information is very limited about how to continue studying: "I had no idea". She defined it as being "blind" or "deaf". Looking back she does not know if, without the appearance of this informant, she would have continued studying. Sometime later trying to get an idea, with a lot of “fear and thoughts”, she met one of the leaders of ACOES in Marcala, who enrolled her to the *ciclo diversificado* –second phase of higher education- and shortly after in Tegucigalpa, the boy who introduced her to the SE.

The importance of social capital and more precisely the emergency of people who altruistically work as links, providing with what is necessary in every moment to overcome the obstacle, must not be underestimated. Community support is observed from the very beginning in this process. It is difficult to estimate the role played by the community reorganizing tasks to be able to provide extra time to the girls in the initial moments. Personal commitment (in the form of investment and personal values which allow feeling able and persevere) does play a role but in a context of extreme vulnerability, in which there is no effective right to study, opportunities to progress are sustained on human links who operate altruistically following their own consciousness, giving options where apparently there is not any, providing information, accepting uncertainty and detachment from results which are never guaranteed. The only certainty the informant could have was her confirmation that she really wanted to study. Altruism is also very clear and sustained in time in the case of the cousin and teacher. Altruism is a powerful booster, probably the most powerful one in contexts of vulnerability, which seems to amplify the social effectiveness of every person. In an unconscious chain, each of them plays a key aspect. In the example can be seen how people with the lowest preparation can result essential in the continuity of the chain and the process of social transformation. Many interviewees describe ACOES as a chain, others as a net. This example simply tries to describe how the links work.

Many of the young people in ACOES declare to come from families with complex situations. Scarcity forces them to leave school or at least interrupt education for several years and it is rather frequent to find familiar conflicts in which boundaries (in the form of who is responsible for which problem, why and at what cost) remain unclear. In essence, creating the circumstances to continue education or even be a member of ACOES by no means guarantees that the problems and distresses that once separated the young one from education will not reappear. In fact, they do. This is a constant fight while those

problems remain. Poor people have to paddle upstream with regard to practically any right they want to enforce. And the rooting of those rights is often threatened by circumstances starting in the family, even when some headway has been made. If pressure from the homes is rather high, it is not rare that the student disappears and returns home without having tried to solve the situation openly, looking for less harmful options for himself fearlessly, because fear, as well as pressure, are always present. On the contrary, they tend more to shut down and rack their brains. The right to stay in ACOES, to persevere, to study and to be a priority for themselves sometimes resembles the image of a plant not allowed to take root. It is very easy to uproot it. Guaranteeing the right to education implies standing by the person along the process in which that audacity to study and break a heritage is going to be threatened. Therefore it is necessary to reread the difficulties and tensions that will emerge around and in the family of the poor and make space against them in order to help them to persevere. The right to education in Honduras seems to be broken for many people. Not only due to lack of educative institutions or teachers. As seen in the example, when a volunteer teacher inside an official program resigns, absolutely nothing happens and [110]there is no way to enforce that right. But at a deeper level, in the field of subjectivity where one gives oneself the right to study as a priority, that right is, if not broken, at least seriously threaten. The right to change a life order, through studies has to be protected along the process until enough solidity has emerged in the wider context of a country that does not show people their value and does not guarantee it. And this is done mainly through accompaniment and personal commitment, which allows growth against the tide. Policy makers do not tend to focus on "small and personal issues" like accompaniment through struggles. Maybe because already developed countries have forgotten their very recent past, guaranteeing the right to education is often thought through the construction of institutions or increase of professionals. But as long as countries do not do their homework –building accessible centers for secondary education would help-, it is increasingly relevant to look after the internal dimension so that the existing institutions like these SEs can fulfill their task being really effective, transforming culture, making people aware of their right to study- sustaining them psychologically every day against their fears, obstacles, and contradictions that do emerge. The denial of an effective right to education externally is a reflection of a self-denial that has taken root,

[110]During interviews with the person in charge of the project Maestro en Casa (Teacher at home) implemented by ACOES, which is very similar to Educatodos, this person stressed the need to monitor the project permanently due to the vulnerability that affects teachers and students, that threatens the effectiveness of the project.

corroborated by the daily lack of care, which has to be transformed in a daily fight at the grassroots level, pushing the students against the tide showing them what they are able to do.

For poor people, progress happens in conditions of vulnerability. But observation shows that it might not be as determinant as the way in which a person receives or filters that message that moves him to change. The following anecdote told by a missionary nun in Nicaragua illustrates it. Apparently, there was a man, already married and with children, who wanted to thank her for having encouraged him to continue studying as a young boy. He remembers while the nun does not, that every time she stopped her car close to the traffic light where he used to stand to sell things, she told him to continue studying. In the course of the years, he connects that motivational message with the fact of having continued his education. For the nun, to whom the story caused considerable awe, what she told him was a matter of "pure intuition". However, these kinds of situations were not new to her. In retrospect she considers it is rather frequent to have helped people she did not remember, just standing or being there for them, giving them support in an intuitive form. This implies detachment from results, which cannot be controlled: "…you encounter people who tell you…what you told me helped me so much…and you do not know what you told them…this is to sow but without knowing where it falls or when it is going to germinate". In this example, the role of intuition adds to the altruism and the lack of control over the results to promote progress in contexts of vulnerability.

7.3.4 Psychological analysis: the need to unlearn

The starting point for most of the students who enter ACOES is described in the following terms by Father Patricio:

> It is very difficult for them to think that there might be a future for them. They come from a world full of difficulties, where they could not think of their future for a long period of time, facing a lot of misfortunes…a difficult life, not favorable at all, with a closed future.

That's why it is so important for them to see that others are achieving it (the chain effect). If they could not see it, it would be more difficult to make the mental leap that it is possible. In this sense, the quantitative dimension helps. In 2015, there were 112 students at the university.

The fact of not having been able to think about their future in concrete terms and having ignored almost fully educative options affects the solidity and clarity of the decisions they make when choosing university studies. It is very striking the prevalent need to change them, something accepted by the organization: "We don't have good counselors and when the students arrive, they start from where they are; It is very hard for them to know". Generally, the organization allows changes "we want them to be where they want to be" asking them usually to finish the year where they are enrolled. [111]Cases are considered particularly by the general board, taking personal circumstances into account.

Consciously and repeatedly, Father Patricio encourages them to ask for help ("shout if you need to") and for that aim, masses are an opportunity. He is aware of inertias that happen as a group, headed for the preservation of what has been achieved (in material terms and assets) and that do not favor integration of newcomers: "for the group, it is difficult to receive new people…some of them tend to close…when someone gets a position, they look after it carefully…so [some people] do not invite others. Sharing is blocked, look at the society". The chain effect and the wish to preserve work simultaneously.

Another factor is that students tend not to express their problems, even those which are relatively simple to solve. There was a real case of a student who did not get enrolled because he lacked 500 lempiras and did not ask for them. Instead, he lost a whole academic year. One of the most difficult things with regard to their problems is to find them out.

Carlos[112] is a student in charge of one of the *populorum*, (with 30 students under his responsibility) being also the general administrator of all of them (11 *populorum* in the whole SE). At the same time, he studies at the university and is in charge of the monitoring of the construction of some new houses and dormitories. Having being motivated at home by his family to continue studying, he has reflected on the psychological needs of the

[111]University also places some academic requirements to make the change effective.
[112]Pseudonym to preserve anonymity.

students of ACOES. He considers that although there is a spiritual level that aims to be developed, the psychological one still presents many challenges.

As many other students, before entering ACOES, he had to interrupt his studies for some time due to economic problems. At the age of 17, he could finally retake them studying on the weekend and working during the week. Like in other cases in communities, walking to school took him several hours daily, (four) each way.

Being aware that helping students internally is key because "that improves the[m]and changes the society" [and that is something] "that is learned here", the difficulties of that process are striking. Sharing Father Patricio's perspective, he amplifies it considering necessary to break the internal barriers given by oneself, considering that money is not the most important thing to be "waken up", to change internally. People are too often "neglected", so there is no "internal growth" leaving the person as a result "blocked, with no means and no preparation". The fact of having felt that internal reality as well ("I have been in the zero zone, in a dessert…[I did] not believe in me. It was a motivational dessert") allows him understanding the surrounding psychological reality deeply and finding an explanation to the number[113] of students who abandon the project: "many students give up because defeat is internalized (denoting probably low self-esteem) without having faced the problem". It is striking the frequent incapacity to manage familiar burdens and place limits on areas of responsibility inside the families. There are also misconceptions against the own development, i.e, families "put[ting] limitations" in a general context in which very often,

> the base of the family is not properly made…Often parents do not have that capacity to motivate, to listen…[and young students] carry that disadvantage from the family…[because] no one told them you are able because the defeat, they already had it [inside them when they came here].

Hondurans arrive at the project being "pessimistic" and with a tendency to establish "short-term objectives". Therefore "internal motivation" is essential and without it, no "development" is possible.

[113]According(ACOES, 2015), 32% of the students abandoned the SE in 2014.

During my attendance at a meeting, Father Patricio had a conversation with one of the students, a young girl who was missing several classes. After asking her about the reasons why she was not attending, the primary factor emerged: "My father wants me to leave the project", that is, to leave studies. The immediate reaction of Father Patricio was to reaffirm her right to stay: "I will speak with your father and I will tell him that your children will be the children of a woman with studies". As explained above, vulnerability of the rights is high, main obstacles often come from the closest ones, and reaffirmation and therefore accompaniment have proved to be essential. Nevertheless, accompaniment might not be as easy as could be thought, due to the tendency not to express problems in order to find a solution. A very intense process has to be made in order "to become aware of the new possibilities they have now in their lives", according to Carlos. ACOES promotes that students look after each other. It is not only a question of moral values. It is also a question of effectiveness in scarcity. Some students understand it better than others. As one of them explained, “my task here is to keep an eye on the people". Scarcity and internal empowerment, extending the culture of care, creates a scenario in which very young people look after others who are even younger or newer. Thus, the coordinator of one of the homes, for example, a student, will develop the role of counselor or psychologist in a process that has much of the "intuitive". Even if the fact of being local may have advantages, it can also have disadvantages, considering normal things that are not. This reflection was made by Father Patricio with regard to the prevalence of violence inside the homes of the students, and the "normalized" understanding that local psychologists and counselors might have about it.

Other symptoms indicated by the interviewee are weak self-confidence and tendency to indecision. Paying strong attention to external considerations and weak attention to their own intuition is also common: "[many] people are not established, [so] the wind blows and takes him away". He also connects this subjective reality with the way religion is understood in large sectors of society, disconnected from personal responsibility (do your part), in magical terms, as a way to forget problems, leading paradoxically to more internal neglect: [it is a priority] "to be in good terms with [an external and furious] God but not with oneself", leading the subject to the fulfillment of exterior and mere formal considerations when internally the person "is a disaster". For all that, giving centrality and priority to the person is essential for this student:

> It is the person the one who makes the change. Everything depends on the person. The person makes the world change…that is believed by the Father and by me. The Father believes in the person, in all of them.

7.3.5 The spirituality that surrounds ACOES: general understanding of religion in the environment

Only in the immediate vicinities of the Monterrey Colony in Tegucigalpa where ACOES has some of its most representative buildings, - the training center and several *populorum*- there are three cults. There is an increasingly prevalent vision of God coming from these organizations as well as evangelical churches, who is almighty whereas people are powerless; everything that happens, is because of him, which means that human beings do not have any responsibility. It is a rather fundamentalist approach,that creates a strong duality that erodes the value of life versus the spirituality. Father Patricio considers Christianity exactly the opposite. The interpretation of reality made by these cults can be summarized in the following way:

> If there is no medicine, if there is a strike or people get killed is because God wants it and that is a lie. Things do not happen because of that. That is why it is so important to study. [Many times] when people gets killed is not because God wants them to be killed, it is for other [structural] reasons…

These beliefs ignore the power and the effects of the structures that sustain and create inequality and achieve to inactivate the person, to defuse responsibility and capacity to change disconnecting personal situations of injustice and suffering from the structures and political decisions that sustain them (in an expression of that duality). Essentially it is "a religion aside from the problems of the world, without a global vision, with a total intervention of God and a total uselessness of the human being, with no logic", another leader explains. These conceptions can only collide with an SE which empowers people so that they can fend for themselves and become freer individuals. Besides, the understanding of God in ACOES and human participation is simply the opposite. Declaring themselves in the line of the Catholic theology, they understand that "God makes the world and we are part of the story as collaborators, corresponsible with him in the story, we play the match with him: he does his part and we do ours". And it is not almighty; it is a "God that makes himself small to make the people big".

From a sociological and psychological point of view, the culture that sustains the sects accurately fits the needs of some of the members of the Honduran society, in the sense of being members of small groups, with very intense relationships between them, aside from a society and a world which are very difficult, where they can create a micro-climate where they are the chosen ones who will save, while the rest will not.

In fact, for Father Patricio, sects are coherent with the necessity to "shut down" and leave everything to God. It is key to understand the need for a "comforting space" and uniqueness "in this difficult society".

Sects do have a lot of broadcasting stations, whereas the Catholic Church has only one. Since all of them speak about God, people do not differentiate what type of message they receive. Another distinctive feature is that the sects and many Protestant groups in the area preferentially use of the Old Testament and only pieces of the New one, which "apparently have a magical meaning…like the miracle of the blind man". Those paragraphs, "when studied theologically, are not based on a matter of magic…no miracle is made on its own. On the contrary, Jesus asks for our participation since he came to activate the person" while recognizing its value.

The understanding of religion generates a culture of its own with impact in the way the own development and commitment is understood. It transcends the religious space. This has caused tension among the *populorum* students: those who belong to sects, are more prone to spend important parts of the day reading the Bible instead of being working and helping others in practical terms. In ACOES service cannot be substituted by reading the Bible since life has a value of its own. Although ACOES tries to welcome everybody, the cultural difference is stronger than it might seem and is not always compatible with the distribution of work and responsibilities that the SE proposes. As explained earlier, these problems do not happen with students who live with their families in Tegucigalpa and who collaborate with the project, the denominated CCJ.

From the point of view of social effectiveness, and according to Father Patricio, the sect mentality does not solve the problems of the world, it complicates them. It is used as a “drug” that annulates the people: “Religion and the religious person are very powerful

and very dangerous because they use the name of God". Paraphrasing Marx, "religion is the opium of the people when with it, reality is covered…Christianity sets the person free or is not Christianity at all…when the dose of religion that people receive is too big, it leaves the person knockout".

Critics of religion are clearly understood due to the realizations that throughout history have been made of the religious concepts, in outdated fashions, not having much to do with the original message. However, for Father Patricio, the concept of the life of Jesus is highly correct: "he hits the blank in the understanding of reality". Therefore it is necessary to study and differentiate the different actors inside the church (religion, priest, hierarchy, communities, liturgy) since there are too many significant differences among them.

7.3.6 ACOES and the daily coexistence with the maras. An analysis from different perspectives

> Close to one of the kindergartens of ACOES in Tegucigalpa, at any time of the day, a shooting may start and everyone hides…or they [the *mara*] may play trumpet and say that they control that area, they order there…people are under their government.

This brief description given by a woman in Tegucigalpa provides an image of what being surrounded by violence might represent. Tegucigalpa is according to the NGO Seguridad, Justicia y Paz (2017) the sixth most dangerous city in the world. Before delving into how this phenomenon of the *maras* (violent groups) was created, it is important to underline the existing situation of respect and balance between ACOES as an organization and the violence around it: a clear case of legitimacy in vulnerability. This allows among other things, a permanent flow of volunteers who so far have always been respected:

> ACOES does not work directly with them, they know what we do, they know us and so far they respect us. There is a clear sign: the doors of our schools have not been painted, they do not consider it their territory, they respect it. We do normal things, we make 3700 children go to school. We give opportunities to the people from Honduras so that they can do something to help the people from here…to those who struggle more.

According to Hernández (2013)theorigin of the *maras* is related to the end of the internal conflicts in the nineties in Central America, moment in which significant investments in the reconstruction of the countries were made (improvement of roads,

reintegration of ex-combatants and improvement of mechanism of political participation) but without proper investment in human capital or creation of opportunities for the youth, who had no future options. Violence became demilitarized without disappearing in the context of a broken social fabric due to the previous conflicts. Many of these young ones from El Salvador, Guatemala or Honduras migrated to California were again, as a minority, had to become members of the existing Latin gangs which were in conflict with the Afro-American ones. Eventually, some of these groups from Central America started creating their own groups when they realized they were as strong as the previous ones, many of them from Mexico. A series of deportations of violent groups from the USA to Central America established the *mara* phenomenon in this area, with violent groups trained in the States.

The finalization of the military conflict in Central America did not mean the disarmament of the region, so many of these remaining weapons passed into the hands of the violent groups. Drug trafficking -being Central America a privileged area to transport it from the South to the North- is a key element in which gang members work as essential operators of a much bigger and invisible structure. The internal conflicts had already forced many people to leave remote areas and search for safety closer to the cities generated an overcrowding situation where violence and lack of horizons grow (Hernández, 2013). The following paragraphs collect reflections from several perspectives being striking the relevance given to the inexistence of a culture of care –partly caused by material poverty- as well as the presence of familiar psychological traumas as a precondition to entering the *mara.*

- *The perspective of violence by a leader in the SE*

A person with key responsibility in ACOES relates the violence phenomenon with inequality and the decrease of opportunities for the young people who “sometimes do not have any, not even the right to go to school”. There was more closeness among the people earlier, the bonds were stronger: “Now individualism, inequality, injustice are destroying those bonds…The saddest thing is that we are destroying us between us…[and from ACOES] we cannot be indifferent”.

The key, as an organization, is to fight inequality. In several occasions Father Patricio has affirmed "it is not the poverty what destroys people, it is injustice what does":

[therefore we need] psychologists and educators to attend this reality, but it has to come from ourselves". And education is indispensable: “if I had not studied I could not support the way I do…we must keep on working to generate opportunities”, explains this young leader.

This person collaborates in the evening school of San Francisco, a nourishing activity for her, which is exactly the nest of the *maras.* There, the students are sometimes rude and they are told off for their behaviors, but they continue coming: "[because] every day they want to see a different reality…It is worth helping there".

For those students she teaches in extreme situation of vulnerability and high risk to fall into violence, psychological harm has already taken place before becoming a member:

> Inequality dehumanizes, stupefies…they are like sold…Very frequently there have been breakups inside the families they could not recover from...[but] the relationships that they find outside the families are not more honest or sincere…They let themselves go, with no meaning, no horizon, without looking for a path.

Her analysis in perspective makes her think there are probably two different organizational levels of the *maras*: an invisible intelligence, which is the one that organizes and a visible one formed by the people without opportunities, “those who want an answer for their lives”. Those who are the ones who die, very often below the age of 21. This perception shared in more conversations during the observation with other Hondurans could question Hernández (2013) when he affirms that economic resources stay at the level of the *mara* without ascending in the social ladder to bigger criminals. Hondurans tend to sustain that the real leaders of the *maras* do not live in popular areas or even in the country. Instrumentalization of violence and criminal economy by state agents generates an intricate network of interests from which only the most obvious dimension is seen.

She also offers an explanation to the so far existing respect from the *maras* to the organization and the volunteers as well:

> I believe that the distinction between good and bad has not been completely annulated in them…they get to see the good work [that is done]…everyone knows everything [here], that the volunteers (140 in 2015) come to help. ACOES represents going back to that simplicity

> and that favors acceptance…They see the core of the project, the aim [which is] to do the good, give a hand without excluding anybody, including the people who come from Spain.

The interviewee, whose sense of security increased when studied in Spain and tries to maintain it, underlines the importance of maintaining the bonds to be able to help:

> If I had moved away, in ten years I would have lost my bond with the colony [and] I would not be what I am now, maybe I would be more selfish…you go through bad times and I suffer…but there is hope where these problems happen because I come from there [too].

- *The perspective of the violence by a former member of a mara*

This is the story of an ACOES beneficiary who used to belong to a *mara* and whose life, since entering ACOES "has changed 360 degrees": "If it had not been for ACOES, I would be death or I would have had to leave Honduras". As in many other cases, born in a large family, he was recruited at a very young age (11 years old) and in his circumstances denial was not an option: "If you reject it, you have to stay at home the whole time" and due to family problems he could not do so. He connects the fact of belonging to the *mara* with the lack of parental protection and support, and the need to look for a group where he could be accepted and protected due to a very basic reason: "…you cannot be alone on the street". Other reasons to enter the *mara* are related to the need to get easy money (the money of the day) and the need of protection from other people at the street: "once in the *mara,* you are protected…the *mara* rescues you from a world but introduces you into another more fatal". According to Hernández, (2013), the fact of entering the *mara* actually increases life risk since potential attackers also rise. For obvious reasons, the short-term survival perspective seems to be the prevalent one. Analyzing his experience, he considers the *mara* as a "superficial" and false world, which provides food, money and a sense of affection, but with the real aim to "use people".

During his time in the *mara,* he was involved with drugs trafficking, first selling and then consuming. At a certain point, when he had realized he did not want to continue being involved, the police arrested him losing the drugs and the money he was carrying which belonged to the *mara.*Father Patricio was key to help him out (he paid for the fine). The policial intervention was so quick (called a lightning operation) that there were no witnesses and the *mara* did not believe him, thinking he had kept the drugs for himself,

being under threat of death from that moment on. Support and protection from ACOES have never ceased since then, including the return to studies that were interrupted for several years. He is now studying higher education at the university.

Dysfunctional relationships inside the families seem to explain the reason to leave home and therefore require protection at the street, including being members of a criminal economy which allows survival but that does not make them rich[114], not even to the leaders, according to Hernández (2013).

While familial problems are almost by definition in the core of entering a *mara* becoming a member, usually after the commission of a violent rite (Hernández, 2013), implies a loss of perception of reality ("they walk in they own world") mainly caused by drugs consumption, which allows to detach from reality and "do wickedness" more freely. During the time they belong there, no one orientates them, many are illiterate, and the loss of bond with the original family intensifies, a family in which they do not seem to have felt (sufficiently or at all) listened, supported or taught. There are cases in which the member tries to prevent his own children from entering the *mara*, and sends them to other countries although most of them continue the line. Reflecting on his own process, the interviewee underlines, without specifically mentioning it, the role of empathy with the victims and with his own family (the figure of his mother) as something that "saved him": "God has always put love in my heart. I stole things but I never killed anyone, I felt something in my heart, they were human beings as well [and] I would not like to be done something like that". The rejection to kill caused him to be beaten on several occasions. Having witnessed it as well as the other experiences have caused him to have nightmares for long periods of time and difficulty to trust. The awareness of the danger of his life and the sorrow of his mother was what fundamentally made him reflect, accompanied by the wish to preserve his life, some time before the arrest happened.

His final reflections when asked about prevention have much to do with caring and being looked after properly as a child:

[114]According to the same author, most resources come from drugs, human and arms trafficking as well as robberies and extortions. However, these resources tend to be consumed inside the gang, in a short cycle, covering the needs of members, relatives, and widows. There is a sense of solidarity inside the gang. In occasions, state agents take advantage of this criminal economy generating a schizophrenic situation.

> Look much after the children, don't reject them, love them…because the child, the love that does not receive at home, looks for it in other people and pay attention to all what they want to do in their lives, help them develop their plans and watch them, keep an eye on them, because we are living a very difficult situation…in our country, we nearly cannot walk on the street, we live in tension, for so much danger that exists,…I would like that we look after the youth and the children because they are the future and we put all our effort and determination in helping them because if they get lost, the world will get lost.

- *The perspective of violence by a kindergarten teacher*

The effect of the *maras* can be noticed in the children at a very young age, and imposes a certain routine on the organization, reducing the holiday days[115], for example, in order to avoid their permanency on the streets. Due to the environment, a teacher explains,

> …the centers have to be opened and the educators ready. Some kids during holidays wanted to continue coming, instead of being at home. In the center, they have toys and things to play with. At home, they say it is boring…

She explains how the behavior of the children transforms and gets worse when the parents enter the *maras*, in an attempt to imitate their behaviors, subduing others, including teachers. One of these children once told her in class: "you'll see, in a sack, you'll be found"[116]. To what she replied, “well, you’ll see what you do”. Corroborating previous testimonies, *maras* do affect social relationships dramatically. In the moment in which this observation was made, three adolescents students members of ACOES were kidnapped and killed, found in sacks at the street. This teacher explains:

> …[they] rule and are in command and have the lives of the people in their hands…now you cannot argue [at school] because [it] can be the daughter or the friend of a *mara* member, which is what happened to our girls…one of them argued with the daughter of a gang member and…they took their lives…[of the three of them]. Who has not had a problem at the school…one is on the spider web, if you fail, anything can happen. Sometimes when the parents are involved in some problem, the whole family has to go or they will kill them.

[115] Christmasholidays for the children start on December 22nd until January 7th. Besides other bank holiday dates are November the 3th and September 15th.
[116] This is a translation from “*ya va a ver usted, en un saco la van a encontrar*”. And the answer by the teacher was, “*bueno, vos sabrás lo que hacés*”. It is not infrequent that victims of *maras* are found in sacks.

She underlines the role of *maras* covering young people needs, “they listen to them, they get them dressed” even if it means giving them “a pair of tennis” their dad never bought them:

> They facilitate everything to them, and they do whatever is required. [Essentially] they are children killing other children who did not have the opportunity to get ahead and maybe the parents work and left them alone and found shelter in the *maras.*

In spite of enthusiasm and the sense of mission ”violence…wears you down over the years” leading you to find explanations for things that could not be avoided, feeling guilty due to the long-term exposure, notwithstanding the committed and compassionate efforts:

> What did I do? Nothing…Could I avoid it? I do not understand where I failed. A child who was here since he was three until 6th grade and then…what happened…what did I do? Many times I wonder…they are children dying…13, 14 years old, found in bags when they have a life ahead.

Exposure at the streets is complicated and vulnerability high: "on Saturdays and Sundays they are not in the houses, they are on the street…and in the blink of an eye they get lost".

When asked about how to overcome this situation, the capacity to recharge seems to be connected to the children and to God: "I am going to keep on fighting for them until God takes my life, I am going to be serving ACOES if the Father wants to have me here until I am old". She recognizes a positive attitude every day, praying to God since she gets up and greeting everyone she meets with happiness. There is also a clear consciousness of her mission, her priorities and those she lives it with and for, which is a reward in itself:

> …a child hugs me, and that is enough. That is what I take with me every day, it's like the air that I breathe…The children come first [before the organization]…I know what I can do…I am made to serve those who need me, I give me completely…I cannot leave things half made…Serve, serve until I wear me down…

- *The perspective of violence by Father Patricio*

The situation of respect from the end of the violent groups towards the organization is apparent after not much time of observation. Legitimacy seems to have been acquired,

although it is also true that Father Patricio arrived before violence was so prevalent. In any case, if there was any problem "it should be the same people I work with the ones who would help me". Actually, this happened already once: some gang members hid in a center to escape from the police, and some volunteers managed to make them leave: "I trust them totally…they are the ones who have to defend it. I do not see any other way, it is the only solution". Being afraid of the *maras* is not a possibility in spite of their capacity to harm:

> Why should I be afraid of these young people who have not found any other option to solve their problems? They steal and assault and sell drugs and do whatever to get the money of the day. If we had 5000 students instead of 200, there would not be any *mara.*

The insufficient educative opportunities as well as the non-inclusive way it is provided, works in favor of violence: "If a child cannot go to school or is expelled for not having shoes, the ones who will pick him up are the ones who steal and assault and sell drugs and will prepare him to be a criminal". And the reason to be so far respected relies according to him upon a deeper sense of equality and empathy and the existence, in spite of everything, of common aspirations:

> [Many *mareros*] do not want their children to be like them, they want them to be university teachers…they benefit from the project as well. We don't ask for anything, we do not charge anything, we are helping to change the life of their families and they want it.

The existence of *maras* and violence has occasionally affected foreign volunteers who develop emotional bonds with local people who end up or are affected by the *mara:*

> …making friendship with someone from this environment is dangerous in the sense that a misfortune can happen…but what shall we do? It is very difficult not to get implicated in it. It strikes you and that's it…

Some of these foreign volunteers have felt overwhelmed when someone close to them seems to have been involved in an episode of extreme violence. In such situations, once emotional implication has happened, limitations in the capacity to understand as foreigners emerge, in spite of formal education. Father Patricio explains: "local people have more elements to understand what is happening, we will never know so much". It could also be added, according to what has been observed, foreigners will never be so resilient.

If ACOES philosophy seems to be rooted in the concept of love as a Christian organization, what does love mean in a context of violence and how should it be translated? For Father Patricio love means “keep on betting for the life, keep on betting for the future of the people, for those who go to prison and for those who get buried, for all of them”. With regard to the capacity to resist-- what makes him resilient -- three elements seem to emerge: years of exposure do not prevent the pain; spiritual connection and reconnection with the aim of the task (meaning) help the person stand up again, as well as the resilience in the locals. Father Patricio explains:

> [when I knew the killing of the three girls] I felt bad, very bad, but then you realize that you have to keep fighting, working, collaborating so that they can get ahead. The strength comes from God and from the people…people [who] continue working, fighting and making an effort…what are you going to do?, lock yourself and cry?...

Like for other SERs, the hardness of the situations simply cannot block you, even if, an important degree of dehumanization in the society has emerged. The fact of living with extreme violence can make many people get used it to and lose human values, as an adaptive response. Father Patricio explains:

> …three girls are killed and nothing happens…It is normal, injustice dehumanizes…it is not a question of being poor…you can be poor and have love and affection with more poor people living around…[But in any case], in a situation of so many problems and so many people, it is like a permanent miracle that so few things happen...there are too many people left to their fate.

Rationality seems insufficient to understand what happens and what does not. Acknowledgment of that incapacity understood in spiritual terms (it is a permanent miracle) reinforces the spiritual connection and seems to provide a solid base: "the Gospel is still a valid guide" especially in the sense of sharing and caring to fight against a "violence [that] creates total injustice".

ACOES and the *maras* respond in opposite ways to a common reality that is not ready to receive people, respecting their dignity. ACOES bets on a life with collective emancipation from the present moment and on the long run and *maras* in the instinct of short-term survival bet on a life that leads to destruction, collective and individual. Probably

only the strongest ones can bet on building alternatives to the existential lack of meaning attached to injustice.

7.3.7 ACOES in the lives of the beneficiaries: the process of cultural transformation

It is worth observing the processes of cultural transformation that take place in ACOES. A long-term volunteer describes the organization as “the spine" that did not exist earlier, which teaches the person many things that were not learnt at home, and this has implications in many areas: transformation of the personality, learning how to learn and how to work (including opportunities for international exposure) impact on the affectivity (almost inexistence of adolescents pregnancies, creation of some couples within the organization and delay of marriage), as well as impact in their communities and homes.

Some volunteers affirm being "a different person" before entering the organization. Life acquires a new perspective that did not exist earlier in professional terms. But a new dimension is also acquired in terms of practical spirituality or collaboration: "life receives a meaning…[it is] an experience of maturity". Some students refer to having grown personally, having become more open, or being more able to manage problems to face life. Underlined are the capacities "to plan, to organize time, to use it adequately, to follow a schedule". The fact of starting to get organized from the point of view of their studies opens the door to new perspectives and spreads out in many different areas in life. It is not the studies that get organized, it is life, which does and receives a new meaning.

Modifications are present in their original communities as well as in their homes. They indicate to be "received differently" due to the fact of being studying since in their communities many people "do not know how to read", which gives them a certain position of authority, not necessarily expressed verbally but observed through the new roles given inside their homes, asking them for advice, and the like. This cannot be affirmed in all the cases of students who participated in the research. In some interviews it can be observed that in some cases the link with the communities is maintained and that they would like to return there to develop some kind of professional activity in the future, whereas in some informal conversations a certain feeling of disconnection is admitted by students who feel they do not have so much in common anymore with that reality.

The way life gets organized in personal terms also changes consistently. Honduras has the second highest rate of adolescent pregnancies in Central America (26%) only after Nicaragua (28%)(UNICEF, 2014).Recent research shows how those mothers are increasingly younger in the whole area of Latin America and the Caribbean. The same report links pregnancies at this stage to sexual violence. Besides, the risk of death at the moment of birth is duplicated if the girls are below 15. Sexual education is not present in Honduras and sex is frequently understood as a taboo (UNICEF, 2014). Nevertheless, when students of ACOES were asked about the low rate of pregnancies in the organization, sexual education was not mentioned and it is not actually taught as a subject per se in the training. Interviewees remember having had just one case in 2014 and describe early pregnancies as something quite rare. When asked about this reality they explain:

> …another reality is seen…people reflect more…with the training, they get an education for something else. Everything gets organized. Life gets planned; opportunities are given…the person sees that has options in life…[it is] a process that happens gradually, they become more and more aware…

Another student adds: "the Father us tells to look after ourselves…the fact of being busy…coordinated, managing a project and qualifying ourselves constantly goes creating a different way of thinking of not getting pregnant at a young age".

Father Patricio understands the absence of pregnancies as a result of having touched the students' self-esteem:

> …they are given a project of life that they can develop…they become more aware, relationships in Honduras are extreme, without time to build them. Very often machist men are educated by women who destroy them…I tell the women not to be silly…[and to look after themselves].

Simply put, life gets reorganized at the same time a real and possible horizon is given, not just empty words which do not transform anyone's mentality. It is also frequent that in that intense learning environment new couples get formed since some of them find people who are more related to them, with similar interests and perspectives.

At the study level transformation is very intense. People come from the communities knowing almost nothing about superior education. Changes of studies at the university are frequent, due to that lack of opportunity to think about it or even know the options in the previous years. Some students speak of having acquired responsibility and punctuality. International exposure is obtained by some of them while taking masters abroad or through exchanges at the university. Proactivity is also present: scarcity of grants made a student ask for support in the form of crowdfunding among foreign supporters to raise funds and cover his expenses in Europe. In any case, when the students leave ACOES, their educative process has included a professional dimension - made as collaborators – which have prepared them to face professional demands successfully. As Father Patricio expresses, "we want them to leave the organization with the best preparation possible". While studying, some students affirm that some teachers notice their higher capacity to organize and use time compared with others students unconnected to the SE.

- *The possibility to eliminate the stigma: "I don't feel poor anymore"*

The highest achievement made by an SE like the present one is not only related to the fact of acquiring certain degrees which may allow a process of material emancipation or even "confidence to face life". It has a deeper and more hidden dimension related to the opportunity for some people to overcome the fact of feeling marked as a poor person and eliminate the stigma. A person with key responsibility in the organization, who has decided to stay and continue collaborating after finishing her superior studies, illustrates this possibility:

> …I come from a marginal colony in Tegucigalpa and since I remember I had to work selling *tortillas* which did not mean anything negative to me…it was natural, in my house there was humbly food…but at the school there was exclusion, around the colony there was exclusion, for [this place] was always mentioned for negative reasons and even at the school we could not participate in some civic acts…you knew you were poor…some of my siblings had problems to study at school and other shortages…at school you are taught that some people are poor and other live a comfortable life…here in Honduras the poor people are reminded that they are poor so that they do not forget what they are…And then, when I met the Father he mentioned the issue of the poor but with one more element, which is that the poor can get ahead and change their reality not at the expense of the government or rich people who come to lift us but by oneself…that attracted my attention from the Father…it was not only me, there were more people like me…and then in the course of the years I went to university and the Father always wanted me to get formed as much as possible…15 years ago we did not have so much training [for the people] but I educated

> myself, I related to other people from other countries, spoke with other people who had the stigma of being poor but speaking with them was enriching and I learnt from all the things they had lived. And then, when I was here I was given a folder to manage the Santa Teresa school…and then they gave me more and more responsibilities and then I saw myself managing big amounts of money for others (I knew about numbers because of having sold *tortillas*). Then…I realized I am not poor because poor is the one who does not have anything and I have a lot of things, I have knowledge, I have responsibility because to me, to be given responsibility meant that I was given value…Truly, I don't live like a poor person…the Father sees the person without all those ornaments and the complex that still comes out sometimes…
>
> I have had to go to meetings with ambassadors, with mayors all by myself…and he sends me and trusts that I am going to represent the project and the people who serve…What I do now, I could not do it 15 years ago…I don't feel I am poor anymore. If I want to leave tomorrow,I start looking for a job and I know I will find it…I have decided to stay like this…because I have lived other things…

7.3.8 Other organizational considerations: sources of income and institutional recognition

In these type of organizations, there is frequent a perception of being alone and not supported by local governments (good enough if you are respected) or internationally, through aid structures. The latter is perceived as a too expensive structure [which] raises the price of any service [and which] does not do much.

With regard to the first one, there is a mixture of lack of resources and correct administration, which results in “people [who] are neglected”. As Father Patricio explains:

> States in general, are not very interested in the situation of their own people, especially the people who suffer. They don’t care much, if we do it, fine, if we don’t, fine…we are society…we are not islands…and we are affected by other people's decisions…it is necessary that governments are governments…it is like a home, you manage it so that people can have a future. It is simple. They want to make it look complicated but it is simple.

There is also a lack of expectations from governmental institutions appreciated in many organizations during this research which summarizes in the following sentence: “It is very difficult that people on top hit the mark since many times it seems that they live drugged in their own worlds”.

ACOES sources of income used to be 90% from private nature, from particulars mainly in Spain and Canada. Like many other SEs, ACOES does not have a

professionalized team to have access to public resources, something considered highly complicated to achieve: they are not experts in asking for money and for that matter they would require "structure and collaborators they do not have". Their best human resources "cannot spend three weeks fulfilling one application" because reality matters. So when they have received public support, it has come from other middle organizations involved with ACOES, following the approaches of the traditional development system.

The relationship of ACOES with the Honduran government has evolved from the initial moments, in which institutional recognition was almost inexistent to a present moment (the research was made 2015) in which 30% of the economic support comes from the Honduran government. This collaboration started two years earlier. The factors that seem to have intervened in this long-term process in which headway was progressively made are the following. On the one hand, the work carried out by ACOES during all these years has caused a sort of legitimization. On the second hand, the support of external institutions aligned with ACOES, among them the Spanish Embassy and the Metropolitan Rotary Club in Tegucigalpa which supported the ratification of the agreement. In practical terms, governmental support covers the three schools Santa Clara, Santa Teresa and Virgen de Suyapa and more precisely, the salary of the teachers, the food given to the students, the uniforms, electricity, gas, cleaning and painting. This path of collaboration opened with the government deserves being promoted, according to people with high responsibility in the SE. It frees up resources without surpassing the capacities of the organization and places the government as a fundamental development actor.

7.3.9 The property of the organization: preventing from becoming a lucrative asset

ACOES has tried to buy the least amount of assets possible, “just use it and let it go”. The assets over which there is a property right, belong to the church[117]. So far there has never been interest by local groups to take over those properties and make profit like in the Indian case (Chapter Five). In fact, in contrast to that one, violence protects because

[117]During the observation period, knowledge was obtained about a case in Nicaragua in which the Catholic Church entered into conflict with a congregation of nuns due to the interests taken in some of their properties. The community where the nuns worked was key to help the congregation to solve it. The fact of conceding the property to the church might be protective of the social mission to a certain extent, although not totally, as that example shows. However, it is difficult to imagine a situation of helplessness due to a lucrative interest, like the one faced by the SE Ali S. K. in Kolkata.

impedes developing a lucrative perspective (no one seems interested in building a hotel in those areas, at least, not by now). ACOES has never been extorted as a group and when someone tried to take advantage of them, with abusive rents, for example, it was the young people the ones who prevented the situation negotiating because they knew the real prices. In this organization, the power has clearly come from the inside from the very beginning with a high level of descentralization and so it is expressed by Father Patricio:

> …we are so much dipped into the people's life and the communities that we are part of them...From the very beginning, there was mutual trust. I never did anything, it was the people who did the things. What has been done is been with the people, and it belongs to them.

7.3.10 Risks related to the founding experience

Father Patricio seems to protect himself from idealizations he would consider silly to believe because he knows how everything has happened at the same time he seems to practice a critical and to a certain extent ironic approach to himself:

> I don't like nonsense…I am like everyone else or worse…I don't mind microphones but I don't look for them…If a journalist calls me I will give the interview immediately because I know the power of the press…I am a person like everyone else and I make mistakes.

In several occasions, he has expressed he would like people around him to receive the recognition he thinks they deserve. The recognition of the process with implication of many valuable people, a certain degree of unbelief as well as of certain vulnerability seem protective against some short of idolatry and keep a healthy attitude towards oneself:

> This has been done by the people and I am people just like everyone else…No one can tell me who I am because I already know it…I have had the luck to participate here but I have not done it and I do not maintain it…this could disappear in two seconds, and if it does not disappear is because God does not want it to.

In an organization with such a participative and open nature, the role of the others is more visible and also helps to maintain that objectivity and a down to earth attitude. The same day this interview was made, several dinners had been organized in Spain to raise funds for the organization, and Father Patricio had not asked for it, as for many other

things that have been made through the years by so many people who have shaped the organization the way it is.

In conversations with another member of the SE with a high responsibility, he recognizes as key for not losing perspective, not to forget the people. He also mentions the help provided by prayers and reflection, devote time to reading the Gospel and the exam of the day, by San Ignacio de Loyola, since everyone has an instinct to detect "where ego has emerged". In other words, an active and critical attitude in these case nourished by those religious tools. When confronted with the possibility to idealize just one person, he considers that a realistic temptation, however, when analyzed deeply “everything is more complex and richer”…The perspective of sharing power and horizontal power is an example of that richness.

Religious SERs seem to have a situation of advantage with regard to secular ones in the management of “temptations” which by nature can be “attractive”. For them there are many tools to fight against them and the confidence that the solution will emerge in the relationship with God. He expresses it in the following terms: “People who do this are usually consecrated, with a life built from the perspective of God. They resist because there is a hand there, you bet much for him and he gives it back to you”.

When directly asked about their psychological state and even admitting "we are for too long in that front line" the SERs who participate in this case present what seems a good state of health, especially confronted with other SERs who appear more psychologically damaged. They declare to disconnect fully when separated from the SEs. Besides, sociability with people from and outside the project is high. They do not seem at all stuck in a non-work obligation. Another sign is clear in this SE. The members of its hardcore do share a mission. They are not alone. They share bonds of mission and friendship trying to incarnate the values of a Christian community, at the same time they deal with inevitable human complexities but they are not alone. Father Patricio explains that although he would have survived without them, "it is a joy and a luck that they are here…"

7.3.11 How the story might continue: arrival of explorers committed to their own truth

This is the story of Felipe, [118]a young man, collaborating in ACOES and studying to become a priest, whose life and especially his youth, is marked by the search for authenticity and truth. He shares the mission of ACOES, a fact openly recognized within the SE. His evolution helps understand the importance of coherence and remaining faithful to the internal calls and demands from oneself. In his process, intuition has helped him to find something that was truer than the different apparently socioeconomic initiatives he encountered in his professional path, which ultimately disappointed him for never touching the roots of the problems. Looking back in retrospect, his process has asked him to "unlearn" and "undo" many assumptions he considered they would work which were learnt as part of his superior studies; Instead of following what could be considered the normal path, he decided to keep on searching because he felt "capable and responsible" for the others.

Like in many examples, early life experiences gave him information that ultimately could help him understand his sense of mission. As a child, while cultivating his passion for golf, he became friend of the caddies, who very often were boys just like him, but who could not study. The time he spent with them and the relationships of friendship that emerged, gave him the first impression of inequality and classism he still remembers: "…caddies and gardeners could not hold a stick in the hand…I learned that we are all the same. Depending on where you are born, your life can change a lot and it is pure luck".

Years later, having become a lawyer in Madrid, he decided to take an MBA in the USA, attracted by the combination between business and social transformation, following the double bottom line approach. His first professional experience following that aim was in the USA in a rural fund, but it lacked the depth to solve the social challenges it was supposed to. Sometime later, in 2008 he worked in London in a bank just before the economic crisis, where he discovered a much more irrational and impulsive way of working compared with the legal environment he came from. In his personal reflection, that impulsivity and irrationality were clearly related to the crisis that emerged that same year. In 2009, he joined a social project to rent homes in Spain, making them available to people

[118]Pseudonym to protect anonymity

in disadvantaged situations. Again, he was confronted with another good and necessary idea with insufficient penetration capacity.

After all these experiences and with the help of a friend, he decided to travel to Columbia and create a foundation with the conviction to develop some kind of social business that really could help the people, having thought about opening a call center or residences for students to overcome the unaffordability of the rooms for those who need to live in the city to go to university: “I [still] had a point in my head about the truth, about taking off the masks and search for the truth”. Besides, he knew that due to the structure of the society in South America, he and his team would have to end up touching the base of the society (following the base of the pyramid studies by Prahalad, 2004) since the top of the pyramid is already covered.

At that point, the value given to his personal fulfillment –through a particular activity- over having a professional career or professional success was clearly higher. The aspiration to give life a meaning was also present: “I wanted to invest my life in something that makes sense…There is injustice and I think it is us who have to solve it…who is going to do it if we don't?". There was also a questioning about the value of having to make money as an aim of its own:

> I accumulate money for me and then, what? And that injustice? What do I want so much for? If I don't deserve it, if it has much to do with where I was born and with the talents received, which are not mine…

During that trip to Columbia, he read the book written by Ana Ferrer, *Un pacto de amor,* [119]spouse of the SER Vicente Ferrer. Intuitively, those reads made him realize there was still a harder reality he was not seeing while traveling. Gradually, the roles of missionaries in the persons of Vicente Ferrer and Father Patricio when he got to meet him in one of the trips to Honduras, became a model for him in the sense that they were people “who bet everything 100% without conditions”. And eventually, under their inspiration, his personal process continued: "I radicalized, [I said] I am going to bet everything for these people… although I lose everything". And everything meant his life. His aspiration became more and

[119]Edited by Espasa in 2009.

more intense[120]avoiding holidays and considering it impossible to stop. And his team (the one formed with well-prepared people who joined him later) got afraid until he realized they were not the right partners of what he felt as a mission. His personal process reminds him of Michael Angelo when he explained he was not sculpting, but he was just taking what exceeded the stone:

> what I could have was the sincerity with myself of saying this is not…the truth, there is something else that is truer…[the personal transformation] takes you to an extreme in which you realize this is about giving your life without conditions...

The spiritual realization emerged naturally as part of his process and at a certain moment he wondered: "where can I hold on to. To God". Having seen Vicente Ferrer, Father Patricio, Mother Theresa, he thought "I also want that partner…for being a missionary, who launches himself to help people 24/7…"Sometime later as the spiritual dimension intensified especially through the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius, a sense of internal coherence emerged while reading the Gospel where he realized there, there were many things he had thought before: "I had been there before"

The personal process of transformation also made him question and discard previous assumptions in a short of unlearning and disbelieving, for not touching the roots of the problems, as a consequence of not placing the person as the priority. In that depuration, understanding the person as the center, the New Testament was the best practical business plan, the one he was unconsciously in the previous attempts, looking for. He summarizes his experience in the following terms:

> This process is about losing fear…you trust more and more…seeing that everything is coherent and makes sense…even the message of Jesus is quite rational: great social conquests of the humankind are based on Christian principles…I am going to bet on something that does not benefit me, it goes against me, but it benefits the whole. You end up realizing that they are universal values that make the world work very well. The context is going to force the tendency to share…[having] more egalitarian societies is a matter of common sense…forget all the nonsense and be an egalitarian world of brothers.[It is] something very intuitive [that] has much sense.

At present Felipe is fully involved in ACOES. His formal education and previous life experiences enrich and support the daily management of the SE, helping to create "a good

[120]He described his process with the expression: "*me salía de rosca cada vez más"*.

mixture", as he says. His presence gives an opportunity to future sustainability. However, it is remarkable how much the processes of personal transformation and radicality resemble, as a central core of the founding experience.

7.3.12 Transition of power and the process of letting go

At the present moment, ACOES has not started a process of transference of power, although as explained earlier, Father Patricio does not play the same role he used to in the initial moments. Now he can actually focus more on his personal and family life since there is already a group of people on whom to rely. But Father Ramón has gone through this process several times and although his SEs do not belong to ACOES, the process offers enough insights worth observing.

It took five years of "vertigo" which were also fascinating, to establish Casa Zulema. The transfer of power had to do with the conviction that "others [we]re going to do it better than [him]. Precisely a woman, a Honduran nurse, able to maintain the spirit of the house…with education in health, [who was also] very active and [who] knew her people". She appeared without looking for her: "if I had had to look for her, I would not have found her". Looking at the process, he underlines the "great detachment" corresponding with the "great intensity with which I lived all that". There was an intermediate period, which lasted approximately a year, in which he still supported her to raise funds, while traveling to Honduras three times but leaving some economic support for the SE to continue running. After that time, she managed to find it on her own. At the present moment, he is completely detached from the functioning of the home, where he goes just for visits. Without prejudice to how much SERs, religious or not, are idealized, indeed they are only humans who in some cases seem to feel relief when they feel their task is done. So describes Ramón the process of transference: "I felt relief, like when the school finishes".

At present after seventeen years, Casa Zulema is a silent organization, still working, which receives a lot of support, and that people feel it as theirs, and the same happens with Casa Belén (another SE created by him). "It is great joy that the church can be on the front line…being close to vulnerability, softening partly the aggressivity". [Everything] is concrete and real and they are there to continue growing". During the observation time,Casa Zulemawas not assessed as an SE. It could actually not fit the

concept used in this research although all signs indicate it does. Father Ramón's experience is included here to illustrate to what extent being able to detach and find the next right person matters for anyone who funds. And also how that experience can be a relief without having to evolve to a non-work obligation. His experience is composed by a series of detachments followed by different feelings according to the experience: relief,or "joy for what I leave behind" (in the case of a parish). There does not seem to be a general perception, probably because it depends on the personal experience (personal circumstances at that moment), the personality of each person and the evaluation made of the process, including costs and rewards.

7.4 Final considerations

ACOES is the maturest SE of the sample. It is also the one with the biggest quantitative impact. Next to Anidan, the second oldest, is the one which most strongly replies to well-established assumptions on development or even to the field of SE itself. For them, not only the concept of SE cannot comprehend the reality of what a Christian Family means in spite of the apparent entrepreneurial capacities, but also the concept of founder or SER is rather questionable. The collective dimension of their success, is rather clear for them, obvious indeed. At the point in which ACOES had been observed, end of 2015, I had been involved with many of these organizations, and therefore I could not help feeling they go far ahead of the academic world in practical terms, in the understanding of their reality. The same way there will always be a limit for the foreign founders in the contexts in which they create the SEs, there will also be a limit for those who do not live those realities, however qualified our education has been.

Therefore, researchers can only learn from them and filter that knowledge to future development workers who feel highly committed to the grassroots and want to work at their same level following and enriching if possible their strategies. Besides, there are many concepts which although they may fit, are clearly insufficient to a more anthropological understanding of the reality which places the person in the center. What does it mean to be a middle-income country in these contexts? In Central America, you can find many people who are more or less able to cover their basic needs (if for that is understood, food, clothes, and a place where they can sleep), because there are places so crowded, where the expression ‘to live’ would be too optimistic. But at the same time that

certain level of material development is proved compared with other contexts of extreme poverty. The coexistence is intensified and, if the listening skills of the researcher allow it, it is impossible not to hear the permanent need as a yell, that so many people, too many, have to be listened to, to be emotionally sheltered. For there is the lack of personal reference, often not being able to rely on one's own family; the personal abandonment as a result of all that; the emotional struggles which cause so much unhappiness and the lack of life meaning, shown in apathy or indifference, appear as features that make up their daily life scenery, as if they were already defeated. It does not happen to all of them. But to too many.

So, at that point of the research it was impossible to overlook the collateral damages of misery in the subjectivity of the person and how incredibly important it is to focus the engine of an SE, on the activation of the people's dignity as the only way to help them get ahead. This is accomplished by providing more and more holistic attention, paying more attention to the development of their personalities, without waiting for anyone's support, fending for themselves, on their own, and learning. And this might not be like the economic understanding of SE, how to get organized as the main form of innovation, in front of a reality which is too hard, which is not ready to receive them. And after having been recognized their value, usually by the glance of the SER, something that explains the relevance of the emotional bonds and their imperative needs to be advanced. That is the subjective transformation that takes place in many of the beneficiaries of the SE: the starting point to tackle poverty. As one of the ACOES leaders explained, after having studied higher education in Honduras and in Spain, "I do not feel poor anymore".



The work in ACOES is carried out by the volunteers and quasi volunteers who are divided in different areas of responsibility.



In ACOES every Monday the different teamworks communicate the evolution of their respective projects to the governing board.



Dining room in one of the ACOES schools. The organization provides daily around 6000 meals all over the country.



Educative materials ready to be distributed to the children who receive grants all over the country.



Image of students in a populorum room in the Peña, Tegucigalpa.



Young members of ACOES in the process of organizing and later on distributing the assets received by containers.



Image of one of the kindergardens where the children receive food, education and develop recreative activities.



Image of one of the schools in Tegucigalpa.

-"Who is that *mzungu*[121] surrounded by children?", some tourists in Lamu asked with regard to Rafa.

-"He is not a*mzungu*, he is a Swahili", a villager replied.

8

CHAPTER 8. CASE STUDY ANIDAN: THE CONSOLIDATION OF AN SE

[121](Urban Dictionary, 2008)"The Swahili word, "*mzungu*" or "*muzungu*" (sounds like "muh-zun-gooo") is generally taken to mean 'white man', although it does apply to women as well…Originally stems from the phrase, "those who wonder aimlessly", and linked to African experiences of early explorers, traders and missionaries". For more information, see (http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=mzungu).

Case study Anidan: The consolidation of an SE

8.1 Preliminary considerations

Anidan was founded by Rafael Selas in Lamu, Kenya, in 2002. In the moment in which the observation was made, it had been running for 14 years. Its geographical area of impact is Lamu County, where the SE develops different development projects in several villages. Its main activity is focused on the childcare and youth protection from an comprehensive perspective with a long-term commitment. However, this mission is complemented with other projects such as the Pablo Horstmann hospital, microcredits, family support or water projects in order to boost the development of the whole community.

In order to provide integral attention, Anidan has got collaborations with the Pablo Horstmann Foundation[122] (sponsor of the pediatric hospital on the same name run by Anidan), the Real Madrid Foundation [123](social sports school), Infancias Solidarias[124] (transportation of ill children to Spain for surgery) Bloko del Valle [125](musical activities) and the African Arts Trust [126](for artistic activities during the school holidays).

Anidan Kenya is supported economically by Anidan Spain, Anidan Italy and the Pablo Horstmann Foundation. In 2014, Anidan Kenya received 886.771 euros from those three entities, thus being fully private. Anidan does not havesources of self-generated income, although the microcredits projects is almost sustainable, according to the SER.

According to the Memory (Anidan, 2015) in 2014, 262 children received Anidans support. One hundred fifty-seven were boarding in Anidan- from those 17 were at the university- and 105 were non-residents in Anidan. One hundred women from the surrounding villages received microcredits. Family support is provided to 16 families. Four water points have been installed in three villages, and the Pablo Horstmann hospital

[122]For more information, see http://www.fundacionpablo.org
[123] For more information, see http://www.realmadrid.com
[124] For more information, see https://infanciasolidaria.org
[125] For more information, see http://www.blokodelvalle.com
[126] For more information, see http://www.theafricanartstrust.org

provided medical attention in 2014 to 10.086 patients[127] .

The number of local workers amounted to 102 in the moment in which the observation was made (6 weeks from early January to mid February, 2016), Anidan being one of the main job providers of the island. In the field there were also two permanent Spanish volunteers for the monitoring of the SE. The number of interviews made was 23.

At present, Rafael Selas is the founder and president of Anidan Kenya and the general director of the whole organization.

The initial moments of Anidan occurred in a building in Lamu called Torre. It was in 2007 when a bigger field (*shamba*) was acquired and several buildings were constructed respecting the traditional Swahili arquitecture of the context, as one of the signs that indicates Anidan's respect for the environment and quality (it is, indeed, a very well-organized organization). Anidan means in Spanish to nest, and received its name precisely due to the founder's will to create a place where the children could nest and carry out their own development, feeling safe and protected. The community shows signs of having assimilated the SER, who received the nick name of Arafati from the children. He understands Swahili perfectly and according to some workers has the capacity to understand the locals naturally. Anidan maintains religious neutrality in a quite orthodox context where most of the population is Muslim (Oded, 2000). Until very recently, 2014, Lamu used to be a highly preferred tourist destination, but with the outbreak of terrorism, this situation has dramatically changed, causing a negative impact on the local economy (Anidan, 2015).

Whereas in Kenya 49'5% of the population lives under the poverty line, in Lamu this situation affects to more than 60% of the population (Anidan, 2015). Lamu County is also one of the five counties with the worst income inequalities (Ngugi, Kipruto, & Paul, 2013). At the present moment, Anidan is the only place, which can work as a rescue

[127]For more information see, http://www.fundacionpablo.org/images/MEMORIADEACTIVIDADHOSPITALPEDIATRICOPABLOHORSTMANN2015.pdf

center[128]. In Lamu there are still many families who cannot provide food and education to their children.

In Lamu, the value of education has been discovered by the community through the activity of an SE which tries to follow to basic rules given by the founder: take care of each other and share.

8.2 Subjective processes of the SER in the founding experience

8.2.1 Personal considerations and origins of the SE

In a context of strong affective security -having being a “very loved child”- Rafael’s meagre weekly pocket money never enabled him to go to the cinema, since he had previously given it to the people who were begging at the street. Raised in the values of a democratic Spain and the spirit of an education, which promoted helping and supporting others, he attended at the time an experimental school in Madrid called Ágora. There, children with different physical and psychological needs - blindness, deafness, nervous problems and the like - were integrated requiring a common effort from the rest of the class to be forged ahead and overcome the school years. Very soon Rafael "learned that helping is something very rewarding".

Like in other cases, (see Ramón Martínez’ testimony in ACOES), Rafael observes a clear line between what he considers an “extreme sensitivity" towards others (also appreciated in Lucía Lantero since her childhood) and his current activity as a founder right now:

> Since I was a small child I had the need to help others…in my neighborhood there were many settlements of gypsies who were struggling and I became friend of all of them and at the snack time in the afternoon, [my parents] knew that every day for Rafael it was not just one butty, but three or four instead. At the school [to] the children who struggled most, I gave them my clothes and said that I had lost them and [my parents] knew it because they saw my friends wearing them. They knew that with Rafael a *dispendium* had to be done.

He also remembers,

[128] Anidan Kenya is registered in the Charitable Children Institution in Kenya (CCI). After a legal proceeding, Anidan is granted the custody of most of the children who board in the home of the SE.

> …pretty much a scrap dealer who walked by my house every day, he was a very old man and there was a very strong slope [he had to come up] and [I] ran every day from the school so that he did not have to do it on his own and I could accompany him…that sensitivity that was inculcated at school Ágora, I think that I have it since I was very small and it has always made me very happy to help in the project in which I am now; it is what could make me happiest.

8.2.2 Leadership and transmission of values

Rafael recognized not having founded anything earlier because he "did not have the guts", but if he goes back to his childhood, he remembers having being the leader since he was very small. With thankfulness he remembers the role played by his school teachers, teaching him that being "the boss" or "ruling was not the important thing". He has always been a very sociable child who integrated very quickly everywhere, just like his daughter now. What he does now is similar to that child-like leadership in the sense of letting people be the protagonist of what they do, achieving great things with their support.

Rafael's daughter seems to have inherited an intense tendency to share, which springs naturally from her, as well as remarkable social skills: "[she] is exactly like me, she shares everything, what makes her happiest is to share". In spite of not having spent so much time in Lamu, she naturally considers Anidan's children her brothers and sisters. Being very proud of the project his father has in Kenya, this five-year-old rejected presents in her fourth birthday and instead she requested money for her piggy bank in order to bring presents to her Lamu brothers and sisters once she would get there. This reaction caused awe in her parents who had not expressively told her yet about "the importance of being generous". The same way, in a trip to Euro Disneyland her biggest concern was to bring presents for her cousins instead of for herself. Her social skills also make for her very easy to flow with the children in Anidan, being very accepted among them. To a certain extent, her father notices she probably flows better there than in Spain, something that does not really surprise him for "the reality of Anidan is much more solidary and happier than the one of many schools here". Further observations may allow understanding how the biological and environmental factors that influence the descendants of SERs impact in the development of their personalities. So far there seem to be genetic factors already in place.

8.2.3 Arrival in Lamu

In 2002, Rafael arrives in Lamu due to a wedding invitation of a friend who eventually would get actively involved in Anidan's development. When he arrived in Lamu, he witnesses an extremely-shocking situation. The children, 60% of the population of the village at that moment, did not attend school and were basically abandoned to their fate. Besides, being Lamu thought to be one of the poorest districts of Kenya if not the poorest at present, there were no relevant NGOs there, finding the people totally abandoned. But above all, the biggest impact was to see that just beside Lamu, in 20 minutes walking distance, a clear example of the current inequality of the world: Shela, a small village where big fortunes have built impressive homes and developed a tourism of total luxury. Rafael explains,

> I could see that those people could leave a stamp of quality and help if they approached a little bit to the reality of the district, but it was not like that, so it was very hurtful to find that contrast of people with so terrible levels of malnutrition, ill children who died for not being able to pay for the medication or families totally abandoned to their fate. And howbeit, a tourism of luxury, of heaps of money. I could not understand how there was not a bond and how an initiative had not been generated that gave an opportunity to that so rich people to help to get the village ahead which after all, is not so big.

In that moment, Rafael also felt "wiped out" when discovering the real dimension of poverty in the world, and when realizing that the naïve idea that NGOs are helping so much, in reality, is not so real, since:

> The situation of poverty in the world is so painful, so difficult to attempt that we would need hundred thousands of NGOs to reach acceptable levels. Right now we are no more than a small help inside a problem too big to attempt.

Continuing with the moral shocks eventually he came down with malaria being hospitalized noting the lack of doctors in Lamu –being just clinical officers[129]- and realizing that,

> I was surrounded by ill children who had to leave without paying the medicines because the medication of one or two euros means the food of a whole week for a family…even having the [malaria] prophylaxis, you see how hard it is…the death of a child is a huge impact…I s[aw] how unfair it [wa]s that no one [wa]s helping to pay [those] one or two euros to forge

[129] In Kenya many of the personnel of the hospitals are nurses and clinical officers who unlike doctors cannot do surgery. In Western terms they could be considered assistant doctors. The specialization in pediatrics for clinical officers takes one year.

> the children ahead [so] I decide[d] that even if it is at a particular level, I w[ould] start to forge those cases ahead.

The first committed response given by the SER can be considered small, even irrelevant in the context of the surrounding need. The same sort of decision was taken in other cases such as Lucía Lantero (with her stay she realized she could prevent one actual child from continued abuse). That committed response –however small if exclusively analyzed in rational terms- covers what in reality are the roots of a life option. As Father Ramón Martínez –ACOES case- explains, “there is much mystery in the core of life". The coherence of the decision gradually becomes evident.

8.2.4 His personal situation: to renounce a comfortable life

At the moment in which the arrival in Lamu takes place, he was working as a freelancer for big companies (he had been international coordinator for Televisa), was used to positions of high responsibility and envisioned a calm life in which there were a few months of intensive work and others of rest during which he could give a hand in Lamu. That initial idea to combine both lives became impossible due to factors repeated in other contexts such as lack of formation of the human resources, intensity of the emotional bond and change of priorities; that is, a deep personal transformation-. As he explains,

> …what happens is that reality imposes itself and I find that the people who are going to collaborate with me are not formed in any way not even at basic levels such as kitchen, cleaning, and very elemental issues then, little by little, I gradually give up to the possibility of continuing working in my field for the project and for the growth of the project and for the bond created with the children ,and I realize that every time I go I sorely miss them. [I miss] the daily life with them, facing the problems together, and how rewarding is the work that I was doing and [that] my career is no longer so rewarding to me.

The decision to stay took him two years:

> …in those 2 years I managed to forge many children ahead and that makes me make a decision which is very clear and with a lot of strength which was to stay…and fulfill my role as a father, [as] a mentor, [as] someone who could give them the basic help but with an idea that the help had to be comprehensive, that these children had to be forged ahead from many different [perspectives] and had to be given to eat, but also had to be given formation and psychological support and had to be helped to overcome the traumas…and after all, create an integral project...

Like in previous cases Rafael, gives up to everything. It is important to notice how radical renouncement is common in both the religious and the secular cases studied. Living in a rural context, his living conditions resemble those of Sanllorente (2009) in India, and Lucía Lantero and Alexis Derache in Haiti the initial moments, underlining its length in the current case:

> I get there and I live[d] without water and or electricity with a mattress on the floor, in a house in which it was impossible to live because the roof was made of plates of zinc so I slept in the terrace. I detached from all conveniences that we have. I spent seven years without the internet accompanied only by a few books and the desire to forge those children ahead.

The investment of the own resources in the SE is also present: “at the beginning, it did not require big amounts and I had savings [so] I used them for the first years of the project”

8.2.5 The emergence of the emotional bond

Like in other cases, the emotional parental bond is clearly present in Anidan. Rafael describes its emergence in the following way,

> I fell in love with the people of Lamu, not only with the children in concrete terms, I fell in love with a people who lived with very little and who nevertheless knew how to share that bit between all of them to get ahead. I also fell in love with the children because I saw in them an enormous potential and a terrible desire to live in spite of the difficulties that happened. The truth is that the bond [emerged] little by little because I started entering the reality of the children, I started finding cases of children who survived alone, who valued the freedom they had above all, who by no means wanted me to put them into a project with rules and obligations, but who approached me little by little and who became for me my sons, children who had no one and who called me dad and looked for a paternal figure by all means, and little by little I brought them to live with me to take them out of the street, and the bond grew with time.

8.2.6 The decision to stay, the insufficiency of rationality to understand it and self-development

When asked about the process, which leads him to decide to stay, he recognizes a high degree of irrationality having been "very illogical". This is not new at all in SERs. On the contrary, it seems to be connected to an intuition or internal conviction that certain

things were possible, “that it could be a very beautiful adventure”. In that sense, Rafael explains,

> …from the very first time when the time to return arrived, I saw myself in a crossroad, I saw that I abandoned many people that I was forging ahead and something told me that I should not go, that great things could be achieved with very little, and although I did not have an NGO and anyone’s support, [just] with the little that I had, many children could be forged ahead.

According to Rafael, this “very irrational feeling” has very much to do with one’s self-development to the extent of being an undeniable precondition for the latter in the form of self-realization through and for the others:

> …I had very clear what I wanted to do, it was a very irrational feeling, it was a feeling of needing to do it without thinking too much how it was going to affect me, and thinking much more how it was going to affect all these people who if had not been rescued from the street, probably today would not be with us…

SERs tend to be passionate about what they do and this also explains their capacity to go the “extra mile" (Jasper, 1998, cited in Miller et al, 2012) because the people require it. As Rafael explains,

> …it is like developing a passion when you get passionate about something it is very similar to when you fall in love for the first time, you see clearly that being happy is going to be much more important than the material achievements that are valued here…

Honorability seems to be also present according to a current worker of the SE in the decision to stay (also seen in Sanllorente, 2009). He indicates he did it ”for the love of the children, he was already attached and kept promises, if you are an honorable man, you keep your promises not matter what. These are his children”

8.2.7 Implications of the personal transformation

This passion implies an intrinsic change in the personal value system. This change is mature, at least in well-established SERs. They are therefore willing to pay its price, although this is usually fully discovered with time (see Ali.S.K. case).

- *A new degree of freedom*

The process of observation allows affirming that in developed countries, there is not full awareness of what has been lost in the process of becoming more economically developed and more materially accommodated. A more authentic life is experienced many of those who participate in the SEs, according to the data. As one of the permanent volunteers of AYMY replied, when asked about his decision to stay and collaborate, “This is to live”. In the case of Rafael, having become an SER in a developing country makes him affirm, “I have gained a lot of freedom", having learned how,

> to live in a different and slower rhythm of life, to enjoy reading, to enjoy writing, to enjoy more many things giving up to others, giving up to the richness of the information society, but at the same time choosing much more the information…having stopped living in the bombing of information we live in here without knowing what to believe, having organized a much more sincere life with much more freedom of choice of what I wanted to do in every moment. I have gained a lot of freedom.

- *The redefinition of the traditional sphere of responsibility*

The acknowledgment of the commitment, of the bond, redefines and amplifies the generally accepted sphere of responsibility in the society (Garcés, 2013), or as in a sentence attributed to Mother Teresa, “[t]he problem of the world is that we draw the circle of our family too small”. Rafael explains his own realizations in this area in the following way,

> [The change] has to do with the personal growth, it has to do with starting to see that beyond yourself, beyond your own world. [You] start to see that living in society is something more than looking after yourself and after the closest and loved ones. It is when you take authentic responsibility for what one does and lives fully because after all, we are social animals and we need those bonds that are created.

He honestly indicates the self-interest that altruism enables in what he does. See how that self-interested dimension has to do with the experience of work in a devotional way, considering that as a conquest on its own:

> The motivation is to be happy…it is something more selfish than people think when they see how generous we are, it is something that when you recognize that…it makes you happy…you must hold onto that because in the end we spend most of our lifetime working and if we manage to work in something we like and you manage to live the way you like, it is a very big conquest.

Explained in more basic terms, it is an exercise of coherence with one's conscience:

> …precisely what I have done has been to respect who I am and get to be happy through the development of that facet…I have been faithful to my personality, I have been faithful to what my conscience says that I need.

- *Learning to live day by day and the difficulty to readapt*

The fact of focusing a life on ameliorating the immediate difficulties of those children implies that one's perspective of life also changes. During the first years, there were moments in which he starved so that they could eat. That necessarily changes the perspective and the need to plan.

> I lived in conditions in which people would think I had gone crazy as long to dedicate my money to them, and without any doubt, the comfort changed, and many other things in myself. A very big change happens, and I started giving value to other things…to the health of the children above all and I started giving value to the rewarding that is to help beyond the professional projection that I may have or the future…I think that I started to live for today like the Africans [do], I stopped raising questions in the medium or long-term the way we do here.

There is obviously an increasing questioning of the generally accepted western lifestyle, a persistent process for most SERs:

> We are very accommodated…it has been necessary a crisis like the one we have had to make us react and wake up…we never conform ourselves with anything, we live in a permanent state of dissatisfaction and it is very difficult to be happy like that, we are not aware that the most banal things, those we have least in consideration, are the ones that give us happiness.

In fact, for SERs, western society can become extremely shocking after sharing many years of life with people who always have a

> smile in spite of the few possibilities…and then you arrive here and you find that no one is satisfied with what they have, everybody wants more and you cannot explain it to yourself how having the basic needs solved, we need such a degree of sophistication…

- *The assimilation process, limits and reciprocal utility of the value exchange*

The reply given by a villager (“Rafael is not a*mzungu*, he is a Swahili”) shows an important degree of assimilation of the SER by the Lamunian society. However, like in other cases, there is a duality SERs have to handle and live with, a yes but:

> I will never feel part of that society and those values. I feel very close to them but I am very proud of the society I come from, of the values of my society here. Here, after all, the respect of the human rights and more things such as solidarity exists and makes me think that is very difficult to break the bond with the origins. But I am very assimilated to them, it does not happen for their most basic beliefs, but for the way they live.

Rafael considers the bond that gradually emerged between him and the community "very necessary" for both sides, to the extent of "hav[ing] learnt to be happy thanks to them, leaving aside the degree of dissatisfaction we all come from, giving value to the small things, being happy with very little". Assuming that initially, he was dealing with very wild children, they also assimilated "the respect for the others, other behaviors maybe more rooted in our societies, so it has been an assimilation process by both sides". And that common “exchange is the fruit for all of us”.

After all these years, the firmness of what he considers acceptable, stands out: "…what Africa has done is to enrich my system of values, to keep the best of both places and by no means accept the game rules from there, which are too unfair and which come from the desperation of subsistence". The European side will always be there as the first learned frame of reference.

The value of the Spanish culture has penetrated and modified previous considerations in the existence of the children and many Anidan workers. For instance, when people ask them where they come from they say they are Spanish. And when they are asked where Rafael comes from, they say he is a Swahili. This kind of identification demonstrates a deep assimilation into local culture according to Rafael and the current Spanish volunteers who experience the same social placement. The SER explains with regard to the children and the local team,

> …they do no longer accept the way they used to, the degree of exploitation they lived, they do not accept certain behaviors and right now they find themselves in a privileged situation

> in their environment and they accept it as such, they have evolved from being those with most difficulties in the district to be the children with the best school results, the children who have gone to university, the children who are forging ahead, and that has created much mistrust in the community and a lot of jealousy problems. But for them, it has meant to break with a very hard reality to which they were exposed to the worst and they have assimilated it as something normal.

- *Familial support*

At the beginning, Rafael's family, whose support he qualifies as "exemplary" thought he was going crazy because after all "I was spending all my savings and giving up a career that until then seemed on the right track, for something that [wa]s no more than a dream". More precisely, the conditions in which he lived, made them suffer a lot until they understood that "thanks to that" many people were being moved ahead. It was through their visits, that a transformation took place within the family:

> when they start[ed] coming to visit and see the children, and see how those children, where they come from and how they are…they bec[a]me the best defenders of the project, joined it and started working with me in the office in Madrid to avoid indirect costs and be able to take all the money raised in Spain to Kenya…

They also encouraged him to get professionalized, to create an NGO and take the necessary steps so that the help c[ould] be expanded and reach many children. From his experience, Rafael considers the family support as key in the sense that opposing the SERs labor or putting constraints in the end "inhibits a very important personal development" singular and collective.

8.3 How the organization works

8.3.1 Evolution of the role

Over the years, Rafael has gradually evolved from a more central position in which he could devote 24 hours a day to them for many years (initial moments in which the financial needs were also smaller) to activities more focused on the long-term sustainability of the SE and the search for resources. The emotional bond remains although the geographical distance is present (forced to spend more time in Spain). This situation makes some of them "very angry" missing his presence. In his current situation of general director, he manages a team of 90 people (which includes the orphanage, the

hospital, the microcredits, and the help to the community projects). In fact during the observation, Rafael was not present in Anidan. This situation demonstrates the empowerment and the training process carried out by him during several years; that is, to what extent they work on their own. It can be said that the work carried out by him for many years has been delegated. He explains,

> …the older children are the ones who are educating the small ones, they do it much better than I did it, but for me, it is a great loss having to devote myself completely to the funding …of and organization that has grown and that currently has much bigger demands.

8.3.2 The formation of a local workforce

How the Anidan local force was created is related to the initial moments. At a certain point, he realizes he was considering things with the mentality of the West to solve the problems there. And that on the contrary,

> I ha[d] to…little by little go understanding the mentality there to give better solutions and therefore I surround[ed] myself by a team entirely native. I do not work with cooperants… convinced that the solutions have to be given from there.

The learning process which gradually leads him to interpret more correctly their reality-social insight- made him discover a very "cruel logic". This is the logic of subsistence", which operates at very basic levels and due to which he mainly encountered "very good and very bad people…people who exploit and people who are exploited" in absence of the ordinary people we encounter in other environments with less scarcity.

He recognizes a very clear line between the type of life he adopted and the transmission of information they made to him. He was accepted by them "like an equal" which made them transmit him "all their problems and needs" getting to know them in depth. He explains:

> If I had arrived and created a structure like the present one with a quality NGO, it would have been very difficult to approach those problems, understand and value the way in which those children who had suffered so much, could be forged ahead.

It has been a very slow process, which has lasted for a minimum of 10 years in which he has been training and teaching them; A permanent training process with giving and taking. He always believed that some of them could teach others. That is one of the reasons why many of the workers were former Anidan children. After those 10 years, the SE was frankly well-established, according to the current volunteers. In that process Nyebwana, Rafael's Kenyan's wife, has been a key influence, providing support and legitimization. In fact, she and her family were the image of the SE for many villagers. But there were more people who supported and provided him extra information, such as the initial teachers hired for the tuition of the children and a local leader, precisely, the chief Majidh. [130]This man was and still is the chief of an area covering Lamu and other nearby villages. His has got public authority, being aware of everything that happens under his jurisdiction. Considered a very respected person, Rafael used to rely much on him. According to one of the first workers of the SE, "being seen with the Chief as a visitor …people will accept you"

Undoubtedly Rafael has been present in every single part of the process from the beginning (for example teaching them how to clean). "He knows very well what all this is about", as a volunteer explains. "He speaks with many people daily…he is here everyday".

8.3.3 How his initial moments are remembered and were assessed by the community

A current worker of Anidan provides his perspective on how it all started and his first impressions. He met Rafael in 2005 through a friend already employed by him. Rafael needed more people to provide education to the children, so they had a meeting in Torre (at the time the Anidan name had not been officially given). In its early moments, Anidan basically consisted of a feeding plus an education program in a rented room. When the children required medical assistance they were sent to the clinic. This leader explains how he used to walk by and see children but did not know what was happening: [He thought] "it must be a nursery or something like that". After the conversation, he started as a part-time teacher of the children in the evenings. The fact of having a *mzungu* doing things for the children was not new to him, but initially, he thought it would probably be linked to a

[130]Personal name.

middle organization, which was not the case. Although at the beginning everything was very basic, he remembers the first impressions:

> …when I asked what the organization was doing I was convinced this was the right organization because of the way it was managed, to help the child, to equip the child with education and education being the best you can give to a child, because it is the one that is going to help [him] actively to be a responsible person in the future…

And he adds about the arrangements to provide them food and medication that,

> …some children were just having one meal a day, they came from need, poor, broken families, [some were] orphans…I knew there was something good going on here, and when you see a needy child coming from nothing and getting something that could help him in the future...you feel happy about it…

A sense of comprehensive attention, was probably observed by this current worker. In fact, although he was not keen on development approaches, he remembers that during his first year in college in the agricultural profession he had a section on home economics, which took him to visit children's homes. He remembers visiting a home in Mombasa:

> I learned of the history of the children who were there I learned of the politics put in place in that home, of the structure and I was impressed…I saw very happy children. The organization gave everything that was required to them, so when I met Rafael, it was exactly what I had reflected and I said yes.

He remembers having thought, that this one could also be exactly the same as what,

> I had seen outside, I did not know the structures that were in place at that moment…but I thought this is the beginning, in the future the children will have their own place…with the maximum assistance from the organization.

Like in other cases (see AYMY) the informal evaluation assessed very concrete aspects related to the care of the children: "There were cooks…teachers…everything well organized, cleaners…[and] the founder himself was also working, (he was the one giving the salaries) I saw this is an organized man". Everything was running well:

> The bills were being paid, electricity was being paid, food supplies in the shop were paid, store for the food, there was a kitchen…the tuition classes very well arranged, a nursery

> coming up, which made me realize from the start there was a look of future in it…this is very well organized, there is future in this.

8.3.4 Rafael in the initial years and the development of social insight: "all around he was working"

During the initial years, according to this same worker, Rafael was working doing supervision, management, and accounting, being busy from 6 am in the morning. Initially, there were four children under his care and that of some caretakers. Those children had no place to live and their parents had died. But a moment arrived at which he was more able to leave the organization in the hands of three local workers who had been close to him from the early stages: "things were running".

How did he manage to develop a strong social insight in a community culturally unrelated to him? Another current worker offered in an interview a simplified understanding worth mentioning, which refers to the capacity to feel what others go through, instead of blocking it or rationalizing their suffering, being able to go back to the basics as human beings: "To understand poverty does not take much. To feel it takes much…you see poverty in Nairobi or Mombasa…[but] to feel responsible and do something about it…I don't know what that takes". However, current workers of the SE affirm that Rafael knows a lot about the community of Lamu and its culture in a clearly anthropological sense of the term. As one of the first workers explains:

> He knows the grassroots, he has done a lot of research. When he arrived here he did not take it as a*mzungu* or a visitor, he made friends, visited families, their homes, he wanted to know everything that was happening around. All areas he wanted to know about. How is this community run on a daily basis? He was everywhere, learning, learning and learning the culture, even the religion, what do they like? what do they hate? He was part of the system, researching…he knows a lot about Lamu community.

According to Rafael that intense exposure had serious health implications in the form of different illnesses like recurrent malarias. At present, while being away, profound knowledge about the community allows that physical presence is not indispensable and facilitates the decision making processes. The current Spanish volunteers refer to that matter:"…some decisions are taken in Spain…but everything is very accurate to the reality…Rafael can make himself a very clear idea [about a certain issue], he knows what

to ask…it is as if he were here…". The local team also confirms that accuracy to the Lamu reality, denying the feeling of being forced to implement artificial ideas or plans disconnected from reality. In fact, they summarize much of their work as detecting arising needs, something they can do, due to their permanent commitment. Being Rafael the general director, the Anidan local team is the implementer, which implies that several decisions are also made there at the basic running level.

8.3.5 The sense of community in Lamu: an evolution of increasing individualism

According to the same local worker, the major problem when Rafael arrived in Lamu was family breakdowns:

> The mothers left with the children were not in a position to take care of them. So at that time, you could see children on the street, walking around in town, not going to school, trying to get the money of the day.

Some local workers also connect polygamy to poverty and abandonment. A Swahili man can marry two or three wives. As a result, it is not rare that stepmothers repudiate the previous son or just look after their own properly, leaving the oldest from a different marriage neglected. They also refer to mothers unable "to take care of all the children" without the fathers' support. Volunteers of the organization confirm such cases too. In a wider framework, the local workers also relate a process of deterioration of traditional values within the community that without fail, affect the children: "Long time ago in Lamu a child belonged to the community, [but] as the economic situation and trends have changed, all this has disappeared, and the child belongs to the family". If the family is not able to respond to the child, neglect is almost guaranteed. Local workers place the beginning of those sociocultural changes in 2000 at the same time they confirm the irreversible nature of those quick transformations: "The traditional way of thinking considering the community as one cannot return, it is impossible". In that context, Anidan tries to re-establish that community feeling within the core installations (home and hospital) as well as beyond them supporting the community.

8.3.6 Decisions based on the intuition

Intuition plays a big role in the operations of the organization, and not only in the initial moments. While trying to be “as rational as possible in the organization” Rafael recognizes that you also “have to be very intuitive” to overcome the difficulties the way you can. More precisely, he does not hire according to the professional profile but according to how good the person is and then he takes responsibility for providing the necessary formation: “Many times I cover different positions inside the organization in a very intuitive fashion seeing who is good at what and not who presents a [certain] CV”. Quality as a human being is essential in an organization such as this one, if a sense of family wants to be preserved. The same caution and protection has been applied to volunteers, recognizing their presence as never being neutral and therefore always affecting their children.

8.3.7 The unavoidable presence of constraints

As an SER, Rafael considers social constraints inherent in the creation of an SE:

> …we are facing very big problems, very unfair societies and we become "paladins" of a change many people are not interested in and the[fore] we receive pressure from many sides [so] you have to be strong [and] in every moment…have clear why you are doing it and what gives to you. We all are going to have trouble, we are in foreign cultures, strange cultures where there is a series of established values that for us are absolutely unacceptable and for them, it has been this way for ages so there is going to be always resistance and there are going to be always attacks against your person, against your figure, against your values which after all, are foreign values. Human rights for us are a reality and very assimilated values by our cultures but there are many cultures that have not reached there.

However, in those moments the biggest strength is to hold onto the number of children "I was forging ahead, to the happiness of those children".

Lucía Lantero spoke of having become relentless in order to overcome constraints. Rafael mentions a complementary dimension; that is, the need to be brave in order to “inhibit the animal instincts” that do come out in those societies due to circumstances.

- *Serious trouble experiences*

After his experience as an SER, Rafael confirms situations of danger. For instance, there used to be a workshop in Lamu that makes boats using fiberglass without any security measures, with the result of polluting a whole neighborhood causing health problems in the medium and long-term. Eventually, he tried to stop it but he found a very powerful person behind who joined forces with the factual powers of Lamu and practically took him to a lynching. They hired a few yunkies of the village creating thereby an unsustainable situation from which he miraculously escaped thanks to the help of the ambassador of Spain in Kenya and the Kenyan ambassador in Spain. As in other cases, embassies are essential support elements in situations of extreme pressure (see AYMY case).

In a different moment, a young man painted his face wearing a handkerchief as a pirate and entered the orphanage with two big machetes to kill Rafael. One of the eldest kids who had had similar experiences on the street managed to disarm him and made him leave. In situations of danger (see ACOES and the pressure from the *maras or* Ali. S.K.)the locals seem more able to manage the situations successfully. An example that illustrates Father Patricio's perception, that they know more than we do. Rafael recognizes that this type of situations leaves you wounds and traumas, and so far the way he knows to recover is to reconnect with the good things and "archive the bad ones".

- *Avoidance of sexual abuse false accusations*

The observation made for this research shows a very curious attitude with regard to CSA (CSA stands for child sexual abuse, see the APLE case). Before the SER enters into action there does not seem to be signs of concern with regard to this matter. But as soon as he or she does, it becomes a form of accusation against him or them-remember the false accusation in AYMY against Alexis Derache-. A leader of the SE with long-term perspective explains that: "The Lamu community had never seen a children's home and being Lamu a tourist destination we had also the side effect of tourism…some tourists, some of them were abusing the children, even sexually, that is the thing…".Under those circumstances,

> …the sight of a *mzungu* wanting to associate with the children was not welcome because we could not convince [them] that this mzungu, this tourist, has come with a positive task of helping the children, they always thought there must be something he wants of the children…something hidden, that he is after.

With sagacity and as in other cases (Sanllorente, 2009) Rafael took measures in advance in order to prevent false accusations. He explains: "What I did was to be always accompanied by a group of people…we forged the children ahead, I was never alone, I shared the house…so that that suspicion could not exist". The moment in which Rafael started to confront and denounce the sexual abuses of certain children, the families of those who were going to be inculpated or were involved started to spread rumors. He actually considers that the fact of having been accompanied 24 hours a day, the fact of having been watched, enabled him to prove there was nothing behind the project. He was pretty aware of the risk of accusation:"…the degree of abuses in that moment was very high and even an accusation from any child who had suffered it could happen". The same sense of prevention continues functioning in Anidan now that it can be considered a well-established organization. In the dormitories of Anidan, there is not just one matron or one patron. On the contrary, they always work in pairs so that each of them can be watched by the other one and there can be security in that sense. He does not remember having felt fear, but on the contrary, a strong feeling of "anger"…

> The accusations came from people who were exploiting the children who were precisely on the other side…people were going to continue fighting for impunity…In the moment in which I arrived and I adopted those children, they knew those children could not be abused [anymore] and that meant important economic losses for many people.

Since 2016, Anidan implements its own child protection policy, following the requirements of the Kenyan government with regard to the matter.

- *Confrontation with the authorities and community empowerment*

At a certain point, there were complaints to the government authorities of the Children Department and the District Commissioner. Those complaints came mainly from the religious leaders who were on the forefront of opposing and did not want the children to be kept in that home. In 2006 the District Commissioner closed the home, and as in other cases, it was the community, at least part of it, in an exercise of empowerment, that found the strength to re-establish the earlier arrangement. More precisely, the parents whose children were in the home organized themselves and faced the District Commissioner. After challenging him to do his own investigation to probe the accusations,

they exposed their situations ("you know our lives, our economic status…we had nothing to give our children…") and demanded from him an agreement to guarantee that were the home closed, he would provide their children the same life standards Rafael was providing in Torre, taking full care of them. The Commissioner reopened the home at the same time he carried out an independent investigation which confirmed that the accusations were false.

Since that moment, no similar situation has ever emerged. The whole community can clearly see the results of the work in a rural context which is highly permeable. However, recognizing that gaining the trust of the community is not easy, this leader considered that another determining factor was that Rafael not only hired Kenyan people but precisely people from the same community who were already known, trusted and in some cases had good reputations of being the best teachers:

> …if Rafael had employed *mzungu* people or people from Nairobi or Mombasa, it would have failed totally…when the Commissioner asked them about their trajectories, he realized they were people from the community who would not allow the children to be mistreated or abused.

Whereas at the beginning some families were given the option to bring the children to Torre, they rejected it due to mistrust. Later on, they realized they could not bring them because the resources were limited. Even for local people, gaining trust is a complex issue, a long process in which with persistence, the real intentions of the SE can emerge. But, for that to occur, the involvement of the community and the local team are essential.

8.3.8 Experience from the volunteers: learning how to work with a consolidated local team

The cultural shock has been clearly present for the current volunteers, especially related to understanding the way they communicate with each other, to see what is beyond the most apparent surface. As in other cases (see the school volunteer in AYMY) they find that listening as well as adaptation skills are essential. Anidan's volunteers explain in almost identical terms to AYMY:

> …you arrive here with your way of thinking and it might not work here…You must always count on the people who live here, a good idea might not work. [It is essential] to count on the people…who live here, who have been raised here and have lived the project with Rafael, and then, when you have adapted yourself, you start generating a small way of working.

In fact, they consider that any volunteer must recognize the dependency on the locals to learn, to understand as a starting point: "In the end, the *mzungu* just goes through, they are the ones who stay".

Social skills are essential to running things smoothly. Being very direct does not work.Some Kenyans get offended easily so they tend to give support and in every case, when things go right and wrong, they have a deft touch. Humor is very useful to break the ice. Like in Haiti, it is relatively easy to be perceived as an exploiter. There is still certain sensitivity there.

A clear sense of empowerment is observed in the local team at present: they debate everything. To a certain extent, a feeling of adolescence can be found in some attitudes trying to show they are perfectly capable of deciding what is requested.

8.3.9 Anidan, vulnerability and external menaces

Like in other SE cases, it might seem incredible how much can be done with scarce resources. However, achievements have to be combined with a high degree of humility:

> We have no other option, we are a humble project, which is doing great things, but still a humble project…It is very necessary to keep the feet on the ground…if you become conceited, you lose touch with the reality and you are no longer useful for this.

Observation indicates how quickly reality can change in this type of contexts. And it also shows how in some cases SE deal with big amounts of vulnerability caused by external circumstances (see ACOES). Terrorism has become a great concern in Kenya, remember the mass shooting in a shopping center in Nairobi [131]in September 2013, where at least 67 people were killed by al-Shabab militants. In June 2014, the same extremist group caused "two nights of terror attacks on Kenya's coast on June 15th and 16th

[131] For more information, see (BBC News, 2014)http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27862510.

le[aving] at least 65 people dead" in Mpeketoni[132], very close to Lamu Island. "The Shabab says its campaign is a response to the continuing presence of Kenyan troops in southern Somalia"[133]. The first Kenyan troops were sent to the bordering country in October 2011. At that moment Al-Shabab warned of revenge attacks [134]. This situation has definitely impacted in a negative way on Kenyan tourism, a sector which used to represent 15% of their GDP [135]. Precisely for Lamu, the attacks have meant the collapse of the tourist industry, its main source of income. Many local businesses have been closed down and more inhabitants are in situations of vulnerability. Although in 2015 a small recovery could be observed and some tourists started to return, those signs are still too weak compared with the times before the attack (Anidan, 2015).

For Anidan, the tourism decline also means a reduction in the support received. As Rafael explains, earlier, everyone who came to Lamu, used to leave something in Anidan, whereas now that situation has changed. Political analyses do not bring a positive perspective on the matter, questioning thus the Kenyan decision to continue sending troops to Somalia since it does not seem to stop the terrorist attacks in the country. [136]

When the attacks on Mpeketoni happened, Rafael, who was raising funds in Spain, immediately traveled to Kenya, a sign which was very positively received by the local team.

8.3.10 Changes in the society

The commitment carried out by Anidan has made a clear impact in the society in the form of cultural transformations. To a certain extent, it has been a "jump in time", Rafael explains. This is no surprise, SEs are able to promote quick changes, with their strongly lived mission, they accelerate processes people were ready to go through, but

[132]This village is only 45 km away from Lamu Island.
[133] For more information, see (The Economist , 2014)http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21604624-rising-tide-violence-coast-affecting-whole-country-frightening.
[134] For more information, see (BBC News, 2014)http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27862510
[135]For more information, see (The Economist , 2014)http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21604624-rising-tide-violence-coast-affecting-whole-country-frightening.
[136] For more information, see (Mohamed, 2016) http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/upfront/2016/10/kenya-losing-war-al-shabab-161007124819672.html

could not due to the lack of effective channels to encourage change. Anidan has managed to consolidate primary education for both boys and girls in the community. However, for completing secondary education[137]there are still more constraints if the child does not belong to the SE. When Rafael started to support the children, the community

> saw that the educated children got degrees or professional education and…they could start helping their families at the same time in a way they all dream of there…[In Kenya] people have an inconceivable amount of children [for European standards] so that some [of them] can help the parents when they are older and that dream happened in Anidan. The children [who] became older got degrees, formation and that led them to work and [ultimately] became head of the[ir] families, of those so disrupted and dysfunctional families they came from.

Local women also underline the amount of work that Anidan has done for them, trying to keep the girls motivated with their studies, avoiding to the extent possible, forced marriages. Those same women confirm that in some cases the young girls are married to older men but in other cases both are the same age, just "two kids". In order to create alternatives, they confirm how Rafael has "always [underlined] the importance of studies" giving several alternatives when required.

A certain degree of idealization mixed with logical feelings of thankfulness is clearly appreciated by some of those local women. All these are very common attitudes: "he is like an angel, it is very rare to get a man fighting for the kids". These women do not overlook the importance of being a foreigner, who crossed the borders of what could be considered the logical sphere of responsibility in the West (one's family, work and maybe a couple of friends).

> He is like an angel because it is not his community and he fights for them, [he is]not even related to them…[coming] from another country, coming to Lamu to fight for the kids…to have a good education and a good life, and a good health is not a usual thing…and when sick, taking you to a good hospital…The people from our community are not even taking care of us, [although] they know us, where we are coming from, they know the background, they know everything…

[137]The price of secondary education in district and county schools can represent per year, approximately 540 euros.

8.3.11 Personal situations of the children

Like in other cases of the same sample, violence in the homes of the children is rather prevalent, in a mixture of poverty and broken homes. A current worker explains how her ears were affected due to the beatings in her childhood. Direct and strong implication from the SER is beyond doubt, but also a big amount of patience, in the long run, is needed to support and sustain the children in every moment of doubt or lack of strength they may have. One of the current workers and former kid of the first lot explains with regard to some of her comrades:

> [some of them] dropped, left Anidan, fell into drugs like marijuana and cocaine [which] there is in Lamu. Some…were not motivated and Rafael tried to help them anyway, taking them to technical schools. [They were] not a big percentage, around three of the first lot… [But] even if you make a mistake, Rafael gives you a second chance,that is the good thing about him.

She speaks in the same terms with regard to herself. At a certain point she dropped out and got married, but Rafael, who would have preferred to send her to university first, gave her another chance:

> …that's why I am here now…[He is] a very understanding man, if you go to him with a problem he will always try to help you, he gets angry too, he is a man, has to react, but he is fair with everyone.

8.3.12 Implication of the young ones through volunteering

At the moment in which this observation was done, there was a group of Anidan children who having finished their superior education were waiting for the results of their exams[138] - there are cut points- to enter college or university. In the meantime, they were volunteering for Anidan. When asked to give an interview, a girl wearing a *bubui*[139] wanted to know precisely what it was for, showing a clear attitude of empowerment assuming the role of the group leader. The roles assumed by these volunteers vary from, translator, assistant with the evening classes, assistant at the hospital reception, or assistant in the

[138] Medicine, nurse, languages, and law are their options.
[139] Swahili word for the black gown Muslim girls and women wear in Lamu.

nursery class. One of these young volunteers explains, “I am helping because I am showing gratitude to Anidan…I am showing them how thankful I am for what they have done to me…”

The period in which they volunteer is not clearly fixed and depends on how long it takes to the government to publish the academic results. The activity is freely chosen by them in that it is agreeable unlike it is in ACOES. The aim of Anidan is to keep them centered during the waiting period while they learn by doing a constructive activity.

When asked about the experience in Anidan -some children entered at the age of three, others at the end of ten- they reply: “It is a golden opportunity to be here in Anidan”. They underline as the most valuable assets the fact of making friends, having interaction with foreigners, and getting all get things that at home they could not get, for example, the school fees for all their life. Keeping in touch with their original families is easy, according to them. Every Sunday[140] they visit them. Rafael has always tried to provide the best quality standards possible for the children as well as comprehensive attention touching several branches for their personality development. When asked about the different standards of living that they have compared in reality with other people, they explain: "this is Africa, this is how things are, so we manage [it], you take it and you adapt, you get used to it".

They recognize that the life in Anidan keeps them very busy and gives value to the fact of receiving all the same opportunities. While in Anidan, they are “brought up together, helping and supporting each other”, since childhood. A clear sense of comradeship is observed. Besides, an emotional bond between Rafael and them is clearly expressed, “Rafael is our everything, Rafael is my mother and my father, Nyebwana is my mother and my sister sometimes”. Having lived with Rafael and Nyebwana for many years, they have learnt to detect his affective weaknesses: “Rafael does not like to see us cry. He just wants us to be happy, he really loves the children, he is very emotional and very caring. He can

[140]Visits take place in the morning, a moment in which they also attend their different religious services. At one pm, lunch is served in Anidan again, when they return. Not all the children can return home on Sunday due to the distance. In those cases, they stay in the home. Sunday afternoon is also the day in which the children are taken to the coconut beach, close to Anidan.

even ask for forgiveness. Nyebwana is more strict than him". They also confirm a feeling of assimilation engendered by the community towards him.

> He is adapted to a Swahili culture and Swahili traditions, he is also married to a Swahili, he is not a foreigner…he is a unique *mzungu* he understands more than the Africans, or than the *wazungu*[141] because he has been here for a long time.

Curiously enough these volunteers also affirm that some foreign members of Anidan have been assimilated to a certain extent: "people do not treat [the Spanish volunteers] like *mzungus.* They are not cheated in the shops".

8.3.13 Anidan from the perspective of those who received its support or are actively involved

- *The experience of some Anidan women*

JOYCE[142] joined Anidan in 2004 at the age of 14, and is currently in charge of the microcredits project. Like many other current workers, she met Rafael when they still were in Torre. Initially, she went to Anidan classes in the evening, and later she boarded in the home. After completing high school, she went to college in Kampala. In 2010 continued her studies in Lamu -business management- and eventually joined microcredits. She describes the bond in the following terms:

> Rafa[el] is a father to me, he has done a lot…[he has] provided me with everything, every basic need, help, facilities, hospital when I was ill, even my father did not do that…so he was more than a father to me. She feels she is working in her home.

Like in other cases, Joyce's parents could not afford her studies and she was about to be married at the age of 14. Meeting Rafael in that moment, who assumed the commitment to support her education was a transforming life event that she stills remembers being "very happy, getting back the uniform knowing that tomorrow I am going back to school".

[141]Plural of *mzungu*
[142]Pseudonym to protect identity.

Another current worker had the same type of experience, confirming the need seen in other situations to get strongly implicated (like Father Patricio in ACOES) to protect the rights of the most vulnerable:

> …to me [Rafael] is more than a father…he has done a lot…After primary school my father wanted me to get married, [and he] did not allow that…he talked to myself and my sister too…He took me to school and he provided everything for me, the school fees, the uniform, the books. At that time my dad was very angry with me since he wanted me to get married and we were against him. Rafael spoke with him like twice…[and convinced him].

Due to his support and counseling, she completed her secondary education and college avoiding quitting her studies when she found them too hard: "that was the amazing thing he has done in my life…everytime when I [went] wrong, he was advising me to take the straight path, don't go this way, this is not the right way". Insight into motivation as well as a strong paternal protection has always been present in him towards them.

These two women belong to what could be considered the first group of Anidan kids. Their perspective confirms that the interference shown by Rafael in order to protect those basic rights has been combined with a scrupulous respect towards other cultural traditions. He used to buy the women the *bubui,*[143] respecting their attendance at the madrassa[144] -for the Muslims- and the church for the Christians, as well as the Muslim festivals, or the ones at Christmas.

- *Paul's story*[145]

Having arrived in Anidan in 2007 at the age of 15, he is now a technical engineer, something "I could not make without Rafael". His family could not support his superior education studies. At a certain point, in class eight the last class of primary, Rafael went to their house. An experience he remembers this way,

> …it was like to see the light…you see the light, when you are in darkness you cannot see where you are going, [and] when I saw light, Rafael, I was sure he would sponsor me until the end of my studies.

[144] Koranic school.
[145] Pseudonym to protect anonymity.

In fact, he was fully sponsored (receiving food, clothes, school fees, and some pocket money) and he has got two brothers boarding in Anidan as well. He did not board at the time because belonging to the Kikuyu tribe “at least a man [must stay] there to look after the woman because she was a single parent”. He combined the primary school in Lamu and after that went to Torre for having lunch and then extra activities like football. He remembers Rafael wanting them to stay active. After the sport, he had tuition again with “many good teachers” who managed to motivate him and thereby raising his performance: “I saw there is a chance, there is a light”.

He went to college in Mombasa for four years, where Anidan has a house rented for students. It was there where he achieved his technical engineering certificate and graduated in 2015. At present he would like to complete his degree at the university and later on take a Masters while he works in Anidan, gaining experience from one of the Spanish volunteers who is an engineer.

According to Rafael, Anidan’s budget was under control until several kids started studying superior education. That is the main factor that increases expenses. In this concrete case, although the student is willing to fight to achieve his aspirations, his concern is that the government wants to abolish the part-time degree (he could only do it full-time) and it is much more difficult to be sponsored under those conditions (not being able to work part-time,). As witnessed in other cases, governments do not seem fully committed to protecting the right to study facilitating access.

According to this young man, the situation of the women is changing quickly, they are also “competing to study”. The rise of the prices demands that women “support themselves”. Besides, divorces have increased, so they have to think about their own welfare: "It is no longer possible to live just like a housewife". As an example of the increase in the cost of living, he explains that the price of a liter of milk used to be 25 schillings and now it is 80.

He also calls Rafael *baba* (daddy). He defines him as “…a good man, [who] loves kids from the heart, [who] cares for people, [who] loves people and [who] has supported the community a lot”. Anidan reputation is good and he gives good examples to prove it:

the headman of the Kandahar village [146]appreciates Rafael's work and in Wiyoni[147] they will show that appreciation too: "Anidan cannot be compared with other organization in Kenya…no one is discriminated here". This last aspect is very important and Rafael seems to been very conscientious respecting all religions and peculiarities of the tribes. As this young man explains, socializing "in Lamu…is very easy with anybody, as long as you do not interfere with the religious side". That is probably the reason why children as workers give so much importance the realization that "in Anidan every child is equal".

- *Patrick's story*[148]

Patrick is another example of a former Anidan kid and of current workers who when finished with class eight, could not continue studying. His story resembles other cases observed in ACOES, for example, in which the appearance of intermediate links as information providers becomes essential. In 2004 he met a Spanish tourist who stayed in a hotel where his brother used to work and who knew Rafael personally. Seeing that he had no means to continue studying, he decided, with the help of his brother, to send this tourist and friend a letter to see if he could help him somehow. Today he summarizes that decision as crucial: "If I had not communicated with him I would not be in Anidan right now". What happened was very simple: "he connected me to Rafael" who sponsored and admitted him in the SE. The distance factor cannot be underestimated in the present context. This current worker was living in Pate Island at the time –two hours away from Lamu in a normal boat- and Anidan was a much smaller organization then. So it is was understandable that he could not be aware of the SE as an option. He graduated from secondary education with good results and later on he went to university in Mombasa, without having to wait too much because at that time there were sufficient sponsors. He remembers the moment in which he received this support from Rafael with the following words: "Rafael is sincere, you can see he is telling you the truth, I felt happy, excited, now I am going to have a future…I am going to fulfill my dream…without these years I would be no one".

Much of his present work is centered on counseling and guiding the children, trying to orientate them in their studies and motivate them (deep counseling is done by the

[146]Two kilometers away from Lamu.
[147]The present installations of Anidan are in Wiyoni, a village in Lamu Island.
[148]Pseudonym to protect anonymity.

psychologist). Another main issue is trying to advise them about avoiding drug consumption. He confirms that physical punishments are very common as the only known tool to educate the children in Lamu. Like in other cases (see ACOES) he conscientiously works differently following Rafael's main commitment through all these years, which has been to protect the children. His visits to the fieldwork are very common, checking the situations of the families, how they live, and the like. In one of those visits, he and I went to pick up a two-year-old girl in a situation of extreme vulnerability.

For this worker the fact that Rafael was a foreigner does not have much relevance, being more important is “the feeling that he had when he came to see Africa” and the situation of the children:

> it is more about the heart, [the essential] is that he has the passion to help the children of Lamu…it is natural to him, there is a calling for him to help them…to make them have a good future…

How he was connected to Africa or not, is not so important, according to him, as understanding the experience of revelation (moral shock) Rafael actually experienced.

One of the most rewarding things for this worker is to see the development of the children, since many of them "come from very difficult situations so when you have seen them before and now, you get emotionally affected". Some of them arrive close to death, and undoubtedly one of the most impressive things is to witness the recovery that takes place in HIV+ cases due to receiving once in Anidan antiretrovirals. At the moment in which the observation was made, the amount of HIV+ children in Anidan amounted to 10. The most important matter in such cases is that the medication is not suspended and, therefore, the generation of resistances is avoided.

He is very proud of the fact that there is “no stigmatization[149] in Anidan" for those cases of any kind: "there is no better place for vulnerable children than Anidan". In order to maintain the family feeling that Anidan has and promotes, he thinks the best is to hire Anidan kids as human resources, because "we have the attachment of being a kid of

[149]His personal perception is that the level of stigmatization has decreased outside Anidan as well.

Anidan, we don't work like any staff…we have that passion, it is like home" and he adds, "this is a children's home, not a company: it is more about being a parent than being a worker". So far Anidan has been able to keep that sense of family, and he expressly mentions two workers directly involved with the care of a severely ill child who suffered HIV: "Even the cleaner is like a mother to him" and with regard to his permanent caregiver, he adds "he looked after [another severely ill child who] used to be in bed, he had a paralyzed leg, so he did everything for him. He has a big heart. [Both of them] have an emotional connection". He finally adds,

> I am very happy, very proud to be at Anidan, with the kids, I am always looking for a better future for them, and I hope it is going to be here forever. Anidan has to help a few generations still, even if the community [gradually] manages to catch up.

- *David's story*[150]

This nurse who works in the hospital entered Anidan in 2005, and according to him, "to be frank it has been the best experience ever because it has changed my life…that is how I got my life chance". Due to the lack of resources, he was not expecting to complete high school and college, but eventually, he met Rafael through his wife and Anidan started to fully support him. During the primary education, he had to interrupt his education for five years. In 2009 after finishing high school he was sent to Spain to start medicine but due to bureaucratic questions it was not possible to get enrolled and had to return to Lamu. Rafael wanted to send him to Uganda to study medicine, but the existence of conflicts there made it too risky. He finally was sent to study nursing in Kitui, four hours away from Nairobi. He does not rule out continuing his studies.

Like in other cases he maintains a strong emotional bond with Rafael, remembering when he met him: "he just look at me as a son, not as a needy boy who needs help, and so far he has been consistent with that, whenever we talk he addresses me like a son, my elder son" (in fact he was the eldest in the home then, in 2005). Strongly believing that "with support, if someone is really focusing on what he or she wants" change is possible, this nurse is worried about how to maintain the talent in the hospital. He would like to become a permanent paediatrician in Lamu, feeling that his place is there: "I am ready for that, to be a permanent doctor".

[150]Pseudonym to protect anonymity.

- *Jeff's story*[151]

Jeff is another worker of the SE who teaches basketball, backgammon, chess, and windsurfing, in order to provide an education as comprehensive as possible. He has been working in Anidan for five years, something he qualifies as a "privilege and an honor": "It is a daily miracle, that children get everyday three meals cooked properly when they normally do not get anything, plus the logistics".

He recognizes having met Rafael from the beginning, being almost a neighbor of Torre but for some reason initially, he kept his distance. He remembers listening to Rafael speaking about "my children" and having thought "you got to be joking, nobody can feel that". Initially, he started as a volunteer basketball teacher, "who loved to be here" because he discovered a real home, not an institution, ("there is something beautiful about that") a place that did not fit the idea of "needy children and desperation".

This still-evolving experience has changed him and he recognizes to "have grown spirituality [although] that might sound like a cliché: I feel bigger, I feel more generous". There is also a wish to share all his knowledge with them, and at the same time, he recognizes the emotional bond, loving some of them as if they were his own children: " I always wanted to have a lot of children and here I am with a lot of children". Through this experience, a big part of the puzzle of his life has been completed.

When asked about the recognition of strength that helps the positive development of the SE and the welfare of the children, he replied, "this place definitely has that. This is a special place with so many children, so many things could happen and nothing happens…"

Rafael needs to recharge because, with regard to his empathy, he thinks that he feels the "weight too much". Jeff describes him as someone who has always been "true, super smart and super focused" with an amazing capacity to simplify, to break down everything, "it takes some kind of special intelligence…to make things simple…I really like him, I miss him a lot". He fully supports Rafael's philosophy with regard to the human

[151]Pseudonym to protect anonymity.

resources: “If you do not like children, does matter your qualifications, you cannot work with us”. At the same time, he directs the compass to lead his work in the children: "My boss is the children…without them, we would not be here. Everything has been done because of them".

He is a witness of the development of the children, which he describes in the following way. When the children arrive sometimes they feel "afraid" or "isolated". They can be "aggressive, at times, projecting what they have gone through". In general terms they need a lot of love: "some of them feel they have been neglected by the society and by their parents, even with the parents being poor and unable to support them. That is part of the psychological makeup that they have". Through his observation, this leader also considers that the other kids are the best counselors, the best psychologists…because "they know where they come from, they do not forget it" and unconsciously they support the integration and socialization process naturally, from the very beginning. And he adds, "[h]ere children are allowed to be children…it is very important to be let to be a child". The leader also indicates another skill in them related to their capacity to quickly detect disaffection; that is, “who is fake and who is not, directly”, a trait also detected in the children of other SEs.

He also underlines as an achievement of the SE how the children mix and relate in Anidan, “Christians, Muslims and those with no religion, but also children from different tribes and ethnic backgrounds”. It is interesting to see how they overcome cultural barriers and function at a more basic level.

He tries to welcome especially girls in the activites led by him. At the same time he thoughtfully affirms as the most important thing:“…the way they are brought up together, they are told to look after each other…this gives me a lot of hope for humanity because normally the world is a big mess”.

His experience through all these years allows him to affirm "those who have grown are very nice, very cool kids". In a certain moment, they went to Nairobi where they played the drums, -they also received music classes- with Kenyan artists and "they were amazing,

behavior included, the artists did not believe where they came from. It was…unbelievably cool".

8.3.14 The maintenance of an open mindset towards the reality

Openness towards the society is an attitude incorporated in the daily life, a distinctive sign of the SER's mentality. As Rafael explains, it has organizational advantages in terms of helping those who need it most and also a price in terms of exhaustion (something already seen in the first years of Lucía Lantero in Haiti):

> At the organizational level, the fact of being very permeable is good because you reach the most desperate cases…For that, the hospital is fundamental, through the hospital we [now] get to the worst cases, to the children who are hopeless and we can rehabilitate them…we can give them a chance to get ahead, but before having the hospital I had to spend my life in the villages, living in them, that is why I have had seven malarias, two dengue fevers, and one chikungunya, because I was always stuck in them and my reality was to identify in those villages, which were the children who were going to die tomorrow and which were those who were going to resist.

Some current workers are also aware of the importance of keeping openness towards the community. As one of them explains: "This is not a ghetto, it is connected to the whole of Lamu" at the same time he warns about the temptation "to open departments" that can break that sense of wholeness of the SE "and follow strictly the book" abandoning the "heart and soul" required to work in a place like this one.

- *Openness and a permanent attitude of listening*

Father Patricio says, you have to listen always to the poor people, which does not mean that you will automatically give them what they request. In the same line of thinking Rafael explains, "listening is healing wounds…listening is the first step to help, just listening there is a great part of the population who feels satisfied with the help, with being listened". He also considers it indispensable to analyze what they request:

> in poverty exists a lot of abuse of alcohol and drugs, [which can be called] the escapes, if you give money to a family [probably] they will never buy the cow they will spend it on alcohol…

That is why their microcredits are given to the women because for him the "solution of poverty is based on the women…[they are the ones] who most [economic] return give to the family, they are the ones who never give up fighting for their families and do not abandon them…"

A healthy attitude of listening to other SEs which work along similar lines is also essential since “you do not have all the ideas always, and for being competitive you must get ideas from everywhere”. He recognizes having had inspiration from Vicente Ferrer (RDT) in India, at the same he confirms having just like most SERs, “…a very personal criterium and I defend…for conviction and it is difficult to take me out of there. I incorporate ideas but I do not give a 360 degrees turnaround".

Maintaining that attitude of openness, Anidan tries to avoid overlaps in the sense of preventing the accumulation of several forms of support in the same family. It is not rare that the information provided by the children is not totally faithful to reality. For instance, they affirm not having a father and sometime later he appears. That is the reason why the children of the local workers are not admitted to Anidan since those workers do have a salary. Although from a theoretical point of view, it was planned to admit just a child per family, Anidan is actually full of whole families (three of four brothers or sisters, since all of them are severely neglected). As a result, the SE develops particular studies in every case of every family situation, always keeping in perspective that admitting a child implies a long-term if not life commitment.

- *Strategies of openness: microcredits and balance*

Microcredits are the tool chosen by the organization with the aim to stabilize the families and make help them earn a living. There is a widespread recognition by the community that Anidan is "the best place where the children can be taken". But at the same time, as a current worker explains, it is also important to boost a sense of responsibility within the families so that this responsibility is not passed on to the organization; that is, to find a balance with the community. If the children are systematically taken by Anidan in the boarding home, the family can feel tempted to have another one, assuming that the SE will take care of him or her as well. Therefore, the ideal situation would be that families are able "to pull out all the stops" on their own. With the

money the women receive from microcredits, they are able to pay at least the cost of the primary education.

In 2016 Anidan had already concluded four cycles of microcredits, having tended to around 1000 women in four years. At the moment of the observation, 285 women were receiving this assistance. Each group of five women received 500 euros with a 10 months period to reimburse it.

They start receiving approximately 5 euros and once the amount is returned, the amount rises to 10 and finally to 15 euros. The understanding of microcredits in Anidan is clearly lenient, and in the cases in which the amount is not returned, according to the SER's spirit, they do not receive anything else but no penalty is established.

The situation of the women in Lamu is too dependent on their husbands. Most of the first are illiterate, and according to the local leader of the project, "if you are illiterate you depend on him for everything…but they know very well how to count their money". Her primary task in the project is focused on motivating the women, showing them the importance of being more independent, of working in the society, the importance of planning and thinking long-term. Training, therefore, has a strong dimension (how to make business plans) but also counseling them in the daily problems that emerge.

Manda Maweni [152]is a village on an island on the other side of Lamu Island in which Anidan's openness can be appreciated in the fight against extreme poverty. Anidan supports the salary of three kindergarten teachers and provides porridge to the 82 children who attend the public school there. At the same time, there are two groups of five very reliable women –ten women in total- who work in the local quarry, who receive Anidan's microcredits. There is a clear wish from the local team to extend that strategy to further areas. Anidan also develops water projects for the community, in places where its availability is scarce or impossible. Also in this village, which originally had no water, Anidan has installed at the school two water tanks so that they can keep it when it rains.

- *Strategies of openness: helping families*

[152]Travelling thereon a speedboat can take 10 minutes from Lamu.

A second example of openness is the project of helping families. Like in AYMY or ACOES there are cases of extreme vulnerability in the area, which need to be covered somehow. According to Anidan (2015) precisely, 16 families receive support (old women in extreme vulnerability who could not open a business with the amount that they receive, but they can buy food, and pay water and electricity). Monthly monitoring is made by the Anidan social assistance. This project also provides assistance for unexpected events, such as the fall of a roof, the illness of a child and the like.

- *Strategies of openness: Pediatric Hospital Pablo Horstmann*[153]

The most obvious way Anidan impacts the community, apart from the children given shelter and education, is probably by the hospital inaugurated in April 2008. At present, it is the reference hospital in the whole Lamu county due to its quality standards. Its main achievement is related to the decline of child mortality in the county. Since the opening of the hospital, it has been reduced[154] from 11'1% in 2008, to a current 2%. A significant headway has been made against malaria which, according to the SER, is "clearly cornered". As he remembers, when he arrived, it was normal that a child had three a year, whereas now is very strange. (The same headway has not been possible with dengue fever since the mosquito has even got used to the lack of light.)

Everyone in the community knows about the hospital. Originally it provided attention to approximately 14.000 [155]children yearly. Terrorist attacks have reduced the possibility to travel to remote areas closer to the Somalian border to detect new patients and therefore in 2014, the amount of patients in the whole year was 10.086. [156]

Having a facility like this, free of charge, is something well appreciated. The Pablo Horstmann hospital is supported by the Foundation of the same name, private long-term

[153]For detailed information on every activity, see the Memory of Activities (Anidan, 2015) and http://www.fundacionpablo.org/images/MEMORIADEACTIVIDADHOSPITALPEDIATRICOPABLOHORSTMANN2015.pdf

[154]For more information, see http://www.fundacionpablo.org/images/stories/Recursos_de_información/Hoja_informativa_Hospital_Pediatrico_Pablo_Horstmann_Lamu_Kenia_FPH.pdf(Fundacion Pablo Horstmann, nd)

[155] For more information, see the same source above.

[156] Extracted from http://www.fundacionpablo.org/images/MEMORIADEACTIVIDADHOSPITALPEDIATRICOPABLOHORSTMANN2015.pdf

supporter which also selects the Spanish doctors hired or sent as volunteers, but it is run by Anidan.

A clinical officer, a very respected worker of the hospital, considered the glue with the community, explained its main functioning. Anidan hospital receives 80 patients per day, sometimes even 100, being from those, two or three very serious cases. Malnutrition complicated with other illnesses, like HIV, is very prevalent. He recognizes that they have to work hard. Most of the patients come from Lamu Island, from the periphery or even from Mombasa due to the positive reputation of the hospital. The atmosphere is described by one of the workers as "very caring…we care very much, all the staff is not pretending, we feel it". Another factor, apart from the quality ("excellent coverage") and the free-of-charge service, seems to foster their community success. As he confirms, at this hospital HIV people are not stigmatized, the privacy of the patient is always respected, when the medical discussions are made, the door is closed, and the information is not filtered. Other workers stress that the cases are received according to their emergency, and not to who the person is. Besides, all the essential drugs are available. Anidan has had alliances with the NGO Infancias Solidarias to send some children to Spain to have surgery. This is a long process and not all the extreme cases can be channeled this way. However, the community knows it.

In Lamu, there is a public hospital. It is frequent that the pediatric wing of that hospital, where there is no pediatrician, sends the cases to them (until the age of 18). From that hospital, they also get supplements (the porridge), vaccines and they do the surgery when required. Coordination with other hospitals is also frequent with Mombasa. Pablo Horstmann hospital cannot do every test, so to develop further investigation, sometimes they need to refer the specimen or the patient to that hospital, according to the case. That coordination with other hospitals is considered by the local workers relatively easy. First, they contact the public hospital in Lamu, and this is the one which determines which hospital does what. Sometimes they have to pay for the specimen: "we work very efficiently with many wings". In fact, the main feature of the human resources of the Pablo Horstmann hospital is that they are used to being overstretched, gaining a lot of experience, "when you go to another hospital you have the advantage that you have learned about nutrition and HIV. In the General Hospital, the nurses are general and do not know how to do so many things". The presence of paediatricians from Spain in the

hospital is positively valued by the local team as a way to receive continuing education and improving their skills: "I have learned a lot of things from the doctors who come from Spain". In general, there is a feeling in the community that the children will be properly looked after in Anidan, even on weekends, another worker explains. In Anidan they encourage people to come to the hospital, promoting a cultural transformation and a proactive attitude towards prevention.

- *Strategies of openness: outreach*

A fifth example of openness is the medical outreach carried out by the hospital workers to distant areas in order to detect health needs. Initially, a group of doctors and nurses used to travel to more remote areas by boat every three weeks. Now that frequency has been reduced due to the positive impact that education about health and prevention have had on the population. However, the outreach was initially conceived as a tool to solve the problemthat the parents sometimes brought their children too late to the hospital. During the observation in Anidan it was possible for me to participate in one of them. The doctors and three nurses travelled to a far villageto observe cases and set priorities. Culturally the outreach is like fishing people. They bring medicines to remote areas and detect severe cases sending them to the hospital in some cases immediately.[157]

From the socio-economic point of view, the outreach allows knowing deeply the communities and observing through a general study, if the village requires water or if there are possibilities to extend microcredits, for instance (socio-economic information). Due to the outreaches, another water project was recently implemented in a visited village. The new installations helped to regulate the prices, avoiding abuses from the private sellers.

- *Extraordinary implications in the community*

In the area of Kashmir, very close to Anidan, there was a school supported by an American woman who eventually and after several struggles –having been cheated too many times- run out of the resources, eventually closing down the project. This decision left the children without any chance for education. A former volunteer of Anidan mobilized her contacts in Europe in order to detect donors, raise funds and rescue the school project

[157]For more detailed information see, http://www.fundacionpablo.org/images/MEMORIADEACTIVIDADHOSPITALPEDIATRICOPABLOHORSTMANN2015.pdf

which had always been unrelated to Anidan. She succeeded in her purpose and at present, the school is placed at the Lamu seafront. Two-hundred children from the poorest areas of Lamu receive education there. Independence from Anidan is maintained, although without its intervention, it is doubtful that the school would have been re-launched. Since the initial moments, Anidan's availability was present in the form of monitoring and checking the proper management of the school as well as the external financial support. Since last year, Anidan's support has been reduced due to the incorporation of a local manager as well as a local board, which runs the school independently. A relationship of complementarity has been created since some of Anidan's children go there and the school also supports some of them with grants.

8.3.15 Informal assessment experiences

Anidan is greatly valued in the community. On Sunday afternoon, there are different activities for the children. One of them consists of taking them to a nearby beach. One Sunday I went to the beach with them and I started walking by the seashore by the hand of one of the smallest children. He wanted to see the boats so we walked a little bit away. At a certain point, a man who was swimming with his son in the sea approached to me and asked me if I was in Anidan. I replied affirmatively and he introduced himself, told me where he worked in Lamu and offered his availability for whatever I could require.

During the observation, a six-year-old entered in Anidan. Coming from a disrupted family, he had lived at the street for some time and during the first week he had a bit of trouble getting used to the new environment and there were a couple of days of insecurity. Around a week later, while I was waiting for an interview, he, a caregiver (and former Anidan kid), and I were sitting under the *makuti* .[158]Smiling and laughing, in a relaxed way he was speaking with the caregiver, who also smiled. At a certain point, the caregiver translated to me what he was saying: "*sitahama Anidan mpaka nife!"* which means, "I will not leave Anidan until I die!

[158] The *makuti* is an example of traditional Swahili architecture in Lamu. It consists of a roof construction made with palm leaf, which among other things favors ventilation.

8.3.16 Questionability of some well-established economic and development principles

- *Anidan as the main local enterprise*

Many SERs of the sample reject that their SEs are simply considered enterprises. However, some entrepreneurial principles are used, but in the context of personal and human development promotion; that is, in a highly humanized and patient fashion. The processes of personal and group emancipation do have an economic impact in the area, favoring the local economy, being one of the main job providers of the island. Some current workers and former kids explain: "If it had not been for Anidan I could not be here now…Anidan has achieved its goal: we are working, we are getting a salary, we are able to provide for ourselves and the families we have". Among these female workers, there is also a feeling of acquired respect that they now receive from society.

Anidan's influence in the village is "crucial" according to the current volunteers - and any common observers. In the moment of the observation Anidan had 102 workers, and 70% of them came from the same village. But besides, Anidan has many providers (the vegetable providers alone amount to fifteen). Recently, due to the crisis, an agreement was necessary to slightly reduce the prices, and there are moments in the year, usually after Ramadan when Anidan receives local donations. But Anidan also touches many other economic sectors: food, textile, tailoring, water, electricity, school material and transport – the latter permanently with Nairobi and Mombasa due to the hospital, transporting oxygen and medicines. Besides, Anidan hires extra workers when they are required to build, repair or clean part of the installations. From the fiscal point of view, the government gets revenue from the taxes of the workers. Anidan pays slightly above the labor wages regulations and workers have social security insurance HIF (National Health Insurance) so that the whole family is covered.

As in other SEs (see AYMY) already in the initial moments, Rafael paid special attention to women in vulnerability situations whom he used to hire, offering them the opportunity to receive some education. Some of these women, at that time divorced or maltreated, are still working in Anidan and, as a current worker explains: "I don't know what they would be doing now without this work". Conversations with some of those women confirm that special attention to vulnerability.

This impact is combined with a quite strict salaries policy for the foreigners, trying to ensure, as in other cases, that most of the money, if not all, reaches the population there. It is another example of extreme efficiency in terms of salaries for the foreigners. Rafael spent eight years without any salary and finally accepted one when realized he needed some health coverage in Spain to be treated for his recurrent malarias. The two permanent volunteers in Anidan receive a 500 euros salary per month. Once again, observation confirms that the way the resources are distributed is a moral question in SEs, being not only a job. Emphasis on creation of opportunities for the locals is very clear.

- *Rafael's accompaniment concept.*

Like other SERs, Rafael considers that his task with the children implies promoting their development in the most fulfilling and comprehensive way, covering whichever areas are required, until they are fully able to sustain themselves on their own. It is a sustainbility for their lives. In Kenya, there are projects in which they support children who are HIV positive, for instance. But the support only lasts until they reach the age of 18, when they have not finished superior education. According to Rafael, if Anidan had offered that kind of support "they would have come anyway due to the level of need" but it would not be morally acceptable anyway. For him "give people fish or teach them to fish is still fully valid". Having this perspective directly implies the questionability of some well-established principles which are further explained.

- *Controlling growth*

In conversations with Rafael Selas and Lucía Lantero, both explained situations in which with certainty they rejected funds from public or private sources for their SEs either by they could not absorb it (AYMY) or it could create serious imbalance and long-term problems in the SE (Anidan). Being Anidan a more mature organization, these types of situations have emerged on more occasions. SERs are confronted with a moral dimension but also with another one related to the correct operation of the SE. As the SER explains,

> …we are in a context in which there are cases and cases waiting to call at your door and you cannot treat [all of them] and it creates a frustration…[so] you want to grow and grow many times is not good. During years I avoided to grow very fast I had a lot of offers even governmental ones and I did not want them because I wanted a gradual growth because I saw that we would break ourselves, I saw that the team was not formed and they did not have the capacity to absorb all that aid…I was offered to found a school with everything

> paid and I said no. I was offered from the government to be helped wherever I wanted and I said no. They wanted to amplify the hospital to the double of what it is now and I said no…

Rafael thoughtfully doubts his rejections were ever understood. What must be clearly stated here is that it is not a question of rigidity from his end. SERs, in general, want to help everyone. It is a question of understanding the implications of growth and being able to assume it in the long run. He continues explaining,

> Society believes that the bigger the better but they do not understand that the quality that you want to give gets lost and you get into trouble that may end up you're your operations …when you grow too fast, the structure that you create is very fragile, they are not the foundations for a future stronger structure, they are unstable foundations because you are building a building too high, very fast and I have been very careful, and that is why we have survived the crisis because [when] the crisis arrived and that easy financing stopped, I would have had to close the project or fundamental parts of the project for the expenses that would have been generated…

In Rafael's mind, there is a great concern for quality, and Anidan could not support a second home. That is where openness strategies with regard to the community make full sense in developing more indirect ways to help. For example, the microcredits are almost sustainable on their own.

For NGOs, the economic incentive is always bigger in building than in maintaining what is created. The construction makes the NGO receive more income whereas running it does not move money. That is probably one of the reasons why many development projects fail, once the incentives disappear. Since the SER is committed to the development of the capacities of a community, the perception changes radically. Besides, in SEs there is no displacement of the running costs to a third party, let's say, the government. They tend to stay in the SE except for not very frequent agreements (let us remember ACOES and the agreement reached with the government to assume the costs of the schools of Tegucigalpa, reducing their budgetary allocation by 30%). This makes an observer explain: "Rafael is a smart and prudent SER. He knows how difficult it is to maintain what is built".

For donors, it can be tempting to fund an SE in terms of image. This can be particularly problematic with public funds due to their easy withdrawal and their

instrumentalization of SEs is a possibility. Politicians can easily leave an SER with the need to find extra money in times of scarcity, to maintain what an outright financing once created. In the meantime, their political career continues in the always higher structures of development in agencies –might be a casualty- which were supported during their administrations. In fact, it is a well-known praxis for insiders that disbursements can include the condition to hire the team of the donor, in the often heard expression “I support you with my people”.

- *Public aid and solid bases*

Like in most cases of the sample, the sustainability of the SE is linked to private aid. In all the selected cases, APLE is the only SE that relies mainly on public funding but, and this is pretty much telling, its donors remained faithful in their commitment even when the development trends changed giving priority to human trafficking. Most of the support received by ANIDAN is private. Rafael Selas explains the difficulty, almost impossibility, due to its one-time nature, to consolidate a basis over time with public funding. Public aid and long-term commitment are most of the time incompatible. With concrete examples, he explains:

> What should I do? Open an AIDS project only for three years? And then shall I close it? And all those people I am giving antiretrovirals to, are worse than if I had not given them to them because they generate resistances. That is a little bit the example for many things…[or] …should I…take a child from the street and then you give it back to the street again? And maybe that child will not be able to fend for himself at the street the way he could [before taking him]…should I take him, should I show him paradise and send him back to the street again?

Some private foundations seem to be following the trend of the public aid in the sense of dividing their support as much as possible in order to achieve erroneously or not, what they consider better publicity. The "technical" and scarcely enlightened argument to justify the lack of permanency is publicly based on the idea of not creating dependency to those organizations in the interest of more sustainability, a recurrent and old argument in the public sector. But the justification of dependency avoidance, in fact, generates, according to Rafael, organizations “which are not solvent either”. He describes this framework:

> …you have to rely on a different organization every year and on a different budget and how do you manage that on the medium and long run, how is that translated [to the organization]? Doing one-time projects [but] never comprehensive projects. You say I am going to build a well…but never a comprehensive project, it is impossible…

In reality, what is described here is a pervasive lack of commitment and realism that affects the public, and according to the data, only part of the private sector. Without the permanent commitment of some private donors, SEs would not exist. There is also a pervasive lack of consideration of what forging a life ahead implies in terms of timely investment. Probably because development itself is disconnected from the ordinary people, because of an absence of its basic human conception. Paraphrasing Father Patricio, those who demand self-sustainability support their own children for several decades until they can fend for themselves and become finally self-sustainable, but do not have the same perspective for those who have nothing on the other side of the world. Calling for a bigger degree of commitment, the SER explains,

> …if you identify a project that you like where they are doing things properly, support it although it is just for a few years instead of wanting to change immediately the project because firstly, you will not get it right in all of them, you will not know them enough to be betting on them. And secondly, you do not do any favor to that organization, maybe you are giving them a money that is taking them to the next step and then, they do not have that money and they have to go down the stair and that, for the people, is often worse that not having won it…A life is very long, you do not need a three-year subvention to help a life.

A certain feeling of inaccessibility with regard to public funding is settled after several years in the hunt for resources; As if, in the end, the macro organizations, i.e. middle organizations, "those who achieve less performance for the money they get" were the ones who usually receive the support: "When you are a monster what do you spend on administration, management, and logistics? How much do you spend on certain departments and what does actually reach the field?" From the end of the public institutions, it would be desirable a better identification of the quality of the projects, that they were better assessed, in a much more exhaustive way, overcoming political considerations, something that could be partly achieved following the logic of the public solicitation [159]for the concession of subventions.

[159]This idea was often commented on by some of the official aid development workers in Senegal. Insufficient direct knowledge from the public donors about what actually happened on the ground was also addressed.

SERs, in general, are confronted with a sense of emergency, which derives from their direct implication with reality. In order to be able to give response, SERs must “try to find implication of all, searching for a solid base” which usually is the sum of many singular people committed for a longer time. Besides, and for mere survival reasons, Rafael advises not to get confused and to use one-time aid as one-time aid avoiding the creation of a structure based on it. The SER considers if they had not followed that rule, “ we would have fallen already, it would not have resisted with the crisis, as it has happened to so many NGOs”. Smaller but long- term commitments create more long-term possibilities for the SE than bigger one-time disbursements. The latter can only cover a “hole” but does not allow for foresight of expenses, does not allow for a life project. For an SER, permanent smaller contributions give him the possibility to establish a link, transmit the project and its evolution and show what can be achieved with the contribution. It gives more room for maneuver where headway can be shown.

A clear sense of loyalty has been experienced by Anidan with regard to the commitment of the private enterprises, which supported the SE and which are still displayed in the web page. According to Rafael, some of them failed during the crisis given they did not generate resources. However, their logo was maintained "because they ha[d] been faithful for many years". Some of them used it in the framework of CSR and others did not, revealing what according to Rafael is a state of infancy, at least in Spain. Rafael considers that the support given to Anidan through CSR can actually be a more appealing incentive for the internal dimension of the enterprise (workers) than for the external ones (clients).

- *Expertise to raise private funds*

Raising funds in the private sphere implies different operations, personal commitment, and a different expertise compared with the procedures for generating the public money. Everything relies much more on credibility and transparency, on trust. Personal implication becomes essential. As a leader of the SE explains, some sponsors may come with their own demands and expectations, bringing their own conditions, which have to be compatible with the statutory regulations in place, for instance. The fact that some of these demands may collide with the current situation of the ground requires clearly explaining the consequences of the proposals, bringing them to a more realistic understanding. As an example, the Kenyan government is quite strict with regard to

NGOs, they being literally “on our back”. When it comes to accountability, all NGOs have to explain the financial returns and the government assesses if they have found something wrong. Transparency is key to continued running. The same happens with the regulations of homes, which are also quite strict. A sponsor may have a very good idea, but in the end, the building of the homes must fit governmental regulations for boarding schools. In the end, sponsors maintain their support, because “when they come, they see what is happening on the ground". It is a matter of transparency of the emancipation processes in place, reporting "each and every progress that you make on the ground”.

The observation coincided with the visit of one Anidan fundraiser in Italy, who explained his task. Gabriel[160] used to come to Lamu as a tourist since he was young, since 1989. He was already involved in helping some families in the district, in spite of his scarce time. In 2008 he first met Rafa through those families he was supporting. Thinking in retrospect he now remembers that more or less consciously: he was searching and eventually found a channel. Rafael was someone who did what he would have liked to do, his dream. They understood each other very well and from the beginning (“it was almost natural”) he got involved in Anidan as a fundraiser. He describes his activity as “putting his face”, giving his credibility in order to raise funds:“…the people who know me do not have any doubt that every euro that I raise arrives directly here…I am not rich, I am not poor, but they know that I do it from my heart”.

Anidan Italy was created in 2011. His fund-raising activities focus on networks of people, mainly relatives and friends (around one-thousand members) through the celebration of events (parties, birthdays, music tours). In practical terms, this type of implication is close to having two jobs. It is a persistent feature confirmed by other active volunteers (from AYMY, for instance) that this type of collaboration implies a big amount of “invisible desk work”. Being that the amount of work is quite significant, Gabriel would like to have a bigger team to shoulder it, but it is not easy to find anyone who can commit so much. In the end, the work is mainly carried out by him and two other volunteers. His commitment also has a deeper implication. Gabriel affirms that Anidan has ramifications in all the areas of his life -family friends and work- like in the case of other volunteers of AYMY, devoted to the same task. It becomes a question of personal and professional

[160]Pseudonym to protect anonymity.

credibility linked to the SE. Ten percent of the amount he raises, comes from his job in a sort of a CSR policy with his clients.

Like in other cases, in spite of assuming and recognizing an unavoidable amount of stress –as in moments in which you do not receive a euro in 15 days- raising the needed amount occasionally "seems a miracle". As in other cases of the sample, Gabriel explains that in those very same moments, “suddenly someone you do not know appears and sends 5.000 or 10.000 euros…”. He actually understands the creation of Anidan Italy in the same, let’s say, providential terms. Since its origins, Anidan had grown a lot and suddenly the crisis in Spain emerged. In that moment, the new network of volunteers in Italy and their activities allowed them to cover the gaps left by the crisis. These experiences make him believe that “if something happened…something [positive] would emerge”. In 2014, the raising capacity of this network amounted to 121.473 euros (Anidan, 2015).

When questioned about his motivations, they seem to be quite close to the ones held by the SERs. It has much to do with giving back, with having recognized all that has been received (altruistic dimension). But there is a clear experience of “meaning” for him as well as for all the people he tries to involve,

> …it is so beautiful that I want to give it as a present to my friends…it is the feeling of satisfaction…I see that all of them [in Europe] are looking for something they do not know exactly what it is…[this] gives them an experience of meaning in Europe. Anidan is not the therapy, it has to be done already at home, otherwise, you lose the direction…but it is an experience of meaning that you share…

There is a clear sense of enrichment as well that goes beyond witnessing a "more simple life" in Lamu. He explains: "…we think in the West we know everything and we have everything and it is not true". This affirmation is related to the unawareness of all the things that economic development has erased and therefore, exchange is required for both sides:"…We can learn from them and they from us". The enrichment process this collaborator has gone through does not have to idealized, “I still ha[ve] internal doubts…but the result of all this effort is here and I am happy for this, [I will] keep on fighting for every euro that is necessary here”.

In practical terms, he clearly values the “direct impact” of the SE in the community, confirming that through the different strategies of openness, “almost every family [in Lamu] is involved with Anidan”.

Gabriel’s involvement has implications for their siblings. His oldest daughter showed an initial degree of jealousy due to the amount of time he devoted and the emotional bond with the SE. But at the same time, she confirms that his father’s life “would not have a life meaning only with his work”. She also recognizes being more aware now, having simply “too much” and being happy with fewer things as well.

- *Sustainability and self-sustainability*

Rafael understands sustainability is a personal way; that is, a person has to be sustainable. The same perspective is noticed in Father Patricio, for instance. For Rafael, "sustainability is a trend…and what may work for certain projects may not work for others, how can you make sustainable a hospital?”

It is very obvious but SEs can feel a certain pressure that does not seem to take very much into account the context. Rafael explains with regard to the pediatric hospital:

> It is very difficult, it depends on where you are. If you are in a place in which there are medium rents you can charge the medium rent and with that, you [can] help the low rent, but [what happens] if you are in a place with only low rents? You are going to charge for the services to [very poor] people which means that they are not going to come. They are not going to bring their children. They will go to the healers who are much cheaper than the medication and that child is going to die. So sustainability is a very relative concept. It can be applied in other projects, for example in a project of water we have provided to a district with water,… and that water is maintained because it is paid by all the neighbors. That is a sustainable project but how do you make sustainable the reception of street children? Do you have to receive children with resources so that they pay for the children without resources? And then, do you have to cover fewer children without resources and spend resources in children who have them? Sustainability is a trap, it is feasible in some cases…You cannot come to the Horn of Africa where people are dying of hunger and say I am going to make the project sustainable, I am going to charge...if you are going to charge they are not going to come…and you will not solve anything, or maybe in the end, you end up helping the rich ones of the place …

For all these considerations, the service provided by Pablo Horstmann hospital is free of charge. The possibility of charging a small amount (so that people valued the

service) was considered and ultimately rejected, since Rafael considers that, "50 cents do not represent anything in terms of budget for the sustainability of the hospital but for them, they represent a lot". With anxiety he reiterates the importance of the context:

> We are in the Horn of Africa where people die of hunger…the hospital is placed where people do not have money to eat…There are places where [charging] cannot be done because the degree of need is brutal…[and also] because you are fighting against ancestral beliefs [i.e., promoting a process of cultural transformation].

Rafael's position is a thoughtful one contrasted with real examples like the Aga Khan [161]hospitals, which have very reasonable prices but still unaffordable for the poorest people. So, in the end, charging can lead to the creation of a cheap service for the richest, and "you are making an enormous effort for people who could pay for the service".

Running a hospital is very expensive and every time they get more complicated cases, so the tendency that needs to be controlled are the expenditures that go over the budget. The situation that arises for the SE is the impossibility of retaining the local health professionals, since their salaries are below the ones paid by the government. Kenyan professionals go to the Pablo Horstmann hospital, a reference hospital, get trained, learn from the Spanish doctors and later go on leave to integrate in the national public system. Anidan strengthes the National Health Service with the people they train and then lose. A similar problem was observed in ACOES. However, could it be a solution for Anidan, that the government assumed the salaries of those nurses and clinical officers, in the same conditions of the public hospitals through some sort of agreement? To what extent can the SE or its supporter demand the same conditions from the government? Demanding sustainability of a hospital in this context can definitely harm its mission. If governments have been relieved of some of their most basic functions due to neoliberal measures, maybe it is time for them to re-assume the former. SEs accelerate social transformations but that process should be gradually accompanied by governments who increasingly recover their roles as guarantors of minimum basic living standards.

On another level, some SE workers are aware of the possibility of achieving the involvement of Kenyan people. Besides, as Rafael explains, the microcredits program is

[161] For more information, see http://www.agakhanhospitals.org

almost sustainable, because there is a percentage of interest charged to the women with which the employees of the microcredits are paid, keeping the wheel working. This is a good example of Rafael's belief: "self-sustainability is an utopia, there are cases in which it is not viable"

- *The commitment to deliver comprehensive attention*

Giving integral attention and education implies the creation of an environment in which several facets of the personality will be addressed, providing whatever is required, to enrich the developmental process, personality development, while observing the needs of the child as well as his possibilities for self-fulfillment, and assuming a long-term commitment which guarantees that full development. But it can also mean that those capacities may have to be rescued, respecting the highest standards possible, since the presence of traumas may hinder their natural expression. Person integration can be observed at the level of the child but also at the community level, trying to embrace the situations of need. As Rafael explains:

> You must try to have a comprehensive vision, do not have to especialize so much. Specialization is a mistake, we should have alliances between NGOs, communication between them, if I cannot get there, can you do it? Not like now, when each one has a perspective, [we should] fight together.

According to him, specialization in contexts of extreme poverty means that many people will not be assisted. And in a brief example, he adds, "If you create a school for the children, then you can help the family [giving] microcredits to the mothers so that they can get ahead and the child as well". His defense of comprehensive attention has caused him problems especially with traditional NGOs, which operate in the framework of the official development system. This proposes the opposit; that is, specialization and ulterior -and theoretical-coordination between NGOs and donors. Suffice it to say, that the same situation with regard to this matter was confronted by the SER Lucía Lantero in Haiti (in a rural context of extreme poverty). Another role model for Rafael such as the SER Vicente Ferrer, has also developed comprehensive approaches.

Rafael tries to maintain a considerable level of quality in the attention he provides. For him, that is a key aspect for the future development of the children. As he explains: "Let's see what happens with the child when he is 24 years old…Mentality does not

change just giving plates of food to the people". In the annual report (Anidan, 2015, p. 16) a list is included with the new 33 graduated students from Anidan with degrees that go from criminologist to chemistry and business administration. Eighteen of those graduated students are women.

In the process of trying to enrich the education of the children and their personal development as much as possible, Anidan has signed collaboration agreements with several organizations [162] to receive football and basketball classes linked to the Real Madrid Foundation; music classes linked to Bloko del Valle or artistic activities linked to the African Arts Trust. Anidan has shown great concern for the psychological health of the children as well. Apart from a psychologist who can provide deep counseling, the SE offers a craft workshop oriented to the self-development of the children and resolution of personal conflicts in a lively and caring atmosphere. In the healthcare area, besides the Pablo Horstmann hospital, Anidan receives the collaboration of Infancias Solidarias, which transports children to Spain to receive medical attention (often surgery) when required.

That comprehensive attention, a precondition of quality, can also be problematic among donors and supporters, who primarily focus on quantitative aspects. Very often Rafael has encountered this situation:

> what matters for the people is the number, they are not thinking if I am taking people out of poverty, they are thinking how many dishes of food am I going to provide; they are not thinking of how should we manage to reduce the mortality of a district, they are just thinking of how many vaccines I am going to put for later on, announcing it. For reducing mortality you need to put vaccines but you also have to do many other things, you cannot stay in the vaccines, [although] they [may be] the most important thing that our hospital does [in terms of mortality reduction].

At the same time, there is a reflection for those private supporters who having sufficient funds just focus on one strategy, with a great waste of funds at the internal level, as if the state of the world had not been fully, if at all, understood.

[162] All of them specified in the paragraph of preliminary information.

8.3.17 Personal risks related to the founding experience

For Rafael, the generation of “psychological damage is daily”, due to the permanent exposure and the impossibility to accept the suffering of the kids:

> …the street children that you are adopting…suffer in an indescribable manner for the traumas they carry and they [share them with you]…[there] are situations you are not used to in your culture and you don't accept [them]…if you had the degree of resignation that they have, it would be much easier but with the intention of change you go, it is very difficult to accept certain situations.

For him, resistance is a question of being able to compensate or rebalance the bad things with the good ones. Although it is not his personal experience, he can perfectly imagine the situations of other SERs who are not able to recover, to recharge from the existence of “totally inhuman situations worthless to the animal kingdom, to the survival of the strongest”. To this forefront position, one must add that the lack of a solidary network forces the SER “to live day by day facing very hard problems”. As a result, it is understandable that "the strength that you had at the beginning eventually runs out”. Thoughtfully, Rafael declares that however meaningful and rewarding “this a very difficult job” and he wonders, “how many people do I know who have resisted 13 years in Africa working in conditions like mine? Very few”.

Another difficulty addressed by the SER is related to the maintenance of lucidity in certain moments. Rafael is not the first SER who describes his environment as schizophrenic (heard on a Sanllorente talk about India in 2012) in the sense in this case of combining joy in certain moments and sadness in others in extreme ways, something which is very hard to assimilate. As in other contexts (see Haiti) some SE members can find it difficult to develop friendships. In the current context, Rafael, who maintains his social skills, is cautious. Lamu is a border district with Somalia where there has been terrorist movement and resistance from the government–although without any attack in the last three years-. This complicates knowing who is who, a fact which explains that caution.

As other SERs, Rafael has also being confronted with the image of hero, something he thinks "dehumanizes". In order to promote the SE, he has "faced the music" having assumed,

> the consequences and [having] hear[d] things about myself that I do not recognize, such as this guy should receive the Nobel prize or he should be put on an altar. I am a normal person who is fulfilling his needs and it happens that those needs coincide with making others happy but they are selfish needs and in the end, the one who is making happy to oneself is me.

Idealizations are “absurd” (Father Patricio used to say, “nonsense”) and according to him, should correspond if at all, to gurus or people with “a different trajectory, with a different degree of lucidity". He is fully aware that the hero images not only sell a lot "for a while", but also correspond to a need of western society to make projections and compensate a widespread sense of dissatisfaction, stress, and anxiety. However, SERs experience those feelings as well, in many occasions in a "multiplied" fashion due to their responsibilities. But they experience them in a context in which the meaning of their lives has grown and become apparent.

From a wider perspective, the idealization of the experiences of the SER tends to happen in a western context of insufficient real knowledge of the reality of the developing countries. This lack of awareness partly due to the existence of barriers to protect the westernized system of values. As Rafael explains,

> …here it seems that we defend ourselves from the third world, we isolate ourselves from it, you just have to see it in the press, we speak about the third world to speak about their tragedies and never to speak about their achievements and at present, there are more achievements than tragedies…

Recovering the memory of the recent past in the West, full of difficulties would be fundamental,

> to respect their situation, where they are and their current degree of development… [understanding that] now Africa is worse than ever, but 40 years ago it was not so bad, and we have to think who are the responsible that Africa is so bad. They are not the Africans.

8.3.18 Religions and experience of transcendence

Not feeling attached or being a follower of any particular religion, he believes in “a transcendental dimension of life or something called destiny", something he finds not easy to explain. Like other secular SERs (confirmed in conversations with Lucía Lantero) he

“lives very closely the figures of Christ, Buddha, or those of other people like Amma in India”[163]. But at the same time, "feeling unable" to participate in an organized religion, he strongly believes in that transcendental dimension and respects it as "an individual aspect that has to be worked at the individual level and each person has to choose what fits in them and works out for them”.

There are reasons to believe that spirituality strengthens those who face permanent exposure. In the personal case of Rafael, the capacity to believe fluctuates according to the moments. But when reconnection happens, it generates in him "a lot of calm, tranquility, an important degree of comfort with myself, it produces me a feeling of security”.

8.4 Final considerations

It is very difficult to describe what Anidan represents in terms of caring attention. This enveloping feature is probably just an expression of the fact that the children are being loved. The whole place transmits that sense of protection, like in a circle of energy that surrounds the SE. For being loved, quality can be comprehended and perceived by the senses, it can be experienced. Anidan has evolved into a place where the children can nest. I realized that subtle dimension through a bond that also emerged between me and one of the children. This is our story. One morning while conducting my observational activities in the nursery I saw a little boy, half slept, resting his head on his small table trying to sleep. His physical appearance was very fragile and he did not pay much attention to my strokes over his head. A few days later, I arrived in Anidan in a moment in which all the small children were dancing together in a short of physical education class. The same little child that I had met a few days earlier was also there, observing without getting involved in the games. He was too weak to enjoy the dances. As soon as, from the distance, he saw my mobile phone while taking pictures, he slyly approached to me, sat on my legs, started wearing my sunglasses and our friendship was sealed. Zubedi died two months after I left Lamu but he showed me the exquisite delicacy in which vulnerability can be treated and protected. From the very beginning, although his character was very harsh

[163]For more information, see http://amma.org

– impenetrable, like thick cold glass - he was very beloved by all the workers who shared an evident degree of concern towards him.

Unlike the other HIV + children, and in spite of having spent several months in Anidan, his situation did not improve in the definitive way it does once antiretrovirals are permanently provided and the illnesses associated with the virus disappear. Recoveries in HIV+ children are simply amazing. Zubedi loved fish, and whenever hungry, special juices were made for him, since he always had *njaa* (hunger in Swahili). In Anidan he had a loving caregiver to look after him during all his waking hours- during sleeping time, he was at the hospital-. Due to the infection, and in spite of being already five years old, he had no teeth, and his caregiver had to feed him very slowly, with infinite patience, employing several hours in the task. Feeding him required almost the same amount of dedication that newborn babies do. Spontaneous songs and dances were used to accompany the food to cheer him up since he used to be very sad.

No context can be observed without unintentionally transforming it. But in this case, it was probably me who was most affected.Zubedi confronted me with my eternally postponed maternity feelings while a couple of workers of the organization cautiously observed our relationship in the legitimate fear that it could affect him negatively or it was just a question of facebook popularity. Their reactions, also gave me a perception of their healthy sense of ownership, something even today I can only respect. That is exactly the point where every SE should get. Being by that point in Canada they communicated to me that his situation did not improve. A week before leaving Lamu, he was taken to the hospital in Mombasa to have some tests done with his caregiver, whom he called *baba* (daddy). I remember that moment in the previous evening because it was the first time he slightly smiled at me and almost let loose when I lifted him up while playing with him. After his return from Mombasa, he was not the same. He was weaker.

The last time I saw him, when I left him on his little bed at the hospital, he did not react, with the implacability of those trained to survive. I almost felt, he did not care. When in Anidan they saw that his health deteriorated, they brought his father who lived on a distance island and who stayed in Anidan for several days giving him the attention previously he could not. The days before he died, local workers and former kids told me

they had gone to pray for him, in their respective rites in an expression of the sense of family that Anidan represents.



One afternoon with Zubedi in Anidan.



Some Anidan children.


Lunchtime in Anidan.



A mother waits to see the doctor with her baby at the Pablo Horstmann hospital in Anidan.



Image of an outreach –medical visit- carried out by Anidan in remote areas.



After-school activities in Anidan.



One of the Anidan classes for the smaller children



Learning at school.



Receiving medical assistance at the hospital.

En el fondo no estamos tratando de cambiar las cosas, estamos queriendo florecer.

CinWololo-canciones ilustradas, Facebook page.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

- *Discussion of results*

The goals of this thesis are to increase the understanding of SE from an anthropological point of view giving priority to data over other more conceptualized frameworks. This research could not have been carried out without having spent time in the field, even time before the thesis itself began when the informal exploration activities started. Those informal explorations mainly in India 2003 and 2011 gave the indications of what later on would emerge as research questions and goals of the thesis. Those goals, first of all, focus on an approximation of the subjective processes the SERs go through paying special attention to their motivations. Second, considerable observation was made on the way the SEs worked, trying to establish common categories and features among SEs that originally shared a common aim, which was childcare and protection in developing countries. Finally, observation of reality has offered clues, and guidelines with regard to the existence of risks, factors which seem to increase them and a need to reflect on why the religious SERs observed seem to resist better in the long run. All these aspects will be covered in the following paragraphs. An exploration like the one that has been carried out is very rich, and provides a lot of information which hopefully will be addressed in future papers. However, the following discussion of results aims to indicate the main lines and concepts and key findings which validate the emerging theory.

- *Preliminary considerations*

From a theoretical perspective, the aim of this thesis was to offer new data, new insights which following the process of concatenation could contribute to the theoretical framework of the SLP from the perspective of the social entrepreneurship in developing countries. From the perspective of content, this research aimed to contribute to a deeper anthropological understanding of the reality of the SERs and SEs in developing countries through empirical data, trying to overcome one of the existing limitations of the scientific literature, which is the prevalence of conceptual studies over empirical ones (Dacin el al, 2010, 2011, cited in Mauksch, 2016). Therefore, the data contribute to the SLP and to the field of development, and more precisely, being detached from official considerations, to the debate of the ideas that Easterly (2013) and Wright (2012) present.

Before entering the discussion of results, it is appropriate to distinguish clearly three typologies among the studied cases. There is a first group formed by the SEs AYMY, Anidan and ACOES, which seem to share more evident traits and operations in spite of the different moments in which they find themselves, and in spite of the religious character of ACOES. All of them have houses which provide shelter to beneficiaries. The wide range of ages served by ACOES differentiates it in this respect from the other cases. A second group would be formed by APLE. Being a clearly successful SE, the fact of focusing on a strategy and not having a home for children implies some peculiarities and operational differences which are worth observing. And finally, Ali S.K., qualified by its founder as a dying SE also seems to offer some special insights and issues.

Starting at the beginning, it is convenient to remember that SE is not a new phenomenon, although its recent interest is. Its origins are rooted in human history about which we do not know. Essentially, SEs seems to be rooted in the promotion of moral awareness. An advance generally started by a single individual who using different means, among them a strong sense of advocacy, was able to transform that individual advance into a collective one. It should be pointed out that concepts that seem today inextricably linked to the concept of SE, such as NGO, are very new. The dynamism in the capacity to make progress in terms of conscience is what should remain as clearly defining of this ancient phenomenon. The SLP can help explain its increasing interest. The crisis of the welfare state, addressed in Chapter Two also offers insight into that increasing interest.

- *Towards the construction of a profile*

SLP allows understanding the present state of aspirations of many people to fulfill their own potential, something the selected SERs do in connection with the others they serve. As Rafael Selas explained in Chapter Eight, an SER is connected according to his own experience to a process of self-transformation, self-development, and growth. A growth intimately linked to others, in a short period of interconnectivity which amplifies the traditional boundaries of social responsibility and launches the SER toward a strong commitment (Garcés, 2013) in the form of a life option. It is not strange that the experience of founding, seems to have a transcendental or spiritual dimension, which does not impede the secular nature of the SE. This transcendental dimension which can cause awe and idealizations in western environments which are in a state of "spiritual anemy" (Torralba, 2010, p. 18) is based on the assumption of a risk for the love of others (Torres,

2016). That transcendentalism is free from religious manifestations with the exception of ACOES, is related to what Torres (2016) calls the horizontal mystique, which recognizes the value of dignity in everything. This mystique dimension, part of the founding experience, seems deeply transformative. To a certain extent, part of the founding experience seems to be given, without being possible to cause from anyone willing to become an SER. The SER seems to go through it regardless if he or she manifests it. The transmission that some SERs do with their experiences (Sanllorente, 2009), and which at a personal level can represent a reward, works as a lightning rod for some listeners who feel awe at the time the idealizations (he is a saint) start, giving birth to imbalances in the perception of the reality of the SER, including his or her subjective state. It is important to take into account, as observed in the Chapter One, that the understanding of that spiritual dimension is commensurate with Gardner's approach, as a primary form of intelligence, and therefore, as a feature inherently human. Besides, following Torres (2016), that horizontal mystique SERs seem to go through, does not have anything to do with the perfection in the biography or the pursuit of dogmas. That is why it is so interesting that such strong commitment or life option is increasingly coming from people originally detached from orthodox structures who have had many types of multi-colored life experiences (extreme life in the wilds of Canada or freelancing for Televisa) which ultimately seem to enrich the capacities of the SER, being of use in the enterprise, showing a coherence (Drayton, 2007) that can be observed at the very end. Coherence is a big issue for SE and for SERs, as is trust. Another big issue is the emotional and affective world of the SER. As Father Patricio would put it, the capacity to love in a healthy way is an aspect which seems to have long-term implications for the SER, being able to compromise the SE's sustainability in some cases. This issue will be later addressed with regard to the risks, but just to give an idea, it can be affirmed for SERs, religious or not, that their capacity to love unconditionally, is going to be tested on several occasions; And the capacity to overcome those tests, to love unconditionally, is going to be related to the sustainability of the SE.

Going deeper into this aspect, religious and secular SERs consistently manifest the fact of having felt very loved during childhood, with a considerable amount of affective security. That was one of the main facts that Lucía Lantero underlined in the talks she gave to promote AYMY. That affective security is accompanied by traits of leadership in childhood too. In some cases, there were already founding experiences in the youth (Lucía

Lantero and her involvement in Slow Food), which seem to provide the internal security that the SE created in a more complex environment will work. There are particular circumstances in the historical context of Father Patricio, born during the Spanish dictatorship of Franco, a period in which leadership was not promoted. However, those who knew him during his youth could detect those leadership skills, which in certain moments, became apparent. Other personality traits which seem to appear are a strong sense of empathy, generosity, willingness to help, in essence, a strong sense of altruism since childhood. The possibility of inheriting those features seems to be already in place, although it is still soon to say how they will evolve in the case of the children of the SERs. However, that social sensitivity can be quite extreme since the early years, as the case of Rafael Selas (Chapter Eight) shows. It is not rare that they recognize a totally coherent line between that aspiration to help as children and what they do right now.

The SERs observed tend to fund their SEs early in their lives, in their twenties or thirties, a moment in which their lives have not been defined yet. There are no familiar burdens, and there is a considerable degree of freedom as well as the physical resistance required for launching the SE. In that sense they confirm Prabhu's (1999) perceptions. As can be observed in the sample, the person who started the SE later in time (APLE) was Thierry Dardaunet, for whom it was already the third SE promoted throughout his life and who soon transferred it to the local team. In some cases, SERs seem to be immersed in a process of exploration in an attempt to discover or understand the world by themselves (see Ali S.K. and AYMY cases). Those aspects can be very significant according to Easterly (2013) and Wright (2012), in the contribution to the necessary debate of the ideas of development that needs to be done. In most of the cases, the destination of the SE seems to be the result of a matter of circumstances –attending to a training and volunteering experience in the case of AYMY- and even casual leisure in the case of Rafael Selas, who was invited to a wedding in Lamu. Even in the case of ACOES, in which its destination can be more directly observed, the final destination was a matter of adaptation to circumstances, both political and practical (being able to speak the language of the country). SEs do not seem to found where they want to. Reality leads them.

While doing this research, some people tended to ask if this new intense generation of secular SERs always came from higher economic classes as if those who interrogated felt excluded. As a matter of fact, some of them do. Founding an SE at least

in the cases observed implies investing one's money and mobilizing one's resources mainly due to the situations of emergency the SERs get involved with. In general terms, secular SERs often come from accommodated situations in which they have received much. Close to this perception of their own lives, altruism is present in the form of a deep questioning of the meaning of that which has been received, as if keeping it just for themselves, did not make much sense in the end. This will ultimately lead to question the traditional sphere of social responsibility, a sphere SERs, in general, do not identify with (my work, my family, my house) for finding it too limited and without clear direction. For Rafael Selas and most of the SERs of the sample, being a citizen implies recognizing that higher degree of interrelation and responsibility towards the others who are not originally family. It is interesting to observe how the fact of having had other options in their lives, not needing to create an NGO to make a living, as Lucía Lantero once explained- seemed to provide them credibility to launch the SE and raise funds. Whereas traditionally missionaries used to benefit from that credibility from the initial moments due to their consecrated life option, the fact of coming from well-established social sectors seems to work as a source of credibility in the West. In fact, it is not rare that in the initial moments the money is directly transferred by the private donors in most of the cases, to their personal accounts. Besides, it is a source of tranquility since it is not rare that some members of the families also get economically involved and it is not a big issue to ask for a certain amount of money in a certain moment of necessity.

In most of the cases observed, SERs frequently have had a very good education with opportunities for exposure. Socially they tend to be quite skilled –some of them are authentic social animals- in some cases with an important amount of charisma. Beyond the economic dimension, those social skills and the fact of being very intelligent people, the kind of person people like to be close to, seem key in the capacity to create the network of supporters –social movement, as McLeod Grant & Crutchfiled (2007, p. 37) explain- that ultimately will sustain the SE. If in fact there is an increasing tendency from accommodated classes to become more directly involved in this type of entrepreneurship it is something that time will reveal, but no money can substitute for the social and intellectual skills required for launching an SE.

- *How it all begins: the significance of the subjective processes in place*

Paraphrasing Father Ramón (see Chapter Seven) there is still much mystery in the way SEs emerge, in the way things happen as if the coherence of the events could only be assessed in retrospect. The SEs observed, with the exception of Ali S.K. due to the constraints, tend to develop a long-term commitment to a particular community. Ali S.K. has only been able to do it, with a concrete group of people, the beneficiaries. The strategy approach held by APLE also implies peculiarities in this regard. However, in general terms, APLE included, SERs tend to go through a transformative experience which leads them to discover a situation of extreme suffering through the encounter with some people, usually children. A reality the SER cannot help feeling responsible for. Notice that in some cases those who show that reality in which the dignity of the person and its inherent value are not respected, are not the main beneficiaries of the action of the SE (see AYMY or APLE and the experience of Seila Seamlang). According to Jasper (1998, cited in Miller et al 2012, p. 623, 624) what these SERs precisely seem to experience are “moral shocks”. “Moral shocks” which generate a deep questioning of the previously assumed truths (the way they thought the world was like), and do not only happen to foreign SERs, but also to local ones, as Seila Seamlang explained, in the discovery of the reality of CSA -child sexual abuse- and child vulnerability- within the boundaries of his own country.

As explained in the article by Miller et al (2012) the founding of any SE cannot be understood without the presence of compassion. The observations of this research confirm that line. Besides, compassion creates a mindset that according to this observation manifests itself in the operations of the SE, having a very significant manifestation of the attitude of openness towards the surrounding reality of the SE. Compassion seems to favor a more integrative way of thinking (De Dreu, 1999, cited in Miller et al, 2012) with a more comprehensive perspective of reality, to recognize and integrate different perspectives which will allow creating “broad and creative associations” (Polman & Emich, 2011, cited in Miller et al, p. 623). That is, it seems to lead the SER to focus on the recognition of the whole reality as well as on the development of strategies to embrace and boost the community. That distinctive feature of SERs seems to be evident from the very beginning.

“Moral shocks" in the realm of compassion seem to lead to states of indignation, alarm and to the need to go the “extra mile” (Jasper 1998, cited in Miller et al, 2012, p. 623, 624). The need to go the “extra mile”, does not matter what, forgetting even their own needs (health

included), seems to be rooted in this emotional dimension. These experiences are deeply transformative. The whole person is placed at the service of the reality discovered, in some cases more gradually, in others more immediately (see AYMY and Anidan respectively). Compassion reveals much more than purely objective language (Ekman, 1993;Gould, 2004, cited in Miller, et al 2012). It is essential for foreign SERs in unknown cultural contexts. Compassion is responsible for the creation of distress in the SER and the need to make those he is increasingly involved with feel fine so that he or she can feel fine as well (Miller et al, 2012). It promotes the creation of non-familial bonds and cooperative norms (Goetz et al., 2010; Nussbaum, 1996, 2001, cited in Miller et al., 2012, p. 622). It also helps recognize advantages in favor of the commitment and guilt (Elster, 1998, cited in Miller et al, 2012) if that responsibility is rejected, assuming risk naturally as part of the cost (Wu & Knott, 2006, cited in Miller et al., 2012,).

But above all, it is very relevant to notice the presence of the emotional bond which emerges and which places the creation of the SE not only in the entrepreneurial sphere but also in the affective one. Love, and the capacity to love wisely is present from the initial moments. As Lucía Lantero expressed in some occasions with regard to what she was doing, it was only intuition or, it was only love. Another important feature is that it does not seem to matter the smallness of the initial action assumed by the SER through compassion, compared with the existing surrounding problems, for example when Lucía Lantero decided to stay in Haiti since she knew that as a result of that decision, a child would not be abused anymore. In fact, what seems to be in place is the assumption of the "do your part" leitmotif which has broader consequences. Big SEs frequently start with very smalls things.

Compassion seems to be the strength which launches the SERs in the initial moments, which prepares the field where the emotional bond grows and which sets a mental and later on, an operational framework with openness to the reality of the community- instead of establishing fragmented approaches more specific of the ODA-. But what seems to sustain the fight of the SE and the SER in the long run, is the achievement of acceptable levels of dignity (truly meaningful assistance, in the words of Durieux, 2011). As Father Patricio explained, “we are making progress in people’s dignity” a driving force also present in the APLE case, with their strategy against CSA. Raising that dignity will

influence the methodologies of the SEs, maintaining long-term commitment or doing whatever is required to promote and sustain cultural changes.

That dignity has much to do with the stress on providing a very comprehensive education in the four cases in which the SEs have a home and develop an educative role. It also explains the obsession for quality in the case of Anidan. In the case of APLE, that dignity seems to sustain all the areas in which the SE works: investigating, providing legal support and educating in prevention. The social protection, although provided with high-quality standards, suffers from structural weaknesses in Cambodia addressed in Appendix II. Dignity is always present, and touching it seems a precondition of personal transformation, a precondition of change. That is why in the title of this thesis, dignity precedes the word change. Stressing dignity is complex. In practical terms, it implies working with the people and not for the people and promoting processes of cultural transformation gradually overcoming habits, tensions and mental settings that jeopardize that dignity and which by definition, require a long time. The horizontal mystique above explained is characterized by recognizing the value of dignity in everything. The fight to elevate those levels of dignity coexists with the emotional bond. It is not rare that beneficiaries, through their relationship with the SER, have experienced the feeling of being valuable. This can underscore for some beneficiariesthe importance of emotional bonds with the person of the SER. Unlike in the other SEs, in APLE the emotional bond does not imply an educative or parental dimension. Whereas in the rest of the cases, that dimension is present, is very demanding and can be a source of great joy but also tension, in the sense of providing long-term education and educating the children properly, as if they were their own children. However, in APLE the emotional bond is clearly present and is manifested in the exaggerated feeling of responsibility over the children potentially in danger, exemplified by doing extra hours. On the other hand, particularly the investigators, are only parents once.

In the sense of the career that SERs develop, it is significant that the prevalent lack of formal skills to address childhood issues, leads to their own childhood as the main source of inspiration and references. Again, this feature is more significant in the four SEs with a home and less in APLE, although their workers seem to be guided in their work by compassion and a notorious lack of stigmatization with regard to CSA. Intrapersonal intelligence seems very important and especially in listening to the own intuitions. That

intuition seems connected to listening to one's conscience, that to what the SER feels obliged to and the potentiality he or she perceives in his or her apparently irrational aspirations. Intuition seems to help them overcome the limitations imposed by an exclusively rational reading of their decision. It also seems to be related to the reading and understanding of the reactions of the communities and also to the prevention of risks. This issue is very relevant in Chapter Five according to the SER Wolfgang Müller, in the detection of the threats he felt around him and which were later confirmed. For other SERs like Rafael Selas, intuition is also connected to the selection processes of human resources. My personal experience when establishing first contact with the SERs involved in this study was that, more than once, they tried to arrange a personal encounter in which they could intuitively assess me as a researcher with enough capacity to understand their world, being flexible and besides, perceive my motivations. Another significant tool is their willingness to learn and increase their social insight. SERs tend to show a consistent capacity to investigate, to explore and get to know the social reality at the same time the emotional bond is maintained, they give responses to the extent they can and reorganize situations to provide solutions. Exploration is not limited to the closest villages, a fact that can have negative implications for the health if maintained for long periods of time. Foreign SERs behave in the initial moments as anthropologists. The case of Rafael Selas is eye opening in this regard. That initial community involvement is experienced by communities very used to detecting disaffection and enables them to gather pieces of evidence in the assessment processes they –the communities- always seem to undertake in informal ways. Processes of assessment happen naturally, in the fluid interaction with the community and are based on very concrete aspects, which tend to verify whether the implication of the SER is real or not. A nun called Paz García, who had been a missionary all her life and who collaborated with this research explained: "poor people have an extraordinary sensitivity to detect if you really care, or not". In those processes to learn, to read and to understand reality, the appearance of certain people, key local informants, and supporters who identify themselves with the aim of the SE and primarily with the intentions of the SER are essential. They can also provide a sense of protection towards them helping them to read the invisible connections between the constraints and the status-quo, that is, who is who, how and why.

The intense process of socialization some SERs go through seems essential to being accepted by the society and perceived as one of them, as someone who is by their

side, aligned with the same interests and needs. At this point of the research, it is not fully clear if the founding experience had an intimate transcendental dimension for Wolfgang Müller. But, what observation seems to indicate and the social reality of Kolkata gives validating indications of it, is that probably the level of involvement they could have in that very impermeable urban context was not as deep as the one Lucía Lantero and Rafael Selas could have in their respective rural settings. With regard to Father Patricio, as he explains, there was from the very beginning a predisposition of the community to approach him in his role of a priest and the transmission of information and generation of trust seemed to have happened in a very natural way. On the particular conditions Wolfgang Müller and the resistance towards change in the Kolkatan society, let us remember he could not even as a foreigner rent a flat. This made him too dependent on a group of locals without having had the opportunity to develop an intense selection process in which the interests of those who approached the SERs became apparent. The APLE case shows how previous experience as a founder does not automatically exclude the risks of having negative people approaching the SE. The case of H.V (see paragraph 6.2.8) illustrates that possibility. The advantage for APLE in that situation was that he was only involved in the initial moments of the SER (Thierry Dardaunet had transferred him the SE). Besides, the moment in which the CSA accusations emerged, APLE was already a consolidated local team with a strong leadership who reacted quickly and proactively with extreme transparency in the fulfillment of their mission. They approached the case as an ordinary one, but took preventive and intelligent measures to avoid mismanagement accusations. However, those betrayals to the SERs and the SEs are always a possibility. Therefore the development of intra- and interpersonal intelligence will never be sufficiently realized.

In more open rural contexts, the assessment that the community makes about the SERs happen naturally, daily and it is easier to establish a bidirectional relationship of evaluation, whereas in the urban ones it is more difficult even to be perceived. It does not matter how good the work of the SER might be. It is in those extreme instances of involvement in which the assimilation processes by the community seems to start. The SERs then are confronted with the duality of observing the cruelty of the surviving rules as well as the potentiality of those who want to strive and keep the capacity to move forward revealing for the SER a life of meaning. It is in those moments in which SERs apart from developing very significant relationships, start to live more like they do, understanding deeply their situations and challenges, developing thus a very intimate closeness which

cannot be achieved any other way. SERs are also emotional anthropologists. The assimilation from the end of the SER seems to be always incomplete. It is more related to the way the community lives than to their beliefs. As Rafael Selas, considered a Swahili by the Lamu community explains, it is not so easy to break with the origins. Besides, those origins are a valuable source of inspiration to create more fair situations in their lives, as part of the cultural exchange that takes place. In those commitments that gradually emerge, the SER puts his and her honorability in place, with the local people as well as with those willing to support. It is important not to lose sight of that the fact that the assimilation is not complete can have serious consequences for SERs who after a considerable amount of time, may feel uprooted, without belonging to anywhere, especially in the cases in which the SE did not go as expected or when on the contrary, the SERs are successful and the SER is not required by the SE anymore. Incomplete assimilation is also referred to the fact that the locals are always closer to the border, their situations are generally always harder and often have more information as well as more tools (resilience to face constraints). For the SER, the intense learning process from which a sign is the assimilation by the community is key for being able to take future decisions related to the operations of the SE, without needing to be present. As the Spanish volunteers explained with regard to Rafael Selas, he knows what to ask.

In the career of the SERs and in the SEs themselves, a strong sense of altruism as well as efficiency appear from the very beginning as crosscutting issues. Most of the SERs are serious leisure volunteers. In the case of Anidan, the family of Rafael Selas has developed that role as well. Some SERs evolve into devotee workers, a situation which in general terms helps them to sustain themselves but remaining underpaid. For SERs in general, there is a crystal glass and no way to promotion. Their careers do not have the incentive that jobs do. Their incentives, come in the form of personal rewards derived from the founding experience. Salary is a moral issue. Giving yourself a salary means that part of that money achieved with effort from private sources, will not be received by those who need it more. That is another practical dimension of the servant leadership SERs practice. Besides, in some cases, there are agreements with the private donor, who also wants the money to go directly to the project. The fact of remaining underpaid means that in some cases, the families around the SER can be essential to help him or her support the economic burdens. Sometimes families may have to build a strategy to protect their own resources at the same time they also get involved and assume part of the costs: SEs in a

developing country can be a black hole in the space. Some SERs carry out other activities which allow them not to touch the money that goes directly to the SE. Wolfgang Müller –with a small online travel agency and Lucía Lantero –with a restaurant- are examples of that. Another dimension of this policy with regard to salaries is the effect it may have on the community. As Lucía Lantero once explained, If AYMY had worked in a traditional way without the economic involvement of the members, it would have not been so accepted by the community. Investing their own money is undoubtedly a source of legitimization.

With regard to the permanent volunteers of the SEs, some of them tend to be quasi-volunteers in the sense that they receive an amount which compensates their commitments, generally remaining underpaid, showing the altruism of their choice. The volunteer of the school of AYMY clearly expressed the reason to stay based on the wish to make the school sustainable in the sense of continuing promoting the *cultural changes* so far achieved which still were not solid. With the exception of Ali S.K., this type of quasi-volunteer is found in all SEs, although its quantitative prevalence in ACOES is highly remarkable, being the engine of the SE.

What stands out in the observation of the volunteering phenomenon in the SEs is the high skill they can develop and the high responsibility they can get to manage, possessing thus an important amount of experiential knowledge. Two different dimensions stand out in the observation. In the West, the volunteers of an SE often develop high skills and deep commitment to raise funds, develop networks and carry out public relationships activities. Their implication in the SE is crosscutting; that is, they also "put their face" to raise money and represent the SE. Those volunteers devoted to raising funds are pure volunteers and not quasi-volunteers. With regard to the volunteers of the field, especially those who are permanently there, they can become highly valuable and reliable, with an expertise very close to the skills of the SER, and perceived with a very high degree of legitimacy by the communities. They also establish strong emotional bonds and provide references to the children and the communities with considerable levels of involvement. Such cases can be observed in AYMY and Anidan. The idea is that they are able to sustain the action of the SER when he or she is not in the field, so the level of involvement has to be similar. A career SE volunteer must be as reliable as the SER, being able to manage cultural difficulties as well as providing a sense of stability. There must be as well a strong coherence with the core, the mission and the work styles of the SE. Otherwise, it

does not work. Altruism, flexibility, maturity and high experiential knowledge are key for this type of volunteer.

Accepting volunteers can be a controversial issue since they can also create a lot of problematic situations. SERs tend to be quite intuitive when accepting them, if they have the chance to evaluate them. A sense of protecting their children is always present. Most long-term volunteers underlined the need to be humble and willing to learn so that the adaptation can work. The missionary Paz García explained: see, hear and remain silent until reality has been adequately read.

- *The rewards of the founding experience*

Many of the rewards that SERs seem to experience are apparently connected to the transformative experience of the initial moments. In spite of the difficulties an intimate sense of reward seems to emerge which in some cases, can extend to the own families of the SER. Lucía Lantero clearly spoke of the reward derived from seeing the children grow and evolve, seeing they are ok. A deep cultural enrichment also takes place, due to the profound involvement with the community, the exchange and the capacity to understand them with increased accuracy. It is the type of involvement which erases the borders between us and them. A more simple life while in the field is often embraced. Rafael Selas also spoke of more autheticity –a more sincere life- and more simplicity, in spite of the complexities derived from the founding experience in concrete terms, especially to combine them with the lifestyles of the West. Altruism seems a reward in itself which makes the SERs happier in the sense of fulfillment. The fact of developing a task that you love, (as devotee workers) is also underlined as a conquest. They affirm to have gained more freedom and definitely, more meaning. In the cases in which the spiritual dimension has been a clear source of support, seeing the SE grow, evolve and resist, probably provides a considerable amount of spiritual confidence and trust. The social world grows and the meaningful relationships in it do too. As a researcher, I have experienced those effects too, which makes me perceive the autenticity of what the SERs relate. According to the particular circumstances of the volunteer--maturity, permeability and commitment--those effects can also be detected in some of them. As a volunteer of AYMY explains with the way of life he embraced, “this is to live”.

- *Leadership and SE*

Most of the SERs of the sample are servant leaders, an aspect clearly underlined in the religious SE ACOES, which can be observed in the rest as well. The feature that highlights SEs that work, is the capacity to delegate, to live power in a more altruistic and horizontal form; that is, to create links aligned with the social transformation. Decentralization of power has very much to do with the recognition of value, of the dignity, with the do-your-part culture. And generally, it is followed by training. The collective dimension of SEs argued by Montgomery et al (2012) was witnessed from the initial moments of the observation. Neither the impact of APLE with their informants nor of ACOES, with their "army of volunteers" nor Anidan with the caregivers who were once Anidan children can be understood without activation and training of those who become committed to change. That is the main form of innovation these SEs create. As one leader of ACOES explained, if you want to help someone, make him useful. In conversations with Lucía Lantero, it can be observed how she aims to train the children of the home as well so that they can get involved with the community. Only in Ali S.K., that possibility has not taken place, having to give priority to the protection of the children due to the long-term constraints.

The fact of having a low level of formal education does not deter at all the realization of very significant contributions when following their own conscience. Those who collaborate with the SE, also assess it in different ways in an expression of their own leadership. The personal experiences of meaning are a clear reward for their freely chosen commitment. The assumption of responsibility the link makes does not guarantee concrete results, although it can have much better results than expected. It is an exercise of docility to one's own conscience linked to the generation of new and better opportunities for others.

Delegation of power on its horizontal dimension is also related to the overcome of crisis and difficulties. In the chapter devoted to AYMY, an extreme situation of crisis suffered by the SE and all its members is described, which undoubtedly affected the children. In the case, it can be observed that Lucía's role was essential to represent the SE in front of the national authorities of Haiti and to activate institutional connections. Having said this, the general overcome of the situation could not have been achieved without the presence of the volunteers who also supported the SE. Political contacts and embassies

reveal essential actors, with the capacity to unblock situations, provide support and even protection, situations which can be seen in AYMY, ACOES, and Anidan. They are also key to open bridges of collaboration in APLE, for instance. But another key dimension is held by those in the field who are in tune with the mission of the SE, often involved in SEs themselves. They can offer the support required to give stability to the SE in those critical moments, who are also willing to make decisions with a strong altruistic dimension and can help to read more accurately due to their experience with the complexities of the crisis. The Buddhist nun who provided a place where AYMY's children could stay was essential for that matter. The contributions made by these informed links are real and concrete. Situations of crisis reveal a dependency on the locals. In the case of ACOES, if the presence of *maras* would complicate ACOES's work, the solution would require the intervention of the locals, something Father Patricio considers the only solution, something which has already happened. Rafael Selas in Kenya works in the same type of situation in which the locals help overcome situations of risks and Wolfgang Müller too. The response of APLE in face of the situation generated by H.V accused of CSA was a purely local response.

For SEs, the empowerment of each link and the altruistic dimension of their motivations is essential to fulfilling the SE's mission. Servant leadership of SEs has an evident collective dimension, with a considerable potentiality to achieve impact. The potentiality and the impact of the group, coexist with the strong leadership and character most SERs have.

- *How these organizations work*

In this analysis again the three main groups formed by the five SEs emerge due to significant differences. Ali S.K. due to its dying state does not actually include considerations about its operations in the chapter. APLE forms another category due to its very specific way to operate mainly focused on a strategy. Finally, more common traits can be observed in ACOES, AYMY, and Anidan. In general terms, the SEs of the last group represent a return to simplicity, in which innovation seems a quite relative concept more related to the reorganization of the pre-existing capacities and their improvement through training. Another aspect which stands out and must be taken into account before going any deeper is the strong sense of identity all five SEs have and how, in the end, the four which have a home (AYMY, Anidan, ACOES and Ali S.K.) try to develop a sense of family

within their borders. Their strong sense of does not fit with academic concepts such as SE which seem quite strange or artificial to them. Researchers should take this factor into account understanding which aspects essential to the SERs might be covered by academic terminology, since there might be important information underneath those reactions. Finally, it is important to notice how the altruistic motivation modulates the way the organization works, putting the transformation or service to the person in a more central position, a fact with long-term implications.

All the SEs of the sample assume a long-term commitment which eventually will lead to cultural transformations within their communities and countries - an aspect clearly observed in APLE as well - and hopefully the economic boost of the communities (see Anidan strategy on micro-credits, a route that will be probably followed by AYMY as well). There is a strong reliance on local teams who are the ones who receive the main economic resources, as well as the children. Without a strong local team and a local director, the effectiveness of APLE would have also been clearly jeopardized. To form those local teams, SERs spend a very significant period of time training them for the task and the future assumption of increased responsibilities. Unlike traditional NGOs who work with local organizations, called counterparts, which are already created and which can be more or less frankly committed to the promotion of development- the situation in Haiti seems quite worrying according to the data. The SERs create those counterparts originally in the field, establishing other supporting organizations in the West usually with the same name, with the aim to raise funds. In that sense, the power relationships established are more under control from the end of the SER and the brain of the organization is more centered in the field. This last aspect is also reinforced due to the fact that the local human resources in the field go through an intense selection process. The fact of welcoming local volunteers in the initial moments of the SE gives clues about the motivations and willingness of those who want to contribute to the aims of the SE, sharing common motivations. Ali S.K. seems the only SE which could not succeed at that screening, with very negative long-term implications.

SERs systematically reject the adoption of neutral positions which in most of the cases they do not believe in. Development demands positive, concrete and proactive involvement. In the case of ACOES, it is explained how often the still weak rights of the poor can be menaced, often by the closest ones, and how it is important to defend them.

Advocacy can also have a place and a meaning in daily life, not only at the institutional level. APLE has assumed very clear positions with regard to CSA. The adoption of neutral positions seems purely incompatible with the promotion of development, dignity, and change in the cases observed, and presumably in SERs in general. This does not deter SERs from acting with considerable amounts of intelligence and craftiness so that the SE can survive.

The SEs observed also include in their simplicity, the value of staying or being there, of remaining with those who need it. Religious SERs often speak about accompanying the people or a concrete community, standing actively by their side. Rafael Selas uses the same concept: accompany the children and the people until they are able to fend for themselves. A trait of unconditionally is also present there. The value of staying can be more easily observed in the SEs which have homes and apparently thus not so much in APLE. However, interviews in depth with the team of that SE and especially with the investigators revealed the fact of not abandoning certain investigations or cases which were not active even for years, devoting a concrete amount of time per week, something the national police could not do. This commitment to remain has had significant results in the lives of several children. The decision to stay remains even in the case of a dying SE, as a value on its own, simply because the other possibility would not be a decent one, for Wolfgang Müller. Being unconditional demands even reaching that point. SEs with homes are the ones in which accompaniment is more intense, including a parental and educative role.

However, SEs accompany communities and people in different degrees. Their peculiarity is that they become cells of the living contexts in which they are embedded. The religious woman Paz García considered the task of accompanying the people as a priority, denying the assumption of neutrality since every culture has negative features which harm dignity, against which it is necessary to assume a position. As she explained, the role of accompanying the people pushed them into “discovering other values, [something which] helped them for the rest of their lives”. In the last interview she gave for this research before passing away, she explained:

> The most important thing is to be with them, [it is important] that they feel confident and perceive you as a reference, that they can come to you at any difficulty although you cannot

> solve it, that they know that they can come to you because you are there…Accompanying them releases them, if you listen to them, if you dedicate time to them, [because] no one has dedicated them anything so if you give them your time they feel gratified, very often they cannot speak at home…[It is important] to lose our time with them, do not believe that our time is so important, to be there, with what you have you are fine, and God will put the rest.

The role of accompanying had a strong intuitive dimension according to her, something the other SER would probably affirm. That role of accompanying without expectations had surprising and effective results, according to her. A considerable detachment from results is required from he who accompanies and decides to honestly share all the resources he or she has.

Probably the most significant sign found in the SEs which have a home is the openness to reality. In the case of APLE, that openness is more concrete, and although the team knows well the trends and changes in the field of CSA due to their permeability, instead of speaking of openness maybe it would be more accurate to speak of replicability of the same strategy all over the country, as much as the budget allows it. Anidan, AYMY and ACOES cultivate a conscious attitude of permeability towards the surrounding reality. They do this by listening always, assuming responsibilities which emerge in a daily manner, giving responses to events that overwhelm their capacities due to a basic question of morality -like the refugees camps close to Anse à Pitre- or even developing specific strategies to reach the people further away (outreaches of Anidan to provide medical assistance in remote areas) and sooner (Maestro en Casa in ACOES so that the children can have education from early stages wherever they live). SERs are never satisfied with what has been done so far, they always see beyond. Openness is a very strong sign of the health and strength of the SE. In the case of APLE in the period in which the observation was made, their horizon was related to achieving common measures in several countries of South-East Asia against CSA, elaboration of common laws and promotion of deportation.

Most SERs recognize an important degree of vulnerability within their contexts. In some cases, in spite of their effectiveness, they consider themselves fragile. The recognition of that vulnerability is compatible with a strength of a spiritual nature, which according to them helps achieve the aims of the SE. Reality reminds SERs permanently of that vulnerability. The terrorist outbreak in Kenya has had a considerable negative impact

in Lamu, especially to achieve economic resources from tourism and fulfill medical activities in further areas closer to Somalia. In Haiti, AYMY is based in a very delicate area very close to the border of the Dominican Republic. The closure of the border and political instability can have significant negative impact on the SE. ACOES fulfills its task in a context in which the presence of violence has increased since the arrival of Father Patricio in the nineties with the emergence of the *maras.* The attacks received by the organized mafia in the case of APLE are becoming more intense and sophisticated –mainly through the internet- a reason why the address of the offices of APLE is regularly changed. Vulnerability and effectiveness of the SE or fulfillment of its mission seem two sides of the same coin. Besides it is not rare that while the SE in an accelerated fashion transforms the lives of those supported, there are contextual factors that get worse, such as the violence of the *maras* in Honduras or the increasing individuality in Lamu and the loss of community values. The effectiveness of the SE in face of that vulnerability can be probably explained due to the presence of the "do your part culture", assumed by a bigger number of people linked to the SE, something which requires a more horizontal perception of power and leadership, an issue previously addressed.

The permeability, or the openness to the surrounding reality, allows one to select and give opportunities to people in situations of more vulnerability in a sense of social responsibility as an enterprise which provides jobs among the locals. SEs can be very important local enterprises without feeling as such. Their economic impact, especially in the cases in which they have homes, is evident.

Precisely in the cases of SEs with homes, another distinctive feature differentiates the SERs' frameworks from those held by more traditional approaches based on specialization. SERs try to provide an education as comprehensive as possible by trying to tackle the different angles and perspectives in which the beneficiaries need to be supported. For that matter, they promote collaborations among organizations. That collaboration is linked to the aspiration of quality, trying to give them an education as good as the one the children of the SER would receive. The psychological dimension is very relevant in order to provide an attention to quality. As the missionary, Paz García used to say: "everything can be found in the oblivion". Therefore, it is very important to understand "what surrounds the material poverty" since "people who are broken" often come to you. In those contexts bettering psychological health is a key aspect. Besides, it is important to

notice the role played by religion and particularly Protestants, especially in South American contexts, since according to the data, they generate a strong influence at the psychological level and more precisely in the concept the person has of the own responsibility for the own development.

Finally, SEs do not seem to square with some principles generally assumed in the fields of development and economics. SERs tend to be aware of the risks of growth as well as of the dangers of bureaucracy. As Father Patricio explains, "be afraid of heights" as the only way to remain connected to the real problems of the people, growing horizontally. Growth is a tricky issue for SEs like Anidan, in a breakwater position, receiving more extreme and desperate cases in the hospital, for example. There seems to be a strong connection with the need to establish solid bases, something they tend to achieve mainly through private support, as the only way to develop long-term approaches with a considerable degree of flexibility which allows them to remain faithful to their missions. With the exception of APLE, which at a certain point survived due to the commitment of their public donors who decided to maintain the support although the development trends were changing, giving priority to human trafficking, all the SEs work with private support and the distance towards public aid institutions is remarkable. The lack of relationship, which could be overcome in some cases by understanding the limitations of public aid being often oriented to one-time disbursements, seems to be also related to the abuses detected in the system which filters the ODA. Although some private supporters can also commit those excesses, the religious missionary Paz García described the moral causes for disaffection[164] with the following words:

> it gives me courage that there are so many institutions that in the name of the poor and with the endorsement of the poor live rich lives…that is a huge slap, many poor people do not know it…they come being rich and leave being richer.

[164] The same participant shared this anecdote of disaffection: some members of UU.NN came to the neighborhood with the proposal that people should stay living there at the same time their economic conditions improved in order to increase the level of the area. At that moment the conditions of the neighborhood were considerably suboptimal with significant overcrowding and deficient salubrity. In fact, this missionary was responsible for the canalisation of the water. In a conversation with her, she replied to the UUNN workers that poor people had the same taste as the rich ones and they also “liked to have a good spoon to eat”.

And she added, with their attitudes, the way they dress, speak and introduce themselves, it is impossible to connect: “you behave as equals or it is impossible, there is no connection” with the grassroots. She also added a feature to be considered deeply: "Poor people are very sensitive, they know who is on their side and who just comes to give some vaseline, they are not easily cheated”.

Another issue most SEs of the sample argue is related to an existing demand that SEs become self-sustainable. Although in general, the SEs observed do not consider business as something negative, the conditions of the contexts, as well as the needs of the beneficiaries, make them balance those demands and consider them something secondary or even negative in their concrete situations. Their positions are clearly grounded. The beneficiaries should have the same dignified conditions to improve their lives that people from the West without being overwhelmed. There are cases in which charging for some services can jeopardize the cultural transformations in place (hospital in Anidan). In the case of APLE, being involved with some sort of revenue generating activity would facilitate the job to the opponents of the SE who could easily question the legitimacy and the transparency in a country with considerable corruption. Self-sustainability is not a general recipe. It might be absolutely meaningful to develop projects which are self-sustainable inside an SE (microcredits in Anidan) but it is a priority to discover the identity of the SE first, understanding if it is a for-profit or a nonprofit and respecting that identity. A more open framework can lead to recognizing the existence of SEs which start as nonprofits and evolve into for-profits, but probably in those cases, the SER, the contexts, and even the human resources will have features which will naturally tip the balance in one way or another. In any case, it is important to reconsider that in many countries, states have been drained from some fundamental functions due to neoliberal measures. SEs through their advocacy can help the governments resume their basic functions at the same time they fulfill their mission without twisting their essence and main functioning due to overload.

The SE APLE offers insights that can be of some use for other SEs with similar approaches. The commitment of the team is the ground in which their professionality is settled. The experiential knowledge is considerable and is filtered not only in their manuals and reports but also in the training activities they give to the police and communities. The key to their success has probably been the correct identification of those who could be in

tune with their aims, disregarding external considerations of status and the like. Their closeness to reality made them understand the importance of training informants, people who spent a lot of time on the street or who had access to locals where CSA took place. Besides, they were proactive and confident enough to find allies in structures who originally could be considered to be very far from them, such as the FBI. The case shows the importance of finding those who effectively are on the same page and which may not correspond with the traditional idea of alliances among NGOs. In fact, that latter aspect could be reinforced in the whole Cambodia.

- *Risks related to the founding experience*

Since the initial moments in which I started exploration activities in India in 2003, I have witnessed factors and situations of risks for the SERs and the SEs which revealed a worrying dimension, especially for secular SERs. In that sense, the experience in Kolkata in 2011 was particularly revealing. The present paragraph will try to condense the key factors and situations observed from those initial exploratory activities. It is important to underline that some of those most critical attitudes do not correspond with the SEs of the present sample, however, it is important to indicate them. Most of the risks detected for the SER and sooner or later for the SE, seem to be connected to the lack of proper personal management over the costs attached to the founding experience. As a result of the exploration taken over these years, a profile can be sketched. Apart from its open-ended character, these observations have other limitations in that considerably more men than women have been observed since 2003 and more secular SERs than religious too.

Another factor to stress is the plenty situations of exhaustion observed in India. Although it is the country in which more time I have been spent, it is not disposable that it has particular elements of harshness without considering the other contexts as easy. Cases of exhaustion have also been observed in Kenya, for instance through the woman who left the school project in Lamu, an initiative which Anidan helped to relaunch. But one of the reasons to include the Ali S.K. case was to provide an idea about the severity of the constraints in a country from which in certain contexts still prevails an idealized image which stresses its spirituality. The fact that religious SERs seem to resist better will be specifically addressed. Since 2003, it has also been observed more cases of women secular SERs, than men who drastically break with the founding experience due to exhaustion, accumulation of frustration or both.

- *The idealization of the image*

SERs are human beings. They start their SEs from a particular level of maturity with their respective emotional stories. Funding is a very complex and risky endeavor which implies that the skills of the person will be put to the limit, at the same time a radical process of internal transformation takes place. As human beings, personal limitations are present as well. The transformations and processes that happen in the inwardness of the SER are not easy to describe to the general public or even to the western world. Intense raising activities dealing with people with all kind of interests –not necessarily compatible with the SE- and excessive exposure to promote the SE in international circles, for example, can easily detach the SER from those internal realities which worked as a compass and in which the SER found the strength, the reasons and motivations to establish. Excessive popularity and adulation can easily lead to biased feedback with a considerable lack of authenticity and objectivity, which may lead to a diminished self-criticism necessary for not losing the route, affecting the SER and the SE as well. Idealizations as a hero do not offer the SER a place where he or she can find him- or herself again, being objectively reflected in their new situation. Adulation favors being uprooted. The same way the "do your part culture" leads SERs to assume a considerable amount of responsibility, that same culture could lead the supporters of SEs to embrace authentic attitudes which may help the SER to not lose perspective and lucidity. Besides, the fact that supporters tend to identify their support with the person of the SER and not with the SE does not seem to provide good results in terms of ego disregarding the always bigger dimension of the SE, and the network generated.

- *Other costs detected*

Developing a personal life as an SER can become a very complex issue, close to impossible in certain contexts and situations, like in places where sexes do not mix. Being able to assume the economic costs of the creation of a family is also present. Besides, juggling the needs of that family with the needs of the SE can require long-term flexibility and complexity.

Exhaustion and health problems can have serious implications in the long run. It is not rare that in their aim to achieve certain objectives, SERs find it difficult to maintain an

overall perspective on themselves. That is, they tend to decide following their aspirations more than listening to their whole reality- without paying attention to the limits of the body strength, for example, or other personal and legitimate needs which tend to be postponed-. The diet is an aspect that some SERs have not particularly looked after assuming that coffee and coke are substitutes for food. It is not rare that those SERs who are excellent in looking after others are not so much looking after themselves. Conversations with people involved with founders confirm that tendency due to "a pervasive lack of time" to do so. The problem is that the hardness and the excessive number of complex situations can lead to losing that sense of balance and perspective, if not adequately considered. In an informal conversation with one SER, while I pushed him on the need to have some sort of social insurance which could guarantee a small pension in the future, he exclaimed, - you are a bourgeois!.

In some cases, a feeling of being uprooted can be found, especially in middle-aged SERs who have stayed too long abroad, with a feeling of belonging nowhere. That same feeling can be compatible with an “incapacity to escape from one’s own personality” in the sense of, although having suffered due to the creation of an SE, to do it again. In the case of Wolfgang Müller, there is a clear feeling of being stuck, being attached to a former leisure activity which has become a non-work obligation, being unable to abandon the contracted responsibilities (the present and future of the children) as well as the material realities created by the SER (installations and so on) trying to give a proper solution to that investment.

Exhaustion caused by overwork is another observed feature. As I pointed out to some SERs who agreed with my assumption, burn out can be to a certain extent unavoidable. That burn out can easily lead to isolation, a factor of considerable risk. In India, I have observed cases in which the SER deliberately looked for that isolation to protect themselves from the –exhausting for them- curiosity of visitors. The same way, they rejected the presence of volunteers who were unwilling to adapt themselves to the surrounding reality and to maintain prudent attitudes, causing thus more trouble than utility to the SE and the SER.

There are certain signs that whereas lacking of support at any level (government and society) can be assumed, the fact that the enemies of the SER manage to make him

or her appear as a criminal can cause deep psychological harm. The same way, just the constant exposure to evil – with game rules of the survival law- can affect those involved in the SEs in ways which remain unknown. Accumulation of unresolved emotional conflicts and shocks which still hurt over time can considerably diminish the resistance of the SER even killing the motivation. It is important to underline that the term constraints can be in some cases equivalent to the word criminality. It is not rare that in the worst cases, the accumulation of previous factors can lead to life-threatening situations for the SER. The case of India stands out for the duration and extremity of the sustained harm mainly caused by disproportional greed, making an SER aware that his life could be at risk. The local team in Cambodia is also exposed to that evil for a prolonged period of time, and with an increasing level of sophistication. The way some human traffickers behave can lead to questioning every single assumption over the nature of the human being. However, in this case, the fact that the team and the current founder are locals, seems an advantage. Most of them cultivate their personal lives and enjoy moments of casual leisure with other devotee workers of the SE, for example, playing soccer after work. They have well-paid jobs according to the economic reality of the country, which allows them to live in that sense, more established lives. Unlike most SERs observed, they play in their own field. However, the convenience of counseling was also detected by the director.

The pervasive contact with corruption can lead to a considerably diminished level of trust, another feature clearly observed in India. It can seriously damage social relationships in which the SERs are used to make profit. Social relationships must be handled in a prudent way in Kenya as well, due to the outbreak of terrorism. The fact of having to overcome extreme constraints, can cause a hardening in the personality of the SER, something that can affect the development of social relationships.

- *The relativity of the concept of success*

A subjective feeling of having lost the aim, without being necessary anywhere, especially when the organization is able to work on its own and the presence of the SER is no longer required can also be detected in some SERs. At this point once again it is important to underline the relativity of the idea of success. What can be considered externally a successful SE, can represent a crisis for the person of the SER in the sense of having the necessity to give life a new meaning. No relationship is observed between the degree of success of the SEs and the subjective situation of the SER, in the sense of the

psychological harm he or she might have suffered or how he or she assesses the experience taking the costs and rewards into account, issues which are barely mentioned in depth. In essence, both founding too soon or too late can imply risks. In the first case this is due to the need to find a life direction again. In the second one, because the transition of power should be prepared before it is too late for the SE.

Jeroo Billimoria, founder of Childline, (Bornstein, 2004, p. 88) once wrote:"…I believe…that a founder should leave after five to seven years…there was an inner voice which said I had to go". Without endorsing the concrete number of years, it would be desirable that most SER could experience that right moment to go in a clean and sharp way, with the lucidity they listened to in their own conscience in the initial moments. As a knowledgeable person of the reality of the SERs once expressed to me, "there is a moment in which the organization detaches naturally from you". Then an honest process in the person of the SER starts, hopefully early, to prepare the transition. SERs can experience joy for what has been created as well as relief, a feeling which gives an idea of the existence of the costs. The APLE case as well as the experience of the priest Ramón Martínez show how the right person to continue appeared without consciously looking for him or her. Both APLE, as well as the experience of Ramón Martínez, show the importance of the locals in assuming that transference. Developing a flawless transference does not imply absence of psychological harm from the end of the SER. Great detachment can be experienced from someone who has been deeply hurt. In any case, lack of ego, a sense of honesty and intrapersonal intelligence seem to play a great role, confirming the altruistic dimension and the unconditionality with which it all began.

Other successful cases of SE show how affected the SER may feel when aware of the wrong personal decisions taken by those -sometimes former beneficiaries- with whom there is still a bond. In spite of wide social recognition, the SER can feel "empty handed" in front of those situations. A similar feeling can be observed when confronted with human mediocrity or lack of generosity in spite of the example given, something that can only be assumed as a defeat in the best terms possible.

- *Towards the construction of a profile*

According to the data gathered, foreign middle-age male SERs, who are single, and secular, with a clear absence of partners of mission, that is, someone with whom the

burden, the type of life and the experiences can be shared, seem to be in a bigger situation of risk. The fact of not sharing -Wolfgang Müller spoke about having "lost my only witness"- seems a very relevant factor of risk. For SERs it is very important not to lose the personal anchor.

- *Religious and secular SERs*

In conversations with the missionary Paz García, she offered the following reflection with regard to the emergence of secular SERs:

> …without being savoirs or redeemers, we end up doing the same, I am convinced…it is a life option in function of the others, to fight for more fair structures in a better world…we [religious missionaries] look for the help, for the strength and for the hope in God but we are in the same field playing…

Besides, in one of the first interviews with Father Patricio in Honduras, he explained to me that the important thing about ACOES was not what they believed in, but how the poor people are served. The fact of following similar paths and operations based on similar life commitments, allows room for further questions which emerged in the light of exploration. Are religious SERs better prepared than secular ones to resist the constraints of developing countries? According to the data, it seems so. In conversations with Wolfgang Müller he stressed the fact that unlike them, religious SERs know the long-term implications of their choice, recognizing it as a life option while seculars do not. However, it is not clear that they do know what is going to happen from the very beginning. For Father Patricio it is still a considerable surprise the dimensions of ACOES. He actually started in a very simple manner trying to offer grants to those who willingly came to help. In fact, his initial idea was to stay in Honduras for a shorter period of time. A time that has expanded due to the responsibilities and the impact achieved. But it is true that in the moment of going to Honduras, the life option was clear as a priest and even the personal life was settled with the celibacy, an option which, if coherent with the personality, provides a considerable amount of freedom to devote oneself to the mission, whereas for secular SERs, the conciliation with a personal life, if able to create one, is a considerable challenge in most cases. For secular SERs, this challenge implies finding someone who shares the mission, who loves it, and is willing to accept the implications and complexities of the funding decision for something that after all, will not have an economic compensation. The situation can be even more complex when there are descendants.

That is why for secular SERs, the family support is so relevant. For religious SERs, although the result and the dimension of the SE can be a surprise and a considerable amount of adaptation can be required as well, there is probably more clarity in the possibility that it could happen. Celibacy facilitates the commitment and their lives, which to a certain extent, have already been given.

Both religious and secular SERs affirm that the spiritual dimension of their lives nurtures them. That is a personal aspect perfectly compatible with the non-religious character of the SE. Both secular and religious SERs tend to recognize the presence of a strength that favors the development of the SE. With similar radicality that presence is recognized by Father Patricio and Lucía Lantero, for instance. Therefore, the question to address would be what are the religious SERs doing differently to resist on the frontline (as Father Ramón recognized since they stay too long there)?

Father Patricio and Father Ramón seem two healthy SERs with the significant capacity "to disconnect totally" when leaving the SE. Sharing the mission, feeling accompanied, and cultivating the inwardness seem to be factors of resistance according to the data. For the religious SERs the practices to cultivate that inwardness are clearly delimited. There is an interior place where they can find support and feel sustained in their activities. It is, in essence, the strength derived from a cultivated spirituality, and their experience of transcendence. Another feature detected in these two religious SERs is the fact that they do not lose sight of the importance of affective health in connection with the SE. How they are aware of the need to love more unconditionally, to be patient with the beneficiaries, understanding clearly that beyond the external menaces and constraints, many challenges will be intimate and will have an emotional nature.

Another sign of health of these SERs is their strong sociability since they receive many visits from collaborators. Isolation in not present in any shape or form in them. In further investigations, a future line could be to analyze the relationship between psychological damage generated by the exposure and spirituality. Observation shows that the experiences of intense psychological damage can block the spiritual dimension of the SER. Another point to consider for future investigations can be how denying a spiritual dimension of the founding experience can represent a disadvantage on the long run for the SE and the SER. It is striking how SERs who develop dysfunctional relationships with the

SEs –out of the selected sample- seem to live in a very distanced way the spiritual dimension if at all feeling often they are the main protagonists.

Another factor that tends to emerge in conversations with secular SERs is the perception they have about the coverage that in general terms the Christian church offers to Catholic SERs. Observation shows there is a high degree of variation in that coverage and it cannot be taken for granted. This study included observing three cases of missionaries without salary and without social protection. One of those cases belonged to the Buddhist religion, a woman who as she explained, was volunteering full time. Although there might be other cases of wider support, observation shows that for religious SERs, founding can also be a very personal option with considerable possibility of risk. If support is understood in the sense of a preliminary network that roots in previous parishes, then it can be true that in the case of the secular SERs, the network has to be created from the start. That is why for certain SERs the fact of coming from accommodated families gives credibility.

Probably what secular SERs indicate without being able to label it correctly, according to the SLP theory, is that their ethos is considerably more diffuse than the one of the religious SERs, and therefore they still encounter fewer sources of reference and protection in comparison with religious SERs. A protection that while for religious SERs can be found in colleges who are on the same page, for secular SERs is still mainly found in their families who serve as anchors.

Does the exercise of an altruist action based on a solid, open and respectfully transmitted spirituality reinforce the impact of an SE in quantitative terms? If so, how does it happen? A considerable amount of concatenated exploration might be necessary to respond to that question which the experience of ACOES suggests. In the meantime, at least the religious SERs observed seem to carry an advantage due to their history of altruism; a history that secular ones are currently learning to handle.

- *Other dysfunctional reactions out of the sample*

In a talk given by Vicente Ferrer during my visit to India in 2003, he said that it was necessary to be generous with the heroes, looking primarily at their contributions. Without

trying to contradict him, the following considerations aim to alert us to the harm that can be caused to an SE due to the accumulation of emotional frustration and conflicts.

There have been cases in which the founder departed radically from the SE without having prepared a proper transference of power and without carrying out follow-up activities. Other cases have been observed in which the SER tries to adopt an extremely different lifestyle which temporarily allows escaping from the saturation the SE represents. Such extremes can harm the SE at the same time do not present a solid solution for the emotional conflict generated. However, in those cases, the spiritual dimension seems to be lost as well the perception of the SER as the owner of the SE, in a form of appropriation, emerges, without much consideration for the beneficiaries.

Another harmful form of appropriation happens in cases in which the founder's syndrome is apparent. According to Mc Namara (n.d), "[t]his syndrome occurs when, rather than working toward its overall mission, the organization operates primarily according to the personality of a prominent person in the organization, for example, the founder, board chair/president, chief executive, etc". The same author maintains that “[t]he syndrome is primarily an organizational problem -- not primarily a problem of the person in the prominent position”--. This position does not find full support in this study. Assuming that indeed the founder syndrome is an organizational problem, observation suggests that behind it, there is one or more unresolved conflicts in the person of the founder.

More precisely, what has been observed is a clear confusion between the personal and the professional life with an absence of distinction between both. The SE can then be instrumentalized for the ends of some people, the SER included. The creation of a family feeling which often emerges in this kind of SE is not understood for the promotion or the free empowerment of the beneficiaries, but more as a way to satisfy some of the personal needs of the SER, like being accompanied, being looked after, in substitution of a family that was not created. There can be a heavy reliance on some of the beneficiaries with frequent unjustified interferences in their personal lives, which greatly confuses the bond.

Here there is a clear appropriation of the organization from the SER –believing he or she is the owner-. Some beneficiaries closer to the SER, may get to exert their power in

order to maintain a status quo in a conspiratorial atmosphere with lack of trust among beneficiaries and a pervasive feeling of injustice.

Inside the organization professionals with levels of education similar to the founder who come from middle classes are consistently not taken into account or promoted as if competition ruled those relationships. There is a sort of inverse discrimination against those professionals. There can also be clear distinctions in the way beneficiaries are treated according to their gender, the closeness of the bond or to the presence of frustrations.

Separation between practice and talk, lack of coherence and submission to the self-given organizational rules are present. Besides an absence of objectivity in the daily management occurs. There is a pervasive tendency to read the reality of the organization in personal terms (in the terms of the bond, who is who for the SER) but not in professional ones. There is an official speech about how to promote growth while initiatives are blocked, although there are people capable of carrying them out. The evolution of the SE is not allowed and power is not delegated either. Indeed, management can be undermined with decisions that do not correspond with the correct functionality of the SE and the prosecution of its aims.There is nopreparation for the transference of power of any kind.

SEs like the present one can have the worst traits of the family enterprise. This type of situation can happen to apparently well-prepared SERs, which shows the relevance of the health in the affective dimension, clearly a factor that according to the data, is partly responsible for the emergence of the syndrome. The lack of health in that area can erode the most basic managerial principles.

- *Personal considerations with regard to a prevalent reality*

It is impossible to depart unscathed from the type of personal challenges that SE represents. It is impossible to do so even as a researcher. Too many broken cases are observed, which is disheartening. Too many escapes and a pervasive lack of personal work, or counseling seriously taken to head them off. Too many SERs who in spite of accompanying many people are not accompanied on their own. In the best cases, the

family was the key anchor to reality. Also, in the best cases, there was intense personal understanding before funding, something more likely to happen in religious atmospheres. Loss of connection with the spiritual dimension which seems to be present in the form of strong inspiration and reserve of strength in the initial moments is also worrying. And as a corollary, the loss of the perception that something else supports the SER and the SE. All SERs start with a tremendous amount of thrill and naivety, just like me. It is crucial to promote ways of self-development and growth that help maintain it as far as possible.

- *Final thoughts*

Having devoted the last six years of my life to understanding SE as a human phenomenon does not entitle me to extract definitive conclusions. Be that as it may, my involvement with the phenomenon allows transmitting the main perceptions that these years of exploration have shown to me. Looking at the generalizations that have emerged from the data and accompanying theory, it seems that they are ingredients of a *recipe* to serve to others and relate to each other in a more interconnected way, reaching personal fulfillment at the same time. But, this has happened without, being fully aware of the quantitative dimension of each ingredient, of the relationships between them, or if there are any missing still. That is the richness of exploration: departing from a considerable lack of knowledge, it allows developing a preliminary sense of certainty which, however inconclusive, at least is connected to the data on the ground.

In the current context of accelerated societal transformations, SE speaks of a return to a considerable degree of simplicity as a way of organizing to pay strong attention to the mission of the SE instead of any other type of consideration. It also speaks of the necessity to connect and remain connected to real people, loving them, for as long as it is necessary. Therefore it also speaks of the need to unlearn some well-established entrepreneurial principles, which do not seem to fit due to their detachment from the concrete realities of SEs. At this precise moment of human evolution, there are many children who need to be given breakfast and lunch at school so that they can learn, constituting thus a very relevant challenge for SE. We are not still at that point in which everything can be solved with strategies and replicability. A question is launched to those SE agencies who do not seem to open the framework enough, as if those basic needs did not exist. Simplicity will still be required until the last child can have breakfast at his own home.

Besides, SEs should not be overloaded. Their sense is to develop their identities whatever these are, but without forgetting where many countries came from, which neoliberal recipes have been more or less imposed and how states, in assuming their basic roles, are still relevant for development and growth. SEs are accelerators of human and therefore cultural transformations. The speed of change does not depend on them. It is part of the context in which we all are embedded in which the cycles are always shorter (Sala, 2017). There is much to do but with increased possibilities of success and change.

Altruism is key in all this. Emancipation takes place, if resources and skills are shared. Altruism changes the logic, the operations of the SE and the social realities as well through the creation of empowered links who learn to do their part. In the need of more concatenated studies, the openness of the SEs seems another key feature by which to recognize them. Personal development will probably be an issue of increasing relevance for SERs, in the future and for those who want join them effectively being aware of the importance of their own maturity and their emotional health to be able to generate social change, something related to the value of being there -stay- and love unconditionally. SERs and volunteers must have a considerable degree of maturity to handle the vulnerability they will encounter in contexts of social injustice. To be able to do that accompaniment for the missionary Paz, trained in loving unconditionally, was apparently so simple. No university teaches that. The development of the intuition, the intrapersonal and social intelligence and a personal spirituality to resist and to be nurtured are key for those who want to embrace this type of commitment. While the channels to promote all those aspects are developed, it is convenient to ask how all that experiential knowledge that SERs already have is, if at all, being channelized. It seems that we might be missing and not assimilating fundamental pieces of information.

A thesis like the present one takes you to many places, some of them unexpected. Reality did not allow exploring places, like in Mumbai where the exploration was not possible due to the closure of the schools; Besides, and it can show you entities which in spite of looking like SEs, did not have sufficient altruism, the glue the makes things work to be considered so. Such cases, although not analyzed in any chapter, are results of their own complementing the current results and that hopefully will be addressed in subsequent studies. Another place, unexpectedly visited, is related to the need to build bridges with the

economic sphere which still rules the world, with the aim of insisting on the need to increasingly understand enterprise as a free association of individuals with economic but also social and moral aims which works for the promotion of human development (CSDI, 338). SEs only speak of a sense of balance that has been lost.

- *Considerations for the future*

In my first visit to India in 2003, the SER Vicente Ferrer gave a talk to welcome the visitors. I, at the time unaware of its meaning, decided to take some notes which I have kept until today. His perception of reality, already then as an experienced founder is worth remembering. He attributed a role and a meaning to every single life, with metaphors to favor its understanding: “The life of the people is like a film. The angels keep all of them. I appear in the other people’s film and them in mine. Heaven must be a very funny place with a huge cinema”. He also stressed the unconditionally observed in this research, promoting the "work for a better world, although I do not get to see it”. That did not matter, because “maybe our children will”. In the same line of providing relevance to the intrapersonal and spiritual intelligence, he expressed:

> About the Gospel, it is important because it is written by erudite people, but the original is our heart. The Gospel cannot contain all the richness of the heart. That is why we have everything [we need]. The heart is the perfect guide…it is richer…Never be afraid of God, …[and] build a life over convictions. Otherwise, you will be doubting always…

Now it is time to close this thesis, handing over all the information provided to me, with the hope that those touched by it will find their SEs, where to devote themselves, in their humble and honest contribution to a better world.

Clearing

Do not try to save
the whole world
or do anything grandiose.
Instead, create
a clearing
in the dense forest
of your life
and wait there
patiently,
until the song
that is your life

falls into your own cupped hands
and you recognize and greet it.
Only then will you know
how to give yourself
to this world
so worth of rescue.

Martha Postlewaite



India, 2003 with Vicente Ferrer in RDT.

APPENDIX I. LIMITS TO THE PRIVACY, DEALING WITH VULNERABILITY AND OBJECTIVITY

Limits to the privacy, dealing with vulnerability and objectivity

In some cases, especially among teenagers with insufficient adult feedback, if the relationship with them is fluid, there might be some confusion between the limits of an interview in depth and a personal disclosure. This happened to me once with one of the boys in India. During in-depth interviews with an active listening from end of the researcher the interviewee may start connecting objective questions with personal unresolved issues and although the researcher is strongly advised against assuming the role of a therapist (Charmaz, 2014) the interviewee can give it a therapeutic use in that moment. A simple question such as what have you learnt here?, can be connected to the respectful way in which the children of an organization have learnt to treat women and how badly they consider the way they are still treated in India. This perception might have a deeper and more personal content for the kid that might be transmitted. In that case the option taken was to stop the recorder and respect the internal process in which the interviewee found himself until it was over without making him or her feel uncomfortable. The researcher can rarely escape the way is perceived inside the organization: a Western woman with whom is possible to speak about certain issues like gender equality in confidence. The limits between an interview and a counselling session that for a researcher might be pretty clear may not be as much for the person of an adolescent who is in need of feedback or support.

In Cambodia I had the opportunity to be present at an interview of a girl who had been sexually abused. I was with two colleagues of APLE, a psychologist and an investigator of the organization. Through the translation of my colleagues, I asked the girl for permission to stay and she allowed me to; A few moments earlier, I had signed the child protection policy of the shelter were she lived for not being a permanent member of APLE. The conversation with the girl was in Khmer but I refused to have an immediate translation of what she was saying in order to maintain the respectful environment created by the psychologist. The objective of my presence was to observe the way the interview was handled, as part of the qualitative dimension of the attention given by APLE to the victims. I could sense the environment created by the psychologist during the conversation without understanding the language. Sometimes the level of interference has to be reduced almost to invisibility in order to respect the natural development of the situation.

The emotions generated through the work of the psychologist with the victim did speak and brought valuable information too (Charmaz, 2014).

It is rather frequent that in children or young adults who have experienced abandonment or rejection from their families (however accurate in reality that interpretation may be) a certain degree of vulnerability is present. Idealizations of the person of the researcher are also common. Researching implies assuming an unavoidable degree of interference as well as a role model in certain moments. Let us say that for many of those children and young adults through out their personal lives there has been an insufficient presence of references from whom they could learn constructive behaviours and ways of thinking. Therefore, developing this kind of research with this type of participant implies understanding the psychological setting, and assuming a concrete position that favors this person's own development, because the researcher's behaviour will always be internalized as a valuable reference from their end. As a result, instead of assuming an I-know-everything-attitude, the researcher must maintain a degree of self-observation during the fieldwork, responding to the different situations with consistent maturity.

The same self-observation applies to the relationship with the SERs. Founders are frequently people with charisma who, in some cases, receive frequent expressions of admiration. For the researcher it is important not to fall for such behavior however valuable their task. If the researcher is not aware of the external dynamics around the SER and does not practice self-observation, the validity of the observation can be jeopardized. The same attitude must be maintained with regard to situations of conflict inside the SE. For some participants in the SE it can be very tempting to polarize the researcher for their own cause.

APPENDIX II: NOTES ON INSTITUTIONAL-BASED EXPLOITATION BEARING ON ALL ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED WITH CHILDCARE AND PROTECTION ISSUES.

Notes on institutional-based exploitation bearing on all organizations involved with childcare and protection issues.

Every organization which deals with childcare, which welcomes volunteers and especially, if allows a close contact with the children, should be aware of the following considerations and take preventive measures. The reasons are explained by APLE Cambodia (2014, pp. 11-12). Whereas their data reflect the situation in Cambodia, the trend observed there could happen anywhere else, especially because of the central role of volunteering:

> A worrying trend is visible in institutions that aim to benefit children [in Cambodia].Fourteen perpetrators [out of 210] worked in such an institution before they were arrested. Five perpetrators worked as English teachers and nine worked in NGOs. In addition, seven (50.0%) of these arrested perpetrators had previous convictions and one (7.1%) was wanted in his home country for child sex crimes. For the remaining six (42.9%), it is unknown whether they had previous convictions or not. In 2013, three arrested perpetrators had a job that involved working directly with children. One was a teacher and two worked within NGOs (one founded his own orphanage and the other was the director of a shelter). Two of them had previous convictions and one was wanted in his home country for child sex crimes. Institution-based exploitation still accounts for a small number of arrests compared to street-based and establishment-based exploitation. However, the number of cases is increasing and this is alarming. Also, most of these perpetrators have previous convictions, which underlines the need for preventative measures. How do people with a previous conviction for child sexual abuse find a job in an institution that aims to benefit children? First, people applying for a job (voluntary or paid) in an NGO or school are rarely asked to provide a police clearance certificate in Cambodia.
>
> Convicted child sex offenders know this and misuse this situation. Second, Cambodia lacks control and sanction mechanisms for the government to deal with NGOs and schools that do not meet certain requirements. For example, unregistered NGOs or NGOs that do not meet the Minimum Standards for Alternative Care are often allowed to continue their practice for a long time with no oversight. In the UK, the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) and the Association of Chief Police Officers Criminal Record Office (ACRO) have developed the International Child Protection Certificate (ICPC) in order to protect children from convicted UK child sex offenders who seek employment overseas. The ICPC is a criminal records check that would reveal any convictions or others reasons as to why someone should not work with children. Such initiatives are a step in the right direction. Hopefully, more initiatives like this will come in the future.

When someone goes to a project for less than six months, usually there is no control through background checking. According to a criminologists at the SE, before hiring or accepting a volunteer, three preventive steps should be taken:checking background, signing the child protection policy of the organization and presenting a police

clearance. [165]

In Cambodia, and in many other countries, "anyone" can open an NGO. At the time in which this research was conducted, a sexual offender who was running an organization in Cambodia had been arrested. He was considered a hero in the village . It seems that this type of offender who manages institutions is skilled and able to extend the grooming techniques (shall we say the manipulation techniques) to the institutional level. In Cambodia, one case was detected in which a national sexual offender was able to found the organization. The perception of ease and getting away with it that an offender may have as related to a CSA relies greatly on the response of the country: penalties, possibility to influence the judicial law through corruption, coordination with the original countries, and the like. Countries must understand that no priority, even economic ones in the form of tourism, come before the security of their own children.

[165]For the elaboration of child protection policies, contact www.aplecambodia.com

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