



International
Labour
Organization

Child labour in Somaliland:

A rapid assessment in Hargeisa, Burao and Borama



International
Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour
(IPEC)

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December 2011

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Abbreviations and Glossary

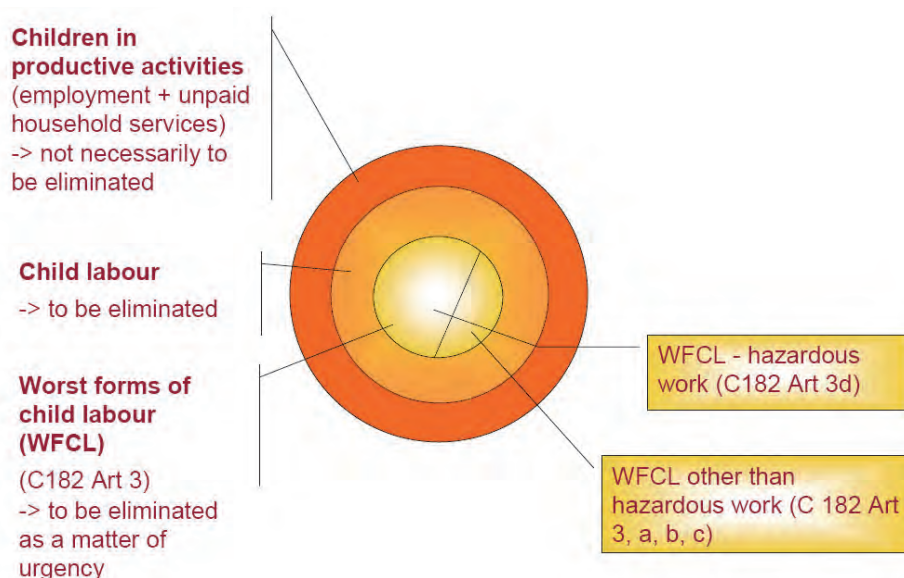
ABBREVIATIONS

ANPPCAN	African Network for Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
DWP	Decent Work Programme
HHH	Head of Household
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPEC	International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour
MOLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
RA	Rapid Appraisal
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SONYO	Somaliland National Youth Organisation
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour

GLOSSARY

Child: It has been argued that a concordant definition of child does not exist in Somaliland, and that it ranges between 9 and 21 years (Lagu 2003). For purposes of this study, a child was taken to be any person aged less than 15 years (proposed by the steering committee in accordance with Quran).

Child Work, Child Labour and Worst Forms of Child Labour: A continuum, ranging from constructive work that children do at household level and that promotes growth, to dangerous and exploitative work that children are forced or lured to do.



Executive Summary

This report presents findings from a rapid appraisal conducted in the Somaliland main cities of Hargeisa, Burao and Borama. The study sought to characterize the working children, establish the types of work that children engage in, determine the pathways into and causes of child labour, as well as establish the living and working conditions, and perceptions of the community on child labour. The analysis presented in this report is based on data from a total of 87 working children (24 girls and 63 boys), as well data from 126 households, and a sample of employers, local leaders and experts, in each site. These findings are presented in a 12-point summary, succeeded by nine recommendations.

1. Gender of working children

Seemingly, there are more working boys than girls in Somaliland. From the traced sample of 87 children, 24 were girls and 63 were boys. However, key informants indicated that many girls are working in the domestic sector, making them less visible in the open working environments.

2. Disability and Chronic Illness

There seems to be a gender dynamic in disability, which this study is unable to substantiate. All the working children with disabilities were boys. It may be possible, as other studies have established that while boys/men with disabilities are left free to fend for themselves through soliciting alms and working, girls with disability are hidden from the limelight, due to stigma. On the other hand, 15% of the heads of households had physical, visual, hearing or mental disabilities. The prevalence of disability among the sampled heads of households was higher in Hargeisa (15.8%) than in Burao and Borama (14.8%). In all sites, prevalence of disability was higher among male than female heads of households.

From the findings of this study, disability and chronic illness emerge as a factor that may explain child labour among boys, but not among girls. Related to this, there seems to be an association between disability and chronic illness. More than half of the persons with chronic illness also have a disability. Probably, poor access to health care, and the load of health brought about by disability, may explain this link.

3. Type of work done by children

From the analysis, it emerges that the work that children do is pretty gendered. Almost all (95%) the girls were doing either cleaning services (56%) or domestic work (39%). There were no girls working in the livestock sector, or working as night wardens or carpenters. On the other hand, half of the boys (51%) were engaged in cleaning services, while a further 22% were selling in tea shops, hotels or general retail shops. Two boys were tendering livestock, while one boy each was serving as night warden and working as carpenter.

Seemingly, most of the employed children are working for non-relatives.

4. Schooling and working

Most of the working children are also not attending school. Indeed, most of the working children have never been to school! Thus, child labour may be an indicator of non-attendance of

school, and to a larger extent, never-enrolling in school. The children combining schooling and working seem to have access to the 'closed-space' jobs, like selling in shops. On the other hand, children who have never been to school seem condemned to the 'open-space' jobs, mostly hawking of cleaning services. Thus, combining schooling and working may be a probable strategy for elevating children to closed-space jobs.

5. Social contacts of working children

It seems that most of the working children maintain contacts with their families. From the study sample, more than 80% of girls and boys are living either with their families or with other relatives. The social protection influence on gender seems to operate also on nature of residence. There seems to be no girls sleeping out on the streets. The implication of these findings is that interventions targeting working children need to bring parents and relatives into focus, since these are key decision-makers in the engagement of children.

6. The working orphans

The findings indicate that death of a parent is a twice as much a compelling factor to child labour for girls than it is for boys. While 40% of all the working girls had either lost a father, mother or both, only 20% of boys were in such condition. Probably, girls assume parental responsibility after death of a parent. Conversely, there may be other pull and push factors to child labour affecting boys, and which have less effect on girls. Orphanhood is thus a higher predictor of child labour for girls than it is for boys. The implication of these findings is that orphan support as mitigation against child labour is likely to have higher effects on girls than boys.

7. Household socio-economic status and child labour

There seems to be a strong association between household socio-economic status and child labour. The largest proportion of parents of working children has no work for income. Similar to this, disability and morbidity account for around 25% of the parents. These findings suggest that most children may be working for mainstream family income. From the household data, 40% of the heads had never been to school, with a further 10% having attended only the Quran schools. Levels of education were significantly higher in Hargeisa, where 30% of the heads of households had post-secondary education, as compared to only 8% in Burao and Borama.

8. Migration and child labour

More than half of the working children have a migration background that spreads to the last 5 years, most of them new migrations. The drivers of migration are either fleeing conflict (26%), moving into cities to look for jobs and better life opportunities (43%) and drought (14%). The conflict-driven migrations were more common in Burao, while most economic migration was in Hargeisa. Reasons for movement in Borama revolved around seeking agricultural land and fleeing conflict.

9. Exploitation in work

Only 8% of the working children are earning a dollar or more per day. This points to possible exploitation of children on basis of pay. Still, 73% of the children work for 7 days a week, and another 45% work for 7 nights in a week. They work for very long hours, with over 40% of them ending work after 9 pm every day. However, deeper studies are called for, to compare

conditions of work and earnings of adults and children for same work done, to isolate the possibility of low pay across the age categories of workers.

10. Most pressing needs

Most working children cite food (39%) and education (24%) as their most pressing need. However, 9% of the children are under pressure to take care of their family members, while those living on the streets or renting premises see shelter as a top priority. Only 6% of the children cite medical care as a priority need. This finding implies that every 4th child prioritizes schooling/education, and this provides good entry for provision of education as an intervention.

11. Recommendations by working children

- Provide opportunities for schooling as we work
- Pass laws that prohibit business people from employing under-age children
- Make education free and compulsory, so that we can access our right to education
- The government and NGOs should ensure that all children access our basic rights including food, shelter and education
- Educate the society the need to take care of its children
- Give us training, so that we can get skills for better jobs
- Pass a law specifying which work children can and cannot do
- Eliminate all child-harmful practices in the country
- Enrich families with economic activities, so that children can be released from work
- Make a special school for children with disabilities
- Sensitize business people to treat us fairly

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. As children and key informants have expressed, there is need for intervention at the policy level. Since Somaliland cannot ratify any instruments, effort should be strengthened to integrate the principles of convention 138 and 182 into local policies, while ensuring that all developed policies are duly implemented.
2. Most working children (80%) are missing opportunity on schooling, while combining schooling with work seems plausible. Indeed, 24% of them perceive schooling/education as a top priority and thereby express their thirst for education. In improving the condition of working children, modalities of combining schooling and work need to be explored. To design this, a model needs to be based on a deeper study of the 20% of the children who are combining schooling with work.
3. Most of the working children (more than 80%) have close social contacts with either parents or relatives. In designing interventions therefore, systemic choices of involving relatives in decisions of children will be inevitable. Thus, household-based interventions may be more effective than work-place-based or school-based interventions. While most decisions seem to be made by men (fathers), there is need to anchor interventions on both men and women, in promoting livelihood at household level.
4. There seems to be a strong link between household socio-economic indicators and child labour. Thus, economic empowerment may be a viable option against child labour. However, such options must put in mind the low literacy levels (especially among mothers), and low purchasing power in most parts of the country, creating high competition for small micro enterprises. Still, consideration must be made on basis that a quarter of the parents have either a disability or some form of chronic illness.
5. Half of the working children have migrated to their current working location, either alone or with their families. A few of the working children have come from as far as Ethiopia. Thus, interventions must accommodate the complex nature of immigrant children, and bear a strong component of reintegration. Networking with different partners must then be a substantial component of such intervention. Seemingly, investing in broader interventions like reducing conflict among pastoralist communities and improving their immunity against drought may have a direct effect on the reduction of child labour.
6. Even when this study has not compared earnings of children and adults, it is apparent that earnings of children are very low. Still, majority of children work for 7 days a week, and work for more than 10 hours every day, most of it including some hours of night. Subsequently, interventions must seek strategies to improve the conditions of children, by advocating for fair treatment and compensation of children among the public. However, this will be complicated by the fact that most of the child workers are not employed, but are hawking services to the general public.
7. Devise a public awareness program, on general rights of children. This program must bring together various actors in a coordinated manner: government, local authorities, religious leaders, non-governmental organizations and the media. Communication strategies should be developed for the different audiences.

1. Introduction

1.1 Context

Somaliland sits to the north west of Somalia, bordering Djibouti to the north west, Ethiopia to the west and south and the Guld of Aden to the north. This is an autonomous state that seceded from Somalia in 1991, and which succeeds the British Protectorate in Somalia, that was independent for a few days in 1960 before uniting with the Trust Territory of Somalia. Geographically, Somaliland has six regions: Awdal, whose capital is Borama, Sahil whose capital is Berbera (the port city), Sanaag with capital at Erigavo, Sool with capital at Las Anod, Togdeer with capital at Burao, and Waqoyi Galbed that hosts the capital city of Somaliland – Hargeisa. Though denied international state recognition, Somaliland is a democratic ‘state’, running through a presidential system of governance and a parliamentary system of legislation.



According to the Ministry of National Planning & Development’s report, the population of Somaliland was estimated at 3.85 million in 2009. Islam is the primary religion of Somaliland and is a major part of daily life for its people. The official language is Somali and the currency is the Somaliland Shilling (SISh). Two-thirds of Somalilanders rely on their livestock for daily sustenance.

Information from the Somaliland National Youth Organization (SONYO) suggests that 65%-70% of the population is under 30 years of age and that youth unemployment – calculated for those between age 15 and 30 – stood at 75% (Somaliland Youth Status Survey Report). While high, these trends are supported by other sources and reflect the lack of educational, training and employment opportunities available. Primary education was recently made free in Somaliland though many children still do not attend school.

Policy Environment

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) has developed a labour law, the Republic of Somaliland Private Sector Act (31/2004), which includes several important articles relating to child labour. Chapter IX relates specifically to the employment of children and prohibits

employing a child under the age of 15 years in article 38(1), including for internships per 28(1). Several other points relate to the type of work permitted for children who have attained 15 years of age. 38(2) limits the acceptable tasks of those over 15 but under 18 years of age to “easy tasks which are not damaging to their health or mind”. Under 38(3) work must not disrupt a child’s basic education and 38(4) prohibits underground or underwater work for children. Article 7(1) prohibits compulsory employment. 10(2) prohibits night work for those under 18 “in any industrial, commercial, or agricultural workplace” which is defined as work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. in Article 10(1).

The Penal Code, which is the current code used in Somaliland that was taken from the pre-1991 government, includes further provisions relevant to the worst forms of child labour. Articles 401, 433, 455, 456, 457, 458, 460 and 464 all deal with 3(a) including issues of slavery, trafficking, and forced labour. Articles 403, 407, 408 and 560 deal with prostitution and pornography as related to 3(b). Articles 342 and 565 include prohibitions of the sale of drugs and harmful substances pertaining to 3(c) of the Convention. Several of these articles provide for increased punishment if the act is committed against a person under the age of 18. However, these need to be expanded – particularly those dealing with illicit activities including the drug trade – and more specific provisions included for the perpetration of these crimes against children. Those under 14 years are not liable for crimes under Article 59 though those under 18 years are considered liable if they are considered to be capable of understanding the crime under Article 60. It should be emphasized that those under 18 be considered primarily as victims when found in the WFCL.

Overall, current legislation in Somaliland provides a good base for further elaboration of child labour policy. This includes a minimum age for work of 15 years of age and prohibiting certain types of work for children, including night work, underground and underwater work for children under 18 years. Articles in the Penal Code deal with the WFCL and identify higher penalties for certain acts committed against children.

However, important efforts still need to be undertaken. These includes establishing a list of hazardous labour prohibited for children under 18 years as well as establishing ages for light work and what activities are permitted under this category. Definitions of a child, what constitutes child labour, and a listing of the worst forms of child labour could be incorporated into the labour law. A separate Trafficking in Persons law could be undertaken, as well, as has been done in many other countries to deal with the complicated nature of this problem. In addition to expanding the current legislation to fully incorporate the points of Conventions No. 138 and No. 182, an essential action is to ensure there is clarification of the authoritative laws for the respective issues and also proper implementation and enforcement of these laws. The need for mechanisms for ensuring decent working conditions for children is included in both of the Conventions, Article 5 and 7 in C182 and Article 9 in C138, including both time-bound measures to eliminate the WFCL and the means of preventing child labour. Also, important to creating the necessary infrastructure is the establishment of separate children’s courts and national councils for children’s services to oversee the protection of children’s rights. These are things that may be included in a Children’s Act, something which has been established in some of the neighbouring countries.

1.2 Background to the Study

The Government of Somaliland has expressed its desire to work towards the effective and sustainable elimination of child labour, specifically the worst forms (WFCL), in its region. ILO is

particularly qualified to work on the issue of child labour in every aspect given the expertise in labour issues broadly and with the ILO's International Programme on the Eliminations of Child Labour (IPEC) expertise specifically. However, information about the situation on the ground is a prerequisite for any action. This information can then be used to adapt the IPEC knowledge and practices to develop projects for Somaliland. The information gathered from a survey in Somaliland would specifically support efforts towards the interim Decent Work Programme (I-DWP) under the outcome related to child labour.

Child labour is an issue which so far has gotten little or no attention in the wider Somalia. This is partly due to the effects of two decades of conflict, the nature of children's work in Somalia, and social attitudes towards the involvement of children in labour activities. Primarily anecdotal evidence suggests that child labour is an important issue yet there is very little data to go on. It is obvious that many children work, mostly out of necessity due to the high rates of poverty and unemployment across the country. Urban child labour is an important issue in Somaliland with a rising number of street children and a continuing influx of displaced families to urban centres. There are strong attitudes towards child work, primarily indicating that children are believed to have a responsibility to support the family. This is especially relevant given the extreme levels of unemployment and poverty where children may be an essential form of income for a family. Children work to support themselves and their families in the absence of any other alternatives. Formal educational opportunities are limited and working, especially in the family "business", is often the only education a child receives. This type of education provides them with a form of livelihood, whether or not they are able to be successful with it.

There is a need to understand better where children work, under what conditions, and where the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) occur. What must be acknowledged also is that the policy infrastructure is not present to eliminate or prevent the occurrence of harmful child work. The continuing conflict and the lack of a functioning government mean that there is little of the infrastructure required to adequately address the problem. Therefore, the first steps to working on the issue in Somalia is to perform sufficient research to understand the nature of the problem and also to improve the policy environment by creating the legislation and the implementation mechanisms required to affect the situation. Somalia has not ratified any of the relevant child labour instruments – particularly ILO Convention 138 on Minimum age and Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour. Somaliland cannot officially ratify international legislation given its lack of international recognition but it can commit to following the principles of the conventions. The conventions provide practical action to be taken towards the elimination of child labour and can guide national legislation and further child policy. There are the foundations of child labour related regulations in both Somalia and Somaliland legislation. In Somalia, it is the Labour Code from the pre-1991 government and in Somaliland it is the current Private Sector Act but these are insufficient to deal with the issue.

Literature indicates that child labour has been dealt with in research and programming in Somaliland essentially only as a side issue in relation to a separate primary focus, which has tended to be on more humanitarian, emergency issues. With the conditions in Somaliland much improved, a slight shift has started where child labour is beginning to be included in research. For example, the Children's Rights Situation Analysis in Somaliland from 2003 led by Save the Children included an entire section on children and work. In programming, some programs for street children – a major issue in child labour in urban areas – have been attempted but these have faced funding shortages and even some community resistance. UNICEF is working on a project for

Community Mobilization for Child Protection which involves creating Child Protection Committees in communities to monitor and support child protection issues and information gathering.

This rapid appraisal will contribute to filling the various knowledge gaps existing on child labour in Somaliland. Specifically, FOUR key questions led the investigation: the causes of and pathways into child labour, the type of work that children in Somaliland do, the living and working conditions, and their perceptions of own situations. The study covered the three main cities of Somaliland: Hargeisa, Burao and Borama. It was thought that these three cities would give an overview of the issues around child labour and the involvement of children in production in Somaliland, ranging from the magnet-effect of a capital city (Hargeisa), pastoralist communities and conflict situations of the north east (Burao) and border effects and influence of agricultural lifestyles on child labour (Borama). The field study was conducted for a period of one month, between 18th September and 17th October 2011.

1.3 Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this rapid appraisal was to gather sufficient qualitative and quantitative information on child labour in the three study areas with view of identifying programme priorities and areas of project proposals to eliminate child labour and the WFCL in particular, as well as to inform future studies in Somaliland and the other regions of Somalia – Puntland and south-central that can collect more extensive information. The findings of the RA will also be used as an advocacy tool in the areas surveyed to promote action and cooperation by the necessary stakeholders. This will include lobbying and support for labour standards relating to child labour.

Specifically, the RA sought to achieve five objectives, namely:

- Characterize working children in terms of gender, age and other individual characteristics;
- Determine the actual work that children do, including activities and their location, structure of work (whether employed, or self-employed), stability of work and other descriptors of work;
- Establish the causes of and pathways into child labour, interrogating the influence factors of education levels, household characteristics, community social structures and power relations, access to social services and support, gender relations and displacement and separation;
- Interrogate the living and working conditions of children, including hours of work, treatment at work, problems and benefits of work and emotional or physical harm suffered while working. On the other hand, establish who children live with, who they receive support from, dynamics of decision-making and migration background;
- Establish the perceptions of children on their own situations, including what they consider to be harmful work, what they like and don't like about their work, alternatives to the work they do, how they think their situation could be improved and their aspirations for the future.

To conduct this study, ILO/IPEC contracted a lead consultant, whose overall work was to conceptualize the study, develop the study tools, train a team of researchers, develop and present the report. This specialist worked with a local consultant based in Hargeisa, whose role was to recruit a team of researchers, lead data collection and data analysis processes.

1.4 Outputs of the Rapid Appraisal

The consultant had six outputs to deliver:

- A detailed work plan and a set of study instruments;
- A report of the inaugural meeting of the steering committee;
- A draft report of the RA;
- A final RA report;
- Validation report from a meeting of specialists in Somaliland;
- Dissemination report from a stakeholders' meeting.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Approach

A variety of research methods were employed to take into account the difficult nature of information gathering inherent in child labour surveys and the conditions of Somaliland. These methods included child interviews through questionnaires, key informant interviews and spontaneous direct observation. The study utilized a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to collect and analyse data.

2.2 Methods and Instruments

The main instrument was a **questionnaire for working children** (instrument 1). This tool had six sections: bio data of working children, causes of and pathways into child labour, conditions and consequences of work, attitudes and perceptions of work, hidden and worst forms of child labour and interventions. A second **questionnaire** (instrument 2) collected information from a selected sample of **households**, targeting household demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Third, an interview guide was used to collect data **from local leaders** (instrument 3), which targeted mainly attitudes towards child labour and responses to child labour. Fourth, an **interview guide for children** at the household level (instrument 4) was used to establish their schooling status and involvement in economic activities. Fifth, an **interview guide for head teachers** (instrument 5) targeted information on their attitudes towards child labour and the relationship between schooling and child labour. Lastly, the study utilized **an interview guide for employers** (instrument 6), which targeted their view of why children work, as well as perceptions of engaging children in economic production.

After the initial design, the instruments were subjected to a two-stage validation process, first with the IPEC's SIMPOC programme in Geneva (2 teleconferences held to discuss the items), and second with a team of stakeholders in Hargeisa. All the instruments were administered by a team of enumerators in the 3 sites, thereby securing an optimal response rate.

2.3 Sampling and Sample

Tracing Working Children

Foremost, the study targeted tracing of working children in the three sites. Mapping was first conducted to identify the probable working locations and working hours. The main location was identified as the streets, where children did different activities of mobile nature (including shoe-shining and car-washing). Other locations included the market places, bus terminus and tea shops. To make the work easier, each city was mapped into several sites with higher concentration of working children. The study traced a total of 87 children (24 girls and 63 boys) in the 3 study sites.

Table 2.1: Map of five sites in Burao

City Site	# of working children traced	Characteristics or work
AL-Jasiira — Nasiye Hotel	6	Shoe shiners
Farah Omer — Mohamed-Ali	6	Garage boys, waiters, & dishwashers
SH. Bashiir School—Candle light	6	Maids, babysitters, and/or house cleaners
Tawali—Baarsiigo	6	Children carrying and selling milk and ghee
Cawale Suqaar—Himilo Sweets	6	Children working for furniture and aluminum workshops
Total	30	

Households

At the onset, stratification of households was concluded, identifying 3 different strata: low socio-economic living estates, which covered IDP settlements and informal settlements, middle-income estates and high-income estates. The study targeted 15 households in each of these strata per study site, bringing the target sample to 45 households per study site. In each household, all children aged 9-15 years were interviewed. The study reached a total of 126 households in the three sites.

Table 2.2: Summary of Study Sample

Site	Working Children	Households
Hargeisa	26	37
Burao	30	44
Borama	31	45
Total	87	126

2.4 Organisation of data collection and entry

The research team

The study was led by an overall consultant, who designed the appraisal, developed instruments and trained the research team. Data collection, entry and analysis was done by a second consultant based in Hargeisa. For each site, data collection and entry was led by a Site Researcher. The three researchers were from the University of Hargeisa, University of Burao and Amoud University, respectively. After attending the training on data collection and entry, each site researcher recruited enumerators and trained them and supervised them during the data collection exercise. Each site utilized six enumerators.

The site researcher then organised and entered the data, and forwarded the data, including the filled questionnaires, to the data analyst in Hargeisa.

Timing of appraisal

The Rapid Appraisal was conducted during schooling days, to ensure that distinction was made between children attending school and those that were out of school. Still, the appraisal did not coincide with Ramadhan, school holiday or any other season that could affect child labour trends.

2.5 Limitations of the data collection exercise

Relatively, the study was conducted within a short period, making it only possible to target a reasonable sample. Being a rapid appraisal, large samples and extensively in-depth analyses were not sought, since the purpose of the appraisal was to sample the issues around child labour in Somaliland, that can guide the initial exploration and planning. The aim of the study was therefore not to generate baseline data, but rather, to sample the issues that yield to understanding of the situation, and offer insight to programming.

There were significant delays in data collection and entry, occasioned by poor communication with research sites, and competition with other work at the Universities. For future studies of this nature, it would be advisable to allocate a minimum one month for the data collection exercise, while offering adequate support during data collection.

2.6 Data Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative data were obtained from the 6 instruments. Quantitative data were organized, coded and entered using EPI-Info, a software developed for entry of survey data. An entry frame was developed following the items in the instruments. Site researchers were trained on navigating this software and did the data entry for their sites. The consultant developed a list of tables, which were then generated using the software. Analysis followed descriptive statistics.

On the other hand, qualitative data from instruments 3, 5 and 6 were coded manually. A coding frame was developed, formulating themes from the objectives of the study, and creating sub-themes and categories from the instruments. Only rich quotations were transcribed for each of the themes. Interpretation followed principles of the thematic analysis process.

This draft report (preliminary findings) was subjected to discussion by stakeholders in Hargeisa, drawn from line government ministries and civil society organisations. The key statements made by the consultant were validated, while the initial recommendations were critiqued against the backdrop of local contexts and experiences. The report was then shared with the SIMPOC team, and a feedback meeting held with the consultant and ILO team in Nairobi. The draft report was revised based on all the received inputs and comments.

3. Findings

3.1 Demographic characteristics of working children

3.1.1 Gender and Age of working children

Of the 87 traced working children traced in Hargeisa, Burao and Borama, 24 (27.6%) were female, while 63 (72.4%) were male. Sixty (60) per cent of the working children were aged 15-17 years, while only 18% were aged 9-11 years. The youngest child workers were aged 9 years, and these accounted for 3% of the total. Girls seem to start work when they are older, as compared to boys. Only less than 30% of the working girls were aged below 15 years, as compared to 44% of the working boys. Table 2 summarizes the gender and age of the working children.

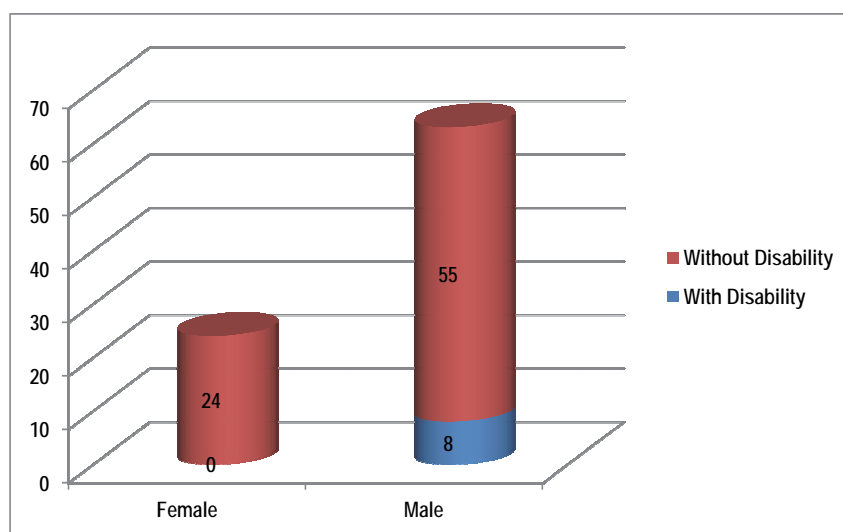
Table 3.1: Gender and Age of Working Children (n=87)

Gender	9-11 yrs	12-14 yrs	15-17 yrs	Total
Girls	3	4	17	24
%	12.5	16.7	70.8	100
Boys	13	15	35	63
%	20.6	23.8	55.6	100
Total	16	19	52	87
%	18.4	21.8	59.8	100

3.1.2 Disability and chronic illness status

None of the working girls had a disability, as opposed to 14% of the working boys. This may be pointing to the possibility, that girls with disability are either facing discrimination in access to opportunities, and are hidden at home while girls are let out to work. The eight boys with disability had physical, visual or mental disabilities. Half of the boys with disabilities had also chronic illnesses, which included chest complications and cancer. Only 7% of the boys and 4% of girls had chronic illness without disability.

Figure 3.1: Working children and disability status



3.2 Demographic Characteristics of Heads of Households

3.2.1 Sex and Age of heads of households

To complement information from the working children, the rapid appraisal collected data from a sample of 126 households in the three sites. Overall, 56% of the heads of households were male, while 44% were female. There were more female heads in the rural towns of Burao and Borama (48%) as compared to Hargeisa (40%). The youngest head of household was 28 years, while the oldest was 68 years old. Seemingly, heads of households are younger in the rural towns than in Hargeisa. Around 60% of the heads of households in Burao and Borama are below 40 years in age, as opposed to 30% in Hargeisa. Table 3.2 characterizes the heads of households in terms of sex and age.

Table 3.2: Sex and age of heads of households

		Below 30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
Hargeisa	Male	1	6	7	4	4	0	22
	Female	0	4	7	4	0	0	15
	Sub-total	1	10	14	8	4	0	37
	%	2.7	27.0	37.8	21.6	10.8	0.0	100.0
Burao/ Borama	Male	14	13	15	4	0	0	46
	Female	9	18	13	1	2	0	43
	Sub-total	23	31	28	5	2	0	89
	%	25.8	34.8	31.5	5.6	2.2	0.0	100.0
	Total	24	41	42	13	6	0	126
	%	19.0	32.5	33.3	10.3	4.8	0.0	100.0

3.2.2 Disability Status – Heads of Households

On average, 15% of the heads of households had physical, visual, hearing or mental disabilities. The prevalence of disability among the sampled heads of households was higher in Hargeisa (15.8%) than in Burao and Borama (14.8%). In all sites, prevalence of disability was higher among male than female heads of households.

Table 3.3: Disability Status of Heads of Households

	Hargeisa				Burao/Borama			
	Female	Male	Total	%	Female	Male	Total	%
Without Disability	13	18	31		38	37	75	
Total	13	18	31	81.6	38	37	75	85.2
Physical	1	1	2		2	6	8	
Visual	1	1	2		2	1	3	
Hearing	0	2	2		0	1	1	
Mental	0	0	0		0	1	1	
Total	2	4	6	15.8	4	9	13	14.8

3.2.3 Level of education – Heads of Households

From the sampled households, 40% of the heads had never been to school, with a further 10% having attended only the Quran schools. Levels of education were significantly higher in Hargeisa, where 30% of the heads of households had post-secondary education, as compared to only 8% in Burao and Borama.

Table 3.4: Levels of education – Heads of Households

Level	Hargeisa		Burao/Borama		Total	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Never been to school	14	37.8	36	41.4	50	40.3
Madrassa/Quran school	2	5.4	10	11.5	12	9.7
Lower primary	1	2.7	10	11.5	11	8.9
Completed Primary	5	13.5	11	12.6	16	12.9
Completed Secondary	4	10.8	13	14.9	17	13.7
Post-Secondary	11	29.7	7	8.0	18	14.5
Total	37	100.0	87	100.0	124	100.0

3.3 The work that children do

3.3.1 Economic activities done by children

To sample out economic activity in the research sites, a set of questions was asked to the household heads, on what kind of activities children had been involved in during the week preceding this study. It emerges that though very few children were running businesses, more children were involved working for pay, and especially doing little domestic chores for pay. Children were also involved in various other economic activities, but not for pay. In general, the proportion of children engaged in economic activities is much higher in Hargeisa, as compared to Burao and Borama.

Table 3.5: Economic Activities done by Children

Economic Activity	Hargeisa		Burao/Borama	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Run or do any kind of business	4	0	0	1
Do any work for any payment (cash/kind)	10	9	2	8
Do any work as a domestic worker for pay	22	13	6	17
Sub-total	36	9	8	26
Help unpaid in a household business	24	9	7	37
Do any work on his/her own or the household's plot, farm, food garden	16	24	12	36
Do any construction or major repair work on his/her own home or household	0	24	9	24
Hunt wild animals or collect other food for sale or household	2	18	6	12
Fetch water or collect firewood for household use?	2	14	2	10
Produce any other good for this household's	10	10	2	4
Sub-total	54	99	38	123

3.3.2 Type of work done by girls and boys

The largest proportion of working children were providing cleaning services, which included shoe shining, car washing and general cleaning of pavements. The findings indicate that cleaning services, selling in hotels and shops, and domestic work account for nearly 80% of all work done by children.

Table 3.6: Type of work that children do (n=77)

	Gender	Cleaning Services	Domestic Work	Hotel/shop services	Transport and car repairs	Hawking and porter services	Livestock rearing	Warden	Carpenter	Total
Borama	Girls	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Boys	10	1	6	2	3	2	0	0	
	Total	12	1	6	2	3	2	0	0	44
	%	46.2	3.8	23.1	7.7	11.5	7.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Burao	Girls	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
	Boys	8	3	4	1	0	0	1	1	18
	Total	14	4	4	1	0	0	1	1	25
	%	56	16	16	4	0	0	4	4	100
Hargeisa	Girls	2	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	9
	Boys	9	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	17
	Total	11	6	3	6	0	0	0	0	26
	%	42.3	23.1	11.5	23.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Girls	10	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	18
	%	55.6	38.9	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	Boys	27	4	13	8	3	2	1	1	59
	%	45.8	6.8	22.0	13.6	5.1	3.4	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	37	11	13	9	3	2	1	1	77
%	48.1	14.3	16.9	11.7	3.9	2.6	1.3	1.3	100.0	

*10 children did not indicate the work that they did, and these were treated as missing and not considered for this analysis

From the analysis above, it emerges that the work that children do is pretty gendered. Almost all (95%) the girls were doing either cleaning services (56%) or domestic work (39%). Indeed, all girls in Burao and Borama were rendering either cleaning services or domestic work. One girl in Hargeisa was a bus conductor. There were no girls working in hotels and shops, or in the livestock sector. On the other hand, nearly half of the boys (48%) were engaged in cleaning services, while a further 17% were selling in tea shops, hotels or general retail shops. Two boys were tendering livestock, while one boy each was serving as night warden and working as carpenter. Generally, there seems to be more work options for boys in Borama and Burao, than in Hargeisa. For instance, there were boys rearing livestock and working in the market in Borama, while boys in Burao worked as warden or carpenter, options that were unavailable in Hargeisa.

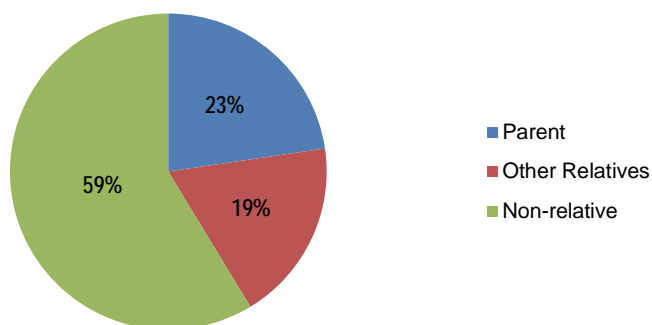
The study findings indicate that half of all working children are offering cleaning services. Majority of these are serving as shoe-shiners. In Somaliland, this is a mobile service, where children carry their rudiment tools (a little duster, brush, polish and small bottle of water) in a paint-tin meant to ward off dust. They walk from place to place enticing passers-by to have their shoes polished. Mostly, they have the customers remove their shoe, polish it and return back for fitting. Mostly, this service is rendered in the comfort of tea shops. Similarly, car-washing is a mobile service. Again, children walk from place to place talking to car-owners to have their cars polished. Mostly, the service providers use dry rugs (sometimes little water) to wipe off the dust from cars. This service is often combined with shoe-polishing. The third main activity under this category is washing dishes, which happens mainly in hotels and in tea shops. This is a stationary service with a fixed employer.



3.3.3 Who do children work for?

As indicated above, majority of the working children do not have a fixed employer and walk from place to place hawking cleaning services. However, nearly 60% of employed children are working for non-relatives, while 22% of them are working for their parents, and 19% for other relatives.

Figure 3.2: Who children work for



3.4 Causes of and pathways into child labour

3.4.1 Level of schooling and work

Eighty (80) per cent of the working children do not attend school, while 20% of them combine schooling and work. Of those not attending school, 67% have never been to school, while 33% of them had dropped out. School-going children seem to be doing work that requires some minimum level of skills, like shop-keeping, driving and bus conducting, while children not attending school are doing the lower-cadre jobs of shoe-shining and cleaning. Thus, level of schooling of a child may be a predictor to the type of work that children do.

3.4.2 Disability, chronic illness and work

The boys with disability were doing various types of work. Notably however, the 2 boys with mental disabilities were employed as nannies. From the findings, disability does not emerge as a clear predictor of the kind of work that children are likely to be doing. A limitation of this study too is the fact that severity of disability (ranging from mild to profound) was not documented.

Table 3.7: Disability and type of work

Type of Work	Boys with disabilities
Car wash/cleaning	2
Nanny	2
Market work	1
Tendering livestock	1
Selling in shop	1
Total	7

3.4.3 Nature of residence and work

Most of the working children are either living with their parents (30% girls and 60% boys) or with relatives (48% girls and 19% boys). From the sample, none of the working girls was living on the streets as compared to 8% of the working boys. However, members of the steering committee confirmed that a growing number of girls were living full time on the streets in

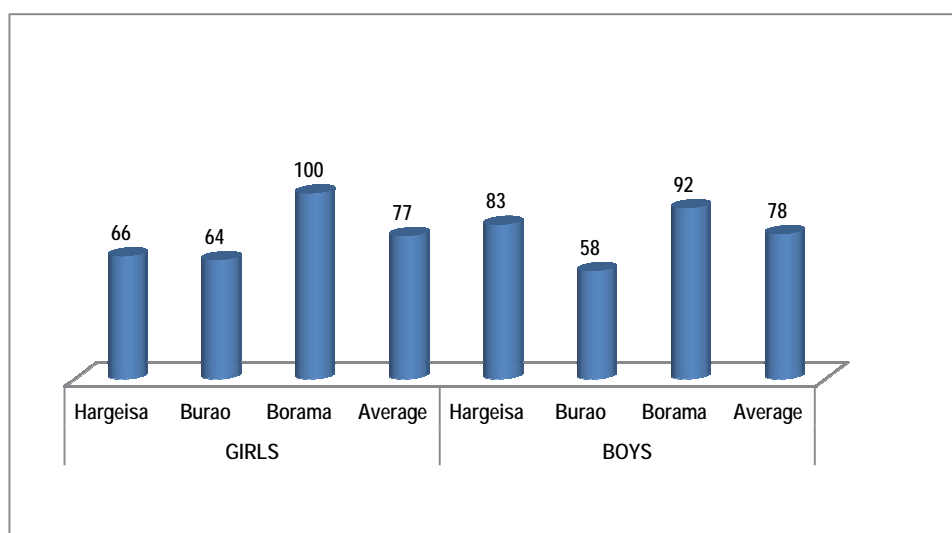
Hargeisa. These findings point to strong social ties, where most of the working children maintain contacts with their parents and relatives.

The children living alone (self-rented, with friends rented or on streets) were mostly doing cleaning services (most of them shoe shining), while a few others were employed as domestic workers.

Table 3.8: Nature of residence and work (n=87)

Type of Residence	Girls	%	Boys	%	Total	%
1. With Parents	7	30.4	38	59.4	45	51.7
2. Housed by relatives	11	47.8	12	18.8	23	26.4
3. Self-rented	2	8.7	6	9.4	8	9.2
7. On street	0	0.0	5	7.8	5	5.7
Other specify	3	13.0	3	4.7	6	6.9
Total	23	100.0	64	100.0	87	100.0

Figure 3.3: Proportion of girls and boys living with parents and relatives



Comparing the locations, the strongest social ties were in Borama, where all working girls and 92% of working boys were living with either parents or relatives. The weakest social ties were in Burao, where 64% and 58% of the working girls and boys respectively were living with either parents or relatives. This links to the finding that more working children in Burao have a migration background than in Hargeisa and Borama.

Existence of parents and child labour

Nearly half of the working girls did not have fathers, as compared with 27% of the working boys. On the other hand, 35% of the working girls did not have mothers, as opposed to 14.3% of the working boys. This finding implies that orphanhood or the non-existence of a parent is more compelling to child labour for girls (possibly as they assume parental responsibility), than it is for boys. Conversely, there may be other competing factors for boys to work than just not having a parent, attracting many boys with parents to still engage in child labour. Hence, non-existence of a parent is a higher predictor of child labour for girls than it is for boys.

Table 3.9: Existence of parents and child labour

Existence of parent	Working Boys	Working Girls
Father alive	46	12
Father deceased	17	11
Mother alive	54	15
Mother deceased	9	8
% paternal orphans	27	47.8
% maternal orphans	14.3	34.8

In general, 48.3% of the working children had either no mother, no father or were total orphans. The total orphans accounted for 9% of the working children. Only 11.5% of the working children had fathers only. Data do not reveal any association between orphanhood and type of work done by children.

3.4.4 Age of parents and child labour

Most of the fathers (60%) and mothers (88%) of working children are below the age of 50 years. Only 1% of the mothers are above 60 years of age. This indicates that all mothers and 99% of fathers of working children are within the age of economic productivity.

Table 3.10: Age of parents and child labour (n=87)

Age (years)	Fathers	%	Mother	%
Below 20	4	4.6	1	1.3
20-29	0	0	1	1.3
30-39	15	17.2	30	39
40-49	33	37.9	36	46.8
50-59	21	24.1	8	10.4
60-69	12	13.8	1	1.3
70 and above	2	2.3	0	0
Total	87	100	77	100

3.4.5 Parents' occupation and child labour

Findings indicate that 55.8% of working children were of mothers who had no work for income. Similarly, 31% of the working children were of fathers not working for income. Only 7.8% of their mothers and 20.7% of their fathers were employed. Notably, around 5% of fathers and mothers of working children were employers.

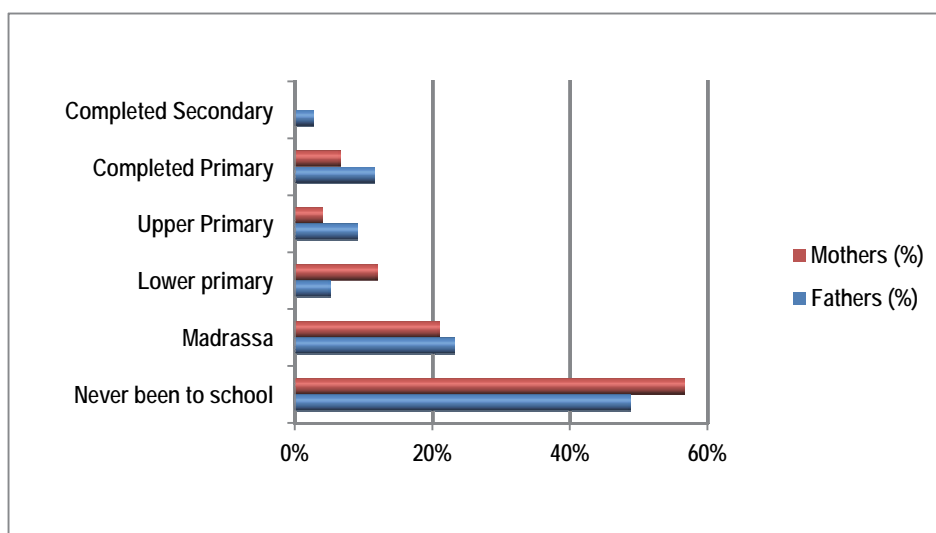
Table 3.11: Parents' occupation and child labour

Occupation	Fathers	%	Mothers	%
Employment	18	20.7	6	7.8
Self-employed	16	18.4	10	13
Employer	5	5.7	4	5.2
Paid family work	7	8	10	13.0
No work for income	27	31	43	55.8
Other	14	16.1	4	5.2
Total	87	100	77	100

3.4.6 Parental level of education and child labour

Analysis indicates that 57% of the mothers of the working children have never been to school, and none of the mothers has completed secondary school. Similarly, 49% of the fathers have never been to school, and only 3% of them have completed secondary school. The figure below presents this analysis. It emerges that parental level of education may be a strong predictor for child labour, and question that can be picked for deeper analysis.

Figure 3.4: Parental level of education and child labour



3.4.7 Disability/health status of parents and child labour

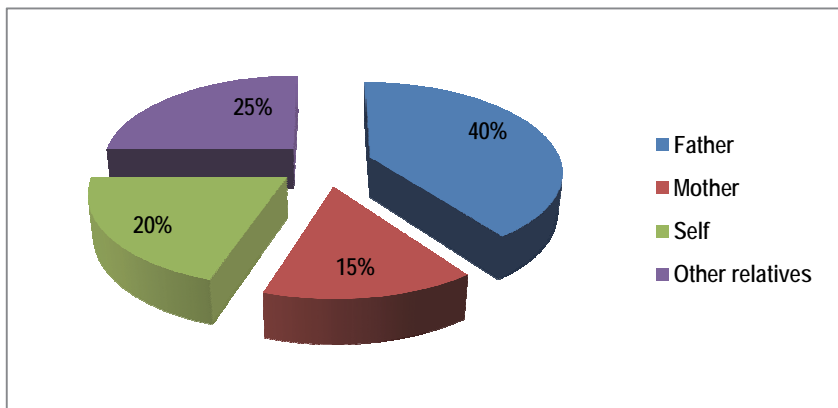
Nine (9) per cent of the working children reported that their fathers had some form of disability, while nearly 13% of them said that their mothers had a disability. Further, 26% and 23% reported that their fathers and mothers had some form of chronic illness, respectively.

Table 3.12: Disability/health of parents and child labour

	With disability	%	With chronic illness	%
Father	8	9.2	23	26.4
Mother	11	12.6	20	23
Total	19	10.9	43	24.7

3.4.8 Schooling decision-making and child labour

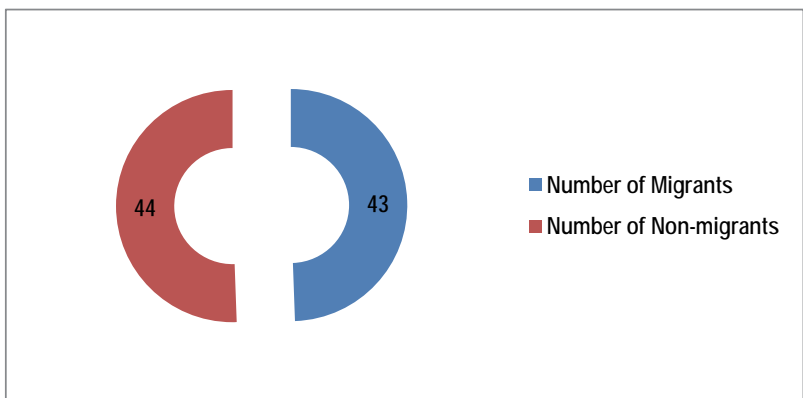
Figure 3.5: Schooling decision-makers



The analysis indicates that schooling decisions are made by fathers (40%), other relatives (26%) or self (20%). Mothers' decisions account for only 15% of the schooling decisions. It emerges that Somaliland is a strongly patriarchal society, and interventions to eliminate child labour must target the convincing of men.

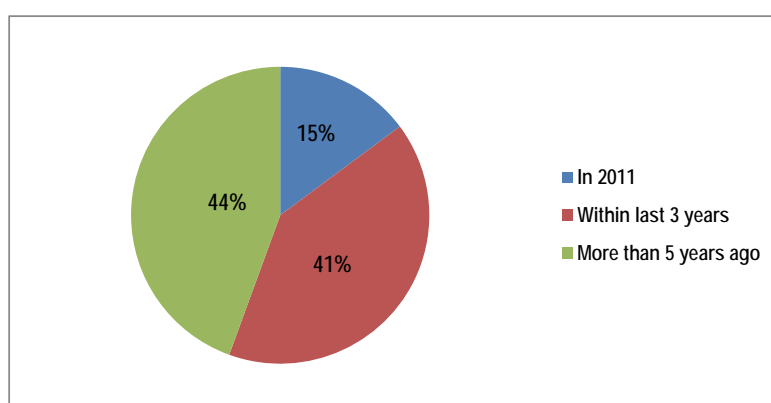
3.4.9 Migration background of working children

Figure 3.6: Migration and child labour



Half of the working children were not born in the location they are found working in, meaning that they have a migration background. This ties with the finding, that around 52% of the working children are living with their parents (table 3.8).

Figure 3.7: Timing of Migration



On timing of migration, around 12% of the working children migrated this year (2011), while another 33% of them migrated within the last 3 years, bringing this to a total of 45%. Further, 36% of the children settled in their current location more than 5 years ago.

Three reasons have emerged as the main driving forces for migration: fleeing from conflict, accounting for 22% of all migrations, moving into cities to look for jobs and better life opportunities (49%) and drought (9.4%). The conflict-driven migrations were most common in Borama (38%), while the least occurrence was in Burao (15%). Most economic migration was in Burao (62%) and the least in Borama (35%). Economic reasons for movement in Borama revolved around seeking agricultural opportunity, while in Hargeisa and Burao it was looking for jobs. Of the girls who have migrated, 10 cited economic reasons while one listed drought or other environmental problems as the cause for migration. Reasons for boys migration was more mixed with 16 (53%) also citing economic reasons. Of the remaining, 8 cited conflict, 4 moved because of drought and 2 moved for social reasons.

Table 3.13: Reasons for migration

Reason for migration	Borama		Burao		Hargeisa		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Fleeing conflict	11	37.9	4	13.8	4	14.8	19	22.4
Drought	5	17.2	2	6.9	1	3.7	8	9.4
Economic reasons	10	34.5	18	62.1	14	51.9	42	49.4
Social reasons	1	3.4	1	3.4	0	0.0	2	2.4
No specific reason	2	6.9	4	13.8	8	29.6	14	16.5
Total	29	100.0	29	100.0	27	100.0	85	100

3.5 Living and working conditions

3.5.1 Pay per day

Findings indicate that 38.5% of the children earn only 1,000 Somaliland shillings or less per day, while another 41% earn up to 3,000 shillings per day. Only 8% of the children reported earning more than 6,000 shillings (1 US dollar). However, these findings were disputed by key informants, indicating that a child cleaning a car earns between 6,000 and 10,000, while polishing

of a single pair of shoes fetches between 400 and 500 shillings. Further, the informants indicated that there was no work for which you are paid even 100 shillings, while some children reported earning 50 shillings per task. From this, it would mean that for a child to earn a dollar, they would need to clean one car only, or polish shoes for 12 persons. The disparity in information to this question poses two possibilities: either children lied about their earnings by putting them too low, or there was a mix-up in the calculations or currencies while reporting. Possibly, more ethnographic methodologies may produce more accurate estimates of how much children earn in a day.

3.5.2 What children do with their money

A sizeable proportion (41%) of the working children spends the money on themselves and do not give it away to anyone. Considering the low earnings, a possibility is that all earnings are spent on daily survival in terms of food and transport, closing out possibility of savings for most of the workers. Nonetheless, 26% of the children give the money to their mothers, while a further 11% of the children give the money to their fathers. For 6% of the working children, money is paid directly to a parent or guardian.

3.5.3 Household socio-economic indicators and child labour

Around 66% of the working children were living in Somali huts, while a further 14% were living in mud-walled houses. Only 12% of them came from stone-wall houses. Deeper cross-tabulation indicates that more than 90% of shoe shiners, cleaners and domestic servants came from somali huts.

Table 3.14: Type of housing for working children

Type of house	No. of children	%
Somali hut	55	65.5
Mud wall	12	14.3
Mud and stone wall	3	3.6
Stone wall	10	11.9
Other	4	4.8
Total	84	100.0

Further on, 87% of the working children came from a household that had no single cow, 77% from a household that has no camel, and nearly half of them from households without a single goat. In addition, 83% of the children came from households with no connection to water sources, and 42% from households that use paraffin for lighting. A combination of these indicators creates strong link of child labour to poor socio-economic status, like most studies of the developing countries.

3.5.4 Days and hours of work

Days of work per week

Majority (73%) of children were working all days of the week, while 45% of them reported working some hours of the night¹ every day of the week. 2 children only (2.4%) worked

1 Night means working on any hours after 6.30 pm, and before 6 am.

at night, while 4 of them (4.8%) did not work at all during the night. This leaves 95% of working children, who are working on some hours of night for at least a day every week. 73% of the children reported working for all days and some hours of the night through the week.

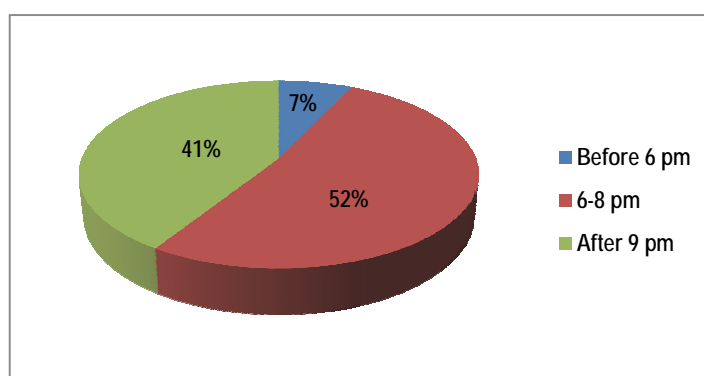
Table 3.15: Days and nights worked per week

Days/nights per week	Days		Nights	
	No.	%	No.	%
0	2	2.4	4	4.8
1	0	0	16	19
2	1	1.2	3	3.6
3	2	2.4	2	2.4
4	1	1.2	2	2.4
5	2	2.4	7	8.3
6	15	17.9	12	14.3
7	61	72.6	38	45.2
Total	84	100	84	100

Beginning and ending work

While around 8% of the children start work before 6 am, 74% start work between 7 and 8 am. Only 13% of them start work after 8 am. Seemingly, children attending school start working either after 12 pm, or after 5 pm. On the other hand, the largest proportion of children (52%) ended their work between 6 and 8 pm, while another 41% worked after 9 pm, to as late as 2 am. Only 7% of the children ended their work by 6 pm.

Figure 3.8: Time of ending work



3.5.5 Treatment by employers and customers

On this question, many children did not commit themselves, arguing that they worked for different people every day, making it difficult to judge. *I work for very many people, and everyone treats me differently from the other.* However, 36 children responded to this question, with 2 thirds of them (67%) expressing the opinion that most customers (and employers) treated them well. However, a third (33%) of them indicated that their customers treated them with disrespect.

Narratives of ill treatment

- My employer uses my money without seeking my permission, and I have no power to rebel.
- Some people I work for tell me that I am a foreigner, and when I ask for my pay, they refuse.
- I wash the dishes, and when any breaks, my employer threatens that I would pay for it.

3.5.6 Risks and hazards faced at work

Nearly half of the working children (49%) reported that they did not face any challenges in their work. However, 24% of the working children cited long working hours as a hazard, while a further 13% cited emotional torture as a hazard. Only 1 child each cited physical harassment, sexual harassment and exposure to chemicals/dust as a hazard. Among children who have migrated, 59% face occupational hazards while only 43% of non-migrant children face such risks at work.

Table 3.16: Risks/hazards faced at work

Risk	No.	%
None	38	48.7
Long working hours	19	24.4
Emotional torture	10	12.8
Injury	5	6.4
Others	3	3.8
Physical harassment	1	1.3
Sexual harassment	1	1.3
Exposure to chemicals/dust	1	1.3
Total	78	100

3.6 Working Children's Perceptions of their Situations

3.6.1 What children like and dislike about their work

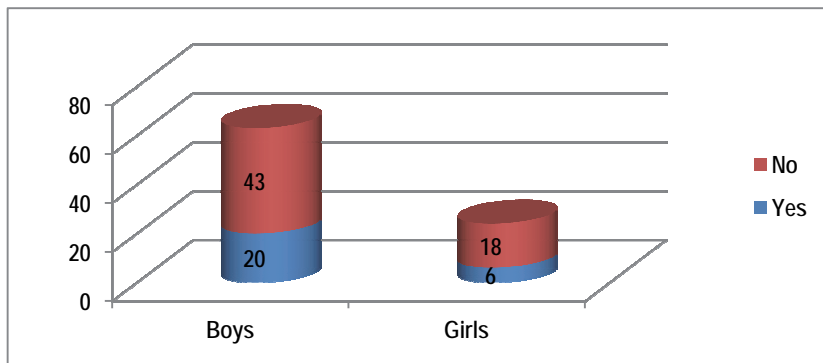
What children like about their work revolves around money, freedom and esteem feelings emanating from supporting their families from their work. On the other hand, children dislike the long hours of work and the low value placed on their work by the society.

3.6.2 Thoughts about quitting the work

What I like about my work...	What I dislike about my work...
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- I like it because I don't worry about what to eat- I like it because I don't work for anyone, I work for myself- I like it, because I meet with many different people- I like the work, because it's not difficult- I don't like it, but my family and I depend entirely on it- I like it, because through it I learn the Somali language- I like staying downtown with people	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- I don't like it, because customers treat me badly- I work for long hours, and this work is difficult- I don't like my boss, he is very unfriendly- I don't like it, because I get very tired- I don't have time to go to school- The shoes I polish have a bad smell- The work I do has no value in the society

Only 32% and 24% of boys and girls have ever thought of quitting the work respectively.

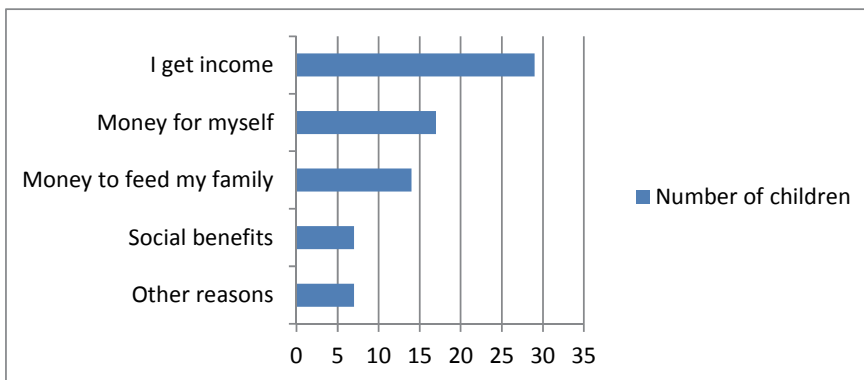
Figure 3.9: Thoughts about quitting the work



3.6.3 Perceived benefits of work

Most of the children (81%) cited income as the sole benefit they get from their work. Among these, some cited satisfaction from supporting their families, while others just used the income to cater for their personal needs, including food, shelter and transport. Around 10% of the workers cited social benefits, which included getting links to friends, and gaining satisfaction with self, and experience.

Figure 3.10: Perceived benefits of work (n=87)



3.6.4 Most pressing needs of working children

Most working children cite food (39%) and education (24%) as their most pressing need. However, 9% of the children are under pressure to take care of their family members, while those living on the streets or renting premises see shelter as a top priority. Only 6% of the children cite medical care as a priority need. This finding implies that every 4th child prioritizes schooling/education, and this provides good entry for provision of education as an intervention.

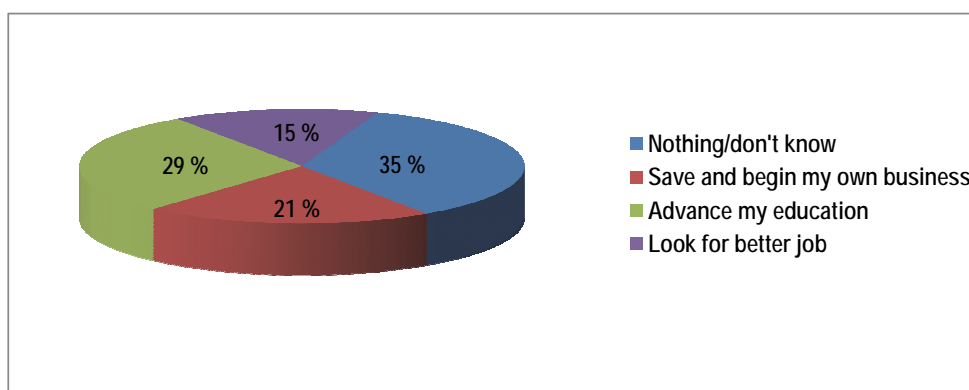
Table 3.17: Most pressing needs of working children

Most pressing need	Girls	%	Boys	%	Total	%
Food	4	19	26	46	30	38.5
Education	10	48	9	16	19	24.4
Looking after family members	2	10	5	9	7	9
Accommodation	1	5	5	9	6	7.7
Medical care	0	0	5	9	5	6.4
Leisure	1	5	3	5	4	5.1
Total	21	100	57	100	78	100

3.6.5 Perceptions of improving their condition

The largest proportion of working children (35%) is unable to figure out how they can improve their own conditions. However, 29% of them see chance in advancing their education; since this would enable them get better jobs. Further on, 21% of the working children see opportunity in making savings out of their daily earnings, so as to invest in own enterprises. Only 15% of the children think that they can improve their condition by looking for other jobs.

Figure 3.11: Perceptions on improving own condition



3.6.6 Future aspirations of working children

The largest population of children (38%) were not sure of what their aspirations for the future were, and some expressed the fact that they had never thought about it. However, 22.2% of the working children had an aspiration to make savings, start their own enterprises and become wealthy citizens. To the contrary, close to 15% of the children had a dream to pursue further education to improve their knowledge and skills, to be able to compete for better positions in the future. One boy shared his dream to become a doctor. Other children had aspirations of getting better and well-paying jobs (7.4%), while some just wished to continue with what they were doing, unsure of where it would end (11.1%). Table 15 summarizes these aspirations.

Table 3.18: Aspirations of working children

Aspiration	No.	%
Start a family	4	4.9
Make savings and become build big business	18	22.2
Become highly educated	12	14.8
Better, well-paying job	6	7.4
Continue with what I'm doing	9	11.1
Go outside the country	1	1.2
Don't know	31	38.3
Total	81	100

3.7 Community Attitudes towards child labour

3.7.1 Is there child labour in Somaliland?

In all the three sites, there were strong arguments raised against labelling any child activities as child labour. The attitudes expressed by members of the communities appeared to take two directions. First, there were opinions expressed to defend all child activities as constructive work and second, justification of child labour against prevailing social and economic circumstances. These two dimensions are illustrated by voices of three heads of households in Hargeisa:

- Children are the power of their parents, if they did not help us who can help? So, please stop these kind of surveys.
- In Somaliland there is no child labour, but children help their parents.
- The number of street children increases day after day. You must focus on helping parents first.

3.7.2 Type of work that adults and children should do

Further to this, members of the communities (including heads of households, local leaders and employers) were asked what type of work children and adults should do. From all categories of respondents, there was unison that children should do light and unskilled work, and work that doesn't require any high levels of experience. On the other hand, adults should do hard work that requires skills and experience.

Adults should do...	Children should do...
hard work	light work
building and construction	house work
office work	shoe shining
selling in market	washing cars
income generation	domestic work/maids
	learning in school
	work that doesn't require skills
	work that doesn't require experience

3.7.3 Reasons for employing children

Asked why they preferred employing children as opposed to adults, employers cited various advantages and disadvantages. A major reason given by most employers was that children are good in following instructions, and obeying what they are told or asked to do. On the reverse, adults raise arguments and act cunningly to by-pass instructions. Secondly, children are active and don't get tired easily. Older people tend to get exhausted easily and lack the resilience in work. Third, children are cheaper to hire, and accept the amount of money offered.

However, there were various disadvantages of employing children, cited by employers. One, children cannot work for very long hours. They would work actively for a couple of hours, then they cannot hold further. As such, work demanding stamina, like building and construction, was seen as unsuitable for children. On another note, employers regretted that employing children means denying them an opportunity to go to school, and this was interpreted as disadvantage not only to the children, but to the whole society.

3.7.4 Should children combine schooling and work?

Members of the community were asked, whether they thought children should combine schooling and work, or not. Many arguments were raised for this, stating that children from poor families were working as last option, and combining schooling and work was the only way. Other community members expressed contrary opinion, arguing that schooling had longer-term benefits that children should not forfeit for the elusive benefits of work. One point of conflict between these two opinions, was the effect of work on schooling. While proponents of work argued that combining schooling and work averted school dropout, because children were able to sustain themselves as they school, other members argued the reverse, that children combining schooling and work would soon be lured by the deceptive benefits of work, and eventually drop out.

Should children combine schooling and work?

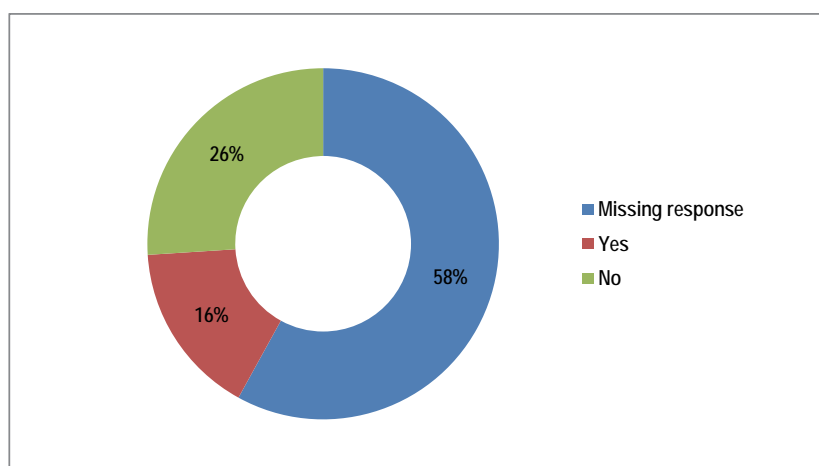
Yes...	No...
<p>...some children have to work for survival, for that is the only way.</p> <p>...but they should go to school first, and then work. If they work first, they will be tired and can't concentrate.</p> <p>...combining schooling and work will actually reduce dropout</p> <p>...combining schooling and work makes the child tough to face the challenges of our times</p> <p>...part-time work is good, children can get money to sustain themselves and their families</p>	<p>...combining schooling and work eventually leads to dropout</p> <p>...responsible parents work, and give opportunity to their children to attend school</p> <p>...in the long-run, concentrating on schooling will have higher returns than working</p> <p>...they should go to school, but it also depends on the decisions that they themselves make</p>

4. Interventions against child labour

4.1 Awareness about children withdrawn from child labour

Children were asked, if they knew of any child who had been withdrawn from child labour. Most children (58%) did not answer this question at all. Only 16% of the children indicated that they knew such children, while 26% did not know at all.

Figure 4.1: Awareness about children withdrawn from labour



Children were then asked what kind of support those children had received from the rescuers. Again, 45% of them indicated that didn't know, while 15% indicated medical care as the support given. Other support services cited included legal aid (4.6%), counselling (3.4%), food (4.6%) and education (4.6%).

Table 4.1: Support services provided by rescuers

	Count	Percent
Medical care	13	14.9
Legal aid	4	4.6
Counselling	3	3.4
Food	4	4.6
Education	4	4.6
Other	20	23.0
Don't know	39	44.8
Total	87	100.0

"I do not know of any organization or office in Somaliland that runs specialized programs on child labour. Many are handling it within the larger contexts of child rights and child protection"

– Abdikadir Daud, MoLSA

Problems encountered by children while accessing such services

Asked what problems the rescued children had encountered while accessing the services, many of them did not know. Others cited stigma, long distance and lack of facilitation as challenges.

Table 4.2: Problems encountered while accessing services

Problem	Count	Percent
Stigma	8	9.2
Long distance	6	6.9
Lack of facilitation	5	5.7
Loss of family contacts	5	5.7
Other	23	26.4
Don't know	40	46.0
Total	87	100.0

4.2 Voices for change: Perspectives of children and key informants

4.2.1 Perspectives of Children on what should be done

- Provide opportunities for schooling as we work
- Pass laws that prohibit business people from employing under-age children
- Make education free and compulsory, so that we can access our right to education
- The government and NGOs should ensure that all children access our basic rights including food, shelter and education
- Educate the society the need to take care of its children
- Give us training, so that we can get skills for better jobs
- Pass a law specifying which work children can and cannot do
- Eliminate all child-harmful practices in the country
- Enrich families with economic activities, so that children can be released from work
- Make a special school for children with disabilities
- Sensitize business people to treat us fairly

4.2.2 Perspectives of key informants

- There is need to focus research attention on domestic workers, since that's where the girls are working more. The study sample of the current study is not gender-balanced, and methodology may not have been right for domestic labour. In our estimation, there are more girls working than boys, only that they work at home, have no time to go to school and to read. Interventions for domestic workers need to be carefully thought through, with specific focus on working with mothers.
- Establish social protection groups against child labour and drugs (reason why some children work is because they want to have money to buy glue, cigarette, khat etc.). Child labour and use of drugs are closely linked. Some of the street children have families, but they chose to be on streets to access drugs.
- The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs should now initiate a process to draft laws against child labour and drug abuse. Foremost is to domesticate the ILO conventions 138 (minimum age) and 182 (worst forms). The policy should state clearly about child payment,

prohibit corporal punishment, and have consequences for people who abuse children. It should also clarify hours of work allowed for children.

- Harmonize protection activities including survival, protection and development. Alongside this, establish coordination mechanism for all child protection activities in Somaliland.
- Establish feeding centres across the country. On specific days, have school children have some meals in school. It would be possible to introduce feeding centres for needy children in schools, so that such children are able to participate in the learning process, like the migrant children and those separated from their families. Another option that may work is to provide dry food to the families of the very needy children.
- Establish orphanages for children for care and protection as set out in the Quran. This would cater for the orphans who have no relatives, and as a transitional option. However, orphanages should be treated as a last option. Since the report points to strong social ties with the relatives, we should experiment a model of reintegrating the children within the extended family networks.
- Conduct an in-depth study to differentiate child labour in Somali context and child labour in the international context, to make campaign work easier while relating every intervention to the local context. This would make campaigns more effective.
- Bring together a network of actors (including government senior officials, religious leaders and eminent persons) to run awareness on rights of children through the media, religious networks and other existing frameworks in the country.
- Create income opportunities for the parents, to release children to go to school

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

Seemingly there is nothing unique about child labour in Somaliland, in relation to child labour in other developing countries. Indeed, child labour seems to fit within the poverty paradigm, more than anything else. The only thing, child labour is characterized by strong social ties between children and their relatives, and is coupled strong patterns of economic migration.

More than half of the working children have never been to school. This status mirrors the high adult illiteracy rates evident in Somaliland. However, 33% of the working children are combining working with schooling. While deeper analysis should lead to understanding the efficacy of this combination, it leads to the conclusion that the combination may offer good entry to the elimination of child labour in Somaliland, adopting first a pragmatic rather than absolutist stance.

5.2 Recommendations

- As children and key informants have expressed, there is need for intervention at the policy level. Since Somaliland cannot ratify any instruments, effort should be strengthened to integrate the principles of convention 138 and 182 into local policies, while ensuring that all developed policies are duly implemented.
- Most working children (80%) are missing opportunity on schooling, while combining schooling with work seems plausible. Indeed, 24% of them perceive schooling/education as a top priority and thereby express their thirst for education. In improving the condition of working children, modalities of combining schooling and work need to be explored. To design this, a model needs to be based on a deeper study of the 20% of the children who are combining schooling with work.
- Most of the working children (more than 80%) have close social contacts with either parents or relatives. In designing interventions therefore, systemic choices of involving relatives in decisions of children will be inevitable. Thus, household-based interventions may be more effective than work-place-based or school-based interventions. While most decisions seem to be made by men (fathers), there is need to anchor interventions on both men and women, in promoting livelihood at household level.
- There seems to be a strong link between household socio-economic indicators and child labour. Thus, economic empowerment may be a viable option against child labour. However, such options must put in mind the low literacy levels (especially among mothers), and low purchasing power in most parts of the country, creating high competition for small micro enterprises. Still, consideration must be made on basis that a quarter of the parents have either a disability or some form of chronic illness.
- Half of the working children have migrated to their current working location, either alone or with their families. A few of the working children have come from as far as Ethiopia. Thus, interventions must accommodate the complex nature of immigrant children, and bear a strong component of reintegration. Networking with different partners must then be a substantial component of such intervention. Seemingly, investing in broader interventions like reducing conflict among pastoralist communities and improving their immunity against drought may have a direct effect on the reduction of child labour.

-
- Even when this study has not compared earnings of children and adults, it is apparent that earnings of children are very low. Still, majority of children work for 7 days a week, and work for more than 10 hours every day, most of it including some hours of night. Subsequently, interventions must seek strategies to improve the conditions of children, by advocating for fair treatment and compensation of children among the public. However, this will be complicated by the fact that most of the child workers are not employed, but are hawking services to the general public.
 - Devise a public awareness program, on general rights of children. This program must bring together various actors in a coordinated manner: government, local authorities, religious leaders, non-governmental organizations and the media. Communication strategies should be developed for the different audiences.

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Annexe – Questionnaire

RAPID ASSESSMENT ON CHILD ACTIVITIES IN SOMALILAND

Interview Schedule for Working Children

Informed Consent & Cover Page

Hello. My name is _____. I am working with for an ILO/IPEC study in this area. As part of a situation analysis on child activities in Somaliland, we are conducting a survey among households in the area. Your household has been selected by chance from among all households in the area. I would like to ask you some questions about your household.

The information you provide will be useful in establishing the kind of activities that children engage in, in Somaliland. On basis of the findings, specific child protection and stakeholder action plans will be developed. Participation in the survey is voluntary.

All the information you give will be confidential. The information will be used to prepare a report, but will not include any specific names. There will be no way to identify that you are the one who gave this information.

If you have any questions about the survey, you can ask me. At this time, do you have any questions about the survey?

Signature of interviewer:

Date:

- Respondent agreed to be interviewed
1. YES
 2. NO

SECTION 0. ENTRY IDENTIFICATION

This section is to be completed for each respondent interviewed

001. City name.

1. Hargeisa

2. Burao

3. Borama

002. Site number.

003. Respondent number.

004. Interviewer's Name

005. Interviewer's number.

006. Date of interview.

Day:	Month:	Year:
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007. Time interview commenced.

008. Time interview ended.

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The questions in this survey are for the individual children, in identified sites.

If there are more than one children at a site, select respondents to be interviewed about their condition and experiences as per the sampling frame.

SECTION 1.0: CHILD BIO DATA

Sex	Age	Disability	Chronic sickness	Residence	Father Existence	Mother Existence
101	102	103	104	105	106	107
Sex	How old are you?	Do you experience any of these problems? Interviewer: <Observe and record>	Do you experience any of these problems? Interviewer: <Observe and record>	Who do you stay with?	Is your father alive?	Is your mother alive?
1. Male	<Interviewer: record age in completed years>	0. None	0. None	1. With Family	1=Yes 2=No	1=Yes 2=No
2. Female		1. Moving, holding or manipulating any organ? 2. Seeing or sensing light? 3. Hearing or sensing sound? 4. Utilizing mental capacities? 5. Speaking or producing sounds and words? 99 Other - specify	1. Malnutrition 2. Diabetes 3. Cancer 4. Asthma 99. Other - specify	2. Housed by relatives 3. Self rented 4. With friends rented 5. Own home 6. Children's institution 7. On street 99. Other specify		
Insert code	Insert Value	Insert code				

SECTION 2.0 CAUSES AND PATHWAYS INTO CHILD LABOUR

201: Family Background

Type of Family	Number of Siblings		Position in birth order	Occupation of Siblings below 18 years	
201 (a)	201 (b)		201 (c)	201(d)	
What type of family do you come from? 1. Father & Mother 2. Mother Only 3. Father only 4. Total Orphan	How many brothers and sisters do you have? <i><Interviewer: record total number living siblings></i>		What is your birth position in your family? <i><Interviewer: record respondent's birth order among children ever born in family ></i>	How many of your siblings aged below 18 years have engaged in any of the following activities during the last one week, even for one hour?	
	<i>Siblings</i>	<i>Number</i>		Activity	Number
	<i>Brothers:</i>			Employee	
	<i>Sisters:</i>			Own account worker (own business without employees)	
				Employer (own business with Member of producers' cooperative	
				Unpaid family work	

202: Father's Information (If alive, ask 202 a-f; if dead, ask 202 g-h)

Age	Father Residence	Disability	Chronic sickness	Occupation	Level of Education	Deceased Father	
202 (a)	202(b)	202 (c)	202 (d)	202 (e)	202(f)	202(g)	202(h)
Father's Age? <i>Interviewer: record age in completed years, for alive fathers only</i>	<i>(If does not stay with father mother)</i> 106 (a) Where does your father live?	Does your father experience any of these problems? 0. None 1. Moving, holding or manipulating any organ? 2. Seeing or sensing light? 3. Hearing or sensing sound? 4. Utilizing mental capacities? 5. Speaking or producing sounds and words?	Does your father suffer from any of these conditions? 1. None 2. Malnutrition 3. Cancer 4. Asthma 5. Diabetes 99. Other	What does your father do for a living? 1. Employment 2. Self Employed 3. Employer 4. Paid family work 5. No work for income	What is your father's highest level of education? 1. Never been to school 2. Madrassa 3. Lower primary 4. Upper Primary 5. Completed Primary 6. Completed Secondary 7. Post-	Which year did your father die?	What caused his death?

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		99 Other - specify		99. Other	Secondary 99. Other		
							Write Cause

203: Mother's Information (If alive, ask 203 a-f; if dead, ask 203 g-h)

Age	Disability	Chronic sickness	Occupation	Level of Education	Deceased Mother	
					203(g)	203(h)
203 (a)	203 (c)	203 (d)	203 (e)	203 (f)	203(g)	203(h)
Mother's Age? <i>Interviewer: record age in completed years</i>	Does your mother experience any of these problems? 0. None 1. Moving, holding or manipulating any organ? 2. Seeing or sensing light? 3. Hearing or sensing sound? 4. Utilizing mental capacities? 5. Speaking or producing sounds and words? 99 Other - specify	Does your mother suffer from any of these conditions? 1. None 2. Malnutrition 3. Cancer 4. Asthma 5. Diabetes 99. Other	What does your mother do for a living? 1. Employment 2. Self Employed 3. Employer 4. Paid family work 5. No work for income 99. Other	What is your mother's highest level of education? 1. Never been to school 2. Madrassa 3. Lower primary 4. Upper Primary 5. Completed Primary 6. Completed Secondary 7. Post-Secondary 99. Other	Which year did your mother die?	What caused her death?
<i>Insert Value</i>	<i>Insert code</i>	<i>Insert code</i>	<i>Insert code</i>	<i>Insert code</i>	Insert Year	Write Cause

204: Migration and Displacement

Migration	Time	Displacement	Difficulties	Difficulties
204(a)	204(b)	204(c)	204(d)	204(e)
In which town/village were you born? <if same as	Which year did you settle at the current location?	What were the reasons for moving to this area? <u>Probes:</u> conflict	Which difficulties did you encounter during movement?	Which difficulties have you encountered after settling at current location?
Insert town/village	Insert Year	List the reasons given	List difficulties	List difficulties

205: Household Characteristics

Type of House	Water	Lighting	Property	
205 (a)	205(b)	205(c)	205(d)	
In what type of house does your family live? 1. Somali hut 2. Mud wall 3. Mud and stone wall 4. Stone wall 99. Other	Is the HH's source of water located within the home? 1. Yes 2. No	What is your source of energy for lighting where your family lives? 1. Paraffin/Kerosene 2. Solar 3. Mains Electricity 4. Gas 99. Other	Does your family own any of these things?	
			Property	Number
			Camels	
			Cows	
			Goats	
<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert number</i>	<i>Insert number</i>	TV	
205 (b)	205 (c)	205 (d)	Radio	
			Mobile Phones	

206: Siblings Information

206 (a) Number	206 (b) Sex Male-1 Female-2	206 (c)Age	206(d) Going to School Yes-1 No-2	206(e) Level of education attained	206 (f) Economic activities	206(g) Locality / Place (where they live)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

207: Schooling Background

Schooling Status	Schooling Level	Schooling decision maker	Enrolling	Reasons for not enrolling	Year of dropout	Reason for dropout	Non- Schooling decision maker	Re- enrolling
207 (a)	207 (b)	207 (c)	207 (d)	207(e)	207 (f)	206 (g)	206 (h)	206(i)
Do you go to school/mad rassa? 1. Yes < if Yes go to 207 (b) > 2. No <If no skip to 207 (d) >	Which class are you in?	Who made the decision for you to attend school/madr assa? 1. Father 2. Mother 3. Self 99. Other	Have you ever been to school? Yes-1 No – 2 If yes, skip to 207 (f)	Why have you never been to school? Indicate Reasons	At which class did you leave school/ madrassa ? Insert Class Left	Why did you leave school/madr assa? 1.Lack of fees 2. To support family 3. Discipline problems at school 4. Subjects are not relevant 5.Nor learning anything 6. School was too far 99. Other	Who made the decision for you to leave school/madr assa? 1. Father 2. Mother 3. Self 99. Other	If given a chance, would you go back to school? 1. Yes 2. No Insert Code What would allow you to go back? (conditions)
Insert Code	Insert grade	Insert Code	Insert Code		Insert Class Left	Insert Code	Insert Code	

SECTION 3.0 SOCIAL CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF WORK

Location of work	Type of work	Work Activities	Duration at work	Work history status	Level of Remuneration	Use for pay	Work decision maker
301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308
Where do you work?	What is the type of work that you do?	Please describe to us what exactly you have been doing in the past one week (from wake up till sleep)?	How long have you been doing this work?	305 (a) Have you worked anywhere before? 1. Yes 2. No Code:	How much are you paid per day in Somaliland Shillings?	If paid, how do you use the money? 1. Spend on self 2. Gives father 3. Gives mother 4.. Paid directly to parent/guardian /relative 99. Other	Who made the decision for you to work here? 1. Self 2. Father 3. Mother 4. Guardian 99. Other
			<i><Indicate number years/months worked></i>	305 (b) If yes, where did you work?			
			<i>Insert years/months</i>	305(c) What work did you do?			<i>Insert Value</i>

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309	Who owns this business/work?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parent 2. Other Relatives 3. Non-relative
310	Why did you start working?	
311	How stable is your work?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stable 2. Not stable
312	How difficult is it, to get such work in this town?	

SECTION 4.0 CONDITIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF WORK

Days of work	Nights of work	Start of day work	End of day work	Start of night work	End of night work	Treatment by employer
401	402	403	404	405	406	407
How many days do you work in a week?	How many nights do you work in a week?	<i><if does not work during day, skip to 405></i> What time do you start your work during the day?	What time do you end your work during the day?	<i><If does not work at night, skip to 407></i> What time do you start your work at night?	What time do you end your work at night?	Please tell us, how your employer treats you?
<i>Insert number</i>	<i>Insert</i>	<i>Insert time in 24hour format</i>	<i>Insert time in 24hour format</i>	<i>Insert time in 24hour</i>	<i>Insert time in 24hour</i>	

Freedom of exit	Work Benefits	Fringe benefits	Employer's responsibility over Medical Needs	Occupational Hazards	Number of Meals	Needs
408	409 (a)	409 (b)	410	411	412	413
408(a) Have you ever thought of quitting this work? 1. Yes 2. No	How do you benefit from this work?	Do you enjoy any of these benefits at work? 1. Meals at work 2. Transport 3. Awards 4. Training 5. Education 99. Other	Does your employer cater for your medical needs when sick or injured? 1. Yes 2. No	What harm do you face/have faced from this work? 0. None 1. Injury 2. Emotional torture 3. Physical harassment 4. Sexual harassment 5. Long working hours 6. Exposure to chemicals/dust 99. Other specify	How many meals do you take per day (including breakfast)?	What are your most pressing needs? 1. Food 2. Accommodation 3. Medical care 4. Education 5. Leisure 6. Looking after other family members 99. Other
408(b) If yes, what are the reasons?						
		<i>Insert codes</i>	<i>Insert code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert number</i>	

SECTION 5.0 ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF LABOUR

Likings about work	Dislikes about the work	Exit prospects	Reasons for contemplating quitting	Alternative engagement	Action to improve circumstances
501	502	503 (a)	503 (b)	504	505
What do you like about this work?	What don't you like about this work?	Have you ever thought of quitting this work? 1. Yes 2. No	What are your reasons for saying this?	What else would you do, if you were no longer working here?	What would you do to improve your condition?
		<i>Insert Code</i>			

SECTION 6.0 HIDDEN AND WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

Domestic Work	Child soldier service	Slavery /Servitude	Running Drugs	Description
601 (a)	601 (b)	601 (c)	601 (d)	601(e)
Have you ever been involved in working at somebody's home? 1. Yes 2. No	Have you ever been persuaded or forced to fight for a group, or work for an armed group? 1. Yes 2. No	Have you ever been forced to work for someone without pay, or persuaded or forced to migrate to another place for work ? 1. Yes 2. No	Have you ever been involved in sale and trafficking of drugs? 1. Yes 2. No	If child has answered yes to any of these, provide details (when, what exactly they did, how they came out of it)
<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	

Hidden and worst forms of child labour CONTD' : Awareness of other children in hidden forms

Awareness of Private homework		Awareness of Child soldier service		Awareness of Slavery /Servitude		Awareness of Running Drugs	
602 (a)		602 (b)		602 (c)		602 (d)	
Are you aware of any <Girls/Boys> involved in working at somebody's home?		Are you aware of any boys/girls who have been persuaded or forced to fight for a group, or are working for an armed group?		Are you aware of any boys/girls who have been forced to work for someone without pay, or persuaded or forced to migrate to another place for work ?		Are you aware of any <Girls/Boys> involved in sale and trafficking of drugs?	
<insert number>		<insert number>		<insert number>		<insert number>	
<i>i. Boys</i>	<i>ii. Girls</i>	<i>i. Boys</i>	<i>ii. Girls</i>	<i>i. Boys</i>	<i>ii. Girls</i>	<i>i. Boys</i>	<i>ii. Girls</i>

SECTION 7.0 RESPONSE TO CHILD LABOUR

Awareness of rescue from CL	Rescuer	Organizations involved in prevention of CL	Services offered	Target Categories	Assistance Status	Kind of Assistance	Problems encountered
701	702	703 (a)	703 (b)	704	705 (a)	705 (b)	706
Have you ever heard of children who have been withdrawn from labour? 1. Yes 2. No <if no, skip to 708>	If Yes in 701, by who? 1. Parents/relatives 2. Fellow Children Authorities 3. Local NGOs 4. Local CBOs 99. Other	Which government agencies or NGOs exist in this area to prevent and withdraw children from Labour? 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	What services are offered by organizations in 703 (a)? 1. Medical care 2. Legal aid 3. Counselling 4. Rehabilitation 5. Accommodation 6. Food 7. Education 99. Other	What categories of children do they mostly target? 1. Boys 2. Girls 3. Street Children 4. Child domestic workers 5. Displaced children 99. Other	Have you ever received any assistance from any of these agencies? 1. Yes 2. No	If Yes in 705 (a), what kind of assistance? 1. Medical care 2. Legal Aid 3. Counselling 4. Rehabilitation 5. Accommodation 6. Food 7. Education 99. Other	Which problems did you encounter while accessing these services? 1. Stigma 2. Unfriendly service providers 3. Long distance 4. Lack of facilitation 5. Loss of family contacts 99. Other
<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>		<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>	<i>Insert Code</i>

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708	<p>In your view, what should be done to eliminate harmful child labour in Somaliland?</p> <p>[Probe: by who?]</p>	
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SECTION 8.0 FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Future profession	Short term future Plans (5 years)	Long term plans (Future)
801	802	803
<p>What do you want to become, when you become big?</p> <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p>	<p>What do you plan to be doing, five years from now?</p> <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p>	<p>What do you wish to accomplish in the future?</p> <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p>

SECTION 9.0 EXIT QUESTION

Additions
901
<p>Please tell us anything else you would like us to know about yourself, or about your work</p>

Interviewer: <Thank the respondent for their Time>



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