

Livelihood Strategies of the Marginalized Urban Poor: Insights from the Negede Weyto People of Bahir Dar, Ethiopia

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Abstract

The urban poor, experiencing year-round uncertainty and livelihood insecurity, are compelled to adopt various survival strategies to meet daily challenges. This study draws on micro-level data collected through field surveys in Bahir Dar City, where the Negede Weyto people reside. The study aims to understand the nature of poverty within the community and the various livelihood strategies they adopt to cope with its challenges. The major challenges and opportunities of the people are also revisited. The study utilized both primary and secondary data, which are qualitative and quantitative in nature. The primary data were collected from 375 randomly selected households and four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The findings indicate that a large share of this population depends on daily labor for their income, though income levels differ across and within different occupational groups. Using a Multinomial Logistic Regression Model, the study examined factors influencing the choice of livelihood strategies among the Negede Weyto, revealing that the majority of the Negede Weyto people are self-employed. The educational status of the household head positively and significantly influences the likelihood of being in the wage-employed category compared with the collective support category. The results also show that the Negede Weyto have limited access to livelihood resources and are vulnerable to various shocks, leading to livelihood insecurity. The study also highlighted a gap between government policies and their implementation, with NGO policies often failing to address the realities faced by the urban poor. Additionally, limitations in the capacity of local governments and NGOs have contributed to ongoing livelihood vulnerability. The study recommends improved access to education, which is crucial for changing the livelihood structure of these groups in the long run. Special financial support should also be provided to reduce the poverty-induced dropout of children among the Negede Weyto people. The paper notes that these groups dominate the

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production of basketry. Therefore, the government could enhance their livelihoods by providing targeted market support, such as ensuring appropriate workplaces, input/raw material support, access to skill training to enhance their competitiveness and market penetration throughout the country, promoting their products, and negotiating higher prices for their goods.

Key Words: Negede Weyto, livelihood strategies, urban poor, multinomial logistic regression.

JEL Classification: D63, D15, I31, I38

1. Introduction

Inequality remains a major global challenge. Despite decades of progress in poverty reduction and improvements in development indicators, the benefits have not been equally shared. Paradoxically, development often deepens existing inequalities rather than alleviating them, causing unintended consequences for marginalized communities (Sharma, 2018).

Rather than living in a world of decreasing differences, sadly, we live in a time and space where differences and inequalities appear to be growing, and where concerns over the marginalization of people and places have yet to be fully understood and addressed. While levels of extreme poverty appear to have been reduced, inequality levels within most societies are increasing. This reflects both the inability of all people to participate fully and to the same degree in the dominant economic system and the complex overlays of social exclusion, discrimination, displacement, and conflict, which sadly remain features of the world in the twenty-first century (Chand & Pelc, 2017).

Dalits in Bangladesh, primarily engaged in traditional occupations like fishermen, sweepers, barbers, washermen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, cobblers, and oil-pressers, face discrimination and live in filthy environments. They represent the most marginalized and deprived sections, often located in inhospitable areas. A study using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGD), and case studies revealed that Dalits in both Hindu and Muslim communities face discrimination in almost all spheres of life, including land ownership, low access to capital assets, and income disparities. Many Dalits are employed in public and private offices as sweepers and cleaners, with low pay (Chowdhury, 2009).

A Global Call to Action against Poverty (GCAP, 2023) states that Vakil Banjara and his family have been attempting for 15 years to obtain land deeds for their ancestral land in Rajasthan. They have received government grants for toilet construction and electricity connection but have been denied land deeds and house allotment under the Indira Awas Yojana. They claim caste-based discrimination and the presence of a cement factory near their land, which was once used by their grandfather. The family faces challenges in obtaining land rights.

The same report talks about Udaylalji Banjara, a widow in Rajasthan, facing challenges in accessing government schemes due to her name not being verified in the National Food Security Act and Rajasthan State ID. She is unable to receive benefits from the Palanhar Scheme, Ration Card Scheme, and Chiranjeevi Scheme, and her children, aged 12 and 9, lack Aadhaar cards and birth certificates. Udaylalji works as a daily wage laborer.

In Ethiopia, due to the long-standing tradition in the northern part of the country, there is considerable historical information about the various minorities and the historical processes that led to their formation as stigmatized groups on the margins of Amhara. This study goes into detail about one of these marginalized minority groups - the Negede Weyto. They are despised artisan groups within the wider Amhara society. They also work mainly as makers of grinding stones and as boatmen ferrying people across Lake Tan (Tamrat, 2020).

With the expansion of Bahir Dar town, the community has been repeatedly displaced from their original settlements and pushed to various underdeveloped areas. Their homes, made of simple local materials like grass-roofed huts, are often considered squatter settlements by the city administration and do not meet urban planning standards, making them vulnerable to frequent evictions.

Regarding their social status, they are low-income earners in society, and the Amhara and other groups look down on and exclude them. In most cases, their children do not attend formal schools but are engaged in simple informal activities like collecting garbage, firewood, and street vending. In the past, people used to burn household utensils that were used by the Negede Weyto community, and even in places where local drinks were sold, people would isolate drinking materials commonly used by others from members of this community. They were highly marginalized and had little acceptance from members of other groups (CareEthiopia, 2011).

Traditionally, they were fishermen and hunters in and around Lake Tana. They are known for their hand-driven boats made of dried stalks of papyrus. At present, they

have engaged in unproductive informal activities to generate income for their subsistence. This includes shaping stone grinding mills, basketry, collecting firewood, and collecting and disposing of home-produced garbage. All of the above activities are not enabling them to be competent and secure enough income for a better life (CareEthiopia, 2011).

Tamrat (2023) strives to investigate the changes and continuities in the social, economic, and political lives of the Negede Weyto people from a historical perspective. The study found that communal life, low social capital, marginalization, conflicts of values, a lack of institutions that protect minorities, low political participation, and a lack of secure means of survival are identified as the main causes for the majority of the Negede Weyto people to lead a life of subhuman dignity and chronic poverty.

A study by Legesse (2013) aimed to analyze the religious behaviors and practices of the Negede Weyto people to understand their relation to other everyday activities. The research was intended to examine the relationship between this community and the surrounding Amhara society. The findings of the study indicate that the past socio-cultural activities of this community play an important role in the unpleasant relations that exist between members of this community and their Amhara neighbors. As the findings indicate, poverty and the tiresome nature of their economic activities have been cited as the main factors behind the non-pious behaviors of the Negede Weyto community.

The study by Ajala (2008) used 123 respondents and 4 FGD groups for the survey and analyzed the data with simple statistics and regression. It found that the livelihood of the Negede Woyto is seriously exposed to vulnerability factors that are external and beyond what they can address. It thus calls for intervention by the government and NGOs to rescue the vulnerable community.

By far, very little work has been done on the history of the Negede Weyto people. Even studies on this topic usually provide qualitative analyses, such as historical and religious perspectives, while this study employs advanced quantitative analysis in addition to qualitative methods. The DFID (The British Department for International Development) framework is also used and customized according to the Negede Weyto people. This research is also project-oriented, with a large rehabilitation project being conducted concurrently.

This paper aims to explore the existing livelihood strategies and sources of the Negede Weyto people. It is also designed to analyze the factors influencing the

choice of livelihood strategies using the Multinomial Regression Model, which has not been used by any other researchers, and to identify the major challenges and opportunities facing the livelihoods of the Negede Weyto people. In this way, a better understanding of their livelihoods could be obtained.

2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

With the non-existence of the welfare state or a well-developed social security system, the concept of household strategy becomes important as it describes the array of actions that households undertake to overcome challenges they face in their lives. Scholars using the concept of household strategies have recognized that, firstly, the strategy is often the result of a sequence of implicit decisions, and secondly, this sequence is the complex result of interactions between household members, each with their own social positions, role expectations, and resources (Emigh, 2001; Fontaine, 2000).

social, and political context, which renders their livelihood insecurity distinctive (Diehl, 2020). Among these differences, urban livelihoods are derived from non-agricultural markets and are dependent on cash incomes, as opposed to rural livelihoods, which depend on natural capitals such as agriculture, livestock, forestry, and fishing (Rakodi, 2002).

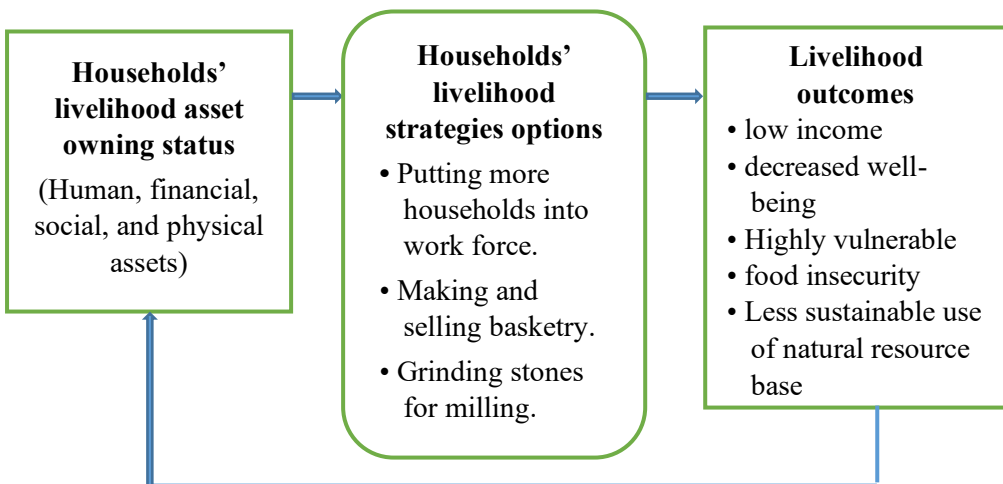
Households adopt various livelihood strategies to sustain themselves, which can be categorized as income-enhancing, expenditure-reducing, collective support, and external representation (Farrington, 2002). Another categorization includes productive activities and social activities (Schütte, 2004). These and other categorizations reveal the variety of activities the poor undertake in pursuing their livelihoods. Such choices affect household livelihood security (Gebre-Egziabher, 2010). The only way to pursue an increase in households' income is to enhance the employability of people in different job opportunities. Typically, the construction sector, including large infrastructure works, private housing, and urban infrastructure development, is capable of attracting a labor force from these youths (Negash, 2023).

To have a wider conception of the urban household's activity choice, we draw on the broader livelihood strategy literature and use the 'Sustainable Livelihood Approach' as a framework for analysis (Figure 1). The livelihood approach aims to highlight the different elements that shape people's livelihoods in a community, the factors that influence them, and the linkages between these various factors.

The approach prioritizes people’s assets, their ability to withstand shocks (the vulnerability context), and policies and institutions that reflect people’s priorities. The British Department for International Development (DFID) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework was established in 1997 to organize and improve organizations’ efforts to eliminate poverty.

The livelihood framework focuses on households’ access to five types of ‘capital’ or ‘assets’ – natural, human, physical, social, and financial (Bebbington, 1999; DFID, 1999; Hussein, 1998; Scoones, 1998; Winters, 2002). It argues that the ability to pursue different strategies depends on the possession of these assets, from which different productive streams are derived and livelihoods are constructed.

Figure 1: A Customized Sustainable Livelihood Framework: Constructed based on DFID



It consists of five major components that are related through sequential relationships and feedback. These include the vulnerability context, livelihood assets, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies, and livelihood outcomes. The vulnerability context describes the external uncontrollable factors that influence people’s assets and livelihood opportunities. “Structures” refer to the organizations that create and enforce legislation, provide the necessary requirements for acquiring and capitalizing upon assets, manage natural resources, and provide other services crucial for gaining access to assets and benefiting from their use. Meanwhile, “processes” determine the interactions between the structures and

individuals. Examples of processes include policies, legislation, power relations, norms, market stability, and general rule of law.

The greater the diversity of livelihood strategies, the higher the household's resilience to the shocks, trends, and seasonal conditions within the vulnerability context. Livelihood outcomes refer to the outputs of livelihood strategies. Achievements may include higher income, greater well-being, reduced vulnerability, greater food security, and improved environmental sustainability.

3. Methodology

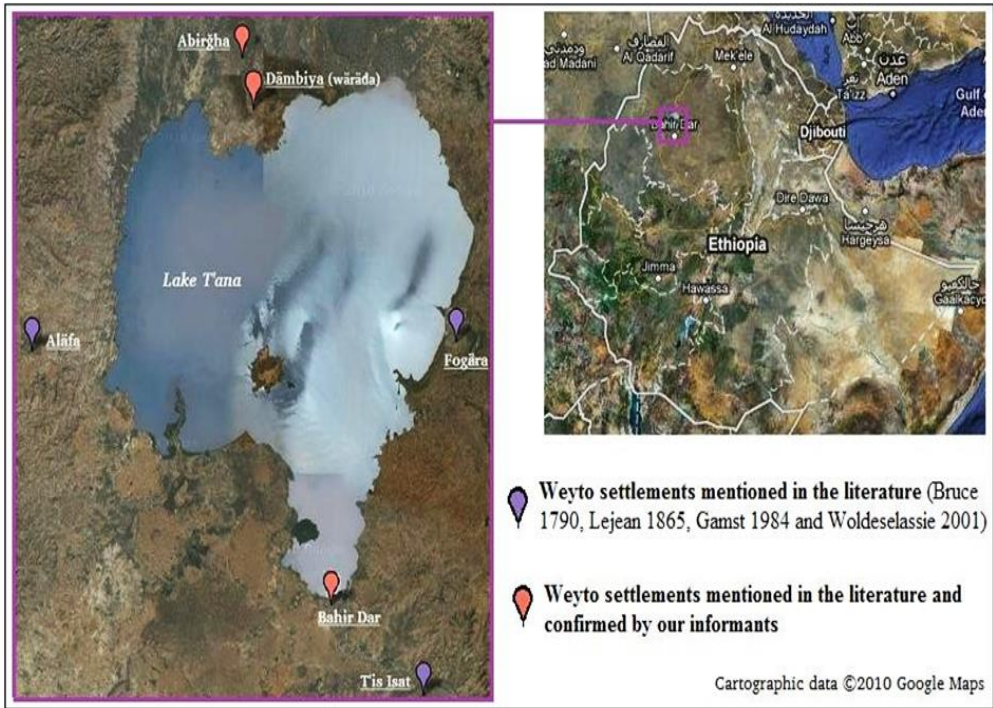
3.1. Description of the Study Area

Bahir Dar is located within the central plateau of the Ethiopian highlands, sharing the shore of Lake Tana, the source of the Blue Nile, a major tributary of the River Nile, which is the longest river in Africa. It lies at an altitude of 1,830 meters above sea level, with an average temperature in the range of 12-18 degrees Celsius and rainfall between 400-2,000 mm, usually from June to September. The highest average daily temperature is recorded at 23°C in May, while the lowest is 19°C in July.

Bahir Dar has a population of 389,177 as of 2021; it is declared a special zone in the Amhara region, being the regional capital. It is home to the Gojam tribe of Amhara. It has witnessed rapid urbanization and physical expansion in recent times due to rural-urban migration (BoFEC, 2021).

Lake Tana is one of the largest inland water lakes in Africa, with a total area of 3,600 km², stretching 75 kilometers north and south, 60 kilometers east-west, and lying at about 1,830 meters above sea level with a maximum depth of 14 meters. It is along the shoreline of the lake that smaller tribes called "Negede Weyto" have their habitation and engage in livelihood activities (Ajala, 2008).

Some of the community members inhabit rural districts located adjacent to the north and northwest shores of Lake Tana. The seashore and its wetland are the livelihood sources of the community. Traditional fishing, carving grinding mills from lava stone, transportation services, and selling firewood are sources of income for the wider Negede Weyto (Tamrat, 2020). The largest group of the Negede Weyto community lives in Kebele 16, Kebele 11, and Kebele 03 of Bahir Dar town, the administrative and commercial center of the regional state.

Figure 2: Location of the Negede Weyto people

3.2. Types, Data Sources, and Data Collection Techniques

The study utilized both primary and secondary data, which are qualitative and quantitative in nature. Primary data were gathered using simple random sampling from selected households at all levels. Household survey questionnaires, key informant interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), and field observations were employed to collect the data. The survey questionnaires were composed of both open- and closed-ended types to collect reliable data about the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents, the existing livelihood strategies, and factors that influence the choices of livelihood strategies in the area. The questionnaires were administered by trained enumerators.

3.3. Sampling and Sample Size Determination.

On the basis of information gathered from the community representatives of the Negede Weyto area, the total population of the Negede Weyto people is estimated to be 6,000.

Regarding the sample size, we have used the Yamane equation.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

Where N, Number of people in the population, n Sample size required, e margin of error = 0.05

Using the above formulae, sample size was calculated to be 375.

3.4. Method of Data Analysis

Data generated through questionnaires were analyzed using descriptive and econometric models. Qualitative categorical types of data were analyzed using percentages, frequency distributions, and chi-square tests, while quantitative continuous data were analyzed using means and standard deviations (SD). A multinomial logistic regression model was employed to investigate the factors that influence the choices of livelihood strategies in the area.

3.5. Econometric Model Specification

Following the Random Utility Models (RUM) tradition (Train, 2003) the household's activity choice model assumes that households maximize their utility. Suppose that a household n ($n = 1, \dots, N$) faces a choice among J alternative activities. Let U_{nj} , $j = 1, \dots, J$ denote the utility that n obtains from alternative j . The household chooses alternative i if and only if $U_{ni} > U_{nj}$; $\forall j \neq i$.

On the basis of RUM, the utility (U_{nj}) that a household obtains from alternative j is decomposable into two components V_{nj} and ϵ_{nj} , where V_{nj} is the portion of U_{nj} that can be represented from the observed attributes of the alternatives, labeled X_{nj} $\forall j$, and some household specific attributes, labeled H_n , and ϵ_{nj} is a random disturbance reflecting intrinsically random choice behavior, measurement or specification error and unobserved attributes of the alternatives that affect the utility (U_{nj}) but are not captured in V_{nj} . Then the utility function can be written as:

$$U_{nj} = V_{nj} + \epsilon_{nj} \forall j = V(X_{nj}, H_n) + \epsilon_{nj}$$

Let P_{nj} ($j = 1-3$) denote the probability associated with the livelihood activity choice (livelihood strategy choice) of a household n with $j = 1$ if the household is 'wage employed; $j = 2$ if the household is 'self-employed; $j = 3$ if the household is in a 'collective support strategy' in determining the livelihood status.

Assuming the unobserved portion of the utility (ε_n) is identically and independently distributed (iid) across alternatives, the Multinomial Logit Model (Train, 2003) is given by:

$$P_{nj} = \frac{e^{(\beta'X_{nj} + \gamma'H_{nj})}}{\sum_{j=1}^3 e^{(\beta'X_{jj} + \gamma'H_{nj})}}$$

Setting the β 's and γ 's to zero for one of the strategies (say the first strategy), the MNL model for each strategy ($j \neq$ strategy 1) can be rewritten as:

$$P_{nj, j \neq 1} = \frac{e^{(\beta'X_{nj} + \gamma'H_{ji})}}{1 + \sum_{j=2}^3 e^{(\beta'X_{nj} + \gamma'H_{jn})}}$$

And

$$n_1 = \frac{1}{1 + \sum_{j=1}^3 e^{(\beta'X_{nj} + \gamma'H_{nj})}}$$

This can be estimated using the method of maximum likelihood.

The H_n and X_n are pooled together under the broad "asset-based" variables. The dependent variable is a polychotomous choice variable with three categories (Hamilton, 2004). As can be seen from various literature, the Negede Weyto people are either wage-employed, self-employed, or collectively supported during old age.

In discussing wage employment, we do not use the strict definition because only a very few Negede Weyto people have the fortune to be wage-employed; the majority survive urban life through self-employment. Almost all literature discussing the livelihood strategies of the urban poor, especially the very poor like the Negede Weyto, categorizes their sample into self-employed, wage-employed, and collective support.

Here, the type of employment we want to address is that of the household head, as the majority of Negede Weyto women are engaged in basket-making (self-employment). The children usually beg for food in nearby areas before going to school and go to dirt collection centers to look for something valuable. Therefore, wage employment relates to the household head. Regarding the types of activities

they are engaged in, some are casual and others are regular wage earners. They participate in guarding, factory work, and other jobs.

3.6. Description of the Explanatory Variables

Fourteen asset-based explanatory variables are selected to be used in MNL regression, as depicted in Table 1. An endogenous interdependence among asset-based variables may cause endogeneity problems in the econometric analysis. One of the remedial solutions for the problem of endogeneity is the use of reduced form equations (i.e., choosing truly exogenous or predetermined variables and using them as explanatory variables). Accordingly, the asset-based explanatory variables used here were carefully chosen to mitigate the problem of endogeneity.

Demographic variables (household size, age of household head, sex of household head, and education level of household head) normally influence the choice of livelihood activity.

The urban poor are mostly employed in self-managed, low-paid jobs in the informal urban sectors, such as rickshaw pulling, street vending, construction work, driving and transport work, factory work, and personal servicing. A small portion work in government and semi-government organizations. The urban poor frequently face underemployment due to a lack of employment opportunities, physical illness, and staying in their ancestral villages.

The condition of female-headed households is comparatively more miserable than that of 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 workforce is considerably higher among the poor than among their rural counterparts. Sometimes, female members use domestic spaces for both production and reproduction by operating income-generating activities with the assistance of other family members. This type of home-based work is a manifestation of urban poor women's involvement in the household production-reproduction sphere in the local space where poor women live with the members of their households.

Table 1: Name and Definition of Variables

Name of the variable	Definition of the variable
<i>Human capital and demographic variables</i>	
household size	Number of family members in a household
household age	Age of the household in years
household sex	sex of the household head(dummy: hhsex =1 if Female and 0 otherwise)
literate head	Education (or literacy) of the household categorized as illiterate, read and write,(1-6),(7-8),(9-12),(12+)
marital status	Marital status(dummy: =1 if married and 0 otherwise)
<i>Social Capital</i>	
participation	Participation in edir, ekub, saving etc...(dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
Neighbor attachment	Attachment in coping with food and income insecurity (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
Coping stress	Bonding social capital to cope with economic stress (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
<i>Financial capital</i>	
Credit availability	Credit availability to engage in economic activities like petty trade (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
ekub	Ekub to start up a new business (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
<i>Physical capital</i>	
Technology	Technological advancement (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
Access to road	Access to the main road (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)
dismarket	household distance from a market measured in KM
<i>Institutional capital</i>	
Safety net	Enrollment in the Safety net to support the community (dummy; if yes1;and 0 otherwise)

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Profiles of the Surveyed Households

The summary statistics of the explanatory variables used in the MNL regression are presented in Table 2. Comparing the households in the CLS #0 category (i.e., households that are wage-employed) with the other clusters, on average, the number of male-headed households is the highest (86% of the households are headed by males), showing that the majority of the wage-employed population are males, whereas female participation is the lowest. Household heads in this cluster are also the most highly educated (with an average of 4.3). They are the least fortunate in terms of access to credit (only 73%).

wage-employed category largely agrees on the basic idea that technological advancement is one of the factors influencing the choice of livelihood strategies. This could probably be due to the fact that the wage-employed households are exposed to the outside world, allowing them to understand the importance of technology much better than the two other categories.

In the second category, which is the self-employed, we find that the Negede Weyto lead in neighborhood attachment, followed consecutively by the wage-employed and collective support, which have almost equal attachment but less than the self-employed. Of the self-employed sample, 70% had a good neighborhood attachment, possibly because those self-employed work close to their residential areas, either preparing stones or making basketry, while the wage-employed work somewhat farther away from their areas.

Sixty-four percent of the self-employed households are more likely to rely on bonding social capital to cope with economic stress, which is somewhat better than the wage-employed (60%). This analysis is similar to the neighborhood attachment case, in which the self-employed are found to be better off than the wage-employed. The majority of the self-employed (83%) claimed that the amount of credit offered by financial institutions isn't enough to engage in economic activities like petty trade.

Institutional related factors like Institutional-related factors, such as participation in safety net programs, are accepted by 53% of the self-employed Negede Weyto people, in contrast to the wage-employed. The reason could probably be that the self-employed need safety net assistance more than the wage-employed.

The last category is the collective support one, in which case the majority of households believed that the money they receive from ekub could be important to

start up a small business. They also participate better in the safety net program than the aforementioned categories. Household size and distance from the market exhibit more or less similar results for the three categories. In all cases (regardless of the strategies they adopt), married people participated better than other categories.

Table 2: Summary statistics for dummy explanatory variables

Explanatory variables

(dummy & categorical) CLS#0(wage employed) CLS#1(Self-employed) CLS#2(collective support)
(#30) (#314) (#27)

Household sex	Freq	Percent	Cum	Freq	Percent	Cum	Freq	Percent	Cum
<i>Male</i>	26	86.67	86.67	168	53.50	53.50	15	55.56	55.56
<i>Female</i>	4	13.33	100.0	146	46.50	100.0	12	44.44	100.0
marital status	16	53.33		167	89.77		18	59.26	
participation	22	73.33		230	73.25		19	70.63	
Neighbor-attachment	19	63.33		220	70.06		17	62.96	
Coping stress	18	60.00		202	64.33		16	59.26	
Credit availability	22	73.33		262	83.44		22	81.48	
ekub technology	22	73.33		267	85.03		25	92.59	
Access to road	18	60.00		154	49.04		15	55.56	
Safety net	13	43.33		147	46.82		10	37.04	
	13	43.33		167	53.18		21	77.78	

* For the dummy variables starting from the variable “marital status” we used only (the if yes =1 option rejecting the other)

Table 3: Summary statistics for continuous explanatory variables

Explanatory variables

(continuous) CLS#0(wage employed) CLS#1(Self-employed) CLS#2(collective support)
 (#30) (#314) (#27)

	Mean	std.	Min	Max	Mean	std.	Min	Max	Mean	std.	Min	Max
household age	27.9	6.04	18	45	27.87	7.44	18	50	49.22	13.44	19	74
household size	3.46	2.23	1	9	4.23	2.12	1	9	4.66	2.51	0	9
distance from market	9.9	0.54	7	10	9.39	1.48	5	10	9.40	1.50	5	10
literate head	4.3	0.91	1	5	2.78	1.68	0	5	1.66	1.94	0	5

4.2. The Existing Livelihood Strategies and Sources of Livelihood of the Negede Weyto People

To assess the existing livelihood strategies and sources of livelihood, the research used the DFID Sustainable Livelihood Approach. Development and emergency practice should concern people first: to borrow a phrase from Robert Chambers, the question, "Whose reality counts?" must be asked first when thinking about meaningful development interventions. Livelihoods approaches are important for linking development approaches and understandings, including vulnerability, needs, assets, disasters and development, governance, and rights-based approaches (Chambers, 1995).

4.2.1. Customization of the livelihood framework

With the above-mentioned **vulnerability context** such as price fluctuations and employment opportunities, the Negede Weyto people have gone through several difficult situations. Based on our survey data, we have found that the possible survival strategies they have adopted to cope with urban life involve putting more household members into the workforce (59.1%). Though they engage in low-paying jobs, they try to involve their family members. One of the major sources of livelihood

is making and selling basketry (47.3%). The basketry is monopolized by the Negede Weyto people in Bahir Dar and its surroundings.

They usually maintain their relationships with relatives in the same community; only a few have connections with people living outside their immediate neighborhoods. Histories have distanced them from mainstream society, so they prefer to move out with their own group rather than with others (61.3%). Regarding **institutions and processes**, they sometimes obtain electric connections from informal services, and their access to electricity is inadequate and irregular. They collect water from a common municipal tap or from hand tube wells because they have no individual access to the city's water supply (99.4%). They have no access to municipal waste disposal facilities. It's quite difficult to pass through the area in which they reside because it has a very bad smell!

They have very limited access to health centers, less attention is given to them, and they sometimes cannot afford to buy medicines. We have investigated a low level of education and training, with no formal schooling (55.8%). Marginalization is really manifested in these two areas. The people complained that teachers undermine them in schools and in hospitals as well. Theoretically, households adopt different livelihood strategies to achieve certain livelihood outcomes. With regard to the Negede Weyto people, since they are engaging in very low-paying jobs, even if they try to diversify (56.7%), they cannot achieve a sustainable livelihood. This needs a special type of intervention from the government as well as NGOs.

4.3. Econometric Analysis of Determinants of Choice of Livelihood Strategies (CLS)

The results of the MNL regression are presented in Table 4. We ran the MNL regression with the collective support strategy as the base category to determine the effects of each specific predictor on the likelihood of a specific livelihood strategy choice relative to the collective support strategy. In our survey, we found that the majority of Negede Weyto people are self-employed. The respective coefficient of each explanatory variable measures the effect of the variable on the relative likelihood that the household chooses the particular strategy compared with choosing the collective support strategy.

MNL regression results (base category is the collective support category) (refer to Table 1 for variable names and definitions)

Table 4: Results of the MNL Regression

Explanatory variables	CLS#0(wage employed)		CLS#1(Self-employed)	
	Coefficient	z	Coefficient	z
household sex	-0.09	-0.12	1.51**	2.40
household age	-0.21***	-4.55	-0.19***	-5.71
marital status	-1.87**	-2.43	-1.23*	-1.89
household size	-0.09	-0.60	0.06	0.50
literate head	0.77***	3.18	0.18	1.06
participation	0.10	0.14	0.06	0.10
neighbor –attachment	1.85**	2.25	1.80***	2.60
coping stress	0.74	1.02	0.68	1.14
credit availability	0.35	0.46	0.91	1.42
ekub	-0.77	-1.10	0.30	0.42
technology	0.02	0.03	-0.40	-0.73
access to road	1.34**	1.91	0.96*	1.71
distance from –market	0.52**	2.73	0.70***	4.60
safety net	-0.98	-1.37	-0.53	-0.91

Reference category: Collective Support

Dependent variable: Choice of Livelihood Strategies (CLS)

Number of observations: 371

LR chi-square test: 157.28

Degrees of freedom: 15 for category 0 and 2 and 13 for category 1

Significance: 0.0000

Log likelihood = -118.33019

*, **, and *** represent significance level at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Out of fourteen explanatory variables included in the MNL, five variables significantly affected the wage-employed category; five other variables significantly influenced the self-employed category at different significance levels (Table 4). The next paragraphs present detailed discussions of the statistically significant variables in four basic categories, namely, household head-related characteristics, human capital, social capital, physical capital, and institution-related variables.

Household head-related factors

Sex, age, and marital status of the household head significantly influence the choice of livelihood options of the Negede Weyto households in the study districts. The sex of the household head is expected to be an important determinant of the worker's choice of mode of employment. Male workers generally abound in initiatives and are capable of taking more risks than their female counterparts. Thus, male workers are more likely to be self-employed. Specifically, this study confirms that the sex of the household head positively and significantly influences the **self-employed** category at the 5% significance level relative to the **collective support** category. Men dominate their female counterparts in self-employment. Additionally, female household heads have extra work burdens at home, such as food preparation and taking care of children and the elderly. This situation is prevalent in the study area. If you visit the Negede Weyto people in their area, you will find males preparing stone and females making basketry, as well as handling many of the home tasks mentioned above.

Furthermore, the age of the household head negatively but significantly influences the likelihood of being in either the wage-employed or the self-employed category at the 1% significance level relative to the collective support category. Holding other factors constant, as the age of the household head increases by one year, the likelihood of choosing employable activities (**whether wage or self-employment**) declines.

In our study area, we have found very few elderly Negede Weyto people participating in the stone-making business. After the age of around 65, they are categorized into the collective support group seeking help from others.

the household head was also found to negatively but significantly affect the likelihood of being in the wage-employed and self-employed categories at the 5% and 10% significance levels, respectively (Table 4).

Human capital-related factors

The educational status of the household head positively and significantly influences the likelihood of becoming part of the wage-employed category at the 1% significance level compared to the collective support category. The Negede Weyto people who are educated are most likely to enter the wage-employed category. More work is needed to improve their access to education. In our analysis, education is treated as a categorical variable. Since dropping out of school creates significant

problems in the lives of the people, we wanted to see the impact in every category instead of treating education as a dummy variable. Regardless of the different categories, the educated individuals are wage employed.

Social capital-related factors

Neighborhood attachment as social capital has a positive effect on household confidence in coping with food and income insecurity in difficult times. Neighborhood attachment was included in the model to account for the effect of social capital-related factors on the choice of livelihoods of the Negede Weyto households.

Accordingly, this study finds that attachment positively and significantly influences both the wage-employed and self-employed categories at the 5% significance level, as compared with the collective support category. This result aligns with the prior expectations of this study. Neighborhood attachment may help households that are either wage-employed or self-employed create linkages and networks through which they can enhance their likelihood of obtaining different job opportunities.

Physical capital and Institution-related factors

Access to the main road and distance to the marketplace were included in the model to account for the effects of physical and institutional factors on the choice of livelihood options of the Negede Weyto households. Consequently, access to the main road was positively and significantly influencing the likelihood of becoming part of the wage-employed category at the 5% significance level and the likelihood of becoming part of the self-employed category at the 10% significance level compared with the collective support category. This implies that wage-employed households whose residences are near the main road have an advantage in arriving at work early. Another advantage is that access to information and job opportunities is highly related to proximity to the road, where information about the labor market and job opportunities is available.

Similarly, this study confirms that distance to the marketplace also positively and significantly affects the choice of becoming either wage employed or self-employed at the 5% and 1% significance levels, respectively, compared to the collective support category. This means that the closer the distance from the residence area of the Negede Weyto households to the market, the higher the diversification of livelihood strategies, whether they are wage employed or self-employed.

4.4. Major Livelihood Challenges and Opportunities of the Negede Weyto Households

As can be seen from Table 5, the major challenges faced by the people are dropping out of school, land issues, and many others. In our Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and surveyed data, the people have a lot to say about their struggles to cope with urban life in Bahir Dar.

especially the women involved in basket-making, they quit school early. Even those who are learning are not very successful because they leave home early in the morning hungry, which affects their ability to learn properly at school. Others complain that even the teachers marginalize the Negede Weyto students, impacting their psychology. The importance of education is invaluable for a society to grow, and these factors negatively influence them.

Regarding the land issue, these people have been evacuated for decades due to development plans in the region and have never received the necessary compensation. During the survey, we encountered the elderly and discussed the issue with them. They claimed that they have been asking the region for a better residential area, but the mayor and the mayor's committee have done nothing except provide them with a promissory letter that signifies hope for receiving land one day. Due to the fact that the majority of the Negede Weyto households are uneducated, they are not capable of challenging the administrators and asking for their rights.

Marginalization of the Negede Weyto people is manifested in many ways. The first issue is their name. Even now, the term "weyto" is considered an insult by the mainstream society in Bahir Dar. When people look at something disgusting, they use the term "weyto." This has very serious implications for them, as they cannot participate freely with others. While coding the questionnaire, we came across many comments complaining that mainstream society still holds negative views about the Negede Weyto. The problem is nearly ubiquitous—in schools, in hospitals, in transportation services, etc.

Similar to many other youth in the city, the Negede Weyto people face the problem of unemployment. If you manage to pass by one of the most populous kebeles of the Negede Weyto (kebele 16), you can see many youngsters wandering aimlessly, chewing khat and drinking alcohol. They are desperate. The problem may seem similar to that of other youth in Bahir Dar, but when you add marginalization to it, you arrive at a different outcome. There is also a lack of financial capital because no

one is willing to lend them money. Non-Negede people say that the Negede Weyto cannot change themselves, which is why they refrain from lending to them.

Still, they have some opportunities, such as social capital. One of the most important characteristics of these people is that, despite their poverty, they never steal. They maintain very good social interactions among themselves. They share whatever food they obtain and work together. They participate in basketry making and have a large association. They also carve grinding mills from lava stone. The job is very tiresome but helps make the majority muscular!

The Amhara region has safety net programs similar to those in other regions of the country. The Negede Weyto are engaged in these programs, which at least alleviate some of the problems they face. A majority of households with members around 45-55 years of age are involved in the militia.

Table 5: Major challenges and opportunities of the Negede Weyto people

	Frequency	Percentage
Major challenges		
School drop out	94	25.34
Land issue	91	24.53
Marginalization	76	20.49
Youth unemployment	41	11.05
Lack of financial capital	38	10.24
Lack of market linkage	31	8.36
Major opportunities		
Social capital	161	43.40
Safety net	8	2.16
Associations	30	8.09
Stone and basketry selling	114	30.73
Militia	58	15.63

Source: Own computation

5. Conclusion and Policy Implication

Based on the survey data, it was found that the possible survival strategies the Negede Weyto people have adopted to cope with urban life include putting more household members into the workforce (59.1%). One of the major sources of

livelihood is making and selling basketry (47.3%). Histories make the people feel distanced from mainstream society, so they prefer to move out with their own group rather than with others (61.3%). They collect water from a common municipal tap or from hand tube wells because they have no individual access to the city's water supply (99.4%). They have no access to municipal waste disposal facilities. It's quite difficult to pass by the area in which they reside because it has a very bad smell! Marginalization is clearly manifested in these two areas.

The people complained that teachers undermine them in schools and face similar problems in hospitals as well. Sex, age, and marital status of the household head significantly influence the choice of livelihood options for the Negede Weyto households in the study districts. The educational status of the household head positively and significantly influences the likelihood of being in the wage-employed category compared to the collective support category. Neighborhood attachment as social capital has a positive effect on household confidence in coping with food and income insecurity during difficult times. Access to the main road positively and significantly influences the likelihood of being in the wage-employed category and the likelihood of being in the self-employed category compared to the collective support category. The major challenges faced by the people include dropping out of school, land issues, and many others.

Marginalization of the Negede Weyto people is manifested in many ways. The first is their name. Even now, the name 'weyto' is considered an insult by the mainstream society in Bahir Dar. One of the most important features of the Negede Weyto people is that despite all this poverty, they never steal. They instead have very good social interactions among themselves and share whatever they have. The Amhara region has safety net programs similar to those in other regions of the country, and the Negede Weyto are engaged in these programs. The majority of households around 45-55 years of age are involved in the militia, from which they have, of course, benefited.

This paper concludes that the current method of government intervention to address the problem of the urban poor needs to take into account the interests of the Negede Weyto people. These individuals are in need of proper places to live. They are among the first settlers in the city and have been asking for appropriate resettlement for several years but have never received the necessary attention from the concerned bodies. Furthermore, all stakeholders' efforts to address the problems of these people must be geared in such a way that can boost their access to different livelihood

capitals, such as human, social, financial, and physical. Moreover, concerned bodies must focus on the youth to enhance job opportunities.

As access to credit is not that satisfactory based on the study, future interventions should focus on improving the Negede Weyto's access to credit, because access to credit helps these households to purchase different inputs to improve their production and consumable products and thereby helps them to ensure food security and improve their well-being. Therefore, development partners operating in the study area should implement provision of credit to eligible households using targeting criterion that reflects actual characteristics of households. Policies and actions directed towards improving the livelihood of the urban poor should focus on the development and expansion of infrastructures like road network, market center, the provision of credit services and trainings, awareness creation activities as well as institutional arrangements and cooperation to bring sustainable livelihood outcome in the area.

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Annex

Summary of the existing Livelihood strategies and sources of Livelihood of the Negede Weyto people

Socio economic variables	Responses from the sampled households	Percentages of the households
Source of livelihood	Making and selling basketry	47.3%
Economic activities	Personal servicing	36.3%
Type of capital	None/access to common property resource/	61.6%
Social network	Eating whatever they get together and working together as well	77.2%
Association involvement	Asymmetric information, marginalization, lack of finance	58.6%
Diversification of livelihood	Yes, but not leading to sustainable livelihood	56.7%
Survival strategies	Putting more household members into the workforce	59.1%
Food Quality	Usually depends on financial capacity of the households. Most of them buy low quality food.	61%
Clothes	Get used clothes from relatives, and sometimes buy cheap clothes from second hand markets	57%
Access to urban land	Not accessible in proper manners, that is, according to the city's plan	71%
House construction	Houses are made from grass and straw and only a few construct it from permanent walls	57%
Rooms	More than five members of the household live in one congested room and the majorities have no cooking facilities.	78%
Fishing activities	Previously they were active participants but nowadays overtaken by others	37.4%
Reasons for school drop out	To help their mothers at home	58.3%
Saving purpose	Consumption, festivals, wedding etc.	78.8%

Coping mechanism with the urban life	Looking for job opportunities in the city	40.3%
Water and electric utilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Majority of the households use firewood and straw for cooking. •They sometimes get electric connections from informal services and their access to electricity is inadequate and irregular. •collect water from a common municipal tap or from hand tube wells because the majority has no individual access to the city's water supply. •have no access to municipal waste disposal facilities 	99.4%
Health care and schooling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Very limited access, less attention, expensive medicines •low level of education and training. 	54.6% 55.8%
Recreation and social network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Hardly think of recreation, instead gossip and watch TV in their area •they usually maintain their relationships with relatives in the same community, only a few have connections with the people living outside their immediate neighborhoods 	61.3%
Community participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •grouping is there, •conflict resolution usually by themselves, very few are members of different cooperatives, the government use them only during political voting, they are generally powerless in the city. 	76.9%

Stata Output Results of the MNL Model (outreg2)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	2
0	[.]				-	-		[.]						[.]			
householdsex	0.01	[0.99]	1.65**	[0.01]	-	-	-1.39**	[0.02]			-1.16	[0.16]	0.01	[0.99]	1.65**	[0.01]	
householdage	-0.19***	[0.00]	0.17***	[0.00]	-	0.02	[0.61]			0.27***	[0.00]	-0.19***	[0.00]	-0.17***	[0.00]		
maritalstatus	-0.92	[0.32]	-0.30	[0.71]	-						-0.92	[0.32]	-0.30	[0.71]			
householdsize	-0.10	[0.54]	0.05	[0.72]	-		-0.11	[0.31]			0.18	[0.24]	-0.10	[0.54]	0.05	[0.72]	
literate head	0.76***	[0.00]	0.18	[0.31]	-	0.70***	[0.00]			0.22	[0.36]	0.76***	[0.00]	0.18	[0.31]		
participation	0.25	[0.74]	0.05	[0.93]	-	-	0.01	[0.99]			-0.54	[0.45]	0.25	[0.74]	0.05	[0.93]	
neighborattac.	1.87**	[0.03]	1.84**	[0.01]	-	-	0.16	[0.75]			-1.34*	[0.10]	1.87**	[0.03]	1.84**	[0.01]	
copingstress	0.81	[0.28]	0.71	[0.25]	-	-	0.16	[0.72]			-0.24	[0.73]	0.81	[0.28]	0.71	[0.25]	
credit avail.	0.33	[0.67]	0.89	[0.18]	-	-	-0.39	[0.44]			-0.12	[0.89]	0.33	[0.67]	0.89	[0.18]	
ekub	-0.65	[0.45]	0.28	[0.71]	-	-	-0.96*	[0.07]			1.43	[0.24]	-0.65	[0.45]	0.28	[0.71]	
techno	-0.05	[0.94]	-0.48	[0.40]	-	-	0.44	[0.32]			0.57	[0.40]	-0.05	[0.94]	-0.48	[0.40]	
dis. market	0.44**	[0.02]	0.62***	[0.00]	-	-	0.35	[0.32]			-0.13	[0.54]	0.44**	[0.02]	0.62***	[0.00]	
safetynet	-0.67	[0.37]	-0.31	[0.62]	-	-	-0.24	[0.59]			0.97	[0.16]	-0.67	[0.37]	-0.31	[0.62]	
1			[.]		-				[.]						[.]		
2					[.]						[.]						
o. householdsex					-				-								
o. householdage					-				-								
o.hhmarstatus					-				-								
o. household size					-				-								
o.literate head					-				-								
o.participation					-				-								
o.neighborattac.					-				-								
o.copingstress					-				-								
o.credit avail.																	
o.ekub																	
o.techno																	

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
o.dismarket																	
o.safetynet																	
hhmarstatus							-0.36	[0.34]			0.81**	[0.04]					
accessroad							0.39	[0.39]			-0.27	[0.69]					
o.hhmarstatus																	
o.accessroad																	
o._cons								0.00	[.]								
Constant							-7.26*	[0.05]			-13.24***	[0.00]					
Observations	371		371		371		371		371		371		371		371		371

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Diagnostic Test

```
. mlogtest,hausman
```

```
Problem determining number of categories.
```

```
**** Hausman tests of IIA assumption
```

```
Ho: Odds(Outcome-J vs Outcome-K) are independent of other alternatives.
You used the old syntax of hausman. Click here to learn about the new syntax.
```

```
(storing estimation results as _HAUSMAN)
```

Omitted	chi2	df	P>chi2	evidence
0	-1.729	15	1.000	for Ho
1	0.000	13	1.000	for Ho
2	-1.013	15	1.000	for Ho

```
. margins, dydx(*) predict(outcome(0))
```

```
Average marginal effects
```

```
Number of obs = 371
```

```
Model VCE: OIM
```

```
Expression: Pr(CLS==0), predict(outcome(0))
```

```
dy/dx wrt: hhsex hhage maritalstatus hhsize hhedu participation neighborattac copingstress creditavail ekub techno  
accessroad dismarket safetynet
```

	Delta-method				
	dy/dx	std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]
hhsex	-.0997897	.0375201	-2.66	0.008	-.1733278 -.0262517
hhage	-.0016858	.0020075	-0.84	0.401	-.0056205 .0022489
maritalstatus	-.0452519	.0286868	-1.58	0.115	-.1014777 .0109732
hhsize	-.0096045	.0065514	-1.47	0.143	-.0224451 .003236
hhedu	.0385831	.0117075	3.30	0.001	.015637 .0615293
participation	.0105789	.0322571	0.33	0.743	-.0526438 .0738016
neighborattac	.0089556	.0309591	0.29	0.772	-.051723 .0696343
copingstress	.0057904	.0286924	0.20	0.840	-.0504456 .0620265
creditavail	-.0334735	.0311118	-1.08	0.282	-.0944516 .0275046
ekub	-.0686802	.0334079	-2.06	0.040	-.1341584 -.0032019
techno	.0263499	.0278168	0.95	0.344	-.02817 .0808699
accessroad	.0273735	.0290674	0.94	0.346	-.0295975 .0843446
dismarket	-.0094657	.0078614	-1.20	0.229	-.0248737 .0059423
safetynet	-.0306814	.0286041	-1.07	0.283	-.0867445 .0253816

```
. margins, dydx(*) predict(outcome(1))
```

Average marginal effects
Model VCE: OIM

Number of obs = 371

Expression: Pr(CLS==1), predict(outcome(1))
dy/dx wrt: hhsex hhage maritalstatus hhsiz hhedu participation neighborattac copingstress creditavail ekub techno
accessroad dismarket safetynet

	Delta-method					[95% conf. interval]	
	dy/dx	std. err.	z	P> z			
hhsex	.1591837	.0433768	3.67	0.000	.0741667	.2442008	
hhage	-.0065351	.0022586	-2.89	0.004	-.0109618	-.0021084	
maritalstatus	-.0092186	.0384253	-0.24	0.810	-.0845308	.0660936	
hhsiz	.0116596	.0079756	1.46	0.144	-.0039723	.0272916	
hhedu	-.0289451	.0133019	-2.18	0.030	-.0550165	-.0028738	
participation	-.0125933	.0397893	-0.32	0.752	-.090579	.0653923	
neighborattac	.0678898	.0406938	1.67	0.095	-.0118687	.1476482	
copingstress	.0233662	.0368891	0.63	0.526	-.0489352	.0956676	
creditavail	.0706725	.0402949	1.75	0.079	-.0083041	.149649	
ekub	.0782859	.0442636	1.77	0.077	-.0084691	.165041	
techno	-.0422958	.0351004	-1.20	0.228	-.1110913	.0264996	
accessroad	.014815	.0362063	0.41	0.682	-.056148	.085778	
dismarket	.0389266	.0093397	4.17	0.000	.0206211	.0572321	
safetynet	.0064437	.036722	0.18	0.861	-.0655301	.0784175	