"Worlds of Potential: Funding for Community-Based Organizations in Nairobi, Kenya"

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Introduction

Less than 10 kilometers west of Kenyatta International Conference Center, the premier landmark of the Nairobi city skyline and a symbol of the country's capitalist ambitions, lays Kibera, the most densely packed informal settlement in East Africa. Part of the settlement's northern boundary abuts the sweeping emerald lawns where Kenya's infamous dictator, Daniel Moi, used to golf. Kibera and its residents exist side-by-side with some of the most advanced communications infrastructure, sophisticated restaurants, and lucrative business deals on the eastern half of the continent. Figuratively – if certainly not literally – the settlement is worlds apart from the gated apartments and five-star hotels of cosmopolitan Nairobi.

The first Kenyans to inhabit the land on which Kibera is now situated were Nubian soldiers, displaced from Sudan when they served in the King's African Rifles during World War One.¹ These former soldiers and their families were not given titles to the land on which they settled, a precedent that laid the groundwork for years of housing insecurity and informality for Kibera residents. As more and more rural Kenyans moved to Nairobi in search of work – often not finding it – Kibera, with its small houses and relatively cheap rents, became more crowded. Current population figures for Kibera range from 250,000 to over a million people² living in an area about the size of New York City's Central Park.³

For the most part these residents are largely ignored by the Kenyan national government, as well as the city council of Nairobi. In the face of this neglect, non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, step in to fill this gap left for service provision, health, and education (in 2000, over 200 NGOs were active in Kibera, a number that has most likely grown in the past decade).⁴ At a more local level and on a smaller scale, community-based organizations (CBOs) form to address the problems NGOs will not, are not, or cannot tackle. While CBOs can bring

many benefits to a community, by their nature these organizations tend not to be studied by academics: They are small, local, and run by individuals who are sometimes wary of professionals in the development or academic fields.

CBOs are often initiating unsung acts of good in their communities. However, the majority of them also suffer from a crippling lack of funding. Run almost exclusively by locals who live in the settlements in which they work, CBOs generally do not have access to the sorts of fundraising tips and techniques larger NGOs take for granted. Additionally, there is a staggering lack of simple, straightforward advice for CBOs looking to fundraise more effectively: Knowledge about fundraising, grant writing, and private donations exists, but far too often it is written either in a tone or for a context to which CBOs can not relate. Additionally, these articles, books, theses, and dissertations often languish in university libraries – or are stuck in academic databases to which CBOs do not have access. All too often, CBOs flounder through the fundraising process, regarding both private donations and grant-making institutions, using an ad hoc strategy that tends to waste time without resulting in any serious amounts of money raised.

Driven by this knowledge, this study asks the question how do CBOs gain access to funding, either in the form of individual donations or grants, and what factors drive the likelihood of sustained funding for CBOs? This study hypothesizes that the most important factor for CBOs to gain funding is knowing (and, especially, having an established relationship with) a grant officer or program manager within a grant-making institution. After analyzing the results of the research, conducted via 13 surveys and five interviews of CBOs working in Kibera, this study finds that of the five variables examined – adherence to donor relationship cultivation strategies; networking; relationship with a grant manager; resource mobilization training and

capacity building; and frequency of fundraising – resource mobilization training and capacity building are the most effective means of increasing fundraising success. Moreover, this study finds that most Kibera CBOs tend to take an ad hoc approach to fundraising, probably at least in part because of the largely informal nature of the work and environment in which most CBOs engage. The study concludes by advocating for CBOs to invest as much time and energy as is feasible in fundraising efforts, either soliciting private donations or applying for foundation grants.

State of the Field: Nonprofit Fundraising

1.1: Community-Based Organizations & Donor Relations

Community-based organizations (and their larger counterparts, NGOs) fill a distinctive niche in the development field. In informal settlements such as Kibera, CBOs have a unique and important role to play. Almost exclusively staffed and run frequently by local community members, CBOs can provide the sort of knowledge and on-the-ground experience that NGOs, especially international ones, tend to lack. Moreover, their ability to enhance a sense of community and capability are unparalleled, for it is truly local leaders who stand the best chance of mobilizing a community to advocate for change. It is most frequently articulate and passionate local community leaders who display this type of influence along with the skills necessary to be heard and understood outside the immediate community. Indeed, CBOs often exhibit unique strengths:

- a "bottom-up" approach to development
- a focus on "participatory development"
- an emphasis on partnerships and capacity building
- "people-centered development"

- "responsiveness and flexibility"
- empowerment
- sustainability
- the delivery of basic services⁵

However, it is important to note that CBOs and their leaders are certainly no "silver bullet" for the problems that plague Kibera, and most CBOs do fall victim to certain predictable problems. These include

- "ideological orientation when receiving funding from political entities"
- a tendency to choose "self-preservation over flexibility and responsiveness"
- weak efforts regarding accountability and evaluation of program success and efficacy⁶

To counteract these pitfalls, nonprofit scholars have provided suggestions for maximizing the potential of CBOs while addressing weaknesses they commonly display. Some of these include

- "finding alternative funding sources" through social entrepreneurship and social innovation
- "strengthening networks" both inside and outside of the community
- "applying democracy in operation and evaluation"
- "respecting local diversity"
- "improving evaluation"
- "focusing on process rather than project"⁷

If CBOs take these suggestions into consideration – and make the decision to honestly act on them – they can eliminate some common pitfalls, in addition to making their organization more attractive to potential funders, both individuals and institutions.

1.2: An Introduction to the Donor Relationship Cultivation Model

Despite their importance both locally, to the communities in which they operate, and more broadly, as organizations that contribute to the development field as a whole, there is a surprising lack of information about CBOs generally and about how they fundraise more specifically. This lack of literature made formulating an informed hypothesis for this study difficult. However, a quick academic search of the term "fundraising" revealed that a large and thoroughly established body of literature does exist to address the cultivation of donor relationships, usually in the context of US- and UK-based nonprofits. While some of the avenues of inquiry pursued by donor relationship scholars are not entirely relevant to CBOs, the study of donor relationship cultivation can provide CBOs with a different way of thinking about where their private donations are coming from. Though many CBOs are at least somewhat familiar with the grant-writing process (see Section 4), many CBOs also receive funds, however large, from individual donors, making this information quite topical. By learning more about the field of relationship cultivation, CBOs can utilize strategies to keep their donors satisfied and loyal.

For over a decade, nonprofit scholars have been arguing that organizations must conceptualize "organization-public relationships as multidimensional (*professional, personal*, and *community relationship* dimensions.)"⁸ By thinking of relationships as multidimensional rather than flat, "the need arises for strategies that can be developed to manage" the different facets of donor relationships.⁹ Studies have also re-asserted that "organization-public relationships have even greater multidimensionality than was found in the original scale," a conclusion that reiterated the importance for organizations of both catering to and developing the different components of their donor relationships.¹⁰ By understanding the interconnected dimensions of these models, CBOs can reach out to one-time donors, potentially turning them into lifetime patrons for their organizations.

1.3: Donor Relationship Cultivation

Building off this work of the organization-donor relationship, there is also a vast and rich body of literature discussing donor relationship cultivation strategies. While the overwhelming majority of these articles discuss relationship cultivation in the context of US nonprofits, CBOs can still adopt many of these strategies, both to make their fundraising more effective and to keep individual donors loyal. (While this study had not initially hypothesized that adherence to donor relationship strategies was critical for fundraising success, the wealth of academic knowledge about such strategies is presented here in the hope that Kibera CBOs that rely on donations may use these tactics to attract and keep donors).

Nonprofit scholars have argued that eight key variables can lead to "successful fundraising and donor relationships": access for donors, both to organizational information and to organization members themselves; positivity; openness "to engage actively and honestly in direct discussions"; sharing of tasks (that is, letting donors know where their money is going); networking; assurances, "both verbal and behavioral," made to donors; keeping of promises; and stewardship, which includes reciprocity, responsibility, reporting, and nurturing of the organization-donor relationship.¹¹ Scholars have further argued that, "the extra effort to cultivate relationships will benefit organizations in the future because this demonstrated concern will result in continued support and reduce the impact of potential crises" in the relationship.¹² Communications to donors such as newsletters, annual reports, and handwritten cards or thank-you notes, in addition to events like open houses, can help donors feel appreciated and involved.¹³ While not all of these strategies (i.e., open houses) are entirely feasible for CBOs, the overall argument – that donors should feel appreciated, respected, and knowledgeable about an organization's projects and finances – is certainly one CBOs should take to heart.

Numerous scholars have advocated for thank-you notes as "an effective tool for nonprofits to build relationships with *newer* donors" to enhance donors' sense of commitment and likelihood of repeat donations,¹⁴ citing a clear distinction between repeat and first-time donors, and asserting that "using a specific framework for major gift donors means nonprofits are more likely to attract major gift donations."¹⁵

In addition to attracting donors, much of the literature also focuses on strategies to keep donors loyal; one scholar argues that "one way nonprofits can keep donors from lapsing is by giving ongoing and specific feedback about what their money is going to, in particular benefit that has arisen for the beneficiary group."¹⁶ An overall theme prevalent throughout the literature is direct, honest, and meaningful communication with donors, whether they are giving for the first time or have given repeatedly.

Communication with donors can serve many purposes. For fundraising to be effective organizations must stress their accountability, regarding both finances and program outcomes, to donors or future donors.¹⁷ The effort CBOs put into securing repeat donors, though, can be well worth the effort; according to a 2003 study, the "best predicator of future giving is an individual's previous history of giving to an organization."¹⁸

Once CBOs have secured donors, how they cultivate the relationship is critical to maintaining it. Nonprofit scholars have argued that stewardship, or how organizations grow their donor relationships, is one of the most critical components of fundraising.¹⁹ Other scholars have offered tips for how to effectively engage in relationship stewardship: Organizations can enhance their top donors' understanding of their work "if top donors are allowed to foster a relationship with top nonprofits officials."²⁰ While this may seem like a time-consuming distraction from a CBO's programming work, getting to know donors on a personal level – reiterating the idea that

organizations interact with their donors in multidimensional ways – can deepen their commitment to an organization. The findings of a 2007 study support this: "Individuals who express a strong personal connection to nonprofits are more likely to express higher levels of active commitment."²¹ Furthermore, "by understanding donor's motives the organization retains a significant amount of power," saving organizations from a situation in which they are programmatically helpless without donor support.²² Scholars further argue for "recognition [of donations] when appropriate"; "continued thanks and appreciation"; and "ongoing cultivation" as methods to continue growing the donor relationship.²³ Though they may seem costly at first, investing time and energy in these strategies will only help CBOs in the long run. Waters sums it up nicely when he says, "If an organization wants to ensure its longevity, then it should be prepared to dedicate time to developing relationships with its donors."²⁴

One of the most potentially effective fundraising tools CBOs have at their fingertips is the Internet, although online giving is not without its pitfalls. When people give online, they want to give quickly and conveniently; they want to feel like they are somehow making a difference; they want "to feel personally connected to something greater than themselves"; and they want to feel useful.²⁵ Donor recognition strategies like the ones listed above can ensure even online donors feel appreciated and part of the CBO's work. Indeed, gratitude is something nonprofit scholars have been advocating for since 2001 as an effective means of stewardship. By demonstrating thanks and appreciation to donors, whether online or on paper, "donors feel respected because they know the gift was appreciated and wisely managed."²⁶

Ultimately, almost all nonprofit scholars conclude that the donor relationship must contain a concrete element of trust. Without trust and the efforts of relationship stewardship, donors can easily lapse or find other organizations to whom they can give their money. CBOs

can foster trust with donors by using their money wisely.²⁷ Newsletter and annual reports containing detailed financial information are one way to foster this kind of financial trust in the organization.²⁸ Moreover, donors must trust that CBOs will follow their mission and engage in the programs they say they will – donors want to know how their money is being spent. Transparency and accountability, then, are crucial.²⁹

1.4 Problems with the Donor Relationship

Though every piece of relationship cultivation literature makes it clear organizations must build and grow their relationships with donors to prosper, what happens when the programs donors want their money to go to are not entirely in sync with the mission of a CBO? This is a very real problem for smaller-scale organizations (such as CBOs) that tend to apply piece-meal for grants or other funding sources whose goals may only marginally align with the organization's own.

Sometimes donors, especially large, multinational foundations, place entirely too much emphasis on the results of CBOs' programs. Often, especially for CBOs applying for foundation funding, grant writing can become a type of "catch-22" situation: CBOs want to – and should – accurately communicate the results of their programs to those who gave the money, but at the same time donors' insistence on results and evaluation can lead to *less* of an emphasis on CBO programming if organizations must spend more of their time preparing and submitting evaluation paperwork.³⁰ Indeed, "External funding of any kind tends to introduce inappropriate or asymmetrical forms of accountability, and fosters corruption by centralizing power in the individual charged with fundraising or public relations."³¹ Mission creep and power imbalances, then, can become substantial problems, both for CBOs who rely on foundation funds or private donations to finance their program work. Additionally, the ad hoc manner in which most CBOs

tend to fundraise means that, often, CBOs are applying for funds – or appealing to donors – whose priorities may only marginally align with their own.

All the literature reviewed so far has argued for the necessity of fundraising; fundraising is indeed essential for CBOs if they wish to engage in successful and effective programming. The problem with literature focused only on US-based nonprofits is that those articles cannot take into account the unique fundraising environment and power dynamics of organizations operating in an informal settlement such as Kibera. A "third world" perspective is required to accurately gauge the advantages and disadvantages of fundraising for organizations in lower-income countries. While large US nonprofits may have entire departments dedicated to fundraising and donor relations, the reality in places like Kibera is that engaging in fundraising – either eliciting donations or applying for grants – takes time and manpower away from the CBO's original mission.³² Furthermore, while nonprofit scholars may argue for the link between fundraising and organizational longevity, other scholars have asserted that, "NGOs unable to generate internally 50 percent or more of their revenues are subjected to more pressure than other organizations," a situation that has the potential to contribute to mission creep, as discussed above.³³

A final type of fundraising strategy not touched on until now is the idea of CBO and organizational or corporate partnerships, which on the surface may seem to provide advantages to all involved parties. Scholars have argued for the need to be wary about these types of alliances, however: "the political and economic realities of donor-NGO relations" must be taken into consideration honestly, for often these partnerships are little more than "public relations exercises."³⁴ While partnerships, as with other forms of funds CBOs receive, can have benefits, they can also have drawbacks that CBOs must consider as they pursue their funding options.

2: Aid Fatigue & Donor Concerns

It could be argued that one reason funding is so scarce, especially for CBOs in Nairobi's informal settlements, is the (relatively recent) idea of aid fatigue in an aid industry that is increasingly concerned both with where their money is going and how it is being spent. International donors are correct to be concerned with these issues, and the recent push for transparency and accountability in the NGO/CBO world is an admirable one. However, it would be most unfortunate if large grant-making institutions (or even individual donors) use these concerns as an excuse to stop giving money to CBOs who are actively working to increase their accountability and transparency measures.

A 2003 Brookings Institution report categorizes some of what have become major donor concerns over the past few years. Though the study explores these issues in the context of US-based nonprofits, they are applicable on an international scale, as well. The four major concerns include "that nonprofits spent money wisely"; "that nonprofit leaders made strategic decisions that were unbiased and fair"; "that nonprofit organizations dedicated enough time to developing quality programs that truly addressed the cause of social ills"; and "that nonprofits leaders were paid too much."³⁵ A full half of these concerns directly involve donor funds and how they are spent; this is a clear sign that CBOs, in Kibera and elsewhere, must make assuaging these sorts of donor concerns a top priority.

Despite these apprehensions, aid and grant funding is still vital to the development of NGOs and CBOs everywhere. One study finds that "Aid increases investment, which is a major transmission mechanism in the aid-growth relationship ... grant aid is more effective than other forms [of aid]."³⁶ While the article focuses primarily on large gifts of multilateral aid, this basic premise – that aid and other forms of fundraising can spur investment – is applicable to the

fundraising process for smaller CBOs, as well. Funding, though, especially in the form of grants, is not without its own complexities and problems. One of the biggest issues is the problem of "selective giving."³⁷ One study finds that, "Most donors provide more assistance to [organizations] located in neighborhoods that have security of tenure and open space available for development."³⁸ Thus, "government funds are crucial for enterprises to succeed," ³⁹ for it is only with help from the government that CBOs in Kibera can gain the secure tenure donors often require before investing money in an organization. Because the Kenyan government gives out development grants, the strategies discussed in section one are critical for CBOs if they wish to obtain government funding.

3: Grassroots & CBO Funding

Though the strategies and tips discussed in Section 1 are helpful for the relationship cultivation aspect of fundraising, they are not entirely relevant for CBOs in Kibera, as they are operating in an entirely different environment. Though CBOs do take personal donations, a significant portion of their funds are also raised via grants, either by outside grant-making institutions or through government programs. There is a small body of literature that explores suggestions to help grassroots NGOs and CBOs access this funding.

Many websites offer generic "how-to" sections with grant-writing tips for obtaining funding, but the website granttips.wordpress.com is specifically tailored to grassroots organizations. The website's author argues that CBOs and other grassroots organizations must "diversify funding" rather than pinning all their hopes on a single grant,⁴⁰ also advocating for an online presence through websites and social media; a strong presence of sustainability and evaluation throughout grant proposals; and the necessity of networking and forming relationships with project officers in grant-making foundations. Though this website's tips are certainly not groundbreaking, they do re-iterate information CBOs probably already know, presenting the information in a clear, easy-to-follow, concise format – and through a channel (the Internet) to which most CBOs have access. As discussed previously, in addition to the lack of targeted information available to them, CBOs are also constrained by access to fundraising advice, and this website helps remedy both of these problems.

If CBOs wish to dig deeper into the grant-making process, Bothwell's 2002 study is an excellent starting point. His study involved interviewing both grassroots organizations and grant-making foundations to explore the factors (identified by both the grassroots organizations and the foundations) that are most helpful and hurtful for organizations seeking grant money. Not surprisingly, he found that, "Grassroots organizations with paid staff, or with mixed paid and volunteer staff, are much more likely to obtain foundation grants than organizations with *just* volunteer staff, or with *no* staff, only a volunteer board of directors."⁴¹ Similarly, both grassroots and foundation leaders agreed that "limited capacity and lack of skills are the biggest problems that prevent them from getting more foundation grants."⁴²

The most interesting part of Bothwell's study, though, is comparing the results he obtained from asking grassroots organization leaders why they thought they received foundation money to the reasons foundation leaders gave for providing organizations with funding. According to grassroots leaders, their relationships, track record and capacity, and mission fit with the foundation's programs or goals were the main reasons they received funding; according to foundation leaders, the main reasons for giving grants including the nature of the proposal, the organization's involvement of networks, the organization's other sources of income, and the foundation's own grant-making processes.⁴³ Perhaps the most important lesson CBOs can take away from this study is that their adherence to foundation policies and formats, not necessarily

their own programming, can make grant-making foundations take notice of their work. Although this is not to say that an empty but prettily presented proposal will be accepted, it is one more reason for grant-seeking CBOs to closely read the "fine print" of foundations' grant-making policies.

Thus there is a massive body of literature available that studies how organizations can most effectively manage their donor relations. Many of the findings from this literature are applicable to Kibera CBOs; the problem, largely, is one of access to that information – and, additionally, the academic tone in which much of it is written. If CBOs were able to easily, quickly, and conveniently access this information, and if it were boiled down to key suggestions rather than lengthy academic articles, efforts at CBO fundraising would probably be much more successful than they currently are. For example, most of the fundraising strategies discussed up to this point have been presented in a rather broad context. Here, these strategies will be discussed specifically in the context of Kibera.

One recurrent theme throughout nonprofit literature is direct, honest, and meaningful communication. This type of communication is especially important for Kibera CBOs if they rely on international donors. It is much more difficult for international donors to see the direct impact of their money on the community, making it critical for Kibera CBOs to use the tools at their disposal – namely, the Internet – to keep donors up-to-date on projects to which they have donated. Strategies like emails, Facebook updates, pictures, Tweets, blog postings, and newsletters or reports sent as Word documents or PDFs can serve as excellent digital stand-ins to allow donors to visualize the impact of their donation.

The Internet is one of the most valuable tools available to Kibera CBOs, for multiple reasons. Internet access is relatively easy to find, even within the boundaries of Kibera. In addition to

facilitating the donor relationship, Internet giving is also a method of fundraising CBOs should quickly and easily embrace, although they must be wary of the online giving pitfalls listed previously (the distance and donors' lack of hands-on interaction with the organization to which they are donating can make their donation feel less useful). Using many of the strategies listed in the paragraph above, Kibera CBOs can ensure they utilize the Internet to their advantage, using it as a tool both to attract new donors and to communicate with repeat donors. Moreover, CBOs can use the Internet to directly address donor concerns such as the ones listed in the 2003 Brookings report. For CBOs that rely on private donations, communication strategies such as newsletters and financial reports to assure accountability, social media updates, and the online availability of program reports, including financial break-downs and explanations, can help keep donors satisfied and loyal.

For those CBOs that rely on grants more than private donations, one very real problem is that most smaller-scale organizations tend to apply piece-meal for grants or other funding sources whose goals may only marginally align with the organization's own. While this sort of ad hoc application strategy can certainly be appealing to CBOs in need of project funding, organizations risk wasting their time and energy applying to grant-making foundations whose priorities may fit only to a degree with their own. This strategy is particularly tempting in the atmosphere of Kibera, where one initial "boost" of fundraising (through a seed grant or generous private donation) can easily provide the support an organization needs to initiate projects that allow them to start building up a track record of successful and effective programming. While this type of track record of previous success and impact is a must if an organization wishes to receive more funding in the future, especially from grant-making foundations, CBOs in Kibera – where so many NGOs and other national and international organizations are already working – would be

best advised to use their time most productively by only applying for grants whose goals fit directly with projects the organization has the mission, vision, and capacity to implement. By fundraising in this kind of targeted manner, not allowing the siren sound of a generic call for proposals to lure them into a grant submission, organizations can more effectively and productively fundraise.

Why Kibera?

This study focuses solely on Kibera, one of the largest informal settlements in Africa. Despite Kibera's large size, relatively high-profile international media presence, proximity to Nairobi's Central Business District, and the proliferation of NGOs working within the settlement, Kibera residents still lack transportation infrastructure and access to healthcare, education, waste removal, and potable water. These types of living conditions are not unique to Kibera, but the fact that so many NGOs – over 200 as of 2000⁴⁴ – are actively operating in Kibera to solve these problems, with only marginal success rates (i.e., the majority of Kibera residents *still* do not have access to clean water or regular healthcare) sets Kibera apart from other informal settlements like it, if only because of the fact that other informal settlements, even in Nairobi, are not nearly as populated with NGOs.

Scholars have argued that apathy, ethnic tension, and limited resources are to blame for the continually dismal conditions in Kibera.⁴⁵ This is too simplistic an explanation, however; it does not dig nearly deep enough into the culture and unique mindsets of those who live in Kibera to explain the failure of so many NGOs, international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), and government initiatives to drastically change the lives of Kiberans for the better. Unfortunately, few other scholars have stepped forth to fill this intellectual gap. While studies about incidences of AIDS and other health problems in Kibera abound, more causal or analytic literature that focuses on Kibera is almost nonexistent.

In his article "The Kibera Slum," Carolina for Kibera founder Rye Barcott states that, "Although there are over 200 NGOs in Kibera, residents expressed deep-seated resentment and hostility toward NGOs," and that "even though every informant held an opinion about NGOs, 78 of 126 informants could not name a single NGO that operated in Kibera."⁴⁶ Whether real or imagined, Barcott blames the "general perception of exploitation" for most residents' negative opinions of NGO services.⁴⁷

In his indictment of why Kibera-focused NGOs fail – "poor management and leadership"; "short-term planning"; and "administrative and staff positions [filled] with outsiders," which "elicits great resentment from Kibera residents who are jobless" – Barcott also provides strategies for CBO success.⁴⁸ Kibera NGOs fail because they become caught up in a vicious cycle of project-to-project planning and because residents view them as "outsiders." CBOs, by their very nature, solve the latter problem; to solve the former, and to remain viable and influential community change agents, they must gain access to consistent forms of funding. This study looks at how CBOs can most effectively and successfully do that.

Methodology

To understanding the overall "landscape" of CBO funding in Kibera, this study involved the distribution of funding surveys to a small sample of Kibera CBOs. Twenty surveys were distributed, and thirteen were returned. These surveys were purposely distributed randomly so as to elicit a response size that was as accurate as possible. Though organizations surveyed were generally similar in size (most organizations were run by a team of five or fewer people), they varied in purpose and programmatic focus – some were arts organizations, others were women's

or children's centers, schools or after-school programs, and others were part of umbrella religious organizations operating in Kibera. Paper surveys were distributed and administered by a Kenyan research assistant. Survey questions included the following:

- 1. Have you ever received grants or any other types of funding from an organization or individual? If yes, please describe.
- 2. How often do you apply for grants or other types of funding?
- 3. If you have received funding in the past, what do you think were the most important factors that allowed you to receive it?
- 4. Please describe how your organization fundraises or receives money.
- 5. Is there a single person or team of people in your organization responsible for raising money? If yes, has that person/team been trained in fundraising techniques?
- 6. Do you at present know any grant officer or program manager employed at a grantmaking institution? If yes, please describe your relationship with this person – how you came to know them, if they have ever helped you apply for grants, etc.
- 7. Do you belong to any type of fundraising or professional network?

From the surveys, five of the most successfully funded organizations were then interviewed via Skype phone calls (and email, when the organization was unable to be reached by phone) to follow up on their survey responses. Interviews generally focused on how CBOs initiated and shaped their relationship with their donors, in addition to delving into how they received training in resource mobilization; what types of networking (if any) they engaged in; how their relationships with program managers at grant-making institutions had initiated and evolved, if applicable; and how they communicated and interacted with donors. Interview questions reflected how the organization had answered the survey: For example, some interviews focused on donor relationship strategies for those CBOs that relied on private donations, but other interviews focused on the grantwriting process and more foundation-focused funding.

At least in part because of the distance at which this research was conducted, some problems did arise during the course of the study. Though the surveys were distributed by a Kenyan research assistant, the fact that the surveys were being conducted for an American researcher meant that some organizations viewed the information gathering with mistrust, and some were unwilling to fill out all or parts of the survey because they viewed it as "spying" on the organization, especially its finances. This phenomenon was probably partly due to the overall mistrust Kibera residents tend to have for "outsiders" who engage in development work, and party because it was impossible to conduct this research in person in Nairobi. This distance factor, in addition to the lack of direct access to key organization members, meant that the data received was not as comprehensive as was initially hoped. Ultimately, these two problems resulted in a lower rate of survey return and smaller sample size. This, too, could have skewed the results presented below. Further research is needed – especially research focused specifically on informal settlements – to corroborate and strengthen (or disprove) these findings. *Results*

This study is divided between two different types of fundraising: private, individual donations versus grants from funding foundations. In general, the results of the surveys and interviews conducted adhered to this division; only two of the thirteen organizations surveyed had received both grants and individual donations. Tables 1 and 2, below, present these findings regarding the five variables studied (donor relationship cultivation strategies; networking; relationship with a grant manager; resource mobilization and capacity building training; and frequency of fundraising) along the donation-grant divide.

Organization Identity Code	Network	Relationship with Grant Manager	RM/CB Training	Fundraising Frequency
E	Considering	Yes	Yes	3+ times/year
F	Local Partnering	Yes	Yes	Ad hoc
G	No	No	Yes	Ad hoc
Н	No	Yes	Yes	Ad hoc
Ι	No	No	No	Ad hoc
K	Considering	No	Yes	Once/month
М	No	Yes	Yes	3+ times/year
Total percentage engaged in fundraising strategy	14.3 percent network	57.1 percent know a grant manager	85.7 percent have RM training	42.8 percent fundraise at least 3+ times/year

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Organization Identity Code	Type of donation	Donor relationship cultivation strategies	Network	RM Training	Fundraising Frequency
А	Multiple individual donations	No response	No	No	Solicit donations when needed
В	Multiple individual donations	Yes	No	Yes	Solicit donations when needed
С	Multiple donations, same person	No response	No	No	Ad hoc
D	Single donations, same person	No response	No	Yes	Ad hoc
G	Multiple individual donations	Yes	No	Yes	Ad hoc
J	Multiple individual donations	Yes	No	No	Ad hoc
М	Multiple individual donations	Yes	No	Yes	3+ times/year
Total percentage engaged in fundraising strategy		57.1 percent engage in DRC strategies	None network	57.1 percent have RM training	14.2 percent fundraise at least 3+ times/year

Table 2: CBOs that have received private donations

In addition to the results presented above, one of the most interesting findings of this study resulted from a survey question about why organizations think they had received funding in the past, or what factors they thought allowed them to continually receive funding. These answers were particularly interesting because this was one of the few questions that other scholars have asked (both to grassroots organizations and to grant-making foundations), so CBOs' answers can be compared empirically to the responses grant-making foundations gave.

Of the responses given, a few came up frequently:

- 22 percent of respondents cited program impact, design, or sustainability
- 19.5 percent of respondents thought their commitment to accountability and/or monitoring and evaluation measures made them attractive to donors

These were the responses given the most. After these two, various reasons were cited by only one or two organizations. Reasons for receiving funds were given as follows, with more common responses listed first:

- Program goals fit well with funders' priorities (7.3 percent)
- Well-stated and –structured organizational mission, vision (7.3 percent)
- Core values: integrity and honesty (4.8 percent)
- Outside recommendations (4.8 percent)
- Leadership structure and quality of management (4.8 percent)
- Organization is legally registered with Kenyan government (4.8 percent)
- Donors are personally interested in organization's work (4.8 percent)
- Good communication with donors (2.4 percent)
- Demonstrated ability to use funds wisely (2.4 percent)
- Good organizational, program management skills (2.4 percent)
- Presentation, ability to convince donors to give funds (2.4 percent)
- Ability to work directly with beneficiaries at local level (2.4 percent)
- Ask only for small, reasonable donations (2.4 percent)
- Innovation (2.4 percent)

Discussion: Variables that lead to Fundraising Success

1: Adherence to Donor Relationship Cultivation Strategies

Nonprofit scholars have been quite clear: For those nonprofits that rely on private donations, cultivation of the donor-nonprofit relationship is critical for fundraising success. As Chart 1 (see Appendix I) shows, of Kibera CBOs that rely on donations, 57.1 percent are engaging in at least some of the techniques for which donor relationship scholars advocate. Of the five CBOs interviewed, two rely heavily (one exclusively) on private donations as a form of funding. Even from this small sample size, then, it is evident that there is a fairly equal divide between reliance on grants versus donors as a method of fundraising. Moreover, this relatively even split proves both that reliance on donations is a viable fundraising strategy for Kibera CBOs and that information about the donor relationship cultivation model can be just as useful as grant writing tips.

The first CBO interviewed (organization G) that relies on private donations organizes fundraising forums to attract individual donors, most of whom are Kenyan. Most individual donations are small, although they do have some repeat donors – according to the interview, organization G also relies heavily on informal networks of friends, either for donations or to attract more donors. CBO members also write thank-you notes to donors. They engage in social media (mainly Facebook) to keep donors apprised of their organizational activities and help donors visualize the impact of their donation. Often, donors ask that their money go towards a specific project being planned, although CBO members may also indicate to donors what programs they would like money for and also what amounts they would like to receive. Ultimately, organization G credits their transparency (book keeping and accounting), their informal networks, and their close relationship with donors for their ability to attract (and keep) private donors.⁴⁹

Organization B, the second CBO interviewed that relies on private donations, also goes door-to-door asking for donations. In the past year, they have received repeat donations from multiple individual donors. They engage in cultivation strategies like personal visits to thank donors as well as ad hoc reports to donors when programs they have donated to with are completed. They are also contemplating starting a newsletter. To help donors tailor their donations, organization B sends them their annual budget, highlighting the projects that need funding.⁵⁰ They are currently in the process of building up their donor list and eventually would like to move away from a reliance on donations, instead bringing in revenue from programs they hope to start implementing in the next year or so.

This admittedly small sample size reveals that 57.1 percent of Kibera CBOs that rely on donations are already engaging in donor relationship cultivation techniques as they pursue and attempt to keep individual donors. Strategies like showing appreciation (via thank-you notes and personal visits) for donations as well as keeping donors up-to-date about their programs and the impact of the donations, which nonprofit scholars advocate for, are already being implemented in organizations B and G. Additionally, access to CBO leadership does not seem to be a major issue: Because most CBOs operate on a local scale – and because most of their donors are local – it is easy for donors to see where their money is going and how it is making an impact in the community. When donors are not local, CBOs are using social media tools like Facebook to publicize how donor money is being spent.

These techniques can help CBOs to keep donors once they have initially attracted them. CBOs seem less successful in that initial donor attraction, however. While most CBOs do have some individual donors, they admit that their donor lists are not as strong as they could be. While it is good CBOs are relying on the informal networks they already have in place – and

while it does not seem like CBOs are merely resting on their fundraising laurels – CBOs do not seem to be leveraging their considerable strengths (their local influence, relative lack of bureaucracy, and close relationship with the communities in which they operate) to their advantage with formal networking.

2: Networking

Networking is another key variable for CBOs trying to procure funding, especially from grant-making foundations. Charts 2, 2A, and 2B (see Appendix I) show that none of the CBOs that rely on donations are actively engaged in formal networking; 14.3 percent of CBOs that rely on grants are engaged in networking in the form of local partnerships, while 28.6 percent are considering pursuing formal networking channels.

It is possible that networking is less of a contributing factor to successful private fundraising, but from the surveys it appears that networking is necessary for CBOs pursuing foundation funds (if only to increase their likelihood of hearing about funding opportunities, an idea that will be discussed below in the "fundraising frequency" section). Though it would appear many CBOs are already relying on their informal networks of contacts, friends, and colleagues for donations (even if they do not actually call it networking), most foundation funding is quite competitive, and CBOs should seek to increase their networking presence as much as possible. The more their mission, objectives, and programs are known, especially by those in positions to allocate funds, the more successful CBOs will ultimately be at fundraising.

It is quite possible, although this study did not delve deeply into this line of inquiry, that most CBOS simply do not know – or, more importantly, do not think they know – how to go about utilizing formal networking to their advantage. Clearly, CBOs are already building up informal networks, and this can only benefit them. By using social media such as Facebook and

LinkedIn to their benefit, as well as attending any open houses potential funders – like grantmaking foundations, national embassies, or even large multinational companies with offices in Nairobi (like Coca-Cola) who might have commitments to corporate social responsibility – it is likely CBOs might find more avenues of fundraising open to them. Like many of the other strategies recommended within this study, though, this type of commitment to networking takes both time and energy, and it is something CBOs should take seriously, rather than just engaging in half-hearted efforts, to truly make their organizations and their members more successful fundraisers.

3: Relationships with Grant Managers

This study hypothesized that an existing relationship with a grant manager or program officer within a grant-making foundation was the most important factor that facilitated CBO funding. However, the evidence from the surveys conducted indicated that this does not seem to necessarily be the case: While a relationship with a grant manager may be slightly more important than networking, it is by no means imperative for CBOs. Charts 3, 3A, and 3B (see Appendix 1) show that, of the CBOs that rely on donations, 28.6 percent know a grant manager; of CBOs that utilize grants as fundraising, 57.1 percent know or have a relationship with a grant manager. While this variable is important, than, it is not as critical as this study had hypothesized (resource mobilization training, which will be discussed below, appears to the single most important factor in determining funding). Of the five CBOs interviewed, two knew grant managers (and both had received grants), but only one thought that relationship had actually helped them procure funding they might not have been aware of otherwise.

In most cases, it appeared CBOs had met the grant manager they knew through some form of networking – a positive sign. However, most of the CBOs surveyed did not seem to

think this person had given them a substantial "edge" when applying for funding or that this person had necessarily made them aware of a significant number of funding opportunities about which they might not otherwise have known. Additionally, none of the CBOs indicated that their relationship with the grant manager was anything other than strictly professional. Overall, then, the findings of this study point to the conclusion that, while knowing a professional in the grant-making industry can be helpful, the professional status of the relationship most CBOs have with these contacts does not actually lend itself to any significant boost in funding. Perhaps the relationship must extend to a deeper, more personal level for CBOs to receive significant benefit from the relationship, although it is beyond the scope of this study to do anything more than speculate about that. Based on the success of other factors, like resource mobilization training and capacity building, it would appear relationships with grant managers can be beneficial for CBOs, although they are in no way a panacea for fundraising.

4: Resource Mobilization Training & Capacity Building

As mentioned above, the findings of this study point to the conclusion that, of all the variables explored, training in resource mobilization and capacity building is the single most important factor that helps CBOs procure funding, either from grant-making foundations or private donors. Whether a team or an individual from the CBO has received training seems to matter little – what is important is that at least one member of the CBO has at least some familiarity with the basics of fundraising. In addition to studying resource mobilization training as a variable for fundraising success, part of this study also looked at how CBOs gain access to mobilization training.

As Charts 5, 5A, and 5B (see Appendix I) show, of the CBOs that rely on grants, 85.7 percent have received resource training, while 57.1 percent of CBOs that rely on donations had

some experience with resource mobilization training. Clearly, then, experience with mobilization techniques – again, though not a "silver bullet" for fundraising success – is important, and of all the variables studied it is the one that most consistently resulted in fundraising success. For the most part, resource mobilization training took the form of seminars or workshops. Though the surveys did not go into much depth about how this training was obtained, of the five CBOs interviewed, two of the four organizations that had received grants were trained in resource mobilization by the same organization that gave them the grant. The truly interesting twist, though, is that these two organizations received training *after* they had already accepted the grant.⁵¹ The training, then, focused more on how to monitor and evaluate programs and how to track and report how money was spent, rather than focusing on key skills like grant writing. The other two CBOs who had received grants had also received mobilization training, and theirs took the form of one- or two-day workshops hosted by NGOs, not grant-making foundations.

Resource mobilization training – and its cousin, capacity building, which is similar to but also broader than mobilization training – can be valuable tools for CBOs as they attempt to fundraise. Though most mobilization training tends to focus more on foundation grants rather than private donations, the skills (like grant writing) that CBOs can take away from these seminars can serve as an initial knowledge base that can make them more appealing to foundation funders. Knowing the basics of grant writing, in addition to the detail-orientated tasks of monitoring and evaluation and program management, can help a CBO stand out to grantmaking foundations as serious, committed, and responsible organizations. Additionally, as evidenced by the interviews conducted, higher-level NGOs and INGOs frequently hold short, day-long seminars or workshops as evidence of the fact that they are committed to local participation and helping the local population "own" their development projects. Mobilization

training, then, is often easily obtained, and it is something CBOs should absolutely take advantage of, as the skills they gain can be quite valuable, especially if they continue to build on them with additional knowledge and practice.

5: Fundraising Frequency

Another interesting finding of this study is the importance of fundraising frequency, something this paper had not hypothesized to be a deciding factor in fundraising success (or, really, to have much bearing at all on the success of fundraising efforts). According to Charts 6, 6A, and 6B (see Appendix I), 42.8 percent of CBOs that rely on grants fundraise at least 3 times a year, if not more, while 14.2 percent of CBOs that rely on donations fundraise at the same frequency. It is worth noting that three CBOs surveyed did not answer this question, either because they had never formally applied for funds or because they were currently relying on private donations.

Overall, then, it appears most CBOs (close to 55 percent of the organizations surveyed) take a largely ad hoc approach to grant submission. Interestingly, of the CBOs that applied for grants when made aware of them, 75 percent had received grants; of the CBOS that applied for funding more regularly, all of them had received some sort of foundation funding, even if they were not receiving foundation money at present. Much like networking and a relationship with a grant manager, then, frequency of applying for funds is important but not critical. Certainly, applying for grants and other funds more frequently cannot hurt, although writing and submitting grants does require taking time away from programming. Because frequent fundraising does not lead to astonishing results for CBOs, fundraising frequency is probably something each organization should consider on an individual basis and realistically look at how much time they

can devote to this one particular aspect of fundraising, especially in relation to other avenues like networking and engaging in resource mobilization training or capacity building.

6: Factors that Facilitate CBO Fundraising Success

One of the most interesting findings of this study is the perceptions CBOs have of what enables them to successfully obtain funding. These findings are especially interesting when considered in conjunction with Bothwell's study about why grant-making foundations fund grassroots organizations such as CBOs. Below, two charts are presented: The first presents the list of reasons CBOs cite for fundraising success; the second recapitulates Bothwell's findings.

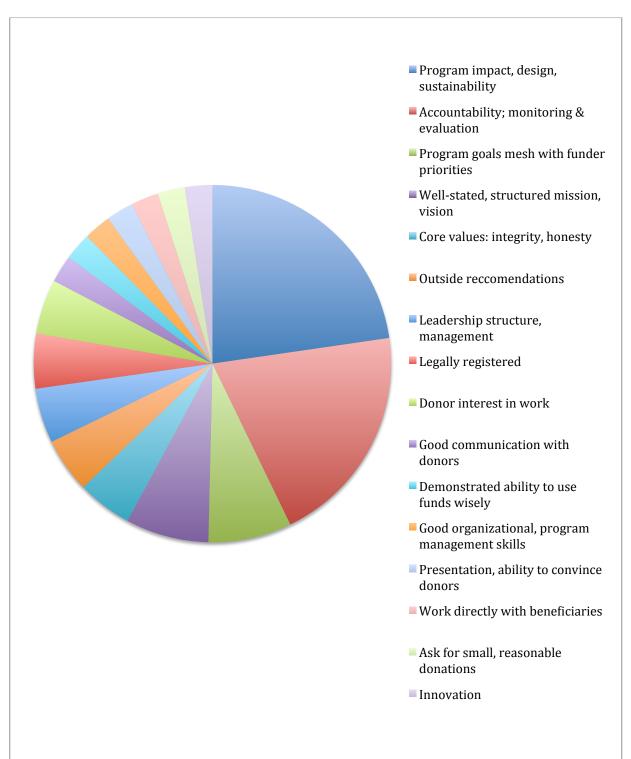


Chart 6: Reasons CBOs give for effective fundraising

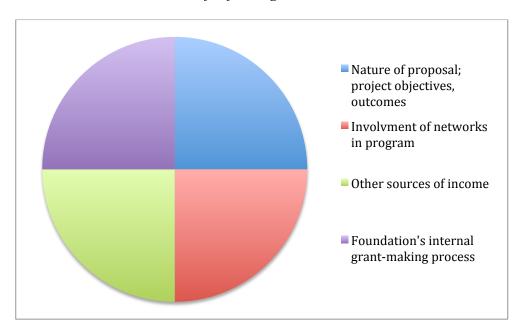


Chart 7: Foundation reasons for funding

Based on these results, CBOs are failing to realize a full three-quarters of foundations' priorities when considering grassroots organizations to fund (foundation processes, outside income, and presence of networks). While CBOs' top reason given for receiving funding – their program impact and design – is also funders' top priority, in most other respects CBOs perceptions and expectations are vastly different from the criteria grant-making foundations look at when considering who to fund.

This discrepancy is a major problem for CBOs seeking foundation funds. If CBOs are laboring under the belief that something, such as their ability to use funds wisely, is important to foundation funders and it is not, then their entire proposal – or a whole host of grant proposals – could be skewed towards a certain value CBOs *think* foundations find important but that actually foundations do not even consider when allocating grassroots funding. How, then, can this incongruity be rectified? Foundations' websites are one excellent source for CBOs to learn exactly what values and process foundation prioritize. CBOs should take these websites at their word, noting what types of programs (and, perhaps more importantly, what types of

organizations) foundations say they tend to fund. Moreover, the findings of Bothwell's study lead to the conclusion that process is critical. Much like taking note of funding priorities, CBOs should be cognizant of how foundation funders go about their funding process: If funders ask for a specific format for a grant proposal, CBOs would do well to follow it to the letter, not improvising a format that may get their proposal discarded before it is even read.

Foundation priorities of networking and outside income are another interesting finding from Bothwell's study. As noted above, these two priorities are aspects of funding that most Kibera CBOs do not appear to be considering at all, although most CBOs are most likely engaged in networking and attempting to bring in revenues separate from foundation funds. Bothwell's findings, in conjunction with the perceptions this study has brought to light, point to the conclusion that it is entirely possible for CBOs to be pursuing all the correct avenues of funding that foundations require to bestow grants, but these CBOs might not be highlighting the correct aspects of their organization in their proposals. As mentioned above, then, CBOs should learn as much about the funding process of the grant-making foundation to which they are applying as possible, and take these foundations at their word: If a foundation says it is looking for networking, CBOs must show them just how their organization is engaged in networking, and the proposal probably has a better chance of being accepted.

Implications & Suggestions for CBOs

This study has examined several factors that may or may not lead CBOs to fundraising success. On a related note, this study has found that, while all the necessary fundraising information may be available for CBOs somewhere, it is rarely available all in one place or in a concise format. In the interest of both condensing the existing fundraising "wisdom" and making it more readily available to CBOs who seek it, this study will now present a concise list of

suggestions for CBOs who seek to fundraise, either through private donations or grant-making foundations. CBOs should note that these suggestions are not mutually exclusive – in other words, CBOs should not rely "just" on private donations or foundation funds, but rather should seek to fundraise whenever and by whatever means possible.

Recommendations for CBOs Relying on Private Donations

- Use donor relationship cultivation strategies to attract and keep donors. These can include the following:
 - Be positive in organizational and donor communication
 - Engage in honest discussion with donors
 - Let donors know where their money is going
 - Keep promises
 - Never stop cultivating the organization-donor relationship; never take that relationship for granted
- Write thank-you notes for donations (handwritten is best)
- Communicate with donors as much as possible: Use progress reports and newsletters to keep donors up-to-date on projects they have donated to; help them to see where their money is going and how it is impacting the community
- Strive to cultivate a personal, not just a professional, relationship with donors this will keep them committed and result in repeat donations
- Use the Internet as a tool to find donors, but also use it to keep donors apprised of program impact
- Cultivate trust with donors; one way to do this is to manage money wisely, and be as transparent as possible with finances

Recommendations for CBOs Seeking Foundation Funds

- Network, both informally and formally. Use social media like Facebook and LinkedIn whenever possible
- If at all possible, seek to build a relationship with a grant manager or project officer within a funding foundation. This step is not critical, nor will it guarantee funding, but investing the time and resource to cultivate this relationship will not hurt the chances of foundation fundraising success
- Engage in resource mobilization training and capacity building whenever possible. Many NGOs offer day-long seminars or workshops; if time and money are not a constraint, attend these sessions and build up a fundraising knowledge base
- Fundraise as frequently as possible and as frequently as is feasible. The more proposals submitted, the greater the likelihood one will be accepted. Each call for proposals represents a chance to hone grant-writing skills; take advantage of it
- On the other hand, though, do not submit a proposal simply because a funding
 organization has issued a call for submission this is a waste of time and energy. Make
 sure the priorities of the funding organization to which the proposal is submitted mesh
 with the organization's goals and programs

Limitations & Suggestions for Further Research

First and foremost, this is a case study of Kibera. While Kibera is similar in many ways to informal settlements around the world, for reasons outlined previously it is also unique. Some of the strategies offered here may not be applicable to CBOs in other informal settlements, or even elsewhere in Nairobi. Moreover, the suggestions offered here are guidelines. The more of these suggestions CBOs can engage in the greater the likelihood they will procure funding, but each individual CBO must decide their limit on fundraising strategies. If every Kibera CBO were to utilize every strategy presented here, organizations would probably find themselves with little to no time for the programs to which their organizations are dedicated. The underlying message, then, is "do what you can when you can"; CBOs should not become so caught up in fundraising that they neglect their programs or the communities in which they work.

Additionally, more research is needed in informal settlements outside Kibera to strengthen, corroborate, or disprove these findings. If it all possible, in-person research is recommended, as it taking the time to get to know the CBOs interviewed and build a working relationship; this could encourage the kind of trust and openness that seemed to be lacking in this study.

Moreover, more research is needed overall about informal settlements. There is a shocking lack of academic information, beyond medical studies about HIV/AIDS or malaria, about residents of informal settlements. Research of all styles – ethnographic, discourse analysis, and scientific – is needed to build up a solid knowledge base about the lives of those who inhabit the world's informal settlements. More and more, informality is becoming a hallmark of life in low-income countries, and more information about every aspect of informality, as well as its effects on the people who live, work, and learn in the informal sector, is needed.

Finally, more research is needed about CBOs – about how they operate, the environments in which they operate, what makes them successful, how they can become more successful, and how they can fundraise successfully. As the prevalence of informality increases, so, too, does the incidence of CBOs whose goals are to better the communities in which they work. CBOs represent a significant portion of the "development" work occurring throughout informal settlements, but often they are simply not receiving money to support their initiatives. Information must be disseminated through popular channels like the Internet to make the vast wealth of fundraising knowledge available to CBOs who could put it to good use. This study is a start, but there is still much work to be done.

Conclusion

After initially hypothesizing that a relationship with a grant manager was the most critical factor for CBO fundraising success, this case study of Kibera examined five variables for funding success: adherence to donor relationship cultivation strategies; networking; relationship with a grant manager; resource mobilization training and capacity building; and frequency of fundraising efforts. This study has found that of these five variables, the only predictable indicator of fundraising success is whether or not members of a Kibera CBO have received any type of resource mobilization training or capacity building. Moreover, this study has found that most CBOs in Kibera tend to take an ad hoc approach to fundraising efforts, and predictably enough the results of this type of approach are not spectacular. While presenting fundraising tips for organizations, both those that rely on private donations and foundation funds, this study urges Kibera CBOs to take a more systematic approach to fundraising, if it is at all feasible for the organization. This study concludes by recommending the necessity of much more research. As a case study, it is entirely possible that many of the suggestions cited here do not apply to CBOs operating in other informal settlements. More research, then, is needed to corroborate - or perhaps disprove – the findings of this study, especially as they apply to informal settlements outside Nairobi. As the world's cities continue to grow, informality is becoming an entrenched aspect of life for many urban residents. More research is needed at every level – and on almost every topic – to understand these phenomena of urbanization and informality, for they are surely here to stay.

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Appendix I: Charts

Chart 1: Percentage of CBOs (that rely on donations) that engage in donor relationship

cultivation strategies

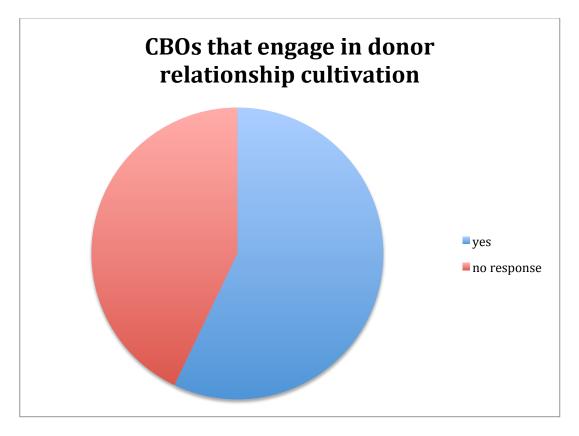


Chart 2: CBOs that network (all CBOs surveyed)

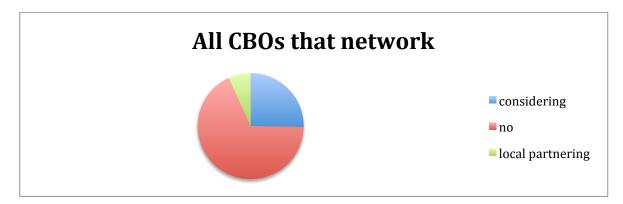


Chart 2A: CBOs that rely on donations that network

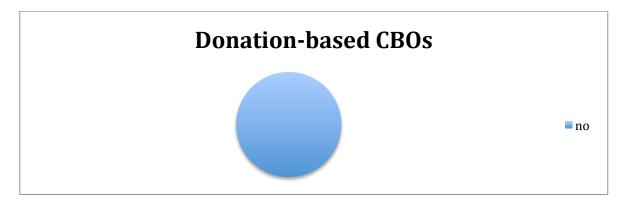


Chart 2B: CBOs that rely on grants that network

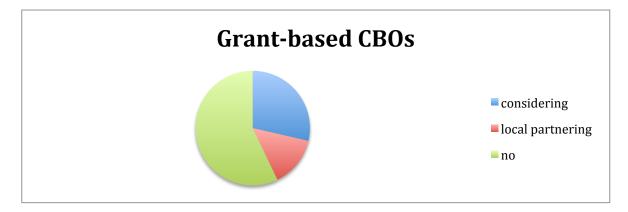


Chart 3: CBOs that know a grant manager (all CBOs)

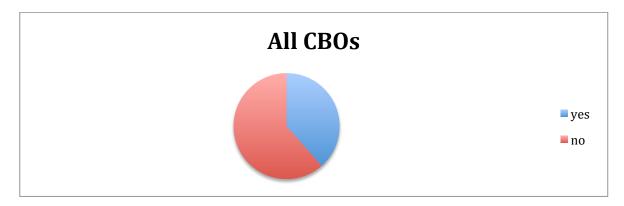


Chart 3A: CBOs that rely on donations that know a grant manager

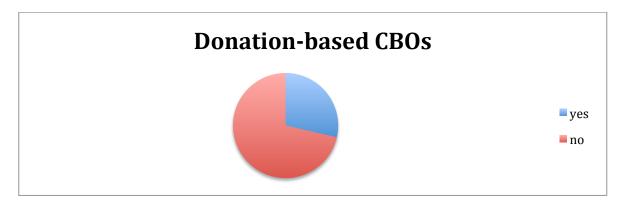
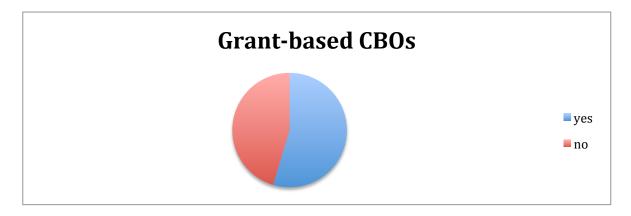


Chart 3B: CBOs that rely on grants that know a grant manager



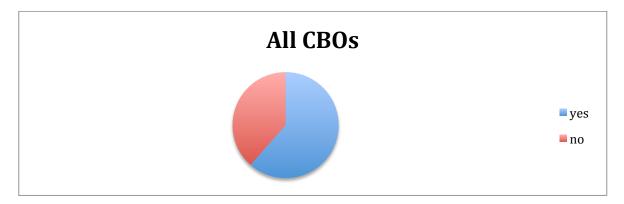


Chart 4: CBOs that have resource management/capacity building training (all CBOs)

Chart 4A: CBOs that rely on donations that have RM/CB training

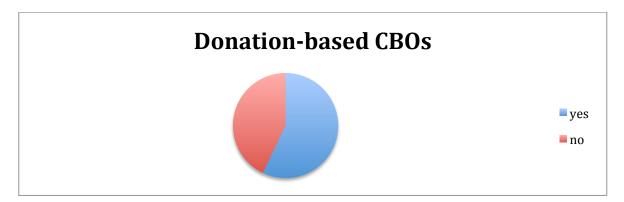


Chart 4B: CBOs that rely on grants that have RM/CB training

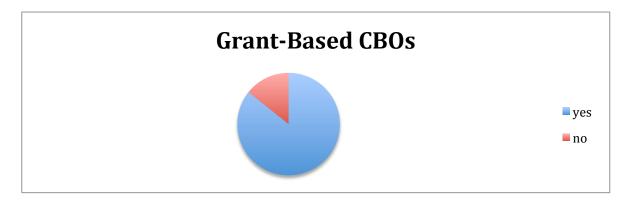


Chart 5: Fundraising Frequency of all CBOs

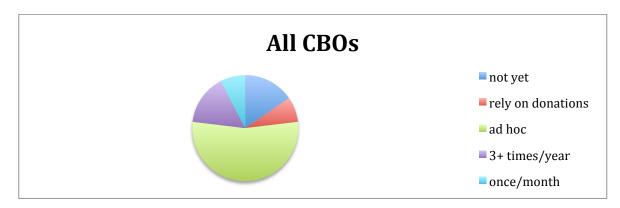


Chart 5A: Fundraising frequency of CBOs that rely on donations

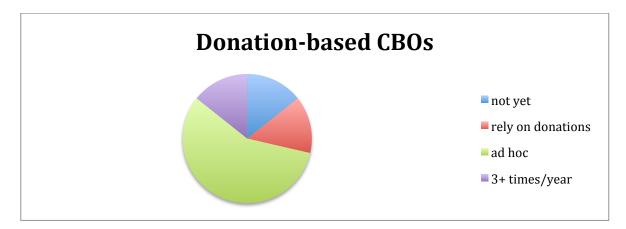
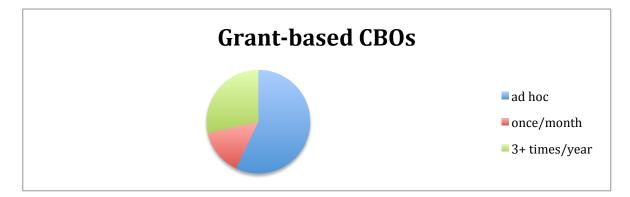


Chart 5B: Fundraising frequency of CBOs that rely on grants



Appendix II: Data

Table 3: Condensed survey results

Organization identity code	Type of fundraising	Donor relationship cultivation strategies	Networking	Relationship with grant manager	RM/CB training	Fundraising frequency
A	Individual donations	No response	No	No	No	Not yet
В	Individual donations	Yes	No	No	Yes	Donations
С	Donations from the same person	No response	No	Yes	No	Ad hoc
D	One donation	No response	No	No	Yes	Ad hoc
Е	Grant	No response	Considering	Yes	Yes	3+ times/year
F	Grant	No response	Local partnering	Yes	Yes	Ad hoc
G	Individual donations, grant	Yes	No	No	Yes	Ad hoc
Н	Grant	No response	No	Yes	Yes	Ad hoc
Ι	Grant	No response	No	No	No	Ad hoc
J	Individual donations	Yes	No	No	No	Ad hoc
K	Grant	No response	Considering	No	Yes	Once/month
L	None	No response	No	No	No	Not yet
М	Individual donations, grant	Yes	no	Yes	Yes	3+ times/year

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