

## **Post Conflict Socio-Economic Livelihood Strategies: A Case of Resettled Persons in Rongai Location, Nakuru County**

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### **1. Abstract**

*This study sought to investigate post-conflict socio-economic livelihoods on displaced persons resettled in Rongai Location, Nakuru County, Kenya. The objective was to investigate post-conflict livelihood strategies and their effects on integration between resettled persons and Host Community. The study interviewed 196 respondents using purposive and stratified random sampling. Data was collected by use of interview schedules and analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The study found that Engagement of several members of a household in livelihood pursuit, use of multiple sources of livelihood, and formation of informal self-help groups the strategies employed by respondents in adapting to resettlement area. Minimal resource sharing, low community trust, use of divisive dispute resolution mechanisms indicated low community integration. The study recommends development of new policies and institutional frameworks on post-conflict situations that holistically address all aspects of resettlement from relocation, livelihood opportunities and security to fostering community integration.*

**Key words:** Socio-economic Livelihoods, Livelihood Strategies, Community Integration, Resettlement,

### **1.0 Introduction**

This study investigated post-conflict livelihood strategies following the resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons in Rongai Location, Nakuru County and how these livelihoods strategies have affected the integration between the host and the resettled communities. Since 1991, the violent displacement in many regions of the country and especially in the Rift Valley region has become a disturbing trend around elections. Besides generating immense human suffering, economic and ecological destruction, internal displacement produces uncertainty around land issues and sometimes creates more violence as the displaced seek to return home through the formal government settlement programmes or find new homes through informal settlement schemes.

Unlike ethnic violence of previous general elections, the general election of 2007 was the most violent and destructive. The violence left hundreds of people dead or injured, with thousands others displaced. In May 2008 the government launched a resettlement program dubbed operation *Rudi Nyumbani*.

Not all IDPs were able or willing to return to their farms and alternative resettlement was sought through the creation of The National Humanitarian Fund. This led to the establishment of a resettlement area in Rongai Location of Nakuru County. The population resettled in this area was about 7,000 people. This meant that the population of Rongai Location had significantly increased following this resettlement.

The resettlement of displaced persons in Rongai Location was an involuntary post-conflict resettlement program, in a new environment away from their initial settlement areas. As such the Resettled Persons had to start their lives afresh prompting for possible new livelihoods for their socioeconomic sustenance. Equally, the Host Community had to make adjustments in order to accommodate as well as interact (socially and economically) with the new group. While the government hoped that both the resettled and host communities would benefit from this resettlement, it was unclear the kinds of livelihoods that have emerged in their efforts to adapt to the new environment and whether such livelihoods would enhance integration. It is against this backdrop that this study focused on post-conflict livelihood strategies and their effects on community integration.

### **1.1 Objectives**

The study was guided by the following specific objectives;

1. To analyse the emerging socio-economic livelihoods as a result of resettlement of internally displaced persons in Rongai Location, Nakuru County.
2. To explore the livelihood strategies employed by host and newly resettled communities in adapting to new ways of life in the resettlement area.
3. To examine the effects of the emerging socio-economic livelihoods on integration between the Resettled Persons and the Host Community.

### **1.2. Theoretical Framework**

The study was guided by Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model and Acculturation model. The IRR model was used to explicate some of the problems faced by conflict-induced resettlements. Acculturation model was used to explain the necessary conditions that both the host and newly Resettled Persons must embrace for effective community integration and participation in pursuit of new livelihoods.

#### **1.2.1 Impoverishment, Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model**

This model explains what happens during massive forced displacements and how to counteract adverse effects of resettlements. The IRR model was developed by Cernea (2000) through a series of studies done on displacements and resettlements in the 1990s. Although IRR model was initially developed for development induced resettlements, it has been adapted for other forms of resettlements including those caused by conflicts. This was after revelation that in both cases displaced persons suffered from many similar problems. The model is grounded on three fundamental concepts: risks, impoverishment, and reconstruction. Risks refer to conditions that expose displaced persons to vulnerable situations. Impoverishment refers to deprivations of goods and services that displaced and newly Resettled Persons have to endure as a result of displacement. Reconstruction implies efforts employed by institutions and individuals to overcome various problems arising from displacement and resettlements.

#### **1.2.2 Acculturation Model**

This model owes its origin to the works of Berry and other scholars. Berry *et al* (2003) argue that the choice of adaptation strategy is the outcome of the interaction of newly Resettled Persons' characteristics and characteristics of the Host Community. Such characteristics include the human and social capital newly Resettled Persons bring with them to the Host Community. Human capital includes education and skills, language of communication, and cultural sophistication. Social capital refers to the network of relationships that newly Resettled Persons have amongst themselves and with others, and the systems of social support available to them (Piontkowski, et.al, 2002). The visibility of newly Resettled Persons and their cultural similarity or dissimilarity to the dominant group in the host society will also have a bearing on their integration experience (Berry, 2003).

### **1.5 Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework has been derived from the two models explained above. The framework explains the different experiences that displaced persons undergo before, during and after resettlement. These are pre-conflict, transitional and resettlement life. Each of these experiences has specific characteristics.

In pre-war life there is full participation in labour markets and/or agricultural activities as may be what constitutes displaced persons' main source of livelihood. There is also frequent inter and intra-group interactions, civic and political participation. At this stage individuals are thought to have strong ties with family, friends, close neighbors and they are also quite familiar with the surrounding. They have predictable channels of communication, and means of accessing essential goods and services.

During times of war and displacement, the familiar ways of doing things are lost, family and friends may be separated or killed, and transitional living and resettlement in host communities demands for adaptation. At this stage displaced persons lack decent housing, productive assets and have weak social and financial capital. They also lack common services such as schools, health facilities, and water among others. These expose them to public health infections, insecurity, and other risks. At the resettlement stage, individuals need to have favorable economic, social, cultural, and political structures of society to enable them pursue fully and earn a meaningful, decent and sustainable livelihood. Ideally resettlement should aim at providing assets, services and opportunities that restore people's livelihood to pre-conflict status or a better post-conflict life. This should facilitate people's participation in the labour market, the educational system, social welfare institutions, and the health and public safety systems. Further it should allow people to participate in neighborhood religious institutions, and social or recreational institutions. Figure 1.1 is the presentation of the conceptual framework of the study.

## **2.0 Methodology**

The study used purposive and stratified random sampling. Purposive sampling was used to select respondents that the study considered most relevant. This sampling technique was also used to select Rongai Location because it hosted the newly Resettled Persons. Heads of households were also selected purposively by virtue of their leadership in search of livelihoods. But to understand whether there were different emerging livelihoods between the newly resettled Persons and the Host community, the study used stratified random sampling to achieve this goal. Respondents were stratified into Host Community and Resettled Persons. A select sample of 196 was picked. This comprised 98 respondents from the Resettled Persons and an equal number of respondents from the Host Community representing the control group. The study selected the 98 respondents from the resettled persons using Taro Yamane's formula (Yamane, 1973). Data was collected by use of interview schedule and analyzed using descriptive statistics. In drawing conclusions, a statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) was used and results presented in percentages, tables, pie charts, and graphs.

## **3.0. Results and Discussion**

### **3.1. Results**

#### **3.1.1. Profile of the Respondents**

##### **a) Age**

Age is an important socio-economic factor in terms of its influence on the decision making power of an individual. It also defines the various roles played by different people in the society especially in the aspect of pursuing a livelihood. The study surveyed persons aged 18 years and above. Majority (56%) of the respondents were aged between 31-50 years, while persons aged between 18 and 30 accounted for 33%. Those aged over 50 years represented 11% of the respondents. The numerical strength of respondents aged between 31-50 years is due to the fact that it is at this age group that serious and aggressive pursuit of livelihood occurs. The majority of people aged over 50 years may by virtue of their age have lost the drive to aggressively pursue livelihood; more so in an unfamiliar environment such as a resettlement area. Additionally the elderly unlike their younger counterparts have cautious approach to life, and will thus not dare the risks associated with new settlements such as the study area

##### **b) Gender**

Gender may have significant influence on the types of emerging livelihood strategies in the resettlement areas. The study therefore considered both females and males. Males accounted for over three quarters of the respondents. As Figure 1.2 shows (78%) of the respondents were males while females had (22%) representation in the study. Gender influences an individual's behavior, attitude, status, interaction and involvement in the decision making processes. In most African societies, gender ascribes certain roles that are instituted by society and sanctioned by customs. Certain sources of livelihood may be too daunting or considered inappropriate to certain gender. This partly explains why males were more than females in this study.

### **c) Education**

Formal education is an important determinant in livelihood pursuit. It is on this account that respondents' level of education was considered an important profile for analysis in this study. Results in Table 1.1 show that majority of the respondents had primary level of education constituting (47.3%) of the respondents. This was followed by respondents with secondary level of education, which accounted for (32%), while individuals with college and university level of education constituted (17.2%) and (3.6%) of the respondents respectively.

#### **3.1.2 Emerging Livelihoods in Resettlement Area**

##### **(a) Sources of Livelihoods**

Respondents sourced their livelihoods from formal and casual employment, farming and business. But others did not have any dependable source of livelihood as Table 1.3 shows. Farming was the most common source of livelihood that supported up to (27.2%) of the respondents. Formal employment was a source of livelihood to about (20.1%) of the respondent. Business was another important source of livelihood to (17.2%) of the respondents. About (13%) of the respondents derived their incomes from casual employment, while a significant proportion of the respondents (22.5%) reported that they were unemployed.

##### **(b) Motivation behind Current Source of Livelihood**

Reasons behind current sources of livelihood as being pursued by both the Host and Resettled Persons were explored. Respondents pointed four reasons behind their pursuit of current sources of livelihood. These were familiarity with the source of livelihood, lack of sources of livelihood alternative to the current sources, the fact that current sources of livelihood gives them more income compared to previous sources and the fact that current sources of livelihood falls within their professional areas of training. As Table 1.7 shows superior incomes appear to have been the main motivation (55.7%). Lack of alternative sources was mentioned by (28.6%) of the respondents, while (14.3%) of the respondents indicated they opted for their current sources of livelihood for the reason that they fell within their profession.

##### **(c) Resources Provided for Pursuit of Livelihood**

This study also examined the kinds of resources that were provided to help both the resettled and Host Community enhances their livelihood opportunities. The study established that farmlands and farm inputs were the only resources provided to support livelihood. Figure 1.3 below shows that farmland as a resource accounted for (43%) of the resources provided to support emerging livelihoods; with farm inputs constituting (57%) of the resources availed to the Resettled Persons and Host Community to support their livelihoods.

##### **(d) Security of Current Sources of Livelihoods**

The study sought to establish how secure the respondents felt their current sources of livelihoods were. As Table 1.2 shows, majority of the respondents (73.9%) reported that their livelihoods were either least secure or insecure. It is only (9.7%) of the respondents who conceded that their livelihoods were secure. About (16.4%) of the respondents could not tell whether or not their livelihoods were secure.

##### **(e) Presence of others on Livelihood Pursuit**

The study sought to establish whether the respondents perceived the presence of others as an impetus or hindrance to their livelihood pursuit. As Figure 1.4 below shows, (85%) of the respondents felt that the presence of other people was a hindrance, while (15%) of the respondents felt that the presence of others was an impetus to their pursuit of livelihood. While the land where formerly internal displaced persons have resettled was a private land, the Host Community used to access it for grazing. Its conversion into a settlement area has to the Host Community led to the closure of an important grazing land. This may have led to the perception by the Host Community that the presence of Resettled Persons are actually undermining rather than promoting their livelihoods.

#### **3.1.3 Livelihood Adaptation Strategies**

##### **(a) Engagement of Several Members of Households in Livelihood Pursuit**

One of the livelihood strategies adopted by the community in the study area especially the Resettled Persons was the engagement of several members of a household in livelihood pursuit. Figure 1.5 shows that (45%) of the respondents had three members of their households engaged in livelihood pursuits.

About (30%) of the respondents reported that their households had two of their household members actively engaged in livelihood pursuit, with only (25%) indicating that their households had only one of member of the household engaged in livelihood pursuit.

### **(b) Engagement in Multiple Sources of Livelihood**

Engagement in more than one source of livelihood was another important livelihood strategy employed by the people the study area. A significant proportion of the respondents (43.4%) reported that they were engaged in two sources of livelihood. Only (20.5%) of the respondents depended on one source of livelihood. Respondents that derived their livelihood from three and four sources accounted for (22.8%) and (13.3%) of the respondents respectively.

### **(c) Self-Help Group Membership**

Another strategy that the respondents employed to cope with their new environment was the self-help approach. This entailed individuals coalescing into groups to pursue and achieve those things they cannot get individually. This study established that up to (76%) of the respondents belonged to some kind of self-help group. These groups were, however, informal, and operated largely within the neighborhood. Figure 1.6 summarizes respondents' status with regard to self-help work. Some respondents reported that they belonged to more than one informal self-help work. The fact that some individuals belonged to more than one informal self-help group perhaps illustrates the significance of self-help approach to adaptation of the respondents' new settlement area.

## **3.1.4 Livelihood Strategies and Community Integration**

### **(a) Resource Sharing as an Element of Community Integration**

Ability of the Host Community and Resettled Persons to share limited resources was considered as one of the major indicators of community integration. It was therefore important for the study to establish the extent to which the two groups were willing or actually shared the limited resources. Over half of the respondents (55.1%) reported that resources were at no extent shared between the host and resettled communities. A significant percentage (28.4%) of the respondents could not tell whether or not resources were shared between the two groups. Only a minority (5.1%) of the respondents indicated that resources were to some extent shared between the Host Community and Resettled Persons.

### **(b) Level of Trust between Host Community and Resettled Persons**

Trust is an important element in enhancing community integration in any region. The study therefore sought to establish from the respondents their perceived level of trust between Resettled Persons and Host Community as one of the ways of measuring integration between the two groups in the study area. It was presumed that integration between the Resettled Persons and the Host Community would be high where the levels of trust between the two are also high and vice versa. Results in Table 1.4 indicate that (94%) of the respondents considered the trust level between the Host Community and Resettled Persons as being low. It was only about (2%) of the respondents that considered the trust level between the Host Community and Resettled Persons as being high. About (4%) of the respondents could not tell whether the trust level between the Host Community and Resettled Persons was high or low.

### **(c) Dispute Management Mechanisms**

Given the four major dispute management mechanisms (negotiation, litigation, coercion and compromise), respondents noted that most of the conflicts were resolved through litigation (51%). Respondents who cited coercion as a mechanism of conflict resolution accounted for (20%) while compromise was used to resolve about (19%) of the conflicts occurring between the Host Community and Resettled Persons. As Table 1.8 shows, negotiation was the least used mechanism of conflict resolution, accounting for only (10%) of mechanisms used to resolve conflicts between the Host Community and Resettled Persons.

### **(d) Nature of Community Relations**

Community relation was broadly categorized into cordial and hostile. Likert scale was used for further categorization-very cordial, cordial, neutral, hostile and very hostile. When asked to state whether the relations between Host Community and Resettled Persons was cordial or hostile, only a paltry (8.4%) confirmed that the relations between the two groups was cordial. As Table 1.5 shows (63.6%) of the respondents conceded that the relation between the two groups was hostile. About (28%) of the respondents could not tell whether the relation between the two groups was cordial or hostile.

### **(e) Collective Action as an Element of Community Integration**

The current study also established whether the respondents agreed or disagreed that collective action existed between the Host Community and Resettled Persons. According to Table 1.6, majority (73.9%) of the respondents disagreed that there was collective action between the two groups. Only (9.7%) of the respondents agreed that there was collective action between Resettled Persons and Host Community. About (16.4%) of the respondents could not deny or confirm that there was collective action between Resettled Persons and Host Community.

## **3.2 Discussion**

### **3.2.1 Emerging Livelihoods in Resettlement Area**

Findings of current study suggest that both the host and Resettled Persons pursued their livelihood indiscriminately from various sources, albeit with differing degree. To this extent, the current study could not clearly attribute a given source of livelihood as being peculiar to any category (Host Community and Resettled Persons) of the respondents. Unlike the current study, other studies have found a clear delineation in sources of livelihood along the Host Community and Resettled Persons (Ota, 2001; Deng, 2001). The study attributes such clear differences in sources of livelihood to the invariable discrimination in opportunity that displaced persons are subjected to by the Host Community and other agencies. Similarly Deng (2001) found that IDPs face discrimination in pursuing employment, economic activities, and livelihoods. Such discrimination occurs because of the fact of their displacement or because of characteristics correlated with their displacement such as religion, ethnic or geographic origin.

### **3.2.2 Livelihood Adaptation Strategies**

Engagement of several members of a household in livelihood pursuit, pursuit of livelihood from multiple sources, and formation of informal self-help groups were the most conspicuous livelihood strategies employed by the respondents to cope with their situation in the study area. The study found out that about (80%) of the respondents was engaged in two or more sources of livelihoods. Pursuit of livelihood from more than one source has been used by many vulnerable groups as a way of enhancing participants' wellbeing. Seeking livelihood from multiple sources as a survival strategy reported in the current study are in consonant with study done by DiTomaso, Post, and Parks-Yancy (2007), which found a higher proportion of persons engaged in livelihood diversification as having a relatively improved wellbeing. These studies reported that pursuit of livelihood from multiple sources helped in increasing individuals' network connections, resources, creativity, and innovation. Such connections facilitates problem solving since multiple sources of livelihood enables individuals to bring different perspectives gained from each of these sources when faced with issues that require quality decisions.

The study established that up to (76%) of the respondents belonged to some kind of self-help group. Self-help work as a form of livelihood adaptation strategy has been found by other scholars as being adopted by other groups, a situation that vindicates the findings of the current study. Douglass (1998) and Dersham and Gzirishvili (1998), for instance, enumerate on the economic and psychosocial benefits of self-help work to urban neighborhoods. These studies reported that self-help groups enabled members and neighborhoods to build social capital, which then served as social insurance against shocks and stresses of urban livelihood. The current study also found that respondents derived both economic and psychosocial support from their informal self-help groups.

### **3.2.3 Emerging Livelihoods and Community Integration**

Resource sharing between Resettled Persons and the Host Community, good relations, trust, and collective action were all cited by the respondents as important avenues that could be used to enhance and foster community integration in the study area. Minimal resource sharing, low community trust, low utilization of collective action and the adoption of divisive dispute resolution mechanisms all pointed to low integration between Resettled Persons and Host Community.

Cohen and Deng (1998) explain that an important indicator of the success of reintegration and development programs in post-conflict situations is the extent to which the host and resettled communities share resources that are deemed to be common. Findings of the current study are similar to that of Kibreab (2001) in Eritrea on land as a common pool resource between the Host Community and newly Resettled Persons. He argued that Host Community often treated newly Resettled Persons as outsiders who were out to deprive them of their entitlement to land.

But the results of the current study differ substantially with those of Lara and Champain (2009), who in their study on conflict induced displacement in Philippines, reported that some host communities extended support to internally displaced persons in the form of allowing the latter to use lands temporarily, until such time as they are able to return to their home communities.

A significant proportion of the respondents (66.3%), however, felt that the relation between Host Community and Resettled Persons was hostile. These findings are in agreement with research done by Bakewell (2000) and Bascom (1998) which found that newly Resettled Persons exert pressure on scarce economic resources in resettlements are as which causes tension between Resettled Persons and Host Community if not properly managed. Bonga (1993) found that the communities hosting refugees and IDPs, particularly when the numbers are large, clearly experience economic, social and political consequences for doing so. Sometimes this is positive as when the establishment of a camp provides health or education services to the local community – services which may not have been available in the past.

#### **4.0. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

##### **4.1. Summary of Findings**

1. Emerging sources of livelihoods in the study area were formal and casual employment, farming, and small scale businesses.
2. Both the Host Community and Resettled Persons had substantial engagement in business and formal employment as sources of livelihood. However, farming and casual employment were largely practiced by the Resettled Persons.
3. Respondents from both groups felt that their current sources of livelihood were not as rewarding as previous sources with a majority reporting that they had no pride in pursuing current as opposed to previous sources of livelihood
4. Both the Resettled Persons and the Host Community perceived the presence of the other group as a hindrance to the pursuit of a livelihood.
5. Engagement of several members of a household in livelihood pursuit, pursuit of livelihood from multiple sources, and formation of informal self-help groups were the livelihood strategies employed by the respondents to cope with their situation in the study area.
6. Minimal resource sharing, low community trust, low utilization of collective action and the adoption of divisive dispute resolution mechanisms all pointed to low integration between Resettled Persons and Host Community.

##### **4.2 Conclusions**

1. Although Resettled Persons were indeed exposed to certain risks and deprivations that hugely hindered them from realizing sustainable livelihood and livelihood security, the study concludes that Resettled Persons especially from agricultural background innovatively used minimum available land and household labour to cope with their new environment.
2. The study also concludes that displaced populations even after resettlement face the difficult challenge of maintaining their old forms of livelihoods, given limited access to farm lands, loss of social capital, inadequate knowledge of their new socioeconomic environment and loss of access to their old jobs or businesses.
3. It was evident from the study of the existence of deep mistrust between the two groups to levels that even membership in innovative livelihood strategies such as self-help work lacked inter-group membership. The study therefore concludes that such mistrust coupled with lack of common issues that brought the two groups together hampered the integration between Resettled Persons and Host Community.

##### **4.3 Recommendations and areas for further Research**

###### **4.3.1 General and policy recommendations**

1. The study recommends for sensitization of both Resettled Persons and Host Community on the benefits of forming more inclusive and integrative social networks which will enhance the establishment of sustainable livelihoods. It recommends for the support of such self-help groups especially among the Resettled Persons in the form of registration of the groups with the relevant government ministries and training in business management skills among the group members.

2. The study recommends for the support of the Resettled Persons with resources which will assist them to re-establish those businesses or livelihoods they engaged in before resettlement. With proper support, displaced persons can serve as critical and essential human resource towards the rebuilding their lives as well as that of the Host Community.
3. The study recommends a consultative process between the government, IDPs and communities where IDPs are to be resettled prior to the resettlement program. This could greatly enhance integration between the two groups after resettlement. This could be done through the enactment and implementation of The Draft Policy on IDPs. The policy is meant to provide a durable solution to the IDP problem by providing an institutional framework that both protects the displaced and restores them to their normal life. The draft promises to tackle IDPs' problems in a holistic way by resolving the problems of the displaced and taking care of IDPs from displacement to the time they return or are fully resettled elsewhere including restoring their livelihoods.

#### 4.3.2 Areas for further Research

1. This study was conducted barely one year after the resettlement and this could explain why there was still mistrust between the two groups. The study therefore recommends further research on status of integration between the host and resettled communities more than five years after the resettlement.
2. It may be important to understand the changing roles of women in post-conflict situation especially in households that have lost their male heads to conflict. In particular such a study should endeavour to establish how women are coping with challenges associated with both traditional and new roles, and what society perceives of such women in terms of power dynamics.

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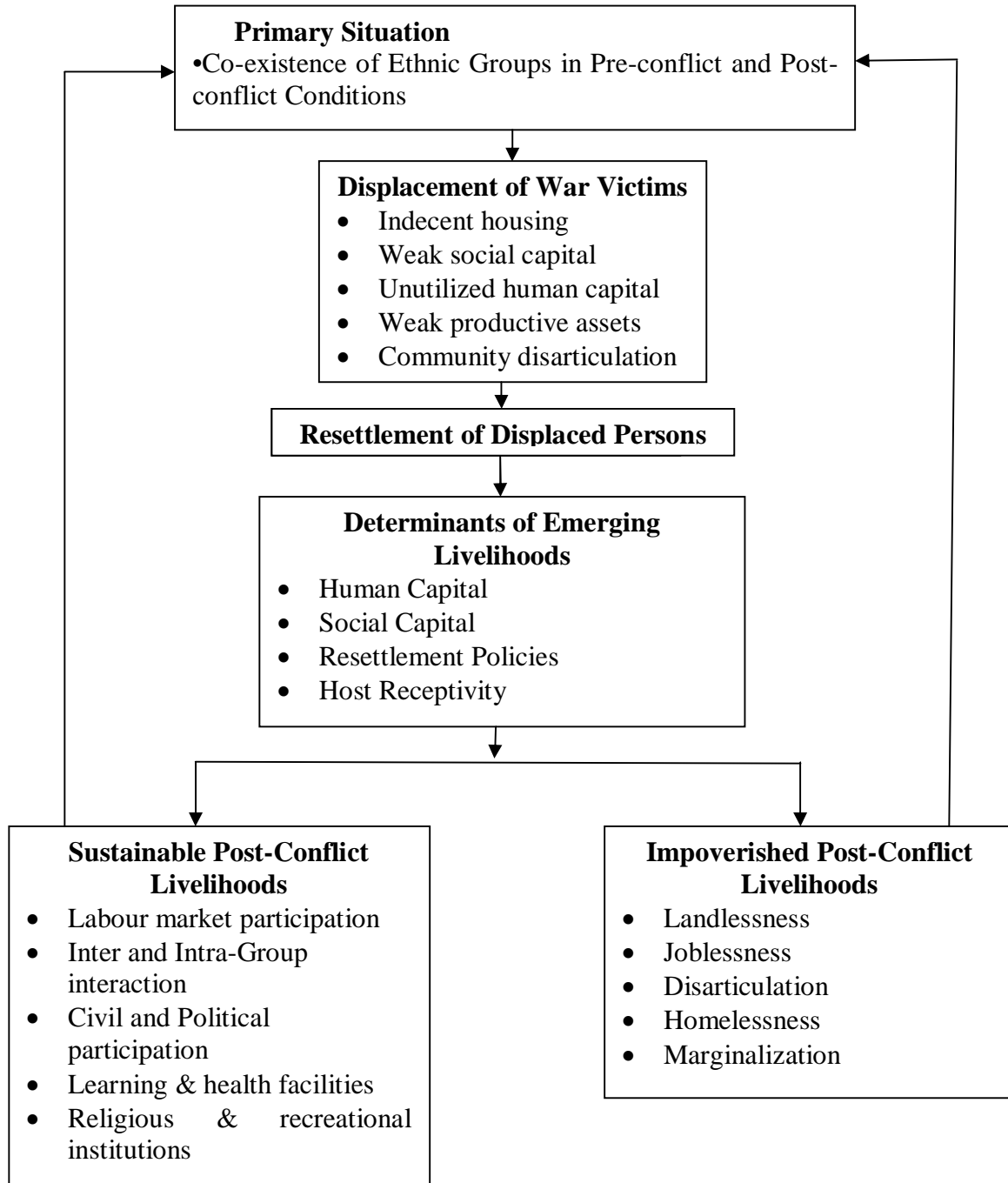


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

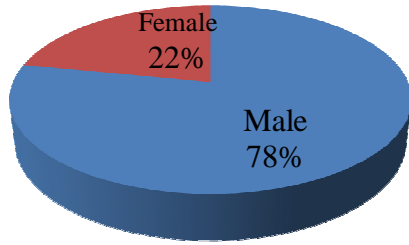


Figure 2.2: Gender of Respondents

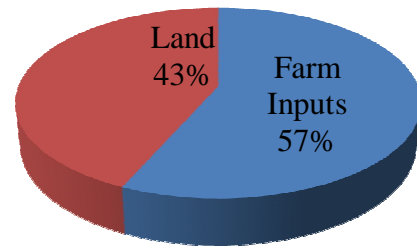


Figure 1.3: Resources Provided for Livelihood Pursuit

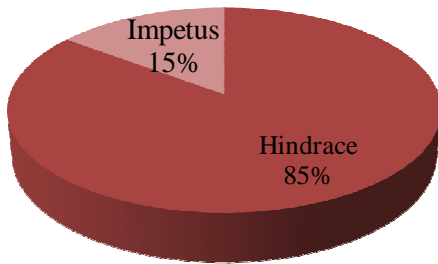


Figure 1.4: Effects of Others on Livelihood

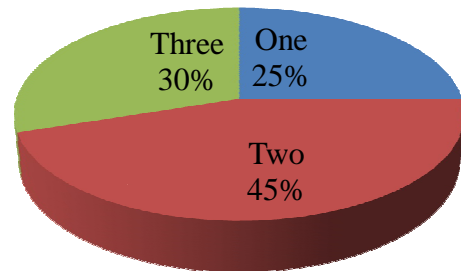


Figure 1.5: Members Engaged in Livelihood

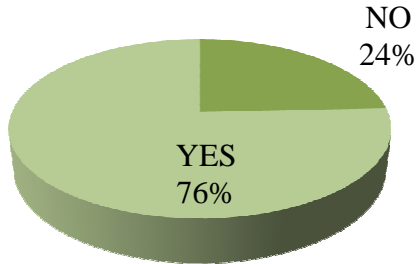


Figure 1.6: Self-help Group Membership

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Table 1.1: Level of Education of Respondents

Education Level	Frequency	Percent
Primary	93	47.20
Secondary	63	32
College	33	17.20
University	7	3.60
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 1.2: Security of Current Sources of Livelihoods

Response	Frequency	Percent
Very Secure	7	3.7
Secure	12	6.0
Neutral	32	16.4
Least Secure	40	20.1
Insecure	105	53.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 1.3: Sources of Livelihood of Respondents

Source of livelihood	Frequency	Percent
Formal Employment	40	20.10
Business	34	17.20
Casual Employment	25	13.0
Farming	53	27.20
Unemployed	44	22.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 1.4: Level of Trust between Host and Resettled Persons

Trust Level	Frequency	Percent
High	4	2.0
Neutral	8	4.0
Low	55	28.0
very Low	129	66.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 1.5: Nature of Community Relations

Response	Frequency	Percent
Very Cordial	3	1.7
Cordial	13	6.7
Neutral	56	28.0
Hostile	57	29.3
Very Hostile	67	34.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 1.6: Presence of Collective Action**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	7	3.7
Agree	12	6.0
Neutral	32	16.4
Disagree	40	20.1
Strongly Disagree	105	53.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 1.7: Motivating factors for Livelihood Pursuit**

<b>Motivation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
More income	109	55.70
Lack of alternative	56	28.60
Professional line	28	14.30
Familiarity	3	1.40
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 1.8: Dispute Management Mechanisms**

<b>Mechanism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Negotiation	20	10.0
Litigation	100	51.0
Coercion	39	20.0
Compromise	37	19.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100.0</b>