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LIVELIHOODS IN THE SLUMS OF KENYA; A CASE STUDY ON PERSPECTIVES OF DEVELOPMENT PROFESSIONALS

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations set Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the global professionals community of development to reach by 2030. The top priority is poverty eradication. According to World Bank statistics, we are not on track to meet the SDGs, and some African states have fallen deeper into poverty. One of the reasons is that foreign development aid is targeted at the lower middle class, not the poorest of the poor. Some development professionals are more aware than others of this fact, and more attention is being drawn towards innovative programs that produce effective results helping people at this level make the leap out of poverty. This pilot study was conducted with the purpose of learning what development professionals know about successful poverty reduction at the slum level. My hypothesis about development in slum settlements is more of an inquiry to determine the most effective ways to reduce poverty. Many development programs are targeted at the lower middle class. The goal of this study is to broaden the lens of poverty reduction to include development at the slum level, and add knowledge to the canon toward developing effective programs for this demographic.

Keywords: poverty reduction, Nairobi slums, Mukuru, Sustainable Development Goals, development professionals, Kenya, Africa

INTRODUCTION

As African countries began to gain their independence in the 1960s, colonialists set an intention to provide assistance to Africal in part as reparation and part to enable African states to build economies and a vibrant society. This was to be provided in the form of assistance; diplomatic, democratic, economic, social, and political. Modernization2 plans were implemented for economic and social growth. Influenced from the linear economic model of growth post WWII and Marshall Plan. African the states embarked industrialization on agriculture per Rostow's 3 model (now outdated) which includes these stages of growth; (1) traditional society,

- (2) pre-conditions for take-off, (3) take-off, (4) maturity, and (5) mass consumption. One of the primary flaws with this model is the assumption that a nation-state need only to follow steps to reach the final stage and enjoy economic and social prosperity. Aside from other problems with this model regarding cultural factors and how prosperity is measured, other models equally flawed, have not provided Africa with success. For example:
- (1) 4The Western Liberal Model of Development (Market Model) calls for political development as a condition for economic development, where goals must

be achieved through a free-market economy and competition; United States.

- (2) The Welfare Model of Development advocates provisions for the socio-economic welfare of society in order for successful economic growth and industrialization. Europe followed this path, though they were near full developed as compared to Africa.
- (3) The Socialist/Marxist Model of Development calls for a central system of politics and economics, rejecting capitalistic and liberal models of development. This model was tested in the USSR and Cuba (a Third World Country) and has proven less utopian than expected.
- (4) The Democratic-Socialist Model of Development advocates for socialists goals through democratic means. It is a combination of the welfare state model and democratic socialism. Third world countries such as India, have followed this model and have developed but not rapidly.

None of these models work perfectly for the developing world without some modifications, as in the East Asian Model with state-sponsored capitalism. Human development models are also not without flaws. When African states adopted modernization, the introduction of agricultural machinery replaced hands-on work and created class divisions5. The unemployed left the rural agricultural areas in search of work urban cities.

Similar to other countries, Kenya was not prepared for the urban population increase. Modernization did not bring factories and industry to Nairobi, and jobs remained scarce. Unemployed people from rural areas relocated to Nairobi regardless of resources. They settled informally6 in areas adjacent to dumpsites where governments are less likely to object to their corrugated tin dwellings. Dumpsites offer discarded items such as food, building materials, and household items. What Kenyan's thought would be a temporary dwelling, became a permanent for generations to come. Jobs in alternative

sectors never realized, and the informal settlements grew as more Kenyans continued to relocate from rural areas. Areas became over-crowded, only narrow passageways were kept open. Displacement, class division and unemployment are the unfortunate offspring of modernization; part of a perpetual cycle as we evolve. Poverty reduction programs to help African states took shape in various forms; economic, human development, and for security (Gendzier, 1985)7. Development methods changed over the years including how best to distributed aid to Africa (Carbone, 2010 and Smith, 2013)8, and the use of placehuman-centered development models. Sixty years later, the statistics on poverty reduction remain dismal. The number of poor in Africa has increased from 278 million in 1990 to 413 million in 2015 with an expected increase of 90% by 2030 (World Bank, 2019)9. With robust funds allocated through government, non-governmental private finance. multi-lateral organizations, and development groups, one might ask "What are we doing wrong?" This research is exploratory and looks at how development professionals perceive issues regarding programs to reduce poverty at the slum level. It serves as a first look at what we know, what we don't know, and what types of programs are effective. Poverty eradication is the top UN Sustainabe Development Goal (SDG). The intention of this work is to add knowledge to a global issue that the United Nations is charging the canon to figure out.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on Development is vast. The broad approaches to reduce poverty and improve the human condition have evolved over trial and error. Some of those approaches include structural transformation, micro-enterprises, quality infrastructure, regional aid,

entrepreneurship, education, empowerment, human rights advocacy, job training, STEM, a return to agriculture, encouraging regional trade and foreign public-private direct investment, partnerships, and place-based humancentered development. Of these, there is no single approach that works10. While some experts such as Steven Koltai entrepreneurship11. advocate advocate governance and security. or multi-dimensional education, a approach12. The goal is to facilitate it all; "The long-term strategy is to facilitate rapid economic growth, governance and security, increase ability of the poor to raise their incomes, improve quality of life for the poor and improve equity and participation.13"

According to the World Poverty Clock14, Kenya's poverty level as of February 21, 2020 is approximately 8.175 million people. Kenya is off-track to reach 2030 poverty reduction goals along with the majority of Sub-Saharan Africa. World Bank statistics show that 4.4 million Kenvans live in Nairobi15 where over 1 million live in the slums/informal settlements 16. However, the figure for those living in the slums is not accurate. Since the World Bank and USAID target the lower middle class for programs17, these are the people that make up their statistics which leaves the lower class unaccounted for.

USAID has worked in Kenya for over 50 years and were instrumental in providing assistance during the 2017 drought related famine18. Their work in education, gender equality, food security, human rights, health, economic growth and power-grid access lay the groundwork for setting new targets to reach the very poor. This work has been targeted to the lower middle income households with annual income of \$1026-\$3995/yr19. The slum population live on \$360-\$1,000/yr (\$30-\$85/month)20. Data about slum dwellers is scarce despite the World

Bank's call for better data in their longterm strategy initiatives in the year 2000 where they elected to "strengthen socioeconomic statistics by providing adequate resources to the Central Bureau of Statistics to strengthen poverty analysis with more comprehensive diagnosis of causes of poverty.21"

Global poverty is measured by World Bank from household surveys22. That, in and of itself, is problematic for gathering accurate data from informal settlements. Slum dwellers have no "registered" home to speak of, their shanties are erected on non-tenured land23. Retrieving data is logistically difficult without engaging help from within the community. The Kenyan Census uses this method to count the slum population, but the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics does not release this data on their website. Instead, pdf's on economic indicators and GDP are posted24, thus development professionals are less familiar with poverty in the informal settlements. The world poverty clock shows 1.1 million people in Nairobi living in poverty, though figures are likely closer to 2.5 million25. Citizen capacity self-sustainability toward is low. particularly when there are no programs targeted for them.

And, what of those who earn \$1.91/day? There has been discussion about whetter to raise the poverty index to \$3.20/day because \$1.90/day is not a satisfactory level of consumption 26. This leads to the debate about how poverty is measured27 28 29. Multidimensional factors equate to monetary measure. poverty beyond Factors such as education, access to infrastructure, health and nutrition, and household security all contribute to the need for broader measures of poverty. The UN, World Bank and USAID are aware of this, hence the 17 SDGs cover a wide range of poverty-related variables.

There is a repertoire of additional scholars, both African and Western, including Carol Lancaster, former Deputy Minister of the US Agency for International Development (USAID), who highlights error in judgement about approaches to poverty30. Other scholars include Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1982)31, James C. Scott, Weapons of the Weak

(1975)32, Irene Gendzier, Development Against Democracy (1985)33, Thomas Carothers, Essays on Democracy Promotion (2004)34, and Duncan Green, From Poverty to Power (2008)35.

All of these scholarly works were reviewed because they cover a wide range of opinions and facts about development. World Bank, USAID and other reports shared valued data, while each literary author writes ostensibly about the modernization period, foreign aid, and dependency on aid. These works have created considerable understandings within the development field.

Michael Cernea wrote Putting People First (1991)36. Development scholars and professionals were inspired to advocate for the inclusion of locals in the process of planning poverty reduction development projects. A UNESCO thinkpiece written by an unknown staff writer (2010)37 was equally supportive and additive in terms of ethical development to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The ideology was bolstered further by the UNDP Administrators Report (2010) titled, "People-centered Development; Empowered lives. Resilient nations.38" The report begins by acknowledging research in the late 1980s which clarified that links between economic growth and human development demonstrates no automatic correlation. Therefore, income does not equate wellbeing. The report became the foundation for developing the SDGs to target poverty from a variety of directions other than income, directions that were multi-dimensional and human-centered. In the most recent data published by the USAID Center for Innovation and Impact

Brief (2018)39, human-centered design supports the scale for impact. This approach became central to development programs40.

Hypothesis

My hypothesis about development in slum settlements is more of an inquiry to determine the most effective ways to reduce poverty. The lens of poverty reduction will need to be broadened to include development at the slum level. This is an exploratory inquiry to learn what professionals know about developing effective programs for this demographic. The goal of this work is to provide additional knowledge and shed light on further work that must be done to achieve poverty reduction.

METHODOLOGY

Survey Instrument

A 17 question survey was conducted two groups of development professionals from 2019 conferences on poverty reduction. Both conferences were held in Nairobi, Kenya. One conference (AIDF Africa Summit)41 is regularly attended by government development professionals, the other (SANKALP)42, attended by social impact innovators. The AIDF Summit is produced by a UK based firm with large sponsors such as Hemocue, Zurich, AirSYS and the Manitou Group. The SANKALP conference is sponsored by Intellecap, and Indian based firm run by a billionaire who was raised in the slums of India. SANKALP is sponsored by Johnson &

Johnson, Microsoft, USAID, and Siemens to name a few. Both conferences were specifically chosen to gain answers from two opposite poles in the development field, on how best to reduce poverty in the slums of Nairobi. The types of professionals at the conferences come

from organizations as large as UNDP with over 5000 staff, and development innovators with less than 25 in their team. Attendees received the survey via email links sent by the conference staff, therefore I do not have information regarding how many attendees received the link nor from which conference the completed surveys are from. The link was sent out 6-8 weeks after the conferences.

This is pilot study of twenty professionals experienced development field. A broader study is to take place in Fall 2020. The survey includes seventeen questions, some of which are open-ended questions. Questions 1-8 are independent variables; age, gender, country base, organization size, organization focus, years worked in development, years worked specifically in poverty reduction, and the amount of time split between the office and field work. Questions 9-17 are dependent variables; successful programs, familiarity with the slums, traditional programs that benefit slum dwellers, active programs in the slums, using place-based design for programs, ratings of programs, programs perceived as not effective for slum dwellers, programs perceived as effective for slum dwellers, and what elements make up the best programs for slum dwellers.

In addition to the survey, I conducted two focus groups in the Mukuru slum to learn what they think are the most effective development programs for their community. This portion of the data is currently being analyzed for a future paper, along with the full study planned for my dissertation.

Coding

Of the 8 independent variables, 3 were note used in cross-tabulations. They provided general information 43. The remaining 5 independent variables were cross-tabulated across the dependent variables, one of which is shown in Figure 1, separate from the others due to incompatibility with the coding system. Initial coding was simplified into two categories per question due to the small sample size. Responses were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The full survey can be found in Appendix 1. Cross-tabulations can be found in Appendix 2. See table 2.0 (p.13) for coding chart.

Table 1.0

The 5 independent variables are:	The 8 dependent variables are:
organizational size	successful program at their organization
organizational focus	familiarity with the informal settlements
years worked for current organization	traditional programs benefit to slums
years worked in poverty reduction overall	organization active in the slums
• time spend in the office vs field	using placed-based design
	programs not effective
	programs that are effective
	create a program, multi or single focus*

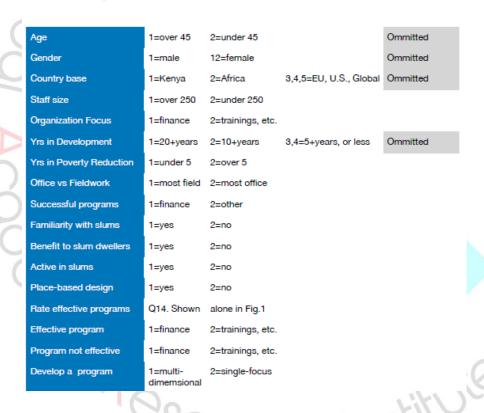
^{*}Multi-dimensional programs offer, for example, finance, education and job training.

For descriptive purposes,

The sample consists of 50% male and 50% female professionals over the age of 45 who work directly in Nairobi, Kenya.

- 30% of their organizations are based in Kenya with 50% based in the U.S., 15% global and the remaining 5% based in another African country.
- The focus of their organization ranges from emphasis on finance, trainings, education, health, agriculture, gender equality, legal advocacy and humanitarian efforts. 45% have been at their current jobs for 5 to 20+ years. 43 age, gender and organizations base country.

Table 2.0 Coding



FINDINGS AN ANALYSIS

Findings:

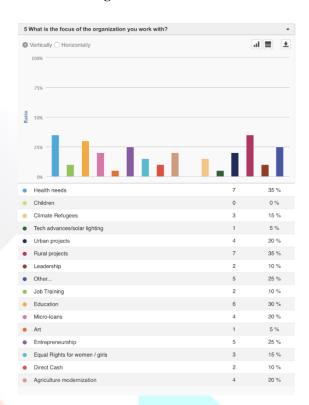
- 60% have worked specifically in poverty reduction from 10 to 20+ years, and 25% have worked for 5+ years. 15% have worked for 5 years of less in poverty reduction.
- The mean for the staff size of the organizations is 250+.
- 40% spend more time in the field doing hands-on work than in the office, with 60% doing mostly office work.

- The majority of the group defines the most successful programs to be financial in nature (micro-loans, direct cash, savings programs, entrepreneurial ventures). However, in Q14-16 the group shifts to include education and job trainings as effective.
- 40% believe that traditional poverty reduction programs are very unlikely to unlikely to benefit slum dwellers. None believe that traditional programs are very likely to benefit slum dwellers and 60% believe that traditional programs are somewhat a benefit to slum dwellers.
- 80% are familiar with poverty in the slums, and 75% are active with poverty reduction programs in the slums.
- 80% use a place-based design model in their poverty reduction programs.
- With an unlimited budget, 40% would develop multidimensional programs and 55% would develop single-focused programs. 95% agree to develop their programs using a place-based approach.

Analysis

The survey data shows that the development professionals work organizations that offer a wide range of services for the poor. Rural, health and education programs have the highest frequencies as part of multi-dimensional programs44. Years of work was analyzed for the purpose of determining the amount of accumulated experience. The data reveals the majority have been working at their current organization for less than 5 years, however 60% have 10 to 20+ years experience working in development all together. Those with less than 5 years experience remain familiar with poverty in the slums.

Table 3.0 Organizational Focus



In the cross-tabulations for success, 90% of the organizations think finance related programs are the most successful. This finding has a significance of 0.001. It includes 62% of organizations with labor related trainings, and 67% of organizations who spend the majority of their time working hands-on in the field. This was an unexpected finding because there is controversial debate regarding cash programs and micro-loans for poverty reduction. Some

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recipients are unable to pay interest rates on micro-loans and find themselves worse off financially. In juxtaposition, cash programs run the risk of leaving organization worse off if recipients waste funds or do not use the cash wisely.

Regarding familiarity with poverty in the informal settlements, 46% of the smaller organizations are familiar, while 71% of those from larger organizations are not familiar with informal settlements. Both finance and labor related organizations are mainly not very familiar, and those with 5 to 20+ years of experience are mainly not familiar with informal settlements unless they work in the field more than in the office; 71% of those who work in the field are very familiar with poverty in the informal settlements (0.048 significance). Those organizations that do not send staff to the field regularly will not become knowledgable about broader issues and alternative approaches to reduction. While organizations believe they are doing all they can to meet the SDGs, if they are not taking time to purview the field they are restricting knowledge about the realities of poverty and hindering the advancement of poverty eradication.

When asked if they thought traditional programs were a benefit to slum dwellers, field and office workers as well as smaller organizations think traditional programs offer somewhat of a benefit to slum dwellers (50%-77%). However, those from larger organizations think that traditional programs offer no benefit to slum dwellers (71%). This indicates a need for poverty reduction programs to be developed for large organizations to reduce poverty specifically at the slum level. Regarding active programs running in the slums, 88% of large organizations are not active, while 31% of those from small organizations are active and mainly in labor training or finance related programs. Those from large organizations have historically targeted the lowermiddle class, thus poverty at the slum level is neglected.

Those from both large and small organizations use place-based design, 71% and 85% respectively. Those from organizations focused on labor trainings and finance concur. This holds true no mater how many years of experience one has in poverty reduction, signaling that place-based or human-centered design is now an industry standard.

Surprisingly the cross-tabs show that 85% of those from smaller organizations believe that PPPs are not effective for reducing poverty at the slum level (0.052) significance). Of those from large organizations, 43% believe the same. This belief remains in majority across those who work for organizations in finance or labor, and irrespective of how many years one has worked in poverty reduction or how much time they spend in the field. The perception of what PPPs are capable of offering while making minimal profits, might a driving factor. Finance related programs were previously identified as most effective to reduce poverty at the slum level. The cross-tabs demonstrate the belief that education is not effective. Those that work at small or large organizations with a focus on finance or labor trainings (including those who work in the field), all believe that education is not effective to reduce poverty at the slum level (61.5%-78%). Of those who have up to 20+ years of experience, 50% believe that education is not effective. And, of those with 5 years or less in the industry, 87.5% believe education is not the way forward to reduce poverty at the slum level (0.085 significance). This suggests an overwhelming belief in the industry that other measures other than education need be developed to reduce poverty at the slum level.

The Q14 likert scale question revealed that most professionals believe three types of programs are most likely to reduce poverty in the slums: financial programs, gender equality and legal advocacy programs. However, the frequency

analysis shows a fairly equal distribution across all types of programs; finance 35%, trainings 30%, education 25%, humanitarian 30%, legal advocacy 35%, public-private partnerships 40%, and World Bank KISIP 50%. This information lends itself to the analysis of Q17 in which

multi-dimensional programs are perceived to be the most effective in reducing poverty for slum dwellers as equally as single-focus programs.

Table 4.0 Program Rating 1=least likely to help 5=mo st likely to help reduce poverty reduce poverty Job Training, such as Kenya Education for Employment Legal advocacy, such as Amnesty Gender initiatives, such as Let Girls 12 Learn Public-private Programs, such as World Bank's Informal Settlement Improvements Program Entrepreneur support, such as micro-loans and capacity building Food security, such as Oxfam Food security. such as USAID programs NGO programs, such as Mercy Corp. or Save the Children UN programs such as United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) Anti-corruption programs, such The final crossas EACC and tab reveals

Transparency International

a positive step for the development industry. Place-based, human-centered design is used in 80% of the organizations of those surveyed. Comparing multidimensional and single focus approaches, 54% of those from smaller organizations advocate for multi-dimensional programs for slum dwellers, while 83% of those from large organizations advocate for single-focus programs. Those who work for organizations in finance or labor trainings would employ single focus programs as would those with less than 5 years experience in poverty reduction. However, those from larger organizations with 5-20+ years experience in poverty reduction mostly believe that a multidimensional program would best. This is suggestive that there remains debate whether single-focus or multi-dimensional programs are best for slum dwellers. There are structural challenges in offering multiservices, yet there are equal challenges in dealing with multiple agencies offering different services to a client. Having multiple services under one roof may be by brining well-defined structured organizations together to serve the informal settlement client.

CONCLUSION

U.S. Foreign Aid organizations seek to solve or at least mitigate the issue of global poverty. Findings from this pilot study show that development professionals believe the lowest tier of poverty requires multi-dimensional program, emphasis not on education but instead on financial programs. Financial programs such as micro-loans may not be the answer. Direct cash might also not be the answer. However, alternatives might exist in the form of support for income generating activities that already exist in the informal settlements. This begins with knowledge from the field, something that is lacking.

It is illogical to think poverty can be reduced without addressing issues related to the lower tier such as those who live in slums. The development field has provided education, job trainings, health benefits, leadership & ethics training as well as legal guidance to millions of lower middle-class clients. There exist new ways to make the leap out of poverty.

The Cotonou Agreement made in the year 2000 on EU-Africa relations firmly called for multilateral engagement in foreign aid, development, and poverty reduction efforts (Carbone, 2010)45. With that, is it time to focus on the poverty level we have not yet serviced? With all the expertise in development, is a deeper focus into the lower levels of poverty something we are not capable of? Poverty is not only an abomination to the human spirit, but a threat to democracy. For example, when desperation meets the opportunity to earn income from nefarious activities, justice is breached. When desperation meets the opportunity to ingest a form of psychological pain relief, good health is breached. And when desperation meets the opportunity to have compensation paid to family members, terrorism is born. Although Nairobi made the UN Top 4 list of investment cities in Africa, Kenya is ranked 8th on the extreme poverty list46. We have the tools, methods, approaches, and expertise spread across large and small organizations to meet the UN Goals. Sustainable Development Goldsmith quotes Alexis de Tocqueville, "vibrant life is the source of political strength," (Goldsmith, 2001)47.

Appendix 1 – Questionnaire and Frequency Distribution

Q1. What is your age?

Under 45 56% Over 45 44%

Q2. What is your gender

Male 50% Female 50%

Q3. Which country is the organization your work for is based in?

Kenya 30% Africa-other 5% United States 50% Global 15%

Q4. How would you categorize the size of the organization you work with?

Over 250 employees 45% Under 250 employees 55%

Q5. What is the focus of the organization you work with? 55%

Finance

(micro-loans, entrepreneurship, direct cash)

Other (job training, education, health, tech, human rights) 45%

*75% also include education in the organization's focus

Q6. How many years have you worked with the organization?

Under 5 years 55%

5+ years 15% 10+years 25% 20+years 5%

*Categorized in findings as under 5 years 55% and over 5yrs 45%

Q7. How many years have you worked (specifically) in poverty reduction or development? Under 5 years 15%

5+ years 25% 10+years 30% 20+years 30% *Categorized in findings as under 5 years 15% and over 5yrs 85%

Q8. Write the percentage of time you spend doing office work, and the percentage of time you spend doing fieldwork.

Over 50% 15%

50-50 20%

Under 50% 60%

*Categorized in findings as mostly field or mostly office

Q9. Tell me about a specific program at the organization you work with that you consider successful in reducing poverty? Why is it successful?

Finance 50% Labor Training 5% Education 15% Other 20%

Not sure 5%

*Categorized in findings as finance or other

Q10. The next set of questions are related to poverty in the Slums of Kenya. Select your general familiarity of this area.

Very familiar 40% Somewhat 40% Not very 20%

*Categorized in findings as familiar or not familiar

Q11. How likely do you think traditional aid programs benefit Kenyans who live in the slums?

Very likely 0% Somewhat likely 60% Unlikely 35% Very unlikely 5% Q12. To what extent is the organization you work with active in the slums of Kenya?

Very active 25% Somewhat active 50% Not active 25%

*Categorized in the findings as active or not active

Q13. Do the programs at the organization you work with use place-based design?

Using place based design 80% Not using place based 20%

Q14. How effective do you think the following types of programs are in reducing poverty in the slums of Kenya?

Finance related programs 35%

Job training programs 60%

Education programs 25%

Humanitarian programs 30%

Legal advocacy programs 35%

Public-private partnerships 40%

World Bank programs 50%

*The percentages represent a finite

Q15. Based on your answer to the previous question, give me an example of

a program you think is NOT effective at

number per category out of 100%

reducing poverty in the slums of Kenya? Why?

Finance related programs

Job training programs 5%

Education programs 10%

Humanitarian programs 5%

Legal advocacy programs 5%

Public-private partnerships 0%

World Bank programs 5%

*The percentages represent a finite number per category out of 100%

Q16. Based on your answer to the previous question, give me an example of a program you think IS effective at reducing poverty in the slums of Kenya? Why?

Finance related programs

Job training programs 5%

Education programs 35%

Humanitarian programs 5%

Other 25%

*The percentages represent a finite number per category out of 100%

Q.17 If you were given \$200 million to create a poverty reductio program in the slums of Kenya, what type of program would you create?

Multi-dimensional place-based 40% Single-focus place-based 55% Other 5%

*Categorized in findings as multidimensional or single-focus

nstitute

Appendix 2 – Cross-tabulations (5 independent variables x 8 dependent variables)

D1. Finance Programs are Success	ful		Trainings, etc. are successful
Size of Organization			
Small orgs (staff under 250)	58%	Ns	42%
Large orgs (staff over 250)	50%		50%
Organization Focus-Finance			
Yes	90%	0.001	10%
Not mentioned	12%		88%
Organization Focus-Labor			
Yes	63%	Ns	37%
Not mentioned	50%		50%
Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction			
Under 5 years	57%	Ns	43%
5+ years	55%		45%
Office vs Field Work			
Field work – over 50%	67%	Ns	33%
Field work – under 50%	46%		54%
D2. NOT familiar with poverty in the	slums		Familiar with poverty in slums
Size of Organization			
Small orgs (staff under 250)	54%	Ns	46%
Large orgs (staff over 250)	71%		29%
Organization Focus-Finance			
Yes	64%	Ns	36%

	0.20 0. 0. 92				
	Small orgs (staff under 250)	54%	Ns	46%	
	Large orgs (staff over 250)	71%		29%	
	Organization Focus-Finance				
	Yes	64%	Ns	36%	
	Not mentioned	56%		44%	
	Organization Focus-Labor				
	Yes	56%	Ns	44%	
4	Not mentioned				
	Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction				
	Under 5 years	50%	Ns	50%	
	5+ years	67%		33%	
	Office vs Field Work				
	Field work – over 50%	29%	0.048	71%	
	Field work – under 50%	75%		25%	

D3. Traditional programs benefit slu	m dwelle	rs	No benefit
Size of Organization			
Under 250	77%	Ns	23%
Over 250	29%		71%
Organization Focus-Finance			
Yes	73%	Ns	27%
Not mentioned	44%		56%
Organization Focus-Labor			
Yes	78%	Ns	22%
Not mentioned	45.5%		54.5%
Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction			
Under 5 years	62.5%	Ns	37.5%
5+ years	58%		42%
Office vs Field Work			
Field work – over 50%	71%	Ns	29%
Field work – under 50%	50%		50%

D.4 Active in the slums				Not active in the slums
Size of Organization				
Under 250	31%	N	s	69%
Over 250	14%			86%
Organization Focus-Finance				
Yes	27%	N	s	73%
Not mentioned	22%			78%
Organization Focus-Labor				
Yes	33%	Ns	s	67%
Not mentioned	18%			82%
Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction				
Under 5 years	37%	Ns	s	63%
5+ years	17%			83%
Office vs Field Work				
Field work – over 50%	43%	Ns	S	57%
Field work – under 50%	17%			83%
D.5 Using place-based/human-cent	tered n	no	del	Not
Size of Organization				
Under 250	859	%	Ns	15%
Over 250	719	%		29%
Organization Focus-Finance				
Yes	829	%	Ns	18%
Not mentioned	789	%		22%
Organization Focus-Labor				
Yes	899	%	Ns	11%
Not mentioned	739	%		27%
Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction				
Under 5 years	87.59	%	Ns	12.5%
5+ years	759	%		25%
Office vs Field Work				
Field work – over 50%	869	6	Ns	14%
Field work – under 50%	759	6		25%

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	D.6 PPPs are NOT EFFECTIVE for	slum o	dwellers	PPP's are EFFECTIVE
	Size of Organization			
	Under 250	15%	0.052	85%
	Over 250	57%		43%
	Organization Focus-Finance			
	Yes	27%	Ns	73%
	Not mentioned	33%		67%
	Organization Focus-Labor			
	Yes	33%	Ns	67%
	Not mentioned	27%		73%
	Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction			
9	Under 5 years	25%	Ns	75%
i	5+ years	33%		67%
	Office vs Field Work			
	Field work – over 50%	14%	Ns	86%
	Field work – under 50%	33%		67%

D.7 Education is effective for slum of	lwellers			Education is not effective
Size of Organization				
Under 250	38.5%	Ns		61.5%
Over 250	29%			71%
Organization Focus-Finance				
Yes	36%	Ns		64%
Not mentioned	33%			67%
Organization Focus-Labor				
Yes	22%	Ns		78%
Not mentioned	45.5%			54.5%
Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction				
Under 5 years	12.5%	0.085		87.5%
5+ years	50%			50%
Office vs Field Work				
Field work – over 50%	57%	Ns		43%
Field work – under 50%	25%			75%
D.8 Multi-dimensional place-based p	program		Single-focus place-based program	
Size of Organization				
Under 250	54%	Ns		46%
Over 250	17%			83%
Organization Focus-Finance				
Yes	40%	Ns		60%
Not mentioned	44%			56%
Organization Focus-Labor				
Yes	37.5%	Ns		62.5%
Not mentioned	45.5%			54.5%
Yrs Work in Poverty Reduction				
Under 5 years	25%	Ns		75%
5+ years	54.5%			45.5%
Office vs Field Work				
Field work – over 50%	33%	Ns		67%
Field work – under 50%	42%			58%

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