

**SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AMONG THE POOR SLUM  
DWELLERS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON  
URBAN POVERTY:  
A CASE STUDY OF KIBERA SLUMS.**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

This research paper is my original work and has not been presented for a degree award in any other University.

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## *DEDICATION*

I dedicate this paper to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kikech whose tireless efforts saw the seven of us through the long laborious journey of education. Through them we have lived up to our family's motto, "Backwards never forwards ever"

My wish is that the Good Lord gives them everlasting lives on earth.

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## **List of Acronyms/ Abbreviations**

AMREF- African Medical Research Foundation

CV- Coefficient of Variation

DFID- Department for International Development

FGT- Foster, Greer and Thorbecke

GoK- Government of Kenya

KHRC- Kenya Human Rights Commission

OECD- Organization for Economic Corporation and Development

PPA- Poverty Participatory Assessment

RHBS- Rural Household Budget Surveys

SL- Sustainable Livelihood

SPSS-Statistical Package for Social Scientists

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UNHSP- United Nations Human Settlements Program

UN- United Nations

WMS -Welfare Monitoring Survey

WCED-World Commission on Environment and Development

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Study

Poverty has been and still is a major concern by individuals, organizations, institutions and governments' world over. Many poverty reduction programmes have been developed over time and across regions but despite these efforts, poverty continues to be a key impediment to both human and economic prosperity (OECD, 2000).

Poverty in Kenya has taken on many forms: deprivation, isolation, alienation, insecurity and worst of all, despondency. It is a problem that manifests itself in many forms and at all levels of society and which threatens the very foundations of society. These include lack of basic income, regular experience of hunger, no access to basic education or health care, especially for children and mothers, exposure to HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, lack of access to jobs for young people and in a nutshell lack of access to the basic needs (Ayacko et al, 1997).

According to Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS) of 1997, the majority of Kenyans urban poor live in peri- urban and slum settlements that are characterized by inadequate and low quality services like inadequate water, limited access to quality schools and health services, and unhygienic living conditions. Lack of adequate facilities and regular clean water has led to poor health, poor education and poor nutrition- that make them more susceptible to poverty conditions (GoK, 2000a).

With rising poverty in the urban areas and increasing vulnerability among the slum dwellers, they cushion themselves by undertaking income generating activities for survival. The poor have developed strategies to deal with low incomes. Moser and McIlwaine (1997) assert that the poor maximize the use of their very limited resources to avert what threatens to be absolute disaster. Activities to counteract poverty include a wide range of economic and social mechanisms. These activities will help them cope and therefore may be seen as survival strategies. Moser and McIlwaine (1997) see these

activities as safety nets and springboards that help the poor move out of poverty and diversify into other businesses.

In various countries people have coped differently. In Zambia for example, women have adopted different grocery sale, dressmaking and laundry work, while men peddle in the streets to sell cigarettes, newspapers and other non-perishable goods. The monetary gains from these activities have helped them start other businesses to cope with rising poverty.

According to UNDP (2000), due to low-incomes that make it hard to access quality education, the urban poor find it difficult to get jobs in the formal sectors. Most end up working in the informal sectors, which pay low wages and hence job insecurity, mostly in micro-scale self-employment or in casual activities. The main activities include trading, artisanship, and casual labour and waste recycling. Some even engage in urban farming in an effort to make ends meet. Therefore survival strategies help the poor to survive.

### **1.1.1 Measurement and Definition of Poverty**

Although there exists no universally accepted index incorporating all the dimensions of poverty, the Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (FGT) measure developed by Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (1984) is the most popular indicator of the degree of poverty. Despite its limitations as a simple measure of poverty, the FGT comprises head-count ratio for the incidence of absolute poverty, poverty gap ratio for the depth of poverty, and Coefficient of Variation (CV) for the severity of poverty and indication of the distribution of inequality in income or expenditure below the poverty line (Mukui, 1995).

General literature and the country's PPA1 and PPA2 study reports (World Bank, 2000 and AMREF-GOK, 1997) define poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon comprising economic, political, physiological and psychological deprivation. Its manifestations are vulnerability, powerlessness, humiliation, social inferiority, physical weakness, isolation, lack of assets, and inaccessibility to basic needs. In the circumstances, the poor are a



disabled lot who lack land, livestock and farm equipment, who cannot both participate in the political process and provide decent burial to their deceased, who have many mouths to feed but who live in poor houses, and who suffer from alcoholism, child labour, and insecurity.

### **1.1.2 Overview of Kenya's Poverty Profile**

The country's baseline poverty profile was constructed in 1994 using the 1981/82 Rural Household Budget Surveys (RHBS) and the WMS1 conducted in 1992 (Mukui, 1995). Based on the WMS2 and WMS3 conducted in 1994 and 1997, other poverty profiles were constructed in 1997 and 2000 respectively. Despite their various shortcomings (such as differences in methodology, timing, sampling and definitions, and numbers of invalid cases limiting their comparability), the two profiles reveal the country's temporal and inter-temporal poverty landscape.

### **1.1.3 Overall Degree of Poverty**

Poverty in Kenya has been on the increase over time, with food poverty increasing more than absolute poverty. For instance in 1972, the number of Kenyans defined as poor was 3.7 million, increasing to 11.5 million in 1994 and further to 13.3 million in 1997. According to the WMS of 1994, the incidence of poverty in Kenya was 47 percent in the rural areas and 29 percent in the urban areas. The absolute poverty line was Kshs. 980 per capita per month for rural areas and Kshs. 1,490 per capita for the urban areas. This has since increased to Kshs. 1,239 and 2,648 for the urban and rural areas respectively (GoK, 2000b). Mwabu, et al (2002), found that the number of poor Kenyans had shot up to 15 million (about 56 percent of the total population) in the year 2000).

Based on the head-count ratio, the overall incidence of poverty in the country between 1994 and 1997 stagnated at about 44%, implying that almost half of the population was unable to consume a required minimum of food and essential non-food commodities.

The overall depth of poverty in country over the same period averaged 30%, implying that the poor were 30% short of the minimum requirement of food and non-food essential commodities. At the same time, the average inequality of income (expenditure) over the same period was 0.45, suggesting a highly unequal distribution of income (expenditure) among the absolute poor (Ayako et al, 1997).

Poverty is spatial, but unevenly distributed in the country across provinces, urban-rural divide as well as by gender. According to the 1997 WMS, the incidences of rural food poverty stood at 51 percent compared to 38 percent for the urban areas. Overall poverty incidence was 53 percent and 49 percent for the rural and urban areas, respectively. Generally, poverty has hit rural communities more than the urban. Even within the urban areas, there are differences in poverty incidences. The slum sections are more vulnerable than other urban areas (GoK, 2000a).

#### **1.1.4 Urban Poverty**

Almost half the world's population lives in cities. Some four billion people will soon be living in towns and cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America. But as towns and cities swell across the developing world, so does urban poverty. Today in Sub-Saharan Africa, seven out of every 10 people in urban areas are living in slum conditions. This growth is a daunting prospect – we are already seeing the greatest concentrations of poverty ever witnessed in cities around the world, and these are only going to grow (UNDP, 1991).

Aspects of poverty in urban areas include (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1996):

- Inadequate income (and thus inadequate consumption of necessities including food and, often, safe and sufficient water; often problems of indebtedness with debt repayments significantly reducing income available for necessities).
- Inadequate assets (including educational attainment and housing) for individuals, households or communities.
- Inadequate shelter (typically poor quality, overcrowded and insecure).

- Inadequate public services (piped water, sanitation, drainage, roads, and footpaths) which increase health burden and often work burden.
- Inadequate basic services such as day care/schools/vocational training, health-care, emergency services, public transport, communications, law enforcement.
- Limited or no safety net to ensure basic consumption can be maintained when income falls; also to ensure access to shelter and health care when these can no longer be paid for.
- Inadequate protection including laws and regulations regarding civil and political rights, occupational health and safety, pollution control, environmental health, protection from violence and other crimes, protection from discrimination and exploitation.
- Without a voice within political systems and bureaucratic structures, leading to little or no possibility of: receiving entitlements; organizing, making demands and getting a fair response; and receiving support for developing their own initiatives.

### **1.1.5 Slums and the Urbanization of Poverty**

#### **Defining Slums**

A slum household is a household that lacks any one of the following five elements (UN-HABITAT 2003c):

- Access to improved water,
- Access to improved sanitation,
- Security of tenure (the right to effective protection by the state against arbitrary, unlawful eviction ),
- Durability of housing (including living in a non-hazardous location) and
- Sufficient living area (no overcrowding).

It is a myth that the people in the cities are automatically better off compared to those living in the rural areas. Recent research (UN-HABITAT, 2003b) has shown that 924 million people, or 31.6% of the world's urban population, are living under unacceptable conditions, and this figure will increase unless development agencies scale up their efforts to improve the living conditions of current and future urban dwellers. The fight against poverty has to take place in both cities and rural areas or it might well be lost.

During the 1990s, the world's urban population increased by 36%. In the future, such growth rates are likely to continue while rural populations will barely increase. Poverty will increasingly become urbanized across the globe, yet current development policies aren't keeping up with the trend. Infrastructure development, creation of decent jobs, and extension of public services have lagged far behind (Kumata et al, 1996).

Africa's problems are no longer mainly rural. According to a UN-Habitat publication launched on World Habitat Day (6 October, 2003a), Sub-Saharan Africa hosts the largest proportion of the urban population residing in slums (71.9 per cent); 166 million out of a total urban population of 231 million are classified as slum dwellers. The region has the second largest slum population in the world after South-Central Asia, which has 262 million making up 58 per cent of the total urban population in that region. UN-Habitat estimates that 924 million people worldwide, or 31.6 per cent of the global urban population, lived in slums in 2001. Currently, 60 per cent of Nairobi's population lives in informal settlements (slums), occupying only 5 per cent of the residential land in the city.

### **Facts and Figures<sup>1</sup>**

- At present, there are about 900 million slum dwellers and if current local, national and international policies continue, this could rise to an estimated two billion by 2020.
- Almost half the population of African and Asian towns and cities lives in slums, with figures for individual towns and cities ranging from 30-70 per cent.

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<sup>1</sup> UN-Habitat, 2004

- In Sub-Saharan Africa, an estimated 72 per cent of the urban population lives in slums. This compares with 36 per cent in East Asia, 58 per cent in south-central Asia and 32 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- There are estimated to be 570 million slum dwellers in the Asia-Pacific region alone.
- Slums are not only a large city phenomenon. Many towns and secondary cities have a high proportion of their populations living in slums.

### **1.1.6 Measures to Curb Urban Poverty**

Efforts to improve the living conditions of slum dwellers (especially within developing countries) have been feeble and incoherent over the last decade or so, having peaked during the 1980s. However, renewed concern about poverty has recently led governments to adopt a specific target on slums in the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which aims to significantly improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. As this report emphasizes, slums are a manifestation of the two main challenges facing human settlements development at the beginning of the new millennium: rapid urbanization and the urbanization of poverty. Slum areas have the highest concentrations of poor people and the worst shelter and physical environmental conditions (UNDP, 2000).

The Habitat Agenda, adopted by the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in 1996, also addresses eradication of poverty as one of the ten overarching goals and principles to guide actions, policies and programmes on human settlements. Chapter II (Goals and Principles) paragraph 28 states:

“The eradication of poverty is essential for sustainable human settlements. The principle of poverty eradication is based on the framework adopted by the World Summit for Social Development and on the relevant outcomes of other major United Nations conferences, including the objective of meeting the basic needs of all people, especially those living in poverty and disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, particularly in the developing countries where poverty is acute, as well as the objective of enabling all

women and men to attain secure and sustainable livelihoods through freely chosen and productive employment and work.” (UN-Habitat, 2004)

### **1.1.7 Survival Strategies**

Many slum dwellers make up the informal economy. The strategies include street vending, drug dealing, domestic work, and prostitution. In some slums people collect the city cans for a living, later recycling them for the money. The urban poor work in a wide range of industry and services, but their economic contribution to the urban and national economy is rarely recognized (UNHSP, 2003).

The slum dwellers earn their living in informal but crucial activities, and therefore provide services that may not be so easily available through the formal sector. Many cities and industries would simply come to a halt without the labour provided by these dwellers. As Nairobi's art and music scene will attest, slums are also vibrant places where the mixing of different cultures often produces new forms of artistic expression. These unhealthy, crowded environments can sow the seeds of new cultural movements and levels of solidarity unknown among the middle and upper classes (John, 2003).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Slum dwellers form the majority of the population in urban centres and are among the vulnerable groups. They are afflicted by poverty more disproportionately than any other urban dweller (Mwabu et al 2001). Out of the total population of the people living in Nairobi, 52 percent live in absolute poverty. Out of these 25.5 percent belong to female-headed households. Indeed Todaro (1989) stated that virtually in every country, there are more women than men at lowest levels of income and in the society. Generally, people living in slum areas in Nairobi are poor.

Furthermore, the urban slum dwellers are faced with many social, economic and cultural problems. They have a low social status, poor sanitation, limited access to justice, information, lack of adequate and clean water, education vulnerability to rights violation, and loss of security (GoK, 1999). This makes their living conditions very harsh and expensive and therefore the need for survival strategies to help them cope. They engage

in activities such as maize roasting, prostitution, hawking, grocery and tailoring, while others engage in house help jobs (Syagga, 1989). Since the slum or informal sector consists of semi-organized and unregulated activities, they may or may not have licenses for carrying out such activities (GoK, 1994).

Given that the situation of the poor may not receive adequate attention in terms of coming up with policies and strategies to raise their living standards, this study proposes to identify the activities the urban poor should engage in to cope with poverty, with a view of understanding and shedding some light on how these activities can be promoted to improve their lives.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The broad objective of this research paper is to identify the survival strategies used by the urban poor especially the slum dwellers in Kenya.

The specific objectives include:-

1. Investigating the factors that determine the choice of the survival strategies, and their impact on urban poverty,
2. Check how the survival strategies have evolved over time, i.e. from the WMS1 of 1992, WMS2 of 1994, through to WMS3 of 1997. These will be compared with the results from this study's findings.
3. Determine the extent to which the conclusions differ from the WMS other scholars findings and, drawing policy recommendations based on the results.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study will answer the following research questions

1. What are the survival strategies employed by the slum dwellers to cushion themselves against the increasing poverty levels?
2. What are the factors that determine the choice of these survival strategies?
3. How have the survival strategies evolved over time and how do they impact on urban poverty?
4. Do the conclusions from this study differ from WMS and other scholars' findings? If yes, to what extent?

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

In order to improve the living conditions of the slum areas, detailed information on their livelihoods is required. Local planners, infrastructure engineers and communities know best where the slums are located, what the living conditions and their daily hardships are. But more knowledge is required based on their survival strategies, whether they evolve with time and how the slum dwellers can be helped to improve their choices. By determining the slum survival strategies, their choice, how they have evolved over time and how they impact on urban poverty this study will provide additional information for policy makers as they pursue the agenda of improving the lives of over 100 million slum dwellers by 2020 (UN, 2000).

## **1.6 Limitations of the Study**

Due to lack of comparability and the large volume of data sets, some poverty data sets (especially PPAs) will be excluded from this study. The study also will not benefit from recent data sets as no WMS has been conducted since 1997. Infact, the CBS is currently conducting a WMS. This will be useful in future studies.

Also, the number of slums in Kenya are many. It is not possible to cover the entire slum in the study due to time and other resource constraints. However, a sampling strategy that takes into account the relative ease or difficulty in the mechanics of drawing a representative sample whilst ensuring validity and reliability of the data is utilized



## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Literature on poverty is very extensive. This section commences with a review of theoretical literature as well as the empirical part of it winding up with an overview.

### **2.2 Theoretical Literature Review – a Conceptual Framework**

#### **2.2.1. Background to Sustainable Livelihoods**

The concept of sustainable livelihoods emerged in the mid 1980s as a new approach to poverty reduction Department for International Development, DFID (2001). It was first recognized when it appeared in a report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987. Since the report, discourses on poverty, sustainability, livelihood systems and diversity, and a focus on participation have led to formalization of the SL approach (Cahn, 2001). The approach has been adopted by many organizations such as the DFID, UNDP, OXFAM and CARE as a basis for rural development research and practice (ibid).

#### **2.2.2 The ‘Livelihood Framework’**

The increased attention being paid to urban livelihoods follows from a wide recognition that significant portions of urban poor households in developing countries are vulnerable in terms of their sustainable livelihood systems (Rakodi 1995). A livelihood is generally defined as comprising the capabilities, assets, including both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. A livelihoods framework to development draws on a conceptual framework which may be used as a basis for analyzing, understanding and managing the complexity of livelihoods.

The indicators of Poverty Line analysis based on household consumption do not capture all dimensions of poverty, especially from the viewpoint of poor people themselves. Poverty is not defined solely in terms of low incomes, but uses broader concepts of deprivation and insecurity. And any attempt to place monetary values on these aspects of personal, household and social deprivation involves so many arbitrary assumptions that it is likely to be meaningless. Deprivation occurs when people are unable to reach a certain level of functioning or capability. Chambers (1989) includes physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness in addition to lack of income and assets. A pyramid starting from income poverty as the most measurable, to access to common pool resources, state-provided commodities, assets, dignity and autonomy is identified.

In livelihood framework poverty is thus characterized not only by a lack of assets and inability to accumulate a portfolio of them, but also by the lack of choice with respect to alternative coping strategies. The poorest and most vulnerable households are forced to adopt strategies, which enable them to survive but not to improve their welfare. In urban areas households seek to mobilize resources and opportunities and to combine these into a livelihood strategy which is a mix of labour market involvement; savings; borrowing and investment; productive and reproductive activities; income, labour and asset pooling; and social net-working (Grown and Sebstad cited in Rakodi 2002).

Households and individuals adjust the mix according to their own circumstances and the changing context in which they live. Economic activities form the basis of a household strategy, but to them, and overlapping with them, may be added migration movements, maintenance of ties with rural areas, urban food production, decisions about access to services such as education and housing, and participation in social networks. The 'livelihoods' concept is a realistic recognition of the multiple activities, in which households engage to ensure their survival and improve their well being, as discussed below (Ellis 1998).

Livelihoods approaches propose that thinking in terms of strengths or assets is vital as an antidote to the view of poor people as 'passive' or 'deprived'. Central to the approach is the need to recognize that those who are poor may not have cash or other savings, but that they do have other material or non-material assets - their health, their labour, their knowledge and skills, their friends and family, and the natural resources around them. Livelihoods approaches require a realistic understanding of these assets in order to identify what opportunities they may offer, or where constraints may lie. Proponents argue that it is more conceptually appropriate, empirically sound and of more practical use to start with an analysis of strengths as opposed to an analysis of needs. However, it has also been suggested that there is a danger that this emphasis may restrict policy and actions to households that have some assets on which they can build and neglect the poorest and the destitute, who may be effectively asset less (Rakodi 2002).

(Moser 1996) defines social capital as rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives. Levels of social capital and the ability to call on the social networks involved vary in space and time. They may break down because of repeated shocks like drought, economic crisis or physical insecurity like violence and crime. Social networks are not all supportive of the poor or effective as social capital and are generally thought to be less robust in urban areas because of the mobility and heterogeneity of their populations. Closely linked to social capital is political capital, based on access to the political process and decision-making, and best seen as a gatekeeper asset, permitting or preventing the accumulation of other assets. In urban setting, informal cultural networks can serve to transpose ethnocentric or patriarchal rural arrangements that otherwise may have been under threat.

The livelihood framework at this point turns to the structures and processes in the macro environment that impact on urban poverty and vulnerability. Livelihood systems and community networks develop in the context of shifting relationships between the state, market and society. These shifts are significant for urban vulnerability as they entail a

redistribution of power and responsibility in relation to poverty reduction and development.

In a study Beall and Kanji (1999:21-22) noted that the emphasis by mainstream development agencies on partnership, decentralization and 'community participation' has increased during the 1990s. Decentralization according to the study involved a shift in the role of central governments from direct providers of services to enable, the creation of a regulatory and financial environment in which private enterprises, households and community groups can play an increasing role in meeting their own needs. Responsibilities according to the study had shifted to local (public and private) levels. While decentralization has the potential to provide new opportunities for previously excluded groups to participate in local planning process, much depended on local power structures and the mobilization of resources that remained a critical problem.

However, the livelihood framework begins 'from the bottom up', drawing largely from literature on sustainable livelihoods. It then considers the structures and process 'from the top down' that enable and constrain urban development. The final component of the framework includes a focus on urban governance as the meeting ground between these two constructs. The urban poor in an example are mostly employed in self-managed low paid jobs in the informal urban sectors like rickshaw pulling (29.4%), street vending and selling (22.8%), construction work (6.4%), driving and transport work (4.6%), factory work (5.2%) and personal servicing (7.6%). A small portion (4.8%), work in government organizations. About 35% of the urban poor frequently face underemployment due to lack of employment opportunities, physical illness, staying in their ancestral villages.

Significant portions of the urban poor (32%) are harassed physically, mentally and sexually at their work places. About 12% of the urban poor mentioned about unsafe working condition, which sometimes causes injuries and damages to their physical and mental health. The rates of income, wage and productivity are very low among the urban poor. The average monthly income of households is only Taka 4452 (US\$75). But the intrahousehold income difference (Sd. 2453) is quite significant. The condition of

female-headed households is comparatively more miserable than male-headed households.

Entering more household members into the workforce is the main survival strategy of the urban poor. This is why female participation in the urban work force is considerably higher among the poor than among their rural counterpart. Sometimes the female members use domestic spaces for both production and reproduction through operating income-generating activities with the assistance from other family members. This type of home based work is a manifestation of the urban poor women's involvement in the household production-reproduction spheres in the local space- the setting where poor women live with the members of their households.

### **2.2.3 What are sustainable livelihoods?**

The Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach is intended to portray people's own interpretations of, and priorities for, their livelihoods (Carney, 1998). The concept refers to a wide set of issues which encompass much of the broader debate about the relationships between poverty and environment (ibid).

One of the most important core principles of the SL approach is that it puts people as the priority concern and at the centre of development. This has many implications at the practical level. It means that the approach fully involves people and respects their views, starts with an analysis of people's livelihood and how it has changed over time, focuses on the impact of different policy and institutional arrangements upon people, and stresses the importance of these policies and institutional arrangements so they promote the agenda of the poor DFID (2001).

Furthermore, the SL approach also builds on strengths. Instead of focusing on barriers to sustainable development, this approach is interested in the communities' potential, competence, capacities and strengths rather than weaknesses (Kirkby et al., 2001). As a result interventions can be made to ensure people will be stronger and better able to achieve their own objectives (DFID, 2001).

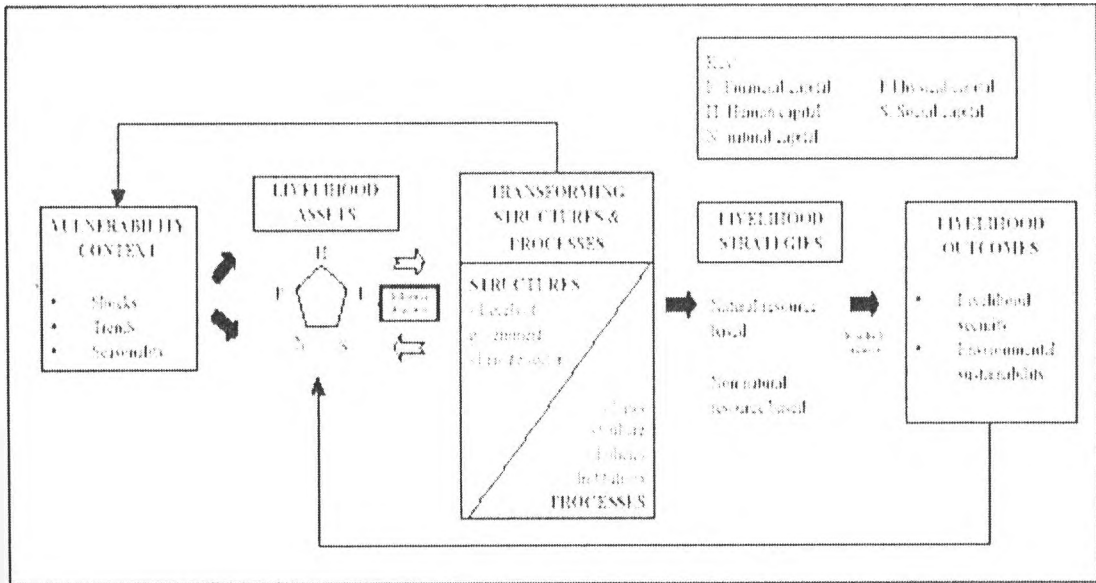
Sustainability, in its different dimensions including environmental, economic, social and institutional sustainability is essential for this approach. In this study these dimensions are taken into account to define further strategies to improve the survival of the poor while at the same time enhancing the social aspects of sustainability.

*The SL approach also emphasizes on the importance of macro level policy and institutions to the livelihood options of communities and individuals. This reinforces the importance of understanding the effects of policies on people since much of the macro policy is developed in isolation from the people it affects (DFID, 2001).*

## **2.2.4 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

The idea of the SL framework (Figure 2.1) is to represent the main factors that affect people's livelihoods and the typical relationships between these (DFID, 2001). It is a way of helping to order complexity and it can be used as a flexible tool focusing on only one component of the framework but always keeping the wider picture in mind (ibid). In summary, the framework depicts how people pursue a variety of livelihood outcomes (health, income, reduce vulnerability, etc.) through access to a range of livelihood resources (natural, economic, human and social capitals) which are combined to pursue different activities (agriculture, tourism, fishing, etc.). Central to the framework is a variety of formal and informal organization and institutional factors that influence livelihood outcomes. Finally, the framework shows how the access to assets and people's activities are driven and influenced by a vulnerability context which include shocks, trends and seasonality.

Figure 2.3 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 2001)



The SL framework has five main elements, each one described below. It is important to note that even though not all the elements will be analyzed in detail in this study, it is vital to gain an understanding of the connections and dynamics of these.

### 2.2.4.1 Vulnerability

The vulnerability context “frames the external environment in which people exists” (DFID, 2001). Generally, it is composed of shocks, trends and seasonality. Examples of these are seasonal vulnerability of prices, production, employment opportunities; sudden shocks or events such as floods, droughts and conflicts; and trends in population, resources and economics. The vulnerability context is important because it can have a direct impact upon people’s asset status and the options they have in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes (ibid).

### 2.2.4.2 Livelihood Assets

Assets are described by Ellis (2000, p.31) as “stocks of capital that can be utilized directly, or indirectly, to generate the means of survival of the households or to sustain its material well being at different levels above survival”. Five categories of assets (see Box 2.1) have been identified for SL: natural, social, human, physical and financial. Assets are represented in Figure 2.1 in the shape of a pentagon to enable information about people’s assets to be presented visually and therefore, to be able to understand important inter-relationships between them (DFID, 2001).

#### Box 2.1 Livelihood assets

- 1 Human capital: the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health
- 2 Social capital: the social resources (networks, social claims, social relations) upon which people draw to pursue livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions
- 3 Financial capital: the capital base (cash, savings, credit) that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives
- 4 Natural capital: the natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, biodiversity) and environmental services from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived
- 5 Physical capital: basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods.

Source: Scoones, 1998; DFID, 2001

### 2.2.4.3 Transforming Structures and Processes

Transforming structures and processes refers to the institutions, organizations, policies and legislation that shape livelihoods (DFID, 2001). An understanding of structures and processes allows the identification of restrictions and opportunities to sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). It also helps to make links between the micro (individual, household and community) and the macro (government, private enterprise) levels (Cahn, 2001).

### 2.2.4.4 Livelihood Strategies

“Livelihood strategies are composed of the activities that generate the means of household survival” (Ellis, 2000, p.40). These strategies may change depending on the assets people have, the structures and processes, and the vulnerability context on which they operate (ibid).



#### **2.2.4.5 Livelihood Outcomes**

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of the livelihood strategies (DFID, 2001). These are largely related with livelihoods (employment, poverty reduction, well being) and sustainability (resilience of livelihoods and natural resource base) (Scoones, 1998).

#### **2.2.5 Limitations of the Sustainable Livelihood approach**

Since its creation in 1992 the SL approach has proved its benefits and advantages but has also drawn critiques which are important to consider. One of the main critiques according to Carney (1999) has to do with the complexity of the SL approach. This argument is supported by Farrington et al. (1999, p.6) adding that the SL approach appears “excessively micro-focused and time consuming” as well as complex. It is also regarded as useful in the abstract but difficult in practice. The authors acknowledge this but note the complexity of conducting livelihood analysis, the long time frame needed to make a difference to the livelihoods, and that qualitative results are very difficult to assess (ibid). Another major concern of the SL approach, particularly the SL framework is the danger in representing the complexity and reality of rural livelihoods in a simple and logical way (Cahn, 2001). This could have implications when assuming unrealistically the framework is linear and missing important feedback and cycles among the components (ibid). Besides the limitations presented above, previous experiences suggest many strengths of the SL approach. Possibly, the most positive lesson is that the SL approach provides a useful framework for the better understanding of rural livelihoods and how interventions can be better adapted to enhance livelihoods (Farrington et al., 1999).

#### **2.3 Empirical Literature Review**

Hossain S. (2005) adopted a livelihood framework that suggested that poverty was not only a product of material deprivation but of a set of interlocking factors, including physical weakness, social isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. This study aimed at explaining how the poor cope with urban life through their household strategies in reference to livelihood framework. Data was collected from five hundred urban poor

living in three different neighbourhoods in Dhaka City, Bangladesh, by the use of a structured questionnaire. The study revealed that the poor faced extreme poverty and vulnerability in terms of their economic and social conditions and did cope with these adverse situations having adopted different strategies in their households. The paper argued that the urban poor adopt such strategies through their household to survive in the city as they have limited access to the existing economic and social systems

Njuguna F. (2005) in a study focused on poverty dominance analysis, which used stochastic dominance to provide rankings of distributions in terms of poverty which were not sensitive to the choice of poverty line. The study was motivated by the question of whether it was practical to adopt an alternative approach to poverty analysis that did not rely on the subjective exercise of setting a poverty line in the Kenyan context. The analysis was carried out using the Welfare Monitoring Survey data for 1994 and 1997 to shed some light on the intertemporal patterns of changes in welfare levels and distribution in Kenya across geographical and socio-economic groupings of policy interest. According to the study's results, a wide range of poverty lines, poverty and inequality increased in Kenya over the period. At the regional levels, Central region enjoyed a higher standard of living than other regions while North eastern region was worst hit by poverty.

Montgomery R. and Hewett C. (2004) in a study noted that in the United States and other high-income countries, where most people live in cities, there is intense scholarly and program interest in the effects of household and neighborhood living standards on health. The study noted few studies of developing-country cities had examined these issues. Their paper investigated whether in these cities the health of women and young children was influenced by both household and neighbourhood standards of living. Using data from the urban samples of 85 Demographic and Health Surveys, and modeling living standards using factor-analytic MIMIC methods, the study found, first, that the neighborhoods of poor households are more heterogeneous than is often asserted. To judge from the study's results, it appeared that as a rule, poor urban households did not tend to live in uniformly poor communities with about one in ten of a poor household's

neighbors being relatively affluent, belonging to the upper quartile of the urban distribution of living standards.

A question posed by the study was whether household and neighborhood living standards influenced health? Applying multivariate models with controls for other socioeconomic variables, the study discovered that household living standards had a substantial influence on three measures of health: unmet need for modern contraception; attendance of a trained provider at childbirth; and children's height for age. Neighborhood living standards were seen to exert significant additional influence on health in many of the surveys the study examined, especially in birth attendance. There was therefore considerable evidence, then, indicating that both household and neighborhood living standards indeed made a substantively important difference to health.

Hoogvorst A. (2003), in a study contributed to a better understanding of how poor people living in a sensitive wetland ecosystem maintain their livelihood and experience their situation in relation to health and diseases. Over the past nine years the study noted, a wetland management project contributed to public awareness on environmental protection and implementation of conservation plans. Matching conservation with sustainable use of the wetland resources and human development was the most difficult and least tested aspect of environmental management. Anthropology and aspects of health and environment were tackled in the study, in which some attention was also given to gender issues.

In the study there were differences in the ways inhabitants perceived their life in a wetland (emic view), and the way scholars, scientists or outsiders look at people living in a hazardous marsh (etic factors). To obtain information on the different perspectives, a literature study was carried out, and quantitative and qualitative information was collected through interviews with the marsh dwellers and key informants. Additional information was gathered through life histories, case studies and (participant) observation. Open interviews were also held with different types of traditional healers.

The main problems for the inhabitants that were found by the study were low income, alcohol addiction, floods, marsh related health hazards, land availability and illegal land occupation. Many people in the wetland were found to take their gold and jewelry to pawn shops to improve their dwelling or just to buy daily needs. Locally brewed *kasipu* brought the livelihood of many households in a critical situation and many addicted men suffered from alcohol related liver disease of which they often died. The wetland inhabitants, who suffered from floods a few times in a year, coped reasonably well during the period of inundation. In other findings, the inhabitants of the marshy area in the wetland felt that they are less prone to infectious diseases than the people who lived on the densely populated islands in the channel of the lagoon. People protected themselves against mosquito bites by using coils and the better-off people also used bed-nets. Waste, scrap and other material were seen to be used by people to create land where their children would build houses.

The study notes the lack of a one set of strategies for matching nature conservation with human development that works everywhere. Strategies in the study are seen to be tailored to the setting in which they are employed.

Okurut F. et al (2002) in a study sought in-depth knowledge of the key factors that account for regional poverty differentials in Uganda so as to contribute to more focused targeting of programmes for the poor. The research objectives were: to estimate the national and regional food poverty lines to identify poor households, to compare the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the poor households between and within the regions, to compute poverty indexes for Uganda based on national and regional food poverty lines, to identify the key determinants of regional poverty, and to derive policy implications for poverty alleviation in Uganda. With primary data from the Integrated Household Survey, 1992, the study used the Greer–Thorbecke methodology to compute poverty lines and poverty indexes. The logistic regression was used to analyze the key determinants of poverty and five models were fitted (one national and four regional).

According to the study's results, Northern Uganda was found to be the poorest region; it had the largest depth of poverty and worst inequality. It was characterized by the poor having large mean household sizes, least education, least mean household income, least expenditure on health, lowest chance of child survival and highest concentration in the rural areas. Educational level of household head, household size and migration status were found to be significant determinants of poverty at multivariate levels. The broad policy recommendation according to the study was that government should use regional poverty lines for the planning and budgetary allocation process for effective poverty alleviation.

Kamau P. (2001) in a study noted that poverty was a multi-dimensional phenomenon whose causes are complex and difficult to measure precisely and thus the need to articulate causes of poverty in developing countries was paramount given its effects. This study examined the causes of poverty among the female headed households in Kenya based on a sample of one hundred household heads in Eldoret town, Kenya. The study found that poverty among female-headed households was mainly due to inherently discriminatory culture as well as policy imbalances that worked against women. The study advocated for the review of the legal framework in certain acts of law such as employment act, succession act to ensure gender balance in all spheres of the economy. The study also notes the need to enhance credit access in the informal sector where most of the single women earn their living. Establishment of income-generating projects geared towards single women the study noted would go a long way in addressing poverty problems in Kenya.

Ali and Thorbecke (2000) provided a detailed analysis on the state and evolution of poverty in Africa using information on income distribution as well as the characteristics of the poor in rural and urban areas. They looked at changes in poverty over time in terms of growth and distribution components. Their paper builds on earlier work by Chen et al (1994) and Ravallion and Chen (1997), which provides a measure of the level and changes in poverty in developing countries including SSA. The main difference in the two studies is the approach to the measurement of poverty. Ali and Thorbecke use an

approach that is largely descriptive and they attempt to build an overall picture of poverty in SSA. They report poverty results in terms of headcount ratio, poverty gap ratio and squared poverty gap ratio by following a relative approach i.e. they choose a poverty line that varies with each country's average income from a cross-sectional context.

Their results show a high degree of deprivation in both rural and urban sectors of the region, with 181 million people in rural areas and 59 million people in urban areas living below the poverty line of a dollar per day. Their paper observes that the increase in poverty across Africa has been greatly underestimated by studies using absolute poverty lines to identify the magnitude of poverty over time in SSA. The effects of better income distribution on poverty reduction have also been understated. Using a relative poverty line the paper reports a larger increase in poverty in Africa between 1980 and 1990's than earlier documented. The authors further found that the impact of less income inequality on poverty dominates that of growth. Large distributional changes can occur within a relatively short period. They suggest a possible association between lack of social amenities and poverty.

Dercon S. and Krishnan P. (2000), in a study examined the consequences of the economic reform programme on poverty and survival strategies in Ethiopia since 1989, with an emphasis on the rural economy. The study used a very detailed household panel data set covering about 1450 households in 15 villages in rural Ethiopia, supplemented with some primary and secondary sociological and anthropological data. The emphasis was on disentangling the effects of random events, such as good weather, from the effects of the reform programme. A key part of the study, focused on six villages (or 350 households) for which the study had detailed information from before the start of economic reform. Another part of the study focused on household vulnerability to consumption and nutrition fluctuations, and the implications for measuring and understanding poverty.

By use of detailed (and triangulated) micro-level data on food consumption over time as well as information on events and shocks, data and contextual information on the impact

of macroeconomic change on the local economy and introducing some methodological innovations in the econometric analysis of the link between growth and poverty, the study was able to overcome most of the important shortcomings in literature.

The study's main conclusions on the impact of reform in the period 1989-95 on the village economies studied were that in most but not all villages studied growth was substantial and poverty declined. The study found that growth and poverty reduction were caused by similar factors, in particular increased crop output prices and increased returns to location and infrastructure.

The study found that a substantial number of households observed to have very low food consumption (i.e. ranked as 'poor') before the reforms took hold managed to grow out of poverty. Households with reasonable levels of male labour, land, land quality, access to roads and not too far from towns managed to take advantage of the increased incentives. Such households accounted for virtually all the poverty reduction. But a number of households, typically with less land, poor quality land, limited labour, low education, living in remote villages, could not take advantage. Their consumption was hardly changed – indeed some faced even declining consumption in this period. Growth was 'pro-some-of-the-poor'. Growth was useful, probably necessary, but not sufficient for poverty reduction

Ludwig et al (2000) in a study used data from a randomized housing-mobility experiment, to examine the effects of neighborhood poverty on the educational outcomes of children as reported in school administrative records. The study finds that the opportunity for public housing residents to move from high-poverty to low-poverty neighborhoods improves reading and math scores by about one quarter of a standard deviation compared to their control group counterparts. The opportunity for residents of public housing to move using traditional Section 8 housing vouchers is seen to generate positive impacts on some reading outcomes for young children, but no impact on math outcomes. Data limitations keep the study from concluding much about the impacts of

residential mobility on the academic achievement of older children. However, compared to the control group, adolescents in the two experimental groups appear to be retained in grade more frequently, and may experience greater disciplinary problems and higher dropout rates.

Mwabu et al (2000) applied the concept of household welfare (proxied by household expenditure per adult equivalent) to understand the determinants of poverty, its measurement and profiles. The study ran two categories of regressions using overall expenditures and food expenditures as dependant variables. The study estimated overall expenditure using three equations, which differed as per the dependant variable. The dependant variables used were household expenditure, total household expenditure gap and squared gap. The study identified mean age, household size, residence and level of schooling as important variables in the explanation of poverty.

At a global level, 7–10% of the population is estimated to be disabled. A large number of disabled persons, especially in the developing world, have no access to institutional rehabilitation services that are usually based in big cities with a limited service capacity. The concept of community-based rehabilitation (CBR) was proposed by the World Health Organization (WHO) in the late 1970s to increase the coverage of rehabilitation services for disabled persons. Initially it focused on medical and functional aspects of rehabilitation needs. Soon afterwards other agencies of the United Nations, United Nations Organization for Educational, Scientific and Cultural Development (UNESCO) and International Labour Organization (ILO) proposed similar approaches for dealing with the educational and occupational aspects of rehabilitation. Implementations of field activities based on this approach, which values existing resources, skills and capacities in the families and communities, were known as the “WHO Model”, “UNESCO Model” and “ILO Model” of CBR.

Gradually it became clear that, for CBR to be effective, disabled persons require a multisectoral approach that covers all aspects of life. It was also evident that these activities related to medical, social, psychological, educational and occupational aspects



have limited impact on the lives of persons with disabilities and their families unless attitudes change in the communities, unless there are effective national policies and laws which guarantee equal opportunities to all citizens, and unless persons with disability themselves have the possibility of making choices and are empowered to take decisions concerning their own lives.

This evolution in the concept of CBR resulted in a collaboration involving WHO, UNESCO and ILO in 1994. A paper entitled *Joint Position Paper on CBR* ensued, which attempted to go beyond the different “models”. It defines CBR as:

*...a strategy within general community development for rehabilitation, equalization of opportunities and social inclusion of all children and adults with disabilities. CBR is implemented through the combined efforts of people with disabilities themselves, their families and communities, and the appropriate health, education, vocational and social services.*

The present document, *Equal Opportunities for All: Promoting Community-Based Rehabilitation (CBR) among Urban Poor Populations*, proposes general guidelines for initiating and sustaining the CBR approach in urban slum and low-income areas. The document is based on experience of working in urban slum and low-income areas in several countries.

Ayako and Katumanga (1997) in a report reviewed poverty in Kenya for the AA-K Country Strategy Paper 1998-2000. The report was based on a critical analysis of secondary data of the poverty in Kenya and of the current and future responses to poverty by major actors, such as the GOK, bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, and organized institutions civil society. Its objective was to identify gaps that the AA-K would respond to with a view to addressing emerging poverty problems. The report was a synthesis of what had already been done elsewhere and an indication of who was involved in various attempts to solve the problem or at least ameliorate its adverse consequences. The report provided an overview of the poverty situation in Kenya. The main objectives of the study were to conduct secondary data analysis of the poverty situation in Kenya, analyze the responses of major actors (Government of Kenya [GOK],

co-financing agencies, non-governmental organizations [NGOs], and other civil society institutions) engaged in poverty reduction and identify any gaps that ACTION-AID Kenya can respond to in addressing the emerging poverty problems.

Masika R. et al (1997), in a study acknowledged that urbanization and urban growth had accelerated in many developing countries. While natural population growth had been the major contributor to urbanization, rural-urban migration continued to be an important factor. The processes of urbanization and the nature and scale of rural-urban migration had to some extent been shaped by gender roles and relations. While male migration had been the most predominant form of migration, in parts of Latin America female migration was common and had been influenced by decisions in rural households over who should migrate and for what reason. In other parts of the world, particularly South East Asia, the demand for female labour had meant that more women were migrating in search of employment.

Feminist researchers the study noted had pointed out that much of the literature on women, gender and urban poverty issues had fallen outside the mainstream. Urban planning had focused, to a large extent, on physical and spatial aspects of urban development. However, there was increasing recognition of the discrimination women face in relation to access to employment, housing and basic services and the need for more effort by some governments and international agencies to reduce this. A gender equality perspective of urban poverty was important because men and women experienced and responded to poverty in different ways. Access to income and assets, housing, transport and basic services was influenced by gender-based constraints and opportunities. Gender-blind urban services provision could not have met the needs of women if their priorities were not taken into consideration.

Chen et al (1994) investigated whether poverty was increasing in the developing world and in the process reported results for Sub Saharan Africa (SSA), based on a sample of 14 countries and data from 1985 to 1990. Due to unavailability of comparable data over time for 12 of the countries, the reported Lorenz curves were assumed to remain constant

between the two dates. Reported results thus captured the changes in poverty due to economic growth only. In conducting comparisons, the authors used Poverty Incidence Curves (PIC).

The results were reported in terms of PIC's over five poverty lines. The poverty lines were defined as consumption levels of \$21, \$30, \$42, \$50 and \$60 per person per month. As per the results, poverty increased over the five-year period in SSA and the conclusion is robust for all poverty measures if one restricts the poverty line to \$50 per month.

Ravallion and Chen (1997) reported a new set of results using household surveys for 67 developing countries from 1991 to 1994. Their results show that poverty increased for all poverty measures used. The headcount ratio increased from 38.5% in 1987 to 39.1% in 1993 while the poverty gap index increased from 14.4% to 15.3% in the same period. They keep the poverty line constant over time. They rank SSA second to South Asia in terms of incidence of poverty and first in depth of poverty as measured by the poverty gap ratio.

## **2.4 Overview of Literature**

Poverty in the developing world remains by large the most researched area. This is due to the fact that poverty is a problem that persists the world over. However this should not be taken to mean that poverty does not exist in the developed countries. Poverty does exist but in different perspectives thus the lack of no clear definition of poverty. Poverty could be attributed to the lack of implementation of a correct mix of policies required to breed sustainable development. Also the politics of the third world (retrogressive) that usually generate into civil wars could be another causal factor.

Studies reviewed document the different perspectives or rather show the broad nature of studies in the area of poverty. Studies notably Mwabu et al (2000), Kamau P. (2001) focused on determinants of poverty, its measurement and profiles. Ali and Thorbecke (2000) focused on the evolution of poverty in Africa both in rural and urban Africa while Okurut et al (2002), focused on the differentials of poverty in regions namely East Africa to enable come up with a detailed poverty reduction programme. This was due to the

recognition of the different poverty levels and strategies employed in poverty reduction programmes across regions.

Studies on survival strategies include Masika R. et al (1997), who conducted a gender analysis showing how the female population was affected by urbanization due to the lack of access to basic necessities because of unemployment among other problems. The study highlighted that survival strategies were different for both the female and male population. Hoogvorst A. (2003) conducted a study on how poor people living in a sensitive wetland ecosystem maintained their livelihood and experienced their situation in relation to health and diseases. The study highlighted the different strategies used by people living in wetland notably the taking of gold and jewelry to pawn shops to improve their dwelling or just to buy daily needs. Also to mention the locally brewed *kasipu* that brought the livelihood of many households in critical situations.

From the reviewed literature it is apparent that there lacks a one set of strategies for survival in regions afflicted by poverty that works everywhere. Strategies according to studies are seen to be tailored to the setting in which they are employed. This probably could answer the question of why there lacks a universally accepted definition of poverty which boils down to the issue of levels of development. It is on this note that the study deviates to identifying activities the urban poor engage in to cope with poverty, with a view of understanding and shedding some light on how these activities can be promoted to improve their lives. This is in light that the situation of the poor may not receive adequate attention in terms of coming up with policies and strategies to raise their living standards.

## **CHAPTER THREE: STUDY METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the general methodology to be used to conduct the study. It then specifies the research design, target population, sampling design, data collection instruments, data analysis and interpretation.

### **3.2 Research Design**

This study uses a questionnaire to collect qualitative data and information pertaining to survival strategies among the slum dwellers in Kibera (See Appendix). All this information is collected via a face to face interview from the selected respondents as detailed in the sampling design below. The data will be collected in the month of April, 2006 at the Kibera slums. These data will then be coded, entered and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and STATA, which are best designed for qualitative data.

### **3.3 Target Population**

The target population will be drawn from the Kibera slums. The Kibera Slums, an area 10 Kilometers South East of City Centre Nairobi, is the most populated informal settlement in Eastern and Central Africa, housing more than one quarter of Nairobi's population. The name 'Kibera' is a Nubian word for 'forest' and original settlers were Sudanese soldiers who settled there after fighting for the British in World War One. Kibera is roughly 2 Kilometers squared with an estimated population of 1 million people (<http://www.csgkibera.org/>).

Kibera is divided into nine official villages, each with its own Village Elder. They are: Kianda, Soweto, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Siranga/ Undugu, Makina, and Mashimoni. These villages, excluding Railla (which is not officially recognized, and therefore not included in the above list) rest on the northern half of the valley east of the Nairobi Dam (<http://www.csgkibera.org/>).

### **3.4 Data types, source and sampling procedures**

The analysis is to be based on primary data collected using questionnaires, which we use to gather information on socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. The clusters are selected from a sampling frame (NASSEP -4) maintained by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and the first step involves identifying the boundaries of the three given clusters. All the clusters in the area should be surveyed. The second stage involves selecting households within the selected clusters. From these, a systematic simple random sampling can be employed to select a certain number of households from the selected household, household-heads both women and men aged 18 years and above can be interviewed. The sum total of the eligible respondents interviewed should be noted down.

Basically, three methods of data collection are to be used in this study namely scheduled interviews, unstructured interviews and simple observation. The interview schedule should be the main tool of data collection. The interview schedule elicits information on the education levels, dependents, marital status, infrastructure etc. Unstructured interviews can be used to obtain information from key informants like sub-chiefs, chiefs, local leaders and the District Social Development officer. Simple observations can be employed whenever possible in the field to clarify the verbal responses given by the respondents. This entails the inspection of the activities, infrastructure etc. The primary objective of this is to guard against any false information that might be given by the respondent. The questionnaire is designed in a way that will ensure that the captured qualitative information can be coded and entered using SPSS and STATA.

### 3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The study employs the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and STATA to examine effects of the identified factors on urban poverty via a linear regression model. These statistical packages are preferred since most of the data to be collected is qualitative in nature. The collected information will be coded and then entered in these packages before any analysis begins. Besides linear regression, correlation analysis will be carried out to measure the relationship between the variables and also establish the strength of linear association between these variables. Descriptive statistics will also be provided.

### 3.7 Conceptual Framework

The survival strategies of the poor slum dwellers can be taken as choice alternatives where each individual out of need chooses at least one survival strategy. Thus, the survival activity is chosen from available alternatives. The multinomial discrete choice model can be chosen to analyze the probabilities of either engaging or not engaging in a particular activity that is identified apriori. The model can be standard in the discrete choice literature and can be applied in empirical estimations where we have the case of agents choosing one amongst alternatives and must make only one choice at a time (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1976 and Maddala, 1983). The model can be based on utility maximization where the utility depends on the social and economic characteristics that confront the agent in question, in this case the urban poor.

The general multinomial logit model of activity can be utilized since it's underpinned in the axiom of utility maximization.

An individual,  $i$ , is faced with discrete alternatives of either choosing activity  $j$  or not. The basic utility function is given as: -

$$U_{ij} = f(X_{ij}) + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad \text{----- (1)}$$

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Where: -

$U_{ij}$  = expected utility of the  $i^{\text{th}}$  individual, from the  $j^{\text{th}}$  activity ( $j = 1, 2, 3, \dots, k$ )

$X_{ij}$  = a vector of the characteristics of the  $i^{\text{th}}$  individual.

$\varepsilon_{ij}$  = is a random error term.

The choice alternatives in this study are given as below: -

1 = Food business (the sale of food products)

2 = Clothes and artifacts (sale of second hand clothes (mitumba) tailoring, knitting, carpentry and handicraft.)

3 = Service business (casual labour, newspaper vendor, salon).

4 = Others (informal finance, rental houses, traditional brew, chat)

The linear form of the model can be represented by: -

$$U_{ij} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{i1} + \dots + \alpha_n X_{in} + \varepsilon_j \quad (2)$$

Assuming a Weibull distribution of the error term, the difference between any two random variables has a logistic distribution function yielding the linear logistic regression or linear logit model (madalla, 1983).

If the  $i^{\text{th}}$  individual chooses the  $j^{\text{th}}$  activity rather than activity  $k$ , then the probability that the  $j^{\text{th}}$  activity will be chosen is: -

$$P_{ij} = P(X_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij} > X_{ik} + \varepsilon_{ik}) \quad (3)$$

Thus,  $j$  is chosen over  $k$  if and only if the utility from the  $j^{\text{th}}$  activity is higher than that derived from activity  $k$ .



This can be written as the utility of the chosen activity weighted by the total benefit of all alternatives as:-

$$P_{ij} = \frac{e^{\alpha X_{ij} + \varepsilon}}{e^{\alpha X_{ij}} + e^{\alpha X_{ik}}} \text{----- (4)}$$

Equation 4 is the logit formulation of a slum dweller's choice problem involving k alternatives of a survival strategy, where  $\alpha$  is the parameter to be estimated.

The model of estimation (logistic regression) is given as: -

$$P_{ij} = \frac{e^{(\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{i1} + \dots + \alpha_k X_{ik})}}{1 + e^{(\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{i1} + \dots + \alpha_k X_{ik})}} \text{----- (5)}$$

Where  $P_{ij}$  is the probability that activity j will be chosen.

The odds (ratios of probabilities) that activity j will be chosen over k is given as: -

$$\frac{P_{ij}}{P_{ik}} = \frac{p_{ij}}{p(1 - p_{ij})} = \frac{e^{(\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{i1} + \dots + \alpha_k X_{ik})}}{1} \text{----- (6)}$$

$P_{ik} = p(1 - p_{ij})$  where the outcome is dichotomous. Applying logs on the ratio of probabilities yields: -

$$\ln \left( \frac{p_{ij}}{P(1 - P_{ij})} \right) = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{i1} + \dots + \alpha_k X_{ik} \text{----- (7)}$$

Where: -

$\ln \left( \frac{P_{ij}}{P(1 - p_{ij})} \right)$  called the logit, is the log of the odds that survival activity j is chosen.

This can be written as: -

$$N \text{ logit } (S_j) = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 x_1 + \dots + \alpha_k x_k \text{ ----- (8)}$$

Thus, the function to be estimated could be represented by  $S_j = f(x_i)$  which is equation 8 where: -

$X_i$  = the characteristics of the  $i^{\text{th}}$  individual.

$S_j$  = strategy/ activity j       $S_j = 1, 2, \dots, 4.$

The general form of the activity choice function is given as:

$S_j = f(\text{Age, Sex, Marital Status, Number of dependants, Work years, Poverty status, Education}).$

Where: -

- ❖ Work years are the number of years a person has been in the main occupation/ activity.
- ❖ Marital status = 1 if single (including separated, divorced and widowed) and 0 if married.
- ❖ Age is the number of years of the respondent since birth.
- ❖ Sex = 1 if Male and 2 if Female.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the empirical results of the study.

#### 4.1 Descriptive statistics and analysis.

Before embarking on the details of empirical issues, we present the descriptive statistics and analysis of the explanatory variables used in the analysis of the survival strategies of slum dwellers in Kibera. The Kibera Slums, an area 10 Kilometers South East of the City Centre of Nairobi, is the most populated informal settlement in Eastern and Central Africa, housing more than one quarter of Nairobi's population. Kibera is divided into nine official villages, each with its own Village Elder. It is from this population that a sample of 120 households was drawn and the data for analysis obtained. The data set consisted of observations on the Age, Level of Education, Income, Work Experience, Size of the House, Employment Status and Marital Status of the Household Head as well as the Number of Household Members. The survival strategy of the Household Head was regressed on the above characteristics. Table 4.1 gives the summary of the descriptive statistics of the data in this study.

**Table 4.1: Summary of descriptive statistics**

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
hhmemb	120	2.416	1.3194	1	7
mmres	120	1.258	0.4395	1	2
worex	120	8.6	7.367	1	32
agehh	120	34.75	9.6990	18	62
Sex	120	1.375	0.4861	1	2
levhh	120	2.751	.6890	2	5
emplohh	120	1.516	.5018	1	2
surv	117	2.871	.7374	1	4
incom	120	7115	5047	1000	34000
sizhs	119	1.689	.4648	1	2
numeal	119	1.445	.4991	1	2

Several observations can be made regarding the variables used in the regression. Firstly the mean work experience for all the households is 8.6 with the least experienced household having one year's experience and the most experienced household having 32 years' experience. There were only four survival strategies. The household income ranges from Kshs. 1,000.00 to Kshs. 34,000.00 with a mean of Kshs. 7,115.00. The average age of the household head is 34.75 years but there was a large difference between the youngest head and the oldest at 18 and 62 years respectively. On the other hand the average household membership is 2.416.

The descriptive statistics among others give guide on which of the equations yield better results as well as highlighting on possible problems to encounter. However there is need to supplement the statistics by more incisive quantitative analysis such as the correlation matrix. The correlation matrix is an important indicator, testing the linear relationship, among the explanatory variables. The matrix also helps to determine the strength of the variables in the model, that is, which variable best explains the relationship in the survival strategies equation. This is important and helps one in deciding which variable(s) to drop from the equation. Table 4.2 presents the correlation matrix of the variables at all levels.

**Table 4.2: Correlation matrix of all the variables**

	hhmemb	mmres	worex	agehh	sex	levhh	emplohh
hhmemb	1.0000						
mmres	-0.0366	1.0000					
worex	0.2537	-0.2169	1.0000				
agehh	0.2712	-0.2405	0.4407	1.0000			
Sex	0.0234	0.2397	-0.2364	-0.1568	1.0000		
levhh	-0.2037	-0.0787	-0.0264	-0.0453	-0.0936	1.0000	
emplohh	-0.1108	-0.0889	0.1032	0.0608	0.0046	-0.0939	1.0000
surv	-0.1447	0.0502	-0.1612	-0.2551	-0.0591	0.1928	-0.1490
incom	-0.0434	-0.2118	0.1634	0.2664	-0.1103	0.3374	-0.2602
sizhs	0.2192	-0.0604	0.1179	-0.0913	0.0657	-0.0786	-0.0067
numeal	-0.0849	0.1220	-0.2131	-0.2769	-0.0553	-0.1748	0.0546
	surv	incom	sizhs	numeal			
surv	1.0000						
incom	0.1037	1.0000					
sizhs	0.0054	-0.0777	1.0000				
numeal	0.1527	-0.3665	0.0354	1.0000			

The correlation matrix shows that there is no multicollinearity among the variables. There is positive correlation between the dependent variable (surv) and mmres, levhh, income, sizhs and numeal although very low, whereas it is negatively correlated with hhmemb, agehh, worex, sex and emplohh though low too.

### 4.3 Empirical Results

A multinomial logit model was estimated after carrying out the Shapiro wilks normality test which concluded that the residuals in the model follow a normal distribution. Test for multicollinearity shows no multicollinearity between some variables Heteroscedasticity was another diagnostic test carried out before deciding on the estimation procedure, the test found no presence of heteroscedasticity in the model.

**Table 4.3 reports the multinomial logit regression.**

```
Mlogit surv hhmemb mmres worex agehh sex levhh emplohh incom sizhs numeal
Multinomial logistic regression      Number of obs   =      116
                                      LR chi2(30)     =      49.98
                                      Prob > chi2     =      0.0125
Log likelihood = -83.802639          Pseudo R2      =      0.2297
```

	surv	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
1						
	hhmemb	.0732835	.2851509	2.57	0.016	-.1110406 1.00673
	mmres	.5735415	1.024652	0.56	0.576	-1.434739 2.581822
	worex	-.1278431	.07825	-1.63	0.102	-.2812102 .0255241
	agehh	.19098	.0761675	2.51	0.012	-.0416944 .3402656
	sex	1.408	.9486368	1.48	0.138	-.4512938 3.267294
	levhh	.2755596	.7156773	0.39	0.700	-1.127142 1.678261
	emplohh	.9598208	.9401213	1.02	0.307	-.882783 2.802425
	incom	.0036084	.001455	2.48	0.028	.0011556 .007146
	sizhs	2.207388	1.443222	1.53	0.126	-.6212754 5.036051
	numeal	-1.520975	1.143573	-1.33	0.184	-3.762338 .720387
	_cons	15.89563	6.538158	2.43	0.015	-28.71018 -3.081075
2						
	hhmemb	.1842015	.3067055	0.60	0.548	-.4169302 .7853333
	mmres	-.8749341	1.162195	-0.75	0.452	-3.152794 1.402926
	worex	.0431857	.073608	0.59	0.557	-.1010834 .1874549
	agehh	.1330996	.0607761	2.19	0.049	-.1307245 1.207513
	sex	.2379068	.8088348	0.29	0.769	-1.34738 1.823194
	levhh	1.185012	.6730126	1.76	0.078	0.504092 2.134068
	emplohh	.6744056	.808732	0.83	0.404	-.9106799 2.259491
	incom	.0027949	.0010833	2.59	0.013	-.0000312 1.007095
	sizhs	-.516024	.8025379	-0.64	0.520	-2.088969 1.056921
	numeal	-.4682171	.8350047	-0.56	0.575	-2.104796 1.168362
	_cons	8.894485	4.13697	2.15	0.029	2.8477825 16.47388

3							
hhmemb		.6359645	.267212	2.38	0.017	.1540971	1.893354
mmres		.8655887	.777033	1.11	0.265	-.6573679	2.388545
worex		-.0792575	.0788243	-1.01	0.315	-.2337503	.0752353
agehh		.0521646	.0632741	0.82	0.410	-.0718504	.1761796
Sex		.6858388	.7086855	0.97	0.333	-.7031592	2.074837
levhh		1.183532	.5260144	2.25	0.012	0.3738611	3.688078
emplohh		.3553911	.6773658	0.52	0.600	-.9722214	1.683004
incom		.0001739	.0000746	2.33	0.020	.0000276	.0003202
sizhs		1.588877	.9990966	1.59	0.112	-.3693167	3.54707
numeal		.9843807	.7563407	1.30	0.193	-.4980199	2.466781
cons		13.92686	4.885403	2.85	0.004	4.502083	23.351647

(Outcome surv=4 is the comparison group)

The results from the regression indicate that in survival strategy one, the co-efficients of the variables; income of household head (income), age of household head (agehh) and number of dependants (hhmemb) are statistically significant at 5% level of significance. In survival strategy two, co-efficients of the variables; age of household head (age), level of education of the household head (levhh) and income of household head (income) are statistically significant at 5% level of significance. In survival strategy three, co-efficients of the variables; income of the household head (income), level of education of the household head (levhh) and number of dependants (hhmemb) are statistically significant at 5% level of significance. All the above variables have their hypothesized signs.

**Table 4.4 Estimated marginal effects for the logit survival regression**

Mfx compute (surv1)  
 Marginal effects after regress  
 y = Fitted values (predict)  
 = .15966387

Variable		dy/dx	Std. Err.	z	P> z	{ 95% C.I. }	X
hhmemb		.0823921	.03855	2.14	0.018	-.080916 .970188	2.41176
mmres		-.0229411	.11261	-0.20	0.839	-.243661 .197778	1.2605
worex		-.012442	.00994	-1.25	0.210	-.031915 .007031	8.58824
agehh		.0194326	.00803	2.42	0.012	.001089 .130392	34.5546
sex		.0226095	.1019	0.22	0.824	-.177116 .222335	1.37815
levhh		.008567	.07312	0.12	0.907	-.134748 .151882	2.7479
emplohh		.0574749	.09773	0.59	0.556	-.134069 .249019	1.51261
incom		0.050735	.02451	2.07	0.048	.001003 .100113	7108.45
sizhs		.0819872	.10745	0.76	0.445	-.12861 .292584	1.68908
numeal		-.0110107	.10344	-1.33	0.815	-.213747 .191726	1.44538

Mfx compute (surv2)  
 Marginal effects after regress  
 y = Fitted values (predict)  
 = .20168067

Variable	dy/dx	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[	95% C.I.	]	X
hhmemb	.0646177	.04836	1.34	0.182	-.03017	.159406		2.41176
mmres	-.1526013	.14129	-1.08	0.280	-.429518	.124315		1.2605
worex	.0163477	.01247	1.31	0.190	-.008084	.040779		8.58824
agehh	.0222768	.01008	2.21	0.025	-.031981	.107515		34.5546
sex	.1799423	.12785	1.41	0.159	-.070635	.430519		1.37815
levhh	.1773975	.09174	1.93	0.053	-.357201	.002406		2.7479
emplohh	.1005646	.12261	0.82	0.412	-.139748	.340877		1.51261
incom	.1100387	.00001	2.78	0.005	.000011	.000066		7108.45
sizhs	-.0394435	.13481	-0.29	0.770	-.30366	.224773		1.68908
numeal	-.0344599	.12978	-0.27	0.791	-.288814	.219895		1.44538

Mfx compute (surv3)  
 Marginal effects after regress  
 y = Fitted values (predict)  
 = 2.0420168

Variable	dy/dx	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[	95% C.I.	]	X
hhmemb	.2262836	.10574	2.14	0.021	-.327819	.08666		2.41176
mmres	-.2025316	.3089	-0.66	0.512	-.807965	.402902		1.2605
worex	.0207523	.02725	0.76	0.446	-.032663	.074167		8.58824
agehh	-.0339646	.02203	-1.54	0.123	-.07714	.009211		34.5546
Sex	-.4359903	.27952	-1.56	0.119	-.983837	.111856		1.37815
levhh	.4432597	.20057	2.21	0.018	.305646	2.480578		2.7479
emplohh	-.3577385	.26807	-1.33	0.182	-.883144	.167667		1.51261
incom	.0100691	.1003	2.27	0.023	.000129	9.4e-06		7108.45
sizhs	-.3943691	.29473	-1.34	0.181	-.972037	.183298		1.68908
numeal	-.152469	.28373	-0.54	0.591	-.708575	.403637		1.44538

Results of the marginal models indicate that the number of dependents (hhmemb), age of household head (age hh) and income of household (income) determine survival strategy one, which is, food business. An increase in income by 1% will increase the food business by 0.05%, household getting aged by one year will increase food business by 0.19, and increase in household dependants by one person will increase food business to by 0.08.

The results further indicate that age of the household head (age hh), level of education of the household (levhh) and income of the household (income) determine survival strategy two, which is, the sale of clothes and artifacts. Thus an increase in age by one year will increase the sale of clothes and artifacts by 0.022, an increase in the level of education of the household members by one increases the sale of clothes and artifacts by 0.177 and an

increase in the household income by 1% increases the sale of clothes and artifacts by 0.11.

The results as well indicate that the number of dependants of the household (hhmemb), level of education of the household (levhh) and income of the household (income) determine survival strategy three, which is, service business. Thus an increase in the number of dependants by one increases the service business by 0.23, an increase in the level of education of the household by one increases the service business by 0.44 and an increase in the household income by 1% increases the service business by 0.10.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.0 CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This study concludes that the most poor and vulnerable households in this area are forced to adopt strategies, which enable them to survive and to improve their overall welfare.

The survival strategies undertaken by the residents of Kibera in this study are: -

Strategy one - Food business (the sale of food products)

Strategy two - Clothes and artifacts (sale of second hand clothes (mitumba) tailoring, knitting, carpentry and handcraft.)

Strategy three - Service business (casual labour, newspaper vendor, salon).

Strategy four - Others (informal finance, rental houses, traditional brew, chat)

Among all the survival strategies, the variables which significantly affect their choices are Age, Level of Education and Income levels.

The Welfare Monitoring Survey's (WMS 1994 and 1997) conclude that Poverty is still on the rise countrywide and that it is increasing at a faster rate in urban areas. Poverty is caused by several factors including poor economic performance, poor delivery of services and corruption. The surveys note that the poor economic conditions between 1994 and 1997 were not conducive to improvement in the overall living standards. Inflation rose from 1.6% in 1995 to 11.2% in 1997 and GDP recorded sluggish growth during the period. The rise of poverty in urban areas could, in addition, have been hastened by the worsening poverty situation in rural areas, mainly attributable to spill-over effects of migration and declines in food production over the period. It is also possible that the growth in urban population may have outstripped available resources and employment opportunities.

The results of the Welfare Monitoring Surveys are thus similar to the outcome of this survey in that households choose survival strategies in order to improve on the overall welfare.

The surveys note that poverty reduction strategies must not only rely on higher economic growth, but should also incorporate deliberate and targeted pro-poor programmes and projects and fair distribution of scarce resources

As a policy recommendation, the government should provide the necessary infrastructure including the provision of habitable housing (Slum upgrading), inclusion of the slum areas in the city's physical and social fabric provision of new housing and community facilities. This should include social projects in order to improve the livelihoods of the slum dwellers.

Another recommendation is for the government to increase literacy levels to create the basis for self –sustenance. The government should as well promote community based safety-nets to assist the poor in weathering cyclical economic downturns. One of the key components of power and wealth creation is access to information and knowledge and the ability to use that information or knowledge for economic or social gain. Serageldin (2003)

Thus one of the key requisites for sustained poverty alleviation is decentralization and devolution of fiscal, regulatory and executive powers to the local (village) level.

The government should encourage credit organizations such as Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT), Platinum Credit and others which offer credit to economically active individuals in viable businesses to work in this area. This is done through the provision of sustainable financial and non-financial services.

These credit and non-governmental organizations are also capable valuable attempts to catalyze coalitions of the poor in the form of slum and squatter dwellers' federations as well as hawkers' welfare cooperatives. These coalitions are capable of strengthening the bargaining positions of the poor and assist in building beneficial partnerships.

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## APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE

### A. Information on Household Demographic Structure:

N o	R H H	Age	Education	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Employment situation	Main Occupation	Sector	Secondary Occupation	Sector	Monthly Income (Kshs)	Contribution to HH budget (Kshs)
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
.												
.												
.												
12												

\*Fill the table starting with the head of the household (HH)

\* Additional information about the (HH):

(1) Years of work (..... years)

(2) Employer.....

(3) Previous work.....

## B. Sources of Supplementary Income

No.	Source	Prior to 1989	At present	Value	
		1. Exists 2. Doesn't exist	1. Exists 2. Doesn't exist	Last Month	Last Year
1	Remittances				
2	Transfers				
3	Donations				
4	Rents				
5	Commerce				
6	Agriculture				
7	Transportation				
8	Handicrafts				
9	Sale of possessions				
10	In-door household activities				
11	Others (specify)				
12	Not applicable				



### C. Survival Strategies

(1) Is there a deficit, surplus, or balance in the household's budget?

- (1) Deficit (ii) Balanced (iii) Surplus

(2) If there is a surplus, how is it utilized?

- (i) Saving (ii) Investment (iii) Buying assets (iv) Consumption  
(v) Other (specify).....

(3) If there is a deficit, why?

- (i) Inflation (ii) Increase in family size (iii) Increase in needs  
(iv) Others (specify).....

(4) When did the deficit start first time? (Year).....

(5) If individual needs increased, why is it increasing?

- (i) Cultural change (ii) Change in consumption habits  
(iii) Change in quantity consumed (iv) Others (specify).....

(6) Do you engage in other work if your normal income is not enough?

- (i) Yes (ii) No

(7) If yes, what type of work? Specify.....

(8) How do you co-ordinate (manage) between your official and additional work?  
.....

(9) If there is a deficit, do you opt to one or more of the following?

- (i) Borrowing (ii) Disposal of Possessions (iii) Sale of assets  
(iv) Rent of Property (v) Renting part of house

- (vi) Transfers, Remittances and Donations (vii) Reutilization of Asset
- (viii) Cutback on consumption (ix) Increase no. of income earners
- (x) Others (specify).....

(10) If you sell possessions, is it:

- (i) Electronics? (ii) Furniture? (iii) Clothes? (iv) Scraps? (v) Others (specify).....

(11) Has your food table deteriorated? .....

- (i) Yes (ii) No

(12) If yes, how?

- (i) Quantity (ii) Quality (iii) Both (iv) Any other way (specify).....

(13) Did your residence change during the last five years?

- (i) Yes (ii) No

(14) If yes, state form of change?

- (i) From higher to lower class of residence
- (ii) From lower to higher class of residence
- (iii) From owned to rented house (iv) From brick to mud (fine bricks) house
- (v) From a whole to part of house (vi) From planned to unplanned residential area
- (vii) From a house with services to one without (viii) Other (specify)

(15) House building materials?

- (i) Wood (ii) Mabati (iii) Concrete (iv) Other (specify).....

(16) Number of rooms:

- (i) One (ii) Two (iii) Three (iv) More than three

(17) Source of drinking water:

- (i) Pipe inside the house (ii) Pipe outside the house (iii) Water carriers  
(iv) Others (specify)

(18) Type of toilet:

- (i) Pit (ii) VIP (iii) Others (iv) None

(19) Type of lighting:

- (i) Gas (ii) Electricity (iii) Kerosene (iv) Wood (v) Others

(20) Type of cooking fuel:

- (i) Gas (ii) Electricity (iii) Charcoal (iv) Wood (v) Others

(21) Do you feel that your economic status has deteriorated?

- (i) Yes (ii) No

(22) If yes, did this affect your social status?

- (i) Yes (ii) No

(23) If yes, how?.....

(24) Does the housewife work?

- (i) Yes (ii) No.

(25) Does she practice any productive domestic activity (in-door)?

- (i) Yes (ii) No

(26) If yes, what type?

(i) Handicrafts (ii) Making and/or sale of food

(iii) Local perfumes (iv) Other (specify).....

(27) Are the family children involved in any productive activity?

(i) During holidays (ii) After school day

(iii) Others (iv) Not applicable

(28) If they work: what type of work? .....

(29) How do you view the child work, is it a:

(i) Conviction? (ii) An economic necessity?

(iii) Others? (iv) Not applicable

(30) How do you view the wife work, is it:

(1) A conviction? (2) An economic necessity?

(3) Others? (4) Not applicable

(31) Do you receive any support from any one of the Social Funds or Organizations? (I) Yes (ii) No

(32) If yes, state which.....

(33) If yes, what is the type of support?

(1) Kind (2) Cash (3) Both

(34) Do you own a residential land?

(1) Yes (2) No →

(35) If yes, how did you acquire it?

(1) Purchased (2) Inherited (3) Allotted in a government-housing plan

(4) Others (specify).....

(36) What are the most important daily difficulties you experience? (rank starting with most difficult)

(1) Housing ..... (2) Food provision ..... (3) Cloth .....

(4) Education ..... (5) Medication ..... (6) Transportation .....

(7) Other (specify).....

(37) Fill the indicators of living conditions deterioration applicable to your situation in the following table.

Indicator	Prior to 1997	After 1997
Ownership of private car (Yes/No)		
Attendants (Yes/No)		
Ownership of the house (Yes/No)		
Size of the house (Complete/Part)		
Place of residence (Quarter and Class)		
Transportation means (Public/Private)		
Private education of children (Yes/No)		

Medication (Public/Private clinics)		
No. of meals (3/under 3)		
Entertainment (Yes/No)		
Other		

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