

The Village, the Market and the Street
A Study Of Disadvantaged Areas And Groups
In Mogadishu, Somalia

A Study Prepared for:

Municipality of Mogadishu
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To the memory of Axmed Caalim Cadow

Allaha u raxmado

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GLOSSARY

Somali ¹ Singular	Plural	English
adeegto	adeegtooyin	domestic servant
aqal	aqallo	house, usually nomadic
ashuun	aashuuno	clay water pot
bacadle	bacadleyaal	trader with small stall
bakhaar	bakhaaro	warehouse
bajiya	---	ball of fried bean flour
baqshiish	---	gift/donation
baraako	baraakooyin	house with wooden walls
berkad	berkado	dam for holding water
biil	biilal	daily expenses
bogcad	bogcad	unit of land area
bos	bosyo	unit of land area
cambuulo		beans and rice dish
canjeero		wheat/maize flour pancake
cariish	carshaan	mud and stick walled house
ciyaal suuq	ciyaal suuqyo	market child
daar	daarro	stone walled house
daash	daashyo	shelter of sticks only, but also a lean-to kitchen attached to cariish
deyn	deeyman	loan
dhaadhac		things that fall
dhaloole	dhaloolayaal	bottle collector
dhar-dhaqe	dhar-dhaqayaal	clothes washer
dhexe		middle
doobi	doobilayaal	clothes washer
doob	doobab	unmarried man
dulaal	dulaalo	broker
faqiir	faqiiro	poor person
farsame yaqaan	farsame yaqaano	skilled worker
fuundi	fuundiyo	expert, builder, mason
fuusto	fuustooyin	200 litre drum
gaari dameer	gaari dameero	donkey cart
gaari gacanle	gaari gacanlayaal	handcart operator
garabsiin		give shoulder
gambar	gambaro	stool of animal hide and wood
hagbad	hagbado	rotating credit group
hawl fududeyn	---	make work easier
hoose	---	lower
imaan	imaano	prayer leader in mosque
iskaabuulo	---	bachelor
iskoris	---	self-supporting person
jeeble	jeebleyaal	person selling from the pocket
jid	jidad	street
jiingad	jiingado	metal walled house
kaalmo	kaalmooyin	support
khadiib	khadiiyo	preacher
laaluush	---	bribe
laamiyeeri	---	metal walled house
lacag qaade	lacag qaadeyaal	money taker
masruuf	---	daily expenses

1 A number of words listed here are of Italian, Arabic, English and Swahili derivation. In a number of cases more than one word with the same meaning has been included because of regional variations in usage, for example, ayuuto, shalongo, hagbad.

miskiin	masaakiin	poor, disadvantaged
mitir kuubo	mitir kuubooyin	wooden walled house with masonry base
mundul	mundulo	circular mud walled house
muufo	---	bread made of maize flour
obbosibo	obbosibooyin	illegal settlement
qaaran	qaraano	gift of money for emergencies
riba	---	interest on loans
sabool	---	poor in income and assets
sadaqo	sadaqooyin	alms
salaaxid	---	repairer of cariish walls
sambuusi	---	pastry/meat snack
sar	sarro	stone walled house
seko	---	Islamic tax paid annually
shalongo	---	rotating credit group(southern)
shaxaad	---	money casually given/asked for
suuq	suuqyo	market
soor	---	maize porridge
teneg	tenegyo	18-20 litre can of water
umuliso	umulisooyin	traditional midwife
waab	waabab	shelter made of sticks plastic, canvas and other scrap
wardiye	wardiyaal	watchmen/women
wadaad	wadaado	person learned/occupied with Islam. A teacher sheik.
warato	waratooyin	trader sitting on the ground
xaafad	xaafado	village or neighbourhood (See also below)
xaaraan		forbidden under Islam
xamaali	xamaaliyaal	labourer
xoog sade	xoog sato	casually employed/unemployed

Pronunciation: Somali pronunciation is often very difficult for foreigners to emulate. Perhaps the three most unusual sounds for Europeans and Americans are the Somali c,x and q. C represents the arabic ain. It sounds like a bit like an English glottal stop but is in fact technically quite different from one. It hardens the vowel that follows it. Technically it is a voiced pharyngal fricative. It is a consonant and appears in such words as cariish. X sounds a bit like an h, but sounds deeper. Technically it is an unvoiced pharyngal fricative. It appears in such words as xaafad. Q is a short consonant. Technically it is a lightly voiced uvular plosive. It appears in such words as suuq and aqal.

Administrative divisions:

degmo	degmooyin	district (13 in Mogadishu)
xaafad	xaafado	sub-section of a district (up to 6 per district)
laan	laamo	equivalent to xaafad
waax	waaxyo	sub-section of xaafad
tabeela	tabeelayin	sub-section of waax (smallest division)

(See Fig. 4.2 for the location of the 13 districts.)

Exchange rates

At the time of the surveys in mid to late 1986 the official exchange rate for the Somali Shilling was 89/- to the US\$1.00. The free market rate in Jeddah during the same period varied between 130/- and 150/- to the US\$.

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Authority

We are grateful to the Municipality of Mogadishu for giving permission for this work to be carried out. We hope that the information provided in the report will be of assistance to the Municipality in providing services to the people of Mogadishu.

Authors

The main author of this report was Rick Davies. Sue Reading prepared the initial data and analysis on which Chapters 8 and 16 were based. Alice Welbourn edited the whole report. However, the responsibility for any faults in the text remains with the author.

Special acknowledgement should go to Dr Axmed Ismaciil Jaamac, Co-ordinator of the Urban Basic Services Programme, Municipality of Mogadishu, for his guidance and support in the production of this report. In particular, thanks must be given to Dr Axmed for his assistance with the supervision of the surveys, liaison with government officials and editing of the final report.

Research

The co-ordinators of the research team were Rick Davies and Sue Reading. The other members of the team were:

Fosiya Maxammed Muuse, who carried out research on working and street children specifically and who assisted with the research on women and education. Fosiya was also responsible for the inputting and computer analysis of a substantial amount of survey data.

Cabdi Ibraahim Farax, who carried out the research on beggars, and who co- directed the planning and administration of all six household surveys.

Maxammed Xassan, who carried out the research on education, including the inputting and computer analysis of the data.

The research team was assisted by twenty enumerators who were recruited with the assistance of the Somali Red Crescent Society. Assistance was also given with interviews of women and children by Safiya Faarax Xassan, Aamina Faarax Xassan, Rooda Maxamuud Ibraahim and Faduma Cabdi Xussen.

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2002 Preface

Background

This study was first published in Mogadishu by UNICEF in 1987. A total of approximately 375 copies were produced, and the majority of these copies were lost in late 1990 and early 1991, when the government of President Syad Barre was overthrown. The purpose of this 2002 “reprinting” is to make sure this perspective on the history of Mogadishu remains available to those who may be interested. The original document was produced using Locoscript, on an Amstrad computer. This has now been converted into MS Word 97.

There are two other important studies of Mogadishu. The first was *Mogadishu, Somalia: Geographic Aspects of its Evolution, Population, Functions and Morphology*. This is a Ph.D dissertation by William Daniel Puzo, completed at the University of California Los Angeles in 1972. Copies may still be available from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

The other is *Networks of Dissolution: Somalia Undone*, by Anna Simons, published in 1995 by Westview Press, Boulder. This is based on the author’s experience of living in Mogadishu between November 1998 and November 1999, while working for the Central Rangelands Development Project. It provides a more qualitative analysis of the Mogadishu economy and society, and its relationship to rural Somalia and Somali history.

Changes made

In this 2002 version the following changes have been made:

- The original title *Xaffada, Suuqa iyo Jidka* has been presented in its English translation – *The Village, the Market and the Street*.
- The Somali spelling *Muqdishu* has been replaced with the more common *Mogadishu*
- A more detailed table of contents has been provided
- The list of tables has been removed

BOCD was the name given to the Somalia and Yemen offices of CIIR, the Catholiic Institute for International Relations. CIIR’s international programme is now known as International Cooperation for Development (ICD)

The 1987 version does not make any explicit or extensive references to clans and kinship, although these are the core features of Somali society and economy. This was because explicit discussion of their role was prohibited by the Syad Barre government and the 1987 report was produced via a project associated with the Municipality of Mogadishu. However, a linkage between people and their clan backgroundswas explored during the study by asking those interviewed during the household surveys where they had migrated from. All districts and regions, and their respective towns, have well know associations with particular clans

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

This study brings together two bodies of information:

- Original research carried out by the British Organisation for Community Development (B.O.C.D.), in association with the Municipality of Mogadishu, in the latter half of 1986.
- Other social and economic research carried out in Mogadishu since the 1960's.

1. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose is practical: to assist the planning and implementation of development programmes that will reach the most marginalised and disadvantaged groups within Mogadishu. It is hoped that the report will stimulate and guide some appropriate action by both development agencies and the relevant sections of the Somali Government.

We have focused on Mogadishu because it is the largest city in Somalia and accounts for at least 10.7% (1975 Census figure, MNP 1984:108) of the country's population. Up to now there have been no systematic attempts to analyse the nature and extent of disadvantage in Mogadishu.

As Rossi-Espagnet so aptly stated:

"The study of intra-urban differentials is in its infancy, so that people seldom realise that there are urban groups whose health conditions are in several ways worse than those of corresponding rural groups...Without wasting resources or burdening the system with unnecessary data, an effort must be made to delineate high risk areas and population groups, and to provide minimum, purposeful, properly disaggregated information that is sufficient to identify and illuminate the problems and to monitor change" (1984:42).

Although this statement was made in reference to health issues we consider that it applies equally well to the overall study of disadvantage in cities such as Mogadishu.

2. THE PERSPECTIVE

This report refers to disadvantage rather than poverty because it is a more encompassing term than poverty, which too often refers only to poverty of income and neglects other equally important forms of deprivation. We have adapted Chambers' (1983:108) concept of "clusters of disadvantage" as a means of classifying, in simple terms, the different forms that disadvantage may take. He refers to five forms of disadvantage, the expressions of which we have slightly reinterpreted:

1. Isolation: both geographical (from schools, hospitals, other services, jobs, markets) and social (from social acceptance and informal support networks).
2. Vulnerability: to disease (poor nutrition, crowding, lack of immunisation, insufficient water quantity and quality) income loss (high dependency ratios, lack of assets, temporary employment, lack of access to credit).
3. Physical Weakness: in the form of exhaustion, disease and enduring physical or mental disability.

4. Poverty: of income and assets.
5. Powerlessness: in the form of gender roles, illiteracy, ignorance, and isolation from political power.

In the course of our research a number of surveys have been carried out. In drawing up the questionnaires for those surveys, we have included indicators that we feel reflect each of these different forms of disadvantage. In the course of this report we have explained the rationale behind the choice of each of these indicators. Because disadvantages interact and disadvantage is frequently a compound experience some indicators will often in practice reflect more than one form of disadvantage. For instance, disabilities such as some forms of blindness can reflect the effects of isolation from adequate water supplies, isolation from health services, poverty of income and assets, and lack of access to education.

Discussion about disadvantage presupposes an idea of what the norm or average is, against which people's conditions can be compared. We have used two approaches to define what is normal in Mogadishu. In some cases we have used data from previous research which have come from survey samples taken from across the whole city. In other cases we have gathered new data by carrying out a survey in one area of the city which we regard as average or normal according to some basic indicators.

The area we have identified as average and used as a control is the district of Waaberi, specifically the middle two Xaafado (2 and 3, see Fig 1.1). The following indicators were the only ones we could initially obtain for all districts and thus use to make this judgement at the beginning of our research:

- the proportion of stone (sar) housing to non-stone housing (cariish, jiingad, baraako, waab). Indications were that Waaberi had almost equal proportions of stone and non-stone houses, which places it as a middle ranking district in comparison to the others, in terms of housing. The sample of households that were surveyed in Waaberi consisted of almost exactly the same proportions of these housing types (See Chapter 6: Housing Conditions, for further details on housing in Mogadishu).
- the number of children enrolled in primary school compared to the expected enrolment in the district. Waaberi is sixth highest in rank out of the 13 districts in Mogadishu.
- estimated population size of the district. Waaberi is by our estimation the 7th largest district of the 13 districts in the city.

Of course there are many other ways in which the districts of Mogadishu could be ranked, if the data were available and it was inevitable that Waaberi would be exceptional in some aspect or another. In what ways this was the case will be described later in the report. (See Chapter 4: The Demographic Context.) Nonetheless data for Waaberi have acted as a useful benchmark for the analysis of the city.

3. RESEARCH STRATEGY

Overall there have been three main components to our research:

1. Studies of households in apparently poor areas of Mogadishu.

2. Studies of groups regarded as visibly poor: beggars and street children.
3. Studies in poor areas of the city, of issues regarded as important and relevant to understanding people in both the above categories: women's income-earning activities and attitudes to education in poor areas of Mogadishu.

In gathering information we have tried to take complementary approaches. Survey data have been supplemented by case studies of individuals and households. As well as using our own categories we have tried to learn something of the terms and classifications that people already use in Mogadishu, when they consider poverty and disadvantage. Surveys of people living in "conventional" households (See Chapter 4: The Demographic Context) have been complemented by contact with people normally missed by such surveys - the homeless and outcast; street children, beggars and prostitutes, both on the streets and in institutions. We have been concerned with both the visibly poor and the poor who are not visible. In the space of six months some groups had to be missed out or only touched upon. We have gathered some data on the disabled (See Chapter 11) but these are not extensive. Omitted but not forgotten were the Tb patients, the mentally ill, those in the obbosibo areas (illegal settlements) of Hodon, Hawl Wadag and Wardhigley and other areas, and those in poor-quality rented housing in the richer districts of Mogadishu. More research remains to be done to understand the problems and circumstances of all of these groups.

3.1. The area surveys²

The areas of Mogadishu, which we have surveyed, are listed below:

1. A fifty year old obbosibo in Cabdulcasiis District, close to the centre of the city (Sections of Xaafado 1 and 2).
2. Xaafadda Heegan, a twenty five year old obbosibo in Yaqshiid District, midway to the edge of the city.
3. A five year old obbosibo on the edge of Laanta Halane and a similar settlement on the edge of Laanta Damme Yassin, both in Wadajir District on the south-western edge of the city.
4. Beesha Shukri (Gubadley), a two year old resettlement area for those who have been displaced from previous obbosibo areas in other parts of Mogadishu, located on the far edge of Karaan District, on the north-eastern end of the city.
5. Xaafado 2 and 3, the central areas of Waaberi District, the control area.

(See Fig. 1.1 for the location of these areas)

The aims of these area surveys were as follows:

1. To enable the different areas to be described and compared to make it clear which areas should be given priority when development assistance is being considered.
2. To provide a base line series of measures so that changing conditions in those areas can be monitored in the future.

² These surveys were of households, which have been defined as "one person or persons who live in the same place and share at least one meal per day". Heads of households (including female heads of households) were identified by asking the respondent "Who is the head of the household?" and ensuring that the person identified was living there at the time.

3. To enable a comparison of different economic and demographic groups that live within these areas. This information should be of use to organisations planning to do development work in such areas.
4. To provide a socio-economic profile of the people in the area to which participants in subsequent development programmes can be compared. The nature of participation in those programmes can then be monitored to see if the programmes are reaching the intended groups.
5. To provide additional descriptive information that will assist the planning and implementation of any development activities in those areas.

3.2 Studies of groups

Four groups of people were interviewed:

1. Street children, who worked and slept on the streets of Xamar Weyne, the centre of the city.
2. Children in the Militia Centre, at Afgooye, who in most cases had previously been street children living on the streets in Mogadishu. Ex-prostitutes who were also detained at the Militia Centre were interviewed at the same time.
3. Working children, who worked on the streets of Xamar Weyne and the Lido area but who lived with their families at night.
4. Beggars on the streets of Xamar Weyne and adjacent areas of Xamar Jab Jab.

(See Fig. 1.1, page 7, for the location of these areas)

3.3 Studies of issues

Two issues were investigated:

1. The nature of women's economic activities in a poor area of Mogadishu. This survey was carried out in Xaafadda 1 (Buulo Elay) of Waaberi and Xaafadda 3 in Xamar Jab Jab.
2. Parental attitudes to education and children's daily activities in a poor area of Mogadishu. This survey was carried out in Xaafadda Fanoole in Karaan District.

(See Fig. 1.1 for the location of these areas)

A major problem with much of the previous research that has been done in Mogadishu has been the loss of access to the original raw data that have been the basis on which the reports have been produced. This has meant that these data can never be reanalysed, possibly from a different perspective, at a later date. Loss of access to such data represents a substantial waste of money and a lost opportunity to learn about trends over time.

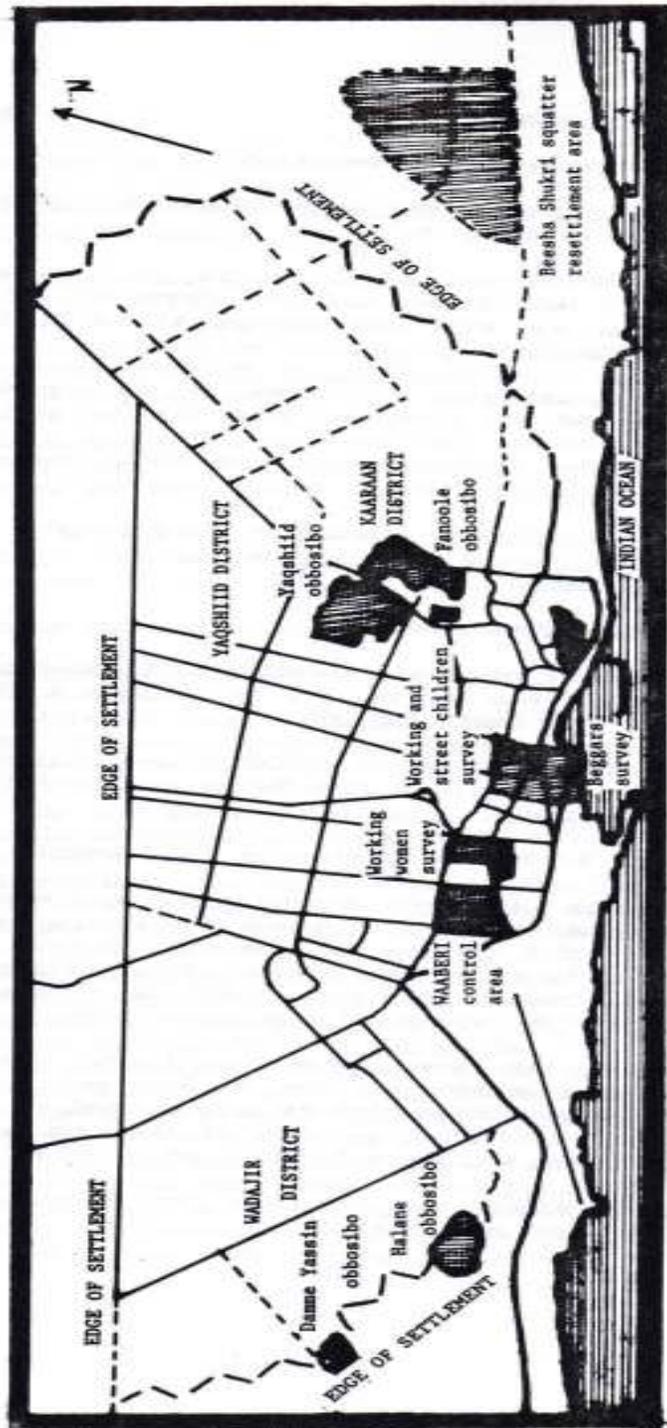
For this reason, and because of our own limited time and resources available to analyse the data we have gathered, we have put on computer disc all raw data gathered from the surveys that we have carried out. Thus this report should be read not as a conclusive analysis of the

data we have gathered but as an initial exploration which can be continued by others in the future³.

--oOo--

³ See Appendices 1.1 to 1.5 for details of sampling procedures, questionnaires and data storage

Fig.1 - The location of areas and groups surveyed.



Chapter 2: ONE FAMILY IN MOGADISHU

Much of this report is quantitative and analytic in its approach. However our central concern is about the lives of real people. What follows is a description of one family in Mogadishu. They are not meant to represent an average family: by Mogadishu standards they are poor, but not destitute.

MUUSE⁴ AND HIS FAMILY

1. History

Muuse was born in a village, near Marka, Shabelle Hoose Region, in 1927. Before he came to Mogadishu he worked as a farmer, growing maize and sesame on two hectares of land that he rented. He also worked on a banana plantation nearby, which was owned by an Italian. There he worked as a foreman, supervising other men who picked bananas. The major part of his income came from the crops he produced on his farm. Muuse received some assistance from the Italian who let him plough his land using the tractor and plough that belonged to the plantation. This significantly reduced the amount of labour Muuse had to put into preparing his own land.

At that time he lived in a mundul (a round one-roomed hut with mud and stick walls and grass roof) with his wife and young son. Later he divorced that wife because she could not bear him any more children. He then married again, this time to Xawa whose family had come from near Buur Hakaaba in Bay region. Before she had married she had been doing farm work.

In 1966, at the age of 39, he had malaria and so decided to come to Martini Hospital in Mogadishu for treatment. Around the same time his Italian employer had committed suicide because of financial problems, and so Muuse was left without the support he had depended on in the past. When he came to Mogadishu he stayed with a relative in Boondheere, who worked as a mechanic.

After two months he managed to find a job as a watchman at the house of an Italian nearby, through a friend he knew from his village. He immediately moved out of his relative's house and into a large single room he had rented in a stone house in the same district. His family came to Mogadishu and moved in with him. For the next twenty years Muuse worked as a watchman for a succession of foreigners, transferring from job to job. The longest period he was out of work was for three months in 1981.

2. Household and Housing

Muuse and Xawa now have three daughters: Sahra aged 21, Amina aged 18, Habiiba aged 12 and a son Cabdi, aged 17.

Muuse lives day and night at the house that he guards. His wife and children all live in a district two kilometres away, near a major market. Xawa, Habiiba and Cabdi now live in one room of a cariish (a rectangular mud and stick walled dwelling with an iron roof). They share that room with two others, Fartuun, Muuse's cousin who is aged and blind, and Hodon, Xawa's sister's daughter. In the second room in the same cariish Amina lives with her husband and two children. At the moment they are sharing their room with three brothers of her husband, who

⁴ All names in this case study are pseudonyms

normally work as farmers near Jowhar. In a room in a second cariish in the compound, Sahra lives with her husband and one child.

In the second and third cariish in the compound there are four other rooms, each occupied by a separate family. There is also a two room sar (a house with stone and cement walls and iron roof) occupied by the landlord. As well as earning income from the rental of the carshaan rooms he also has a shop in the neighbourhood.

Muuse pays the rent on three rooms: the one his wife uses and the two others used by his daughters and their families, a total of 1,500/- per month. All of the rooms have earthen floors and are without electricity. There is one tap in the compound which the landlord lets each household use, on a limited basis, for an extra 100/- per month.

3. Employment

Muuse receives a monthly wage of 5,250/- plus his medical costs. To earn this he must stay at the house he guards both day and night. Xawa brings his food to him each day.

Xawa earns money in two ways. She is a salaaxid, a person who repairs the walls of carshaan. Because they are made of mud (sometimes mixed with cow dung or cement) and sticks they need to be repaired at least once a year. Most of her clients for this work are in her neighbourhood. The money from this work goes directly into daily house costs. She also earns money husking and grinding maize and other grains. She does this for local women at the costs of 2/- per green coconut oil can (koombo). She normally does 20 a day but she can do up to 40. It is the time it takes rather than the limited demand that determines the maximum she can earn from this activity.

Sahra, her eldest daughter, sometimes sells cigarettes, sweets and peanuts on the street alongside the market nearby. Her husband is a building labourer, who is always looking for work, from place to place.

Amina, the second daughter, and her husband are earning no income at present. Her husband is an cariish builder. He finds less work now because the costs of the raw material, especially the sticks needed for the walls, have gone up and fewer people are building this type of housing.

Cabdi, the son, was working as a building construction labourer, until recently, earning 150/- a day. This work is never regular and he can only find it if he keeps in touch with the builders he knows. He started work as an apprentice at the age of 12, earning 60/- per week. Most recently Cabdi has been helping his father with his work as a guard, while he was sick.

Habiiba, the youngest daughter, works with her mother in the house and sometimes goes out to the street selling cigarettes, sweets and peanuts like Sahra.

Hodon earns some income by making and selling mats.

Yusuf, Muuse's first son, aged 32, rents another house less than a kilometer away. He works as a carpenter and recently has been trying to get the documents necessary to go to Saudi Arabia. He has a family of his own to support.

4. Fuel and Food Expenditure

All three rooms of people eat together as one household. Most days Xawa and Habiiba do the shopping from the local market. They use charcoal for cooking and are able to cook three times a day. The fuel costs 30/- a day. All the food they eat is bought daily, including non-perishable items such as oil, sugar, and grains. Xawa says that on a normal day they would spend 400/- on food. This must feed twelve people (three of which are young children) plus any guests. This is equivalent to approximately 33/- per person per day. Normally they eat cambuulo, a mixture of maize and beans, and tea or Somali coffee for breakfast. At lunch some eat soor, a maize porridge, and others rice or pasta, along with a soup/sauce made of tomatoes, onion and a very small piece of meat. They rarely eat meat as a separate dish. When the food is not enough for everyone, they supplement it with bread.

The water each household can take from the tap in the compound is limited by the landlord to three aashuuno per day (= 24 litres). They also buy 3 to 4 extra ashuun a day at 2/- per aashuuno from standpipe or sometimes from a donkey cart.

5. Health

Xawa has had seven children altogether. Three of them have died, at the ages of 2,3, and 4 from "fever". At each birth she called for the assistance of an umuliso (traditional midwife) from nearby. Xawa herself helped with the births of her two daughters' children. For health problems the women in the compound use the MCH in Yaqshiid. They do not go to the hospital.

Muuse is now very ill, though he is still at work. He has been diagnosed by an expatriate doctor as having cardiac myopathy, a degenerative heart disease. In the last six months he has grown short of breath and his face has become swollen and puffy because of oedema associated with the condition. His health is dependent on drugs that his employer is buying for him from a pharmacy in Mogadishu.

6. Education.

Nobody in the family has been to a government school. Muuse says the books and clothes and other costs are too much for them to afford. Cabdi has had two years Koranic education. No one else has been to Koranic School. Nobody in the family is able to read or write.

7. Other Services

Xawa always travels by foot except when she has to go long distances, and only then does she use public transport. The family disposes of the household rubbish by carrying it themselves to a Municipal container half a kilometre away.

8. Support Networks

Muuse's family receive no support from their kin in their home village, nor do they, as a rule, give support to their kin there. Muuse only gives to people in his village when someone has died. Muuse says also that they do not receive any support from their relatives here in Mogadishu.

His family are most likely to get support from neighbours when they are having celebrations of one kind or another. At those times the leftover food is often sent to households like theirs, or

they may even be invited to eat with the family that is holding the celebration.

On certain days of the year meals are prepared at the local mosque as part of annual religious celebrations. All are entitled to eat at those celebrations. In addition every Friday a basket is taken around the mosque to collect money for the poor. The poorest usually wait outside and the Imaan dispenses some of that money to them. (It is not a large amount for each individual.) Muuse's family are not amongst those who seek assistance from the mosque.

Xawa belongs to a hagbad (a rotating credit group) which has 34 members. The members contribute 200/- every Friday. Xawa uses the money she earns from husking grains to make this contribution. She joined this hagbad three months ago. It has just completed a cycle of payments. The members use the hagbad to make the savings necessary to purchase items such as clothing, food, eating utensils and mattresses. Xawa thinks none of the members has a bank account. The women who belong to the hagbad all live in the local area, but they come from a variety of types of houses.

Xawa has always belonged to a hagbad. If she could afford to, she would join others. She knows other women who belong to three. She thinks she is the poorest in her hagbad. She says the main value of the hagbad is that you can call on it in case of emergencies. Your turn can be brought forward. There is a treasurer and a separate committee that deals with such requests. There are no problems of payments. "It is very organised", she says.

In the area where Muuse's family live there are frequent "self help" collections (iska wax u qabso) organised by the local authorities. There were two in the previous month. The day before the interview Xawa payed 27/- for the Banaadir Sports team. The rate she has to pay is determined by type and tenure of the house she is living in.

9. The past and the future.

Now Muuse finds it more difficult to live on his salary. His health has deteriorated again, and though he has had an operation he is still not well. He says that although he would like to, he has not been able to have any more children because he is both a day and night watchman, living almost permanently at his workplace. His main worry is insecurity of tenure. The landlord wants his family to move out so he can increase the rent. Muuse has no preferences for any other area of Mogadishu than his own. It is the only area he knows. All his wife's clients are there. As far as the immediate future is concerned, his son Cabdi has just recently become engaged and will soon be married. At the moment they are looking for money so they can buy him a bed.

10. How Muuse identifies people as poor

"Their clothes are worn out"

"Their face shows fatigue and strain"

"Their body movements are slow"

"They live in an cariish or aqal, which may be covered by paper, tins and bags"

"They only eat two meals a day at the most"

"The food they eat is soor and a tea and one or two bits of bread. The only meat they will eat are the entrails, head and lower limbs of the animal"

"They will have no mattresses, instead they will use a mat"

"They will have very few cooking utensils. They will use clay pots instead of aluminium"

and a big wooden spoon and no other cutlery"

The life of Muuse and his family is not so far removed from this description he has given.

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TWO AND A HALF YEARS LATER: One Family In Mogadishu In 1988⁵

The story of the family of Muuse and Xawa described above was based on interviews carried out in April and May 1986. In December 1986 Muuse died from heart disease. In May 1988 Xawa went to Saudi Arabia. The information below is based on interviews with their eldest daughter, Sahra, in December 1988.

Household and Housing

In 1987 Sahra's family had to move out of their old compound because the landlord wanted to knock down all the arshaan and build a sar covering the whole bos (a local unit of land).

Sahra and the rest of her household now live in two cariish rooms in the compound across the street from where they used to live in 1986. These rooms cost them a total of 2,000/- per room per month, a 300% increase on what they had to pay in late 1986. The CPI housing costs component during the same period increased by 155%.

However they now have a better water supply than before. The landlord does not restrict the amount of water they can take from the tap in the compound, in the way that their previous landlord did. When the water bill arrives each month the landlord shows it to everyone and it is then divided up between the families in the compound, in equal amounts. Last month Sahra paid 350/- for the water her household used.

The compound also has the advantage in that there are two latrines compared to one in the previous compound. Like the previous compound there is no electricity in the compound at all. All households use kerosene for lighting

In the compound there are 6 cariish rooms and 4 sar rooms altogether. The landlord lives in two cariish rooms, Sahra's household rents two cariish rooms and the other six rooms are rented by six other families. There are eight households in the compound altogether.

Sahra's household now consists of 9 people, two of whom are guests. They are as follows:

- Sahra, her husband Maxammed, their three children Faduma (6), Axmed (4), and Maxammuud (3), who live in one room;
- Her sister Maano, her fathers aged cousin Jamiilo, and two guests Abdi and Aweys, live in the other room.

Sahra's other sister Amina, her husband Abdi and their two children Asho (4) and Maxammed

⁵ Based on an interview, assisted by Abdi Dahir Ali Herse, in December 1988

(3) now live (and cook for themselves) in another house nearby.

Employment

In May 1988 Xawa went on the Hadj. In Jeddah she found work with a Sudanese family as a babysitter for five months. But for the last two months she has been unemployed. She is now staying with an aunt in Jeddah who is supporting her. While staying there she has communicated with Sahra every month by cassette tape.

Xawa organised help from various sources to get her ticket and documents for the trip to Saudi Arabia. The ticket cost 98,000/-. Another 10,000/- was needed to get all the documents (passport, ID card etc), purchased through a "black market". Her brothers in Bur Hakaba sold a cow. She sold Muuse's watch (4,000/-), his radio and two beds. Sahra gave her 15,000/- saved from her wages. Xawa also had 25,000/- left from Muuse's pension payment paid to her by his employer after he died.

Now Xawa wants to return. She has no job and "no one there speaks maymay" (her Bay region Somali dialect). Also she cannot speak Arabic. Sahra however wants Xawa to stay and to find another job so she can help support the family back in Mogadishu. So far all Xawa has been able to do is send some clothes for the family's own use (none have been sold). Sahra is also concerned that when Xawa returns many friends and relatives will come to the house expecting to be given something by Xawa.

In July 1986 Sahra was given a job as a cleaner by an expatriate who used to work for the same organisation that employed Muuse as a guard. When she started this work she was receiving 3,000/- per month. Now, more than two years later she is paid 6,500/- per month. However during the same time the Consumer Price Index has risen by 189%, versus the 116% increase in her wage⁶.

Maxammed, her husband spends part of his time in the city and part in the country. For some months of the year he lives and works in Xawadle, near Balcad. There he owns a small piece of land (1 waas or 1 hectare). On this he grows maize, tomatoes, and beans. After each harvest he brings his produce to Siinay Market to be sold in one lot. Although he has a bakhaar (underground grain store) he only uses this to store grain for consumption. When he is living in the city he finds work as a builder of arshaan. For a one room arish, which takes a day to build he can earn 2,000/- for himself and 1,000/- for a laborer assistant. The problem with this sort of work is that it is not easy to find, sometimes it may only be available once a week. Sahra says that it is the income of her husband that is the most important for the family.

Maano, works at home looking after Sahra's children and doing the cooking.

Jamiilo stays at home and looks after the very youngest children. When Muuse died she was blind and needed help with such tasks as going to the toilet. Before Muuse died the expatriate doctor who he knew advised him that Jamiilo be taken to the eye clinic in Afgoye. Sahra and her husband did this and they were told she should come back in six months time. This they did, this time paying 5,000/- covertly in so that they would be "given a number" and so that the delay before an operation could take place would be minimised. They spent another 10,000/- on a pair of glasses for her. Now she can see poorly through one eye, without the aid of glasses and quite well with the same eye when using glasses. Instead of depending on the help of someone

⁶ Sahra's salary has since been increased.

she is now able to take responsibility for the care of the youngest child in the household. She is too old and weak to care for older children.

Amina has not been earning income from any source over the last two years. Before then she had tried selling cigarettes but she stopped after being arrested on one occasion by police. She has not tried any other small trading activities because "the profits are too small".

Her husband, Abdi, is still working as a building construction laborer. Nowadays he is earning 400-500/- per day, but he cannot always find work. When out of work he goes to building sites and to people he knows in the trade looking for work opportunities.

The two guests, Aweys and Abdi, have been with the household for seven months. Aweys is Xawa's brother and Abdi is her son from her first marriage, before she married Muuse. They both work as watchmen for Somali families in Kaasa Bobulaare and Karaan. They work both day and night because the families they work for are small and need someone around during the day time as well as the night. Their wages consist of three meals a day plus a salary (possibly 5,000/- a month). It is only on Fridays, their day off, that they stay with Sahra's household. When the rains come next year they will return to Bur Hakaba where they both have a farm, and where their wives and children are living.

Abdi now lives in Janaale, near Merca. After Muuse died he married a girl from Janaale and shortly afterwards she returned there to live. Sahra sent him there shortly afterwards, saying she could no longer afford to support him. In Mogadishu he had worked as a building construction worker, but he stopped doing that because, Sahra says, "he was too weak for the work". At one stage he started to drink alcohol and this was one further reason why Sahra sent him to Janaale.

Now he is renting 1 waas of land along with 4 other people in Janaale. On that land they are growing "maize, sesame, tomatoes, beans and watermelon".

Mumino, the daughter of Xawa's sister who was living with them two years ago is now in Baydhabo. After Muuse died Sahra told her that she could not support her and she would have to return to her parents in Baydhabo. They have a farm and a shop there.

Cumar, Muuse's first son, is still working as a carpenter. Although he was trying to get to Saudi Arabia this plan did not materialise. After Muuse died he rented a room in the Sinay Market, in the carpenters area. From there he sells the items of furniture that he makes. In the past he was given some support by Muuse. Since Muuse died he has not had any contact with the rest of the family, "not even to greet us", nor has he given the family any support.

When asked why no one in the household was involved in trading activities Sahra again cited the risks of arrest. When asked about doing husking or repair of carish as Xawa used to do Sahra said she did not know how to do that work, and then said "we dont want to do that type of work". When asked what other type of business they might like to do Sahra said "I dont know how to do any business".

Loans And Gifts

Although Xawa used to belong to a hagbad no one in the family now belongs to one. The reason given is that no one is earning money each day which they can put into a hagbad. "We need it all for consumption", Sahra says.

The only loans which they take are in the form of food from a nearby shop which they can take and pay for later when they have the money. This has a cost however, they have to pay 20/- more per kilo for the things they take on advance. They have not given any loans to anyone in the last two months.

They have not received any support (kaalmo) from either side of their family in the last year. The most important source of support has been from their neighbours especially those who are in the same compound as them. Every day they can borrow or even expect to be given small amounts of money to meet immediate needs or in turn they may have to give the same help to others in the compound. Some people in the compound are better off than they are, others are poorer, the poorest ones are those who can only get temporary work.

The only other people they have supported other than their neighbours have been Cabdi and his mother in law in Janaale and Xawa's aunts in Janaale. But this has only been on an occasional basis.

Household Expenditure

Maano does the daily shopping for the household. Milk, rice, tomatoes, meat, bananas, beans, bread, sugar and green leaf vegetables are bought daily. Oil and charcoal are bought in bulk quantities (a tin and a bag respectively).

In the morning they eat liver, bread and tea. At lunch they eat rice, meat (in the form of suugo), vegetables and bananas. On other days they substitute rice with pasta or soor (maize porridge). At night time they eat muufo, marak and tea, and on every other night they eat beans instead of muufo.

Sahra says the daily food expenditure for the household is now 1,000/- (fuel and water costs are excluded). On a gross level food expenditure has not kept up with inflation (a 150% increase versus inflation of 189%). However when viewed on a per head basis the household appears to have more money available for food. In early 1986 the household was spending 33/- per head whereas now it spends 142/-, a 330% increase. This seems to have come about through a substantial reduction in the size of the household. Since early 1986 the following people have left the household: Mumino (went to Baydhabo), Jeylani (went to Janaali) and Xawa (went to Saudi Arabia). In addition Amina and her family (now eat seperately).

The only durable goods which the household have bought in the last two years were two beds, for 10,000/- each. At the time of Jeylani's marriage they tried to buy him a bed but because it was just after Muuse's death they were unable to find the money necessary.

Health

The main event in the last two years was the death of Muuse. In the month before his death Muuse stayed at home with his family and Cabdi took over his work as a watchman, on a temporary basis. The swelling in his face went away, his face and chested wasted rapidly and his legs became swollen with oedema. He could only move with great difficulty, and only with the assistance of others. Most of the day he either sat in an armchair the compound yard or lay on his bed.

In late 1986 Sahra delivered her fourth child. In September the next year she took the child to the Yaqshiid MCH. There he received his first round of immunisation plus "a sample of blood

was taken" from his wrist "for testing" (probably BCG vaccination). Two nights later a swelling developed at both sites, followed shortly by a fever. The next day he developed jadeeco (measles). Eight days later he died. Sahra now believes it was the immunisation that killed her child, and says she will not immunise any of her children in the future.

All Sahra's previous children had been immunised fully without any problems occurring. Sahra first took her children to the MCH for immunisation as a result of a visit being made to her house by a MCH staff member while she was still pregnant. She was given a green card and told to bring it to the MCH with her child after she delivered. She says the only reason she went to the MCH in the past was for immunisation. Although her child died "from the immunisation" all the neighbours are still immunising their children, she says. Both Amina's children have been immunised, but at the Boondheere MCH.

Sahra is now pregnant and expects to deliver within the week. She will be using a neighbour of Amina's who is a midwife working at Banadir Hospital. The fee will be 2,000/- plus the costs of 2 injections - one to "make the delivery hurry up" and the other to stop the bleeding afterwards.

Education

Amina's eldest child is now going to Koranic school but no one in the family is going to government school.

The Future

Sahra's first concern about the future is that Xawa stays in Saudi Arabia, so she can find work and provide some support for the family in Mogadishu. In the coming weeks Sahra will be trying to accumulate some money to pay for the costs of a **xus**⁷ for her dead father and grandmother, due in December. In the more distant future Sahra hopes that the family might be able to find enough money to buy some land, and build a carishi, in the obbosibo behind Sheik Muheddin Mosque in Kaaraan.

She is interested in this area because the land is cheaper than in legal areas of settlement, it is close to the centre of the city and has good access to water and public transport. Also there are more people there from her part of the country whereas she knows few people in the Wadajir obbosibo areas.

Sahra's first concern for her children's future is their religious education. She wants them all to go to Koranic school and then when they are aged 12 she will send them to a government school for three to four years, just to learn how to read and write in Somali. Although her father never wanted any of the girls in the family to go to school Sahra wants both boys and girls to go to school.

As far as the future of her children after they go to school, Sahra says "its not my business, They will make up their own minds". However when asked what she would like to see them doing she said she would like one to become a driver in Mogadishu, one to go overseas and become "a teacher or doctor" and her daughter to stay here and get married. At the moment Sahra has only three children but she would like to have at least 10. Boys are best she says, because they stay and support with the family when they get older, whereas the girls leave and become part of

⁷ An annual remembrance of the death of a family member, involving the slaughter of a goat and dikri (group recital of praises to God)

their husband's family.

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Corrections To The 1986 Account

Cabdi did go to government school for three years, and as a result he can read and write in Somali. Sahra's husband was a cariish builder in 1986 and Amina's husband was a building construction worker, not the other way around. It appears that Muuse had three wives altogether. He divorced his first wife after tens years of marriage without any children being born. His second wife gave him one child and his third wife (Xawa) gave him four.

Queries Concerning The 1988 Account

The interpreter⁸ who helped with the 1986 interview has queried the statement by Sahra that her household is now spending 1,000/- a day on food. His query is based on his views of the behaviour of the group that Sahra's family belong to. He also queries the claim that they eat liver for breakfast, saying that many more middle class families cannot afford to do so, let alone Sahra's family. He remembers seeing Muuse eating offal and says this is typical of this group and that this is probably still the main type of meat the family is eating. My own view is that the food expenditure may be overstated but I cannot give any specific reasons why I feel this. Looking back on the 1986 interview I also wonder if the food expenditure then was not understated!

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⁸ Abdi Dahir Ali Hersi

Chapter 3: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. MOGADISHU BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The best general source on the history of Mogadishu is "*Mogadishu, Somalia: Geographic Aspects of its Evolution, Population, Function and Morphology*" by William Daniel Puzo, published in 1972 (Puzo 1972). An account of some of the major events that have been part of the history of Mogadishu has been taken from this source and summarised below:

Beginning from the early 10th century, according to a majority of writers (Puzo, 1972:19), a succession of migrants from the Yemen, Oman and Persia settled the area now known as Xamar Weyne. By the 1300's Mogadishu had become the most prominent arab trading centre on the east African coast between Lamu and Socotra. The items traded at that time included ivory, sandalwood, ebony and amber (Puzo, 1972:16,24). One reason suggested for the rise of Mogadishu was its location close to the point where the Shabelle river turns away from its course towards the coast and then follows the coastline south. The Shabelle river valley was for centuries a corridor down which the people of the interior came to the coastal areas and Mogadishu was the nearest port on the coast from the river valley.

Mogadishu's period of greatest prosperity is thought to have been from the 14th to the 16th century. Ibn Battuta, the great Muslim traveller of the Middle Ages, visited the city in 1331 and was impressed with its size and the hospitality of its inhabitants. Revoil (quoted in Puzo, 1972:25) estimated that during that period the city covered at least six square kilometres. At that time, Mogadishu was the meeting place of caravans coming down the Shabelle and Jubba rivers from the Ethiopian highlands and trading ships coming from as far afield as China, Egypt and Syria. The primary export to the north was a cotton cloth, identified by the name of Mogadishu.

During this period of expansion and prosperity the population of Mogadishu changed in character. Beginning in the 13th century, the Ajuran settled in and then became a major group in Xamar Weyne. By the 16th century Xamar Weyne ("great city" in Somali) had become a Somali section while Shangani ("on the sand" in Swahili) which had emerged as a separate area during this time, remained purely arabic in character.

From the 16th century onwards Mogadishu's economy went into decline. This seems to have been associated with the growing Portuguese dominance over trade in the Indian ocean and Mogadishu's exclusion from the new trading networks that had arisen. In the early 17th century the Ajuran influence in Mogadishu was displaced by the Abgal. This change is also thought to have contributed to the decline in the city's prominence as a trading centre.

Throughout the 18th century there are few references in the literature to Mogadishu. The city seemed to reach its nadir during this period. But in the 19th century this period of relative isolation came to an end. In 1828 the Sultan of Oman asserted control over Mogadishu and much of the Somali coast. In 1842 he sent a representative and two soldiers to collect tax from the city but otherwise his rule had relatively little impact on the life of the city. Only in the 1870's did the Sultan of Oman, who by this time was also the Sultan of Zanzibar, build a Garesa (fortress) to house his troops and representative, but that was the limit to which he established his presence in Mogadishu.

In the second half of the 19th century a large number of slaves were brought into the lower Shabelle area and associated with this was an expansion of agricultural production. Whereas the main exports from the city in the early part of the century had been ivory, aromatic woods,

gums and myrrh, by the 1890's durra, sesame products, cotton and other agricultural products had become the major exports (Cassanelli 1982:160,161). At this time Mogadishu was also well known for the cloth which was manufactured in the city and exported overseas, although this declined in volume in the latter part of the century owing to competition from American imports. A significant amount of this production was by the slave sections of the city's population. (It has been estimated that by the 1870's, when Mogadishu's population was thought to be around 6,000, that 3,000 were slaves and ex-slaves. (Puzo 1972:53))

2. MOGADISHU IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In 1888 the Italians began to establish their influence on the Somali coast, beginning with Obbiyo protectorate, and then Mijertainia. By the end of 1889 all of the Somali coast from Cape Guardafui to the Jubba river, with the exceptions of the Zanzibari city enclaves on the coast (Warsheik, Mogadishu, Baraawa, Marka) were declared to be under Italian control. By 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar had granted the concession of the Banaadir ports to Italy as represented by the Royal Italian East African Company.

In 1905, following scandals associating the company with slavery, the Italian government officially purchased the Banaadir ports from the Sultan of Zanzibar. This act finalised the establishment of Italian claims over all the territory between Bosasso and the River Jubba. By 1908 Mogadishu was no longer just one of a number of trading towns along the coast dependent for its wealth on a hinterland that was often not under its own control. It had officially become the administrative capital of the colony known as Somalia Italiana.

Associated with the extension of Italian government control over Mogadishu in 1905, 1,300 slaves were given their freedom by the Italian authorities. In the years that followed the larger part of the ex-slave population left the city and settled in agricultural communities along the Shabelle river.

By 1914 Mogadishu's population was estimated to be approximately 12,000. Eight years later it was estimated to be still the same. Puzo has suggested two reasons for this apparent stagnation: the outbreak of bubonic plague in the city and the continued emigration of the former slave element of the population (Puzo 1972:67).

By the mid-1920's, according to official statistics, the city had begun a period of rapid growth. This growth was partly associated with the extension of road and rail links into the Shabelle river valley.

By this time three new areas of the city had developed:

- Villagio Arabo, which is now officially known as the District of Shibis (the coastal side),
 - Bur Karole, a sand hill south-west of the old part of Xamar Weyne and now part of the District of Xamar Jab Jab (literally "broken Xamar"),
 - Wardhigley (the name at the time), the coastal side of the present District of Boondheere.
- A major part of this growth was a result of the influx into Mogadishu of people from Obbiyo, Meregh and Hafun in the area of Somalia previously known as Mijurtainia (Puzo 1972:68). Some of the early squatter settlements noted on the edge of Mogadishu were inhabited by these immigrants, who at the time were seen as amongst the poorest in the city (Stefanini, 1922 cited in Puzo 1972:66).

In 1929 the first town plan was formulated. People living in aqallo (portable houses used by nomads) and other dwellings made of wood in and around Xamar Weyne were forced out to the periphery of the city. Major streets were established along the beachfront and between (and through) Shangani and Xamar Weyne. A number of major buildings were planned and built including the Office of the Governor, the Cathedral, sporting grounds, an Italian school, and the Arch of Triumph.

By 1933 the population had reached approximately 33,000. A substantial proportion (32%) of this population was "semi-nomadic", according to the census taken in 1931 (Puzo 1972:69). The 1930's saw a period of major growth stimulated by Italian commercial and government investment in the colony. During this period Mogadishu was taking on the role of port and administrative centre not only for southern Somalia but also for territory under the control of Ethiopia to which the Italians had laid claim. Amongst the settled population the main source of employment was government service, a feature of Mogadishu's economy that has remained until the present day. In 1936 the Municipality of Mogadishu was officially established by the Italian authorities.

In the late 1930's the city expanded into new areas:

- Bur Karole expanded to an area now occupied by the bus depots near Ceel Gaab, which became known as Iskararun.
- Reer Manyo, predominantly a fishing village, was established in the District known as Cabdulcasiis. This was also known during this time as Campo Amhara, after the Ethiopian troops stationed there by the Italians.
- Areas of the present District of Wardhigley, inland from the present Villa Somalia, were settled.

(See Fig. 3.1 for a map of the city's expansion from 1100 to 1968.)

By 1935 Mogadishu's population had grown to 50,000 and by 1939 to 72,000 (Puzo 1972:77). It was at this period that government expenditures reached their highest levels and the numbers of Italians present in the city reached a record high. By 1939, it has been estimated that there were 20,000 Italians in Mogadishu, a substantial proportion of whom were military personnel (Puzo 1972:77). That year a second town plan had been drawn up to cope with the city's rapid expansion.

This growth however was soon brought to a sudden halt. In 1941, as part of the Second World War, British troops invaded Somalia and took over control of Mogadishu from the Italians. All state enterprises set up by the Italians in the 30's were either dismantled or sold to Somali merchants. Included in this process was the railroad to Afgooye, oil storage facilities and some industrial plant. At the same time the British authorities actively encouraged the emigration of Italians from the city. (Puzo estimates that 17,000 Italians emigrated from Mogadishu during the war.) During the war and during the post-war period the British did not see their role as anything more than that of caretakers. "Mogadishu and Somalia were in a temporary state of suspension" (Puzo 1972:83). Given their destruction of what little infrastructure the city already possessed, others might see their role in more critical terms.

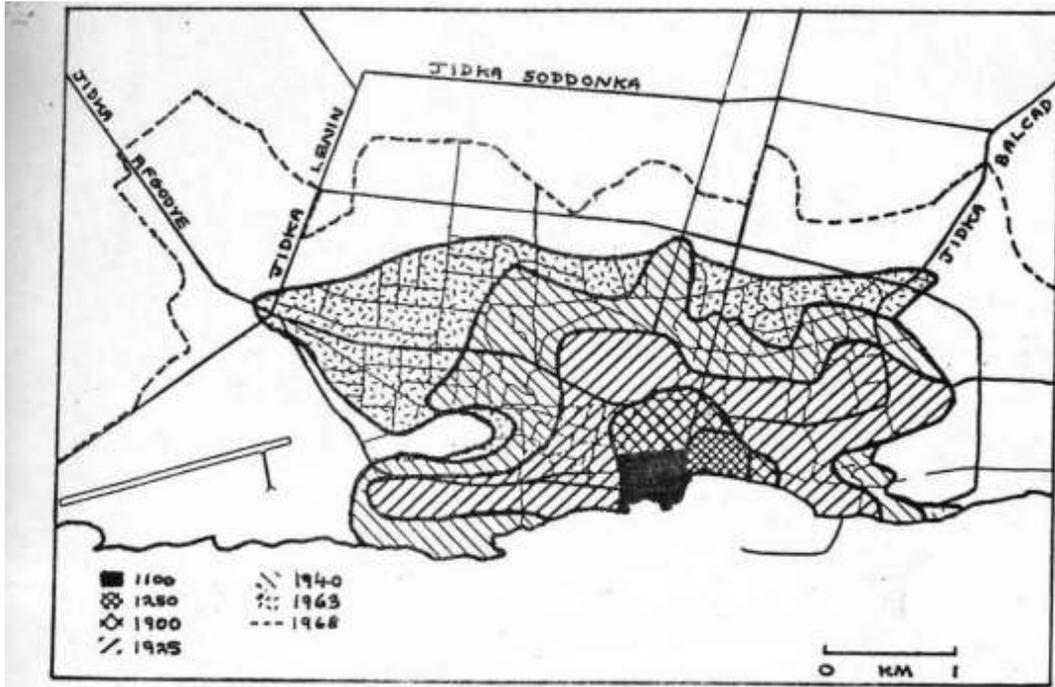


Fig 3.1: The expansion of Muqdisho 1100 to 1968 (after Puzo 1972:215

Britain held control of Somalia until December 1950 when the United Nations gave Italy UN Trusteeship of Somalia for a period of 10 years. During this period Mogadishu continued to suffer from neglect as it had under British control. The investment that did flow into Somalia was directed mainly into the agricultural sector which was dominated by Italian interests.

The neglect of the city by the colonial powers during and after the war was associated with a virtual stagnation in the growth of the city's population. Puzo (1972:81-82) estimates that this, which was approximately 70,000 in 1942, was almost the same in 1955. Only in the late 1950's did the city's growth resume, so that by 1960 the population was approximately 90,000. (By that time Mogadishu had been split into four Districts: Xamar Weyne, Shangani, Boondheere and Shibis.)

In 1960 Italian control of Somalia was relinquished and Somalia achieved its Independence. In the same year the first Somali Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Mogadishu were elected and a Local Government Council was established for the city. Although political independence had been achieved the Somali economy was still very much tied into the economy of Italy. Economic independence was yet to come.

One foreign observer visiting Mogadishu in the 1960's made the following critical observation on the impact of the 60 years of Italian presence:

"Virtually no Somali was trained by them and after sixty years of Italian rule or direct influence there existed in Somalia at that time one Somali doctor, one magistrate, no

engineers, lawyers, vets, accountants, architects or even plumbers or electricians. In consequence, though Somalia was an independent republic her whole economy was shackled to that of Italy and she remained a commercial lackey to that country. Whilst providing tied markets for Somalia's exports of bananas and, to a lesser extent, hides, Italy paid for these commodities in 'blocked lira', which prevented Somalia from exchanging this currency on the open market but forced her to purchase goods solely from Italy." (Travis 1967:23).

[Lewis however points out that by the late 1950's there was a Technical and Commercial Institute, and a Higher Institute of Law and Economics operating in Mogadishu, and that by 1958 334 students from Somalia had completed further training in Italy (Lewis 1961:283)]

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Chapter 4: THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

1. THE POPULATION OF MOGADISHU

Estimates of the size of the city vary greatly. For 1983 the EEC (EEC 1984) estimated the city's population as 650,000 whereas the Municipality of Mogadishu's estimate for the same year was 1,200,000 (Awal 1983:4).

Our own estimates of the population in December 1985 range from 518,000 to 605,000. These estimates are based on projections from two types of data:

- a. Numbers of births at Banaadir Hospital in 1983.
- b. Household counts carried out in June 1985 and mid-1986.

(all chronologically adjusted, see Appendix 4.1 for the basis of the calculations)

It seems unlikely that there will be a clear consensus on the population of Mogadishu in the near future. Although a census was conducted of the city's population in 1986 as part of the national census it is unlikely that the result will be available for the next few years. (The results of the 1975 census were not published until January 1984.) Even if the results are published within a shorter period of time it is still possible that they will be ambiguous. The 1975 census produced two population figures for Mogadishu: 350,000 and 450,000 (MNP 1984:107). Shortly after the census in 1975 "there was food rationing in Mogadishu" (MNP 1984:39) and the demand for food was found to be substantially higher than would have been indicated by the original census figure for Mogadishu (350,000). A recount based on enumeration of households and multiplying by a figure of 5 (people per household) was then carried out and the population figure was adjusted upwards to 450,000.

Some idea of the plausibility of the various population figures for Mogadishu can be obtained by examining past population figures and growth rates.

2. THE GROWTH OF MOGADISHU

Using data available up to the end of the 1960's, including his own field research, Puzo (1972:141) estimated Mogadishu's growth rate over the last century to be as shown in Fig 4.1.

Comment has already been made in Chapter 3: The Historical Background, on the population growth of Mogadishu in the period until Independence. For the period between 1950 and 1970 Puzo (1972:147) estimated that the average annual growth rate was 7% (non-compounding). During that time, the period of most rapid growth was in the 1960's when according to his estimates the growth rate was between 10% to 12 %, making Mogadishu one of, if not the, fastest growing urban centres in Africa at that time.

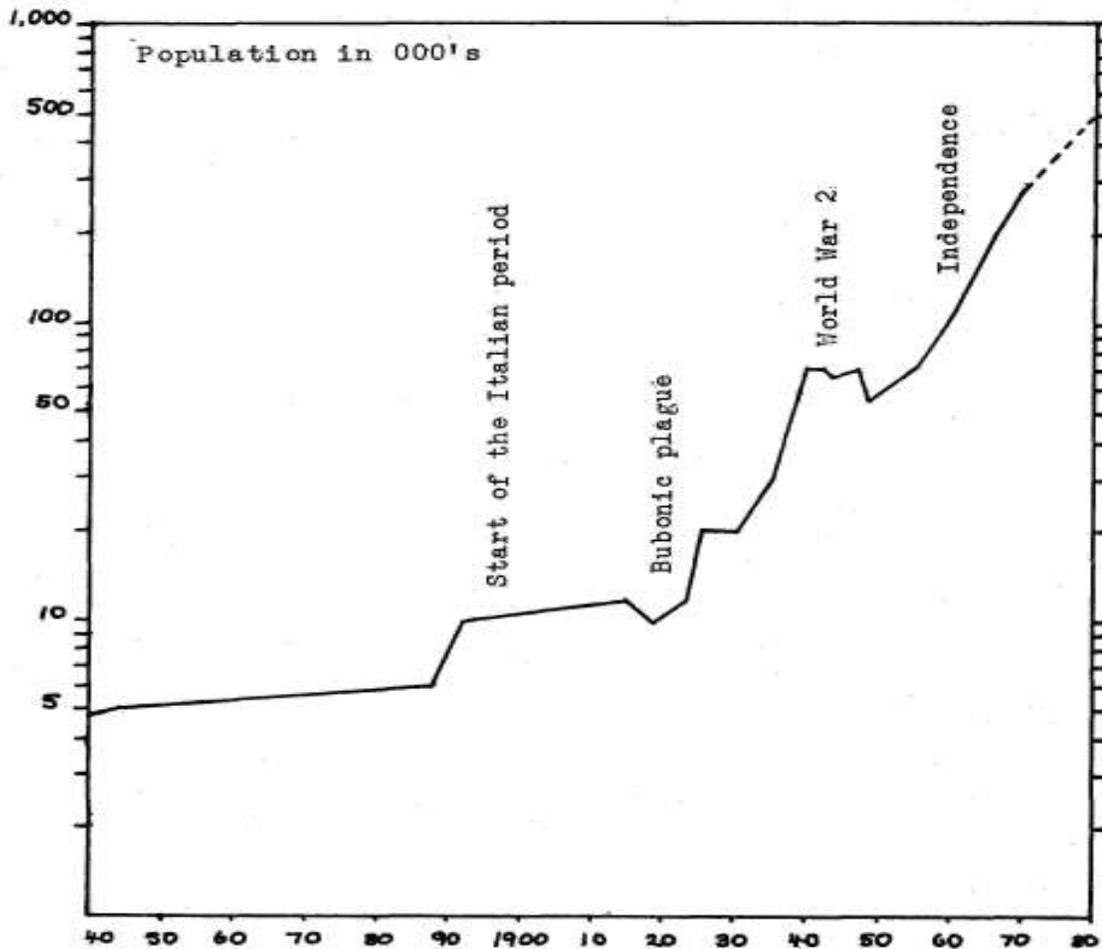


Fig 4.1: The growth of Muqdisho 1840-1980 (after Puzo 1972:141)

The average annual growth rate of Mogadishu between 1975 and 1982 has since been estimated by the Labour Force Survey (1985:127) as approximately 8% per annum (non-compounding)⁹. This was made up of 3.1% by natural increase and an estimated 4.9% by net migration.

Re-examining the two 1975 population estimates already quoted, the 350,000 figure would have required an annual growth rate of 10.4% between 1965 (1965 Census population figure - 171,000) and 1975, whereas the 450,000 figure would have required an annual growth rate of 16.3%, a rate without precedent for a city of this size in Africa. Even accounting for the influx of

⁹ Calculated on the basis of the comparative proportion of lifetime migrants to the city found in the 1975 census and the 1982 survey. See Fig. 4.2 for the location of the districts of Mogadishu. Note: The District of Daynile is normally excluded from population estimates for Mogadishu because of its predominantly non-civilian population.

drought victims into the city just prior to the census, there is not likely to have been such a high rate of growth, as averaged out for the whole 1965-75 period.

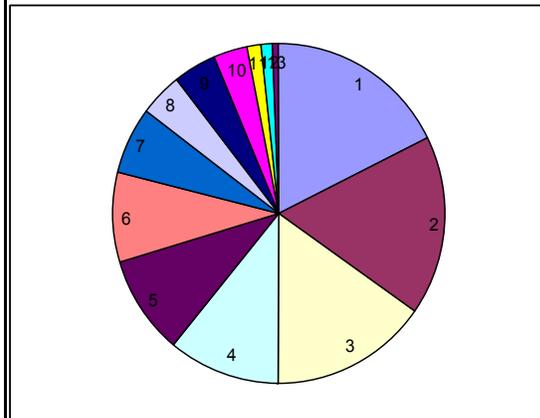
Furthermore, even in the late 1970's and early 1980's when Mogadishu's economy was fuelled by a much greater inflow of remittances and earnings from livestock exports, the growth rate even then was only, as quoted above, 8%, or half this rate. Applying the 8% rate to the 350,000 figure would give a 1985 population of 630,000, a figure which we think is plausible.

3. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION WITHIN MOGADISHU

On the basis of household counts in the 13 districts of Mogadishu (See Appendix 4.1 Source C) we have calculated that the percentage of the city's population residing in each district is as follows:

Table 4.1: Population distribution within Mogadishu*

District	Percentage of the city's population
1 Wadajir	17.7
2 Kaaraan	16.9
3 Yaqshiid	15.3
4 Wardhigley	11.0
5 Hodon	9.4
6 Hawl Wadag	8.6
7 Waaberi	6.4
8 Boondheere	4.2
9 Xamar Jab Jab	4.1
10 Shibis	3.3
11 Cabdulcasiis	1.3
12 Xamar Weyne	1.3
13 Shangani	0.5
All areas	100.00



These estimates are of practical value. They can be used to assess to what degree existing aid or government services are equitably distributed within the city. If the aim is to encourage even and equitable development throughout the city in the future these data should be used in the planning process, at least by foreign agencies assisting the Somali Government.

One example that can be taken is the distribution of MCH centres. At present there is one MCH per district. There is one MCH for Boondheere and one for Wadajir, although Wadajir, according to the above data, has about 4.4 times the population of Boondheere. The MCH in Boondheere has recently been chosen to be developed as a model MCH where training of MCH staff for other MCH's could be carried out. In the immediate future this will mean a further concentration of resources in a district which having a comparatively small population is already relatively favoured in terms of access to health services.

In comparison to other cities, Mogadishu is fortunate in that it does not yet have serious geographical concentrations of poor and disadvantaged communities. If, in the future, resources are allocated to the districts with some regard to their population shares this may continue to be the case.

The population percentages can also be used with housing data presented later in this report to make approximate estimates of the number of low income households in each district. (See Chapter 13.)

4. MIGRATION INTO MOGADISHU

4.1 Routes

Distinctions have been made in literature about rural-urban migration between target migration (direct to the main city) and step migration (to the main city via intermediate towns) (Todaro 1985). In Somalia, most migration seems to be step migration. The 1982 Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:128) found that of all the people they enumerated (N = 2,944) who had migrated to Mogadishu:

- 63% had come from main towns
- 20% had come from the nomadic areas
- 12% had come from the rural areas (i.e. agricultural)
- 5% had come from outside Somalia

There was negligible difference between migrants in terms of sex.

4.2 Reasons for Migration.

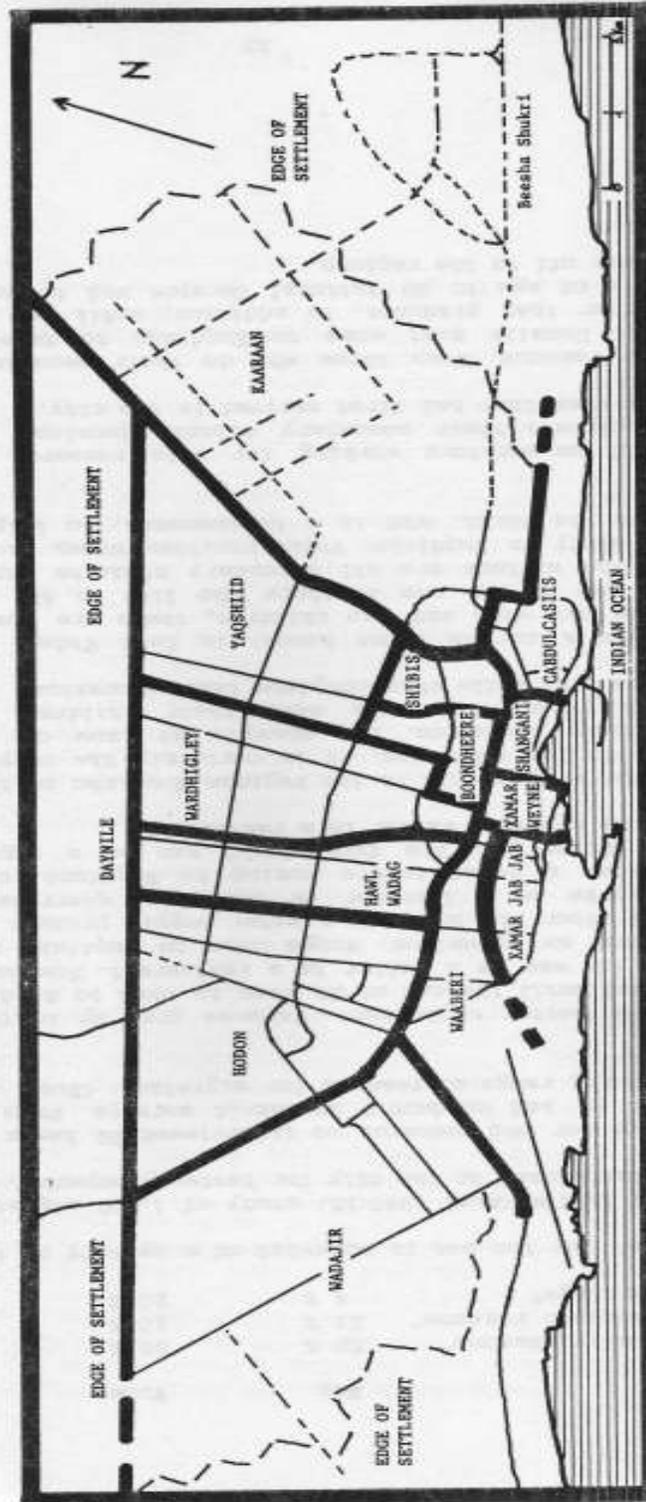
Existing statistical data about reasons for migration are not very informative. The 1982 Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:133) gave the following reasons:

Coming for:	Men	Women
"Family reasons"	59 %	58 %
"Economic reasons"	21 %	10 %
"Marriage"	4 %	20 %

"Family reasons", for the men is somewhat of a mystery on this scale.

Similarly, Abdi Awal's (Awal 1983:13) study of 1,020 migrants to Mogadishu found that "All migrants came to the city for better prospects".

Fig.: 4.2 The Districts of Muqdisho



In the course of our own research we interviewed 29 heads of households in the areas in which we had conducted household surveys. From these interviews we found the following range of reasons for migration: (Note: all names given below are pseudonyms.)

1. Searching for better employment. Warsame grew up in the Ogaden region and lived as a nomad until the age of 20 when he came to Mogadishu to find a better job. His first job was as a waiter in a restaurant. Now he works as a plumber, but still without any premises. Mooge came to Mogadishu at the age of 34, in search of work after his job with a water supply project in Balcad came to an end. He now works as a labourer in the stone quarries. Yoonis grew up in Shabelle Dhexe as a nomad before coming to Mogadishu, at the age of 19, in search for a better job. His first "job" was as a cigarette seller on the streets. Later he became a waiter in a restaurant.
2. Education. For many people in the regions Mogadishu is the best place to send their children for an education. It is certainly the only place they can have access to tertiary education. One example we know of is illustrative of a common pattern, where relatives send their children to stay with other relatives in the city while they complete their education:

Yusuf rents a sar (a stone house) in Hawl Wadag, for 7,000/- a month. As well as his wife and two children, there are also two sisters of his wife and two of his own brothers who live in the house with them. The brothers and sisters are all secondary students who have come from the north to study in Mogadishu. Yusuf receives money each month from another brother in the north, who is a businessman, to help the household cover their costs.

Five of the 15 enumerators working for this research project had come to Mogadishu to complete their secondary school education. All had stayed with their relatives when they had first arrived in the city.

3. Bureaucratic reasons. Even those who do their secondary school studies in other towns of Somalia must come to Mogadishu to take possession of their certificates after they graduate. In addition, until two years ago, all young people who were of age to do National Service had to come first to Mogadishu before being sent off to the regions.
4. Transfer by the Government. Cabdullahi's father came to Mogadishu because he was a soldier and he had been transferred here from Bakool Region. Maryan came because her father, a government worker in Shabelle Hoose during the Italian period, had been transferred to Mogadishu.
5. Medical Treatment. Muuse came to Mogadishu to get treatment for malaria. Waasuge came for treatment in hospital after being attacked by a hippopotamus. Xiis came for a kidney operation.
6. Drought. Cumar came to Mogadishu from Shabelle Dhexe after three years of poor rains had made the chances of employment in Mogadishu worth pursuing.
7. Impact of War. Saxarla and her family came to Dhuusa Mareeb as refugees from the fighting in the Ogaden and then they were drawn on by the chance of better economic

prospects in Mogadishu.

8. Family reasons. A number of women had come to Mogadishu with their husbands, who had themselves come to Mogadishu for the various reasons we have mentioned here.

It should be noted that all these forces, combined, seem to have affected women as much as men. Data from the 1982 Labour Force Survey (1982:127) show almost identical percentages of women and men born outside Mogadishu.

4.3 The Rate of Migration

As stated, migration into Mogadishu has been estimated to account for 4.9 of the 8% annual growth rate of the city (MNP 1985b:127). This was equivalent, in 1985 to approximately 30,000 people per year or 580 people per week settling in Mogadishu. Evidence from both our case studies and survey data indicate that the vast majority of these people do not immediately become squatters, but instead first lodge with relatives and then later, in most cases, move into rented accommodation. From that stage there are three main options;

- to continue renting but to buy land and later build a house on that land in which to live.
- to move out of rented accommodation into a squatter area, to avoid paying rent, and in the hope of getting land granted by right of possession.
- to continue renting, without seeking land.

These strategies can become more complex in some cases. More information on these strategies and the process of land purchasing is given in Chapter 5: Land Ownership.

5. THE MIGRANT PRESENCE WITHIN MOGADISHU

There are three measures which can be used to describe the migrant presence within the different districts of Mogadishu

1. The proportion of people who were born outside Mogadishu
2. The length of time they have resided in Mogadishu
3. The region from which they came

5.1 Proportion of people born outside Mogadishu

The proportion of Mogadishu's population that was born in the city has been declining over the last 20 years, and is a reflection of the continual importance of migration as the main cause of

Mogadishu's growth. In 1966 according to Puzo (1972:166) 40% of the people in Mogadishu had been born outside the city. In 1975 the Census found that 50% of the people in Mogadishu had been born outside the city. In 1982 the Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:127) found that 64 % of people enumerated in its Mogadishu survey had been born outside the city. (This figure however is partly inflated by the exclusion of people in the sample under the age of 10, most of whom would have been born in Mogadishu.)

Substantial variations exist in the percentage of migrants that live in the different districts of Mogadishu. In 1966, according to Puzo's analysis of census data from that year, the percentage varied from 23.6% in Xamar Weyne and 22.5% in Villagio Arabo (Shibis), the older areas, to 47% in Bur Karole and 44.4% in the more recently settled outer areas.

In 1981 the Ministry of National Planning (MNP 1980:C18) survey of areas in Hawl Wadag, Wardhigley and Wadajir found that the percentage of people born outside Mogadishu was 73% in these areas. These were newer areas than those mentioned by Puzo. (The outer areas of these districts had only been settled in the 1970s.)

The most recent data indicating the norm for the city at present, will come when the final analysis of the 1985 Household Budget Survey is published by the Ministry of National Planning.

This type of indicator does have significance in a study of disadvantage in Mogadishu. This is because analysis of the MNP 1980 Survey of the Urban Poor data showed that the poorest income strata of households surveyed had significantly more households where the head was born outside Mogadishu than did the wealthiest strata (84% versus 61%, N = 832) (MNP 1980:C18).

The simplest explanation for this would be that many of the heads of households born in Mogadishu have acquired, as they grew up, sufficient connections and local knowledge to enable them to survive and prosper, whereas many of those heads of households who have come from the rural areas are only in the process of acquiring them, and hence have been less successful to date. By extension it seems reasonable to assume that the longer a migrant-headed-household has been here in Mogadishu the more likely it is that their income situation will have improved.

There are two practical implications. Firstly we should look for areas where there are concentrations of heads of households who were born in Mogadishu but who are also poorer than the average. Secondly we should also look out for concentrations of people born outside Mogadishu, who have been resident in Mogadishu for a long time but who are poorer than others who have been in Mogadishu for the same duration. We can consider both of these groups to be not only poor but also relatively "powerless" to change their situation. It could be argued that it is these groups that should be given priority in any urban basic needs programmes. Many of the more recent migrants can be expected in due time to make improvements in their income situation by themselves.

In the control area of Waaberi we found that 38% of the household heads had been born in Mogadishu. When we compared their households with those of the households where the head had migrated to Mogadishu we did not find a significant difference in food expenditure levels. However this may be partly explained by the fact that many of those household heads who had migrated to Mogadishu had done so many years ago. Only 5% of the household heads had migrated to Mogadishu in the previous five years.

When we compared the proportion of Mogadishu-born household heads in each of the areas we surveyed we found that the newest settlements, predictably, had the smallest proportions of Mogadishu-born heads of households (See Table 4.2). With one exception the areas with the highest proportion of Mogadishu-born household heads were also those which were the least poor. The exception was Xaafadda Heegan, in Yaqshiid. Although an older settlement with a higher proportion of Mogadishu-born heads of households, Heegan obbosibo was poorer than one of the most recent obbosibo areas in the city (Halane obbosibo). We feel that this

community is one of those who could be seen as relatively "powerless" in the sense we have used above. (See Chapter 15, for more information on this area.)

Table 4.2: Percentage of Mogadishu-born heads of households in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Area*	%	Age of settlement (years)
Waaberi	38.	25 - 45.
Cabdulcasiis	36.	45 - 55.
Wadajir (Halane)	9.	5.
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	29.	25.
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	9.	5.
Beesha Shukri	12.	2.

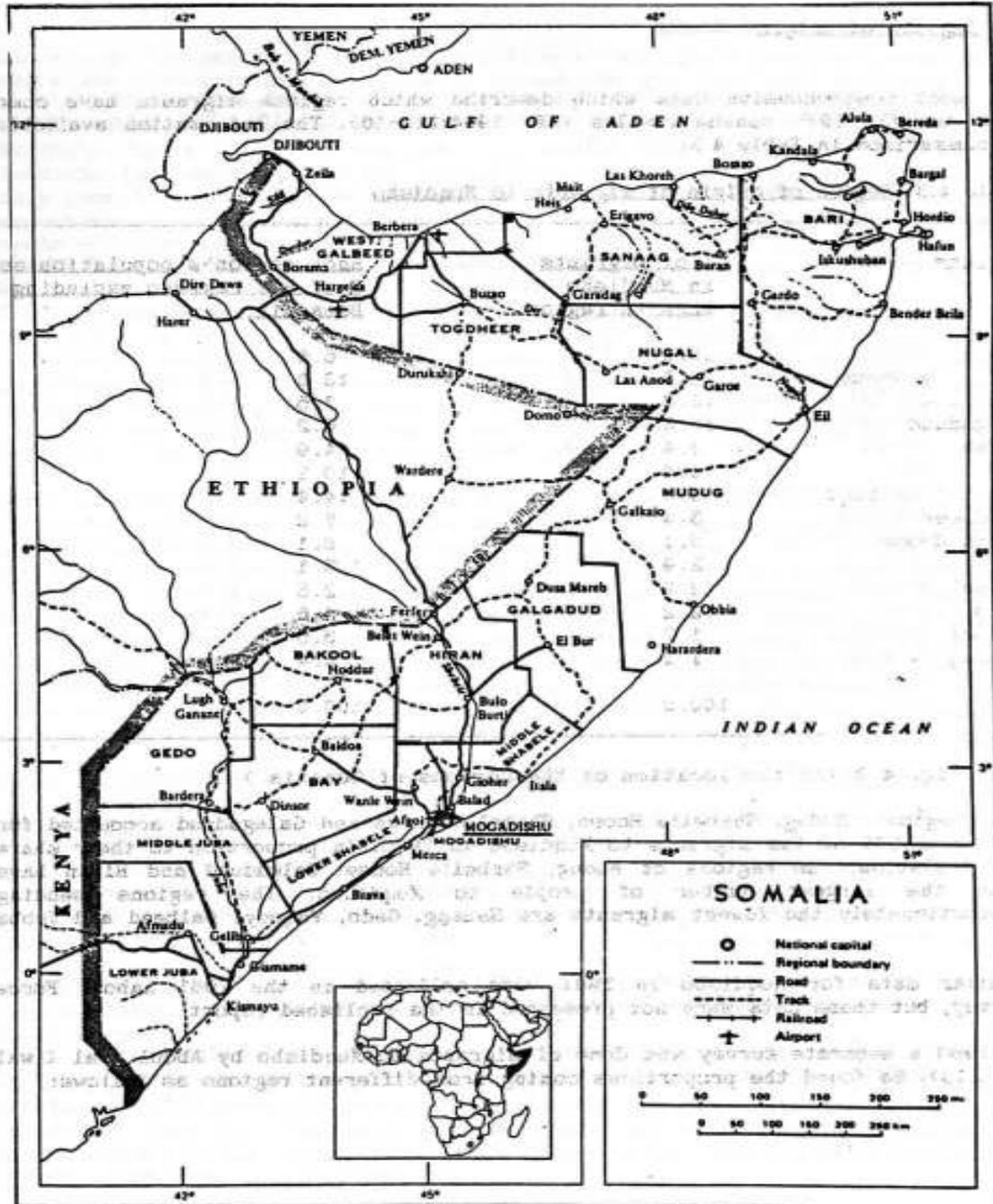
*Note: The areas above have been listed according to food expenditure levels, from highest to lowest. (See Chapter 9: Household Expenditure for details of how this indicator was derived.) The Damme Yassin obbosibo and Beesha Shukri areas were identical in these terms. The Yaqshiid and Halane obbosibo areas were almost the same.

5.2 Regions of origin

The most comprehensive data which describe which regions migrants have come from are the 1975 census results (MNP 1984:113-16). The information available is summarised in Table 4.3 (page 33).

Four regions: Mudug, Shabelle Hoose, Shabelle Dhexe and Galgaduud accounted for just over 50% of the migrants to Mogadishu in 1975. In proportion to their share of population, the regions of Mudug, Shabelle Hoose, Galgaduud and Hiran have sent the largest number of people to Mogadishu. The regions sending proportionately the fewest migrants are Sanaag, Gedo, Waqooyi Galbeed and Jubba Hoose.

Similar data for Mogadishu in 1981 were collected in the 1981 Labour Force Survey, but these data were not presented in the published report.



3

Fig. 4. The regions of Somalia (pre-1984)

Note: In 1984 two new regions were established (Awdal and Sool)

Table 4.3: Region of origin of migrants to Mogadishu

Region*	% of migrants in Mogadishu born in the region	Each region's population as % of all regions excluding Banaadir
Mudug	16.6	6.6
Shabelle Dhexe	16.3	12.8
Shabelle Hoose	16.3	7.5
Galgaduud	13.3	6.2
Hiran	8.4	4.9
Bay	6.4	10.2
Waqooyi Galbeed	5.4	14.4
Togdheer	3.4	7.2
Jubba Hoose	3.1	8.1
Bari	2.9	5.1
Nugaal	2.9	2.5
Gedo	2.2	6.6
Bakool	1.7	3.5
Sanaag	1.1	4.4
All regions	100.0	100.0

(See Fig. 4.3 for the location of the regions of Somalia.)

In 1983 a separate survey was done of migrants to Mogadishu by Abdul Awal (Awal 1983:13). He found the proportions coming from different regions as follows in table 4.4. Although it was not clear how the sample for this survey was taken, the two Shabelle regions, Mudug and Galgaduud again were found to be the main sources of migrants to the city.

Table 4.4: Region of origin of migrants according to Awal (1983)

Region of origin	Percentage of sample
Shabelle Dhexe	19.1
Shabelle Hoose	11.4
Nugaal	6.6
Mudug	9.5
Galgaduud	9.3
Waqooyi Galbeed	8.1
Hiran	7.5
Gedo	5.6
Bari	4.4
Jubba Hoose	4.1
Togdheer	3.7
Bay	3.5
Jubba Dhexe	3.4
Bakool	2.0
Sanaag	1.8
N = 1,020	Total 100.0%

The rates of migration from the central regions need investigation. Are they a reflection of push factors: the effects of war or worsening conditions for nomads there, or are they a reflection of pull factors? Do people in those regions see better chances for advancement in Mogadishu than people from other regions? The answers may determine what type of developmental response to this flow of migrants is needed within these regions, if any at all.

5.3 Variations within the City

Compared to many other cities in the world, Mogadishu is a relatively homogeneous city in terms of ethnic and cultural variations. Nevertheless there are tendencies for some areas to be characterised by the presence of people of particular regions or areas. Some of these differences are seen as common knowledge. For example, Kaasa Bobulare is reputed to have many "northerners", Yaqshiid to have many people from Shabelle Dhexe and Buulo Eelay to have many people from Bay and Bakool.

The regional background of residents in an area is an important factor to consider. If there is one regional background which is especially prominent it will affect the character of the area and attitudes to the people of that area. Xaafadda Heegan is one such example. As is shown, many of the people in that area come from the Shabelle Hoose Region. Many depend on cows for income and those cows are dependent on fodder being brought into the city, on a daily basis, from Shabelle Dhexe and Shabelle Hoose. Any development work involving close contact with the residents of that area should be aware of the particular characteristics of the population there. At the very least it may help prevent accidental discrimination against different groups within the area which may occur as a result of ignorance of its social composition. At best it may utilise to the full the existing sense of community and common interest that may already exist there because of a common background.

The surveys that we have carried out have shown the following regions to be significantly represented in each area.

Table 4.5: Significant sources of migrants in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Area surveyed	Region of origin of migrant heads of households	% of migrants in Xaafadda	City norm (1975)
Waaberi	Jubba Hoose	15%	3.1%
	Bay	13%	6.4%
	Shabelle Hoose	18%	16.3%
Cabdulcasiis	Bari	26%	2.9%
	Mudug	17%	16.6%
Wadajir (Halane)	Outside Somalia	18%	4.0%
	Galgaduud	10%	13.3%
	Mudug	10%	16.6%
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	Shabelle Dhexe	48%	16.3%
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	Bay	16%	6.4%
	Galgaduud	16%	13.3%
	Shabelle Hoose	13%	16.3%
Beesha Shukri	Galgaduud	26%	13.3%
	Shabelle Hoose	17%	16.3%

One observation can be made about the above distribution. Although Mudug is a source of large numbers of migrants to Mogadishu, relatively few of those migrants have appeared in the areas we surveyed. This is in contrast to the migrants from Shabelle Dhexe, Galagaduud and Bay regions, who were over represented in the four poorest areas that we surveyed.

6. HOUSEHOLDS

6.1 Household Size

We have calculated that the median household size in Mogadishu, according to the most recent available data (MNP Labour Force Survey 1985b:29) is 6.2. Using mean figures (in this case 4.6) is misleading because the effect is such that more than half the population are living in households larger than this size!

The point to note about household sizes in Mogadishu is that many people live in quite large households. In the 1982 Labour Force Survey sample, for instance, 32% of the people were living in households of 9 or more people. In contrast there were few people living in small households. Households of 1 to 3 persons in size account for only 12 % of all households. Only 2% of the people in the sample were living by themselves.

In the 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor, half the population in the households surveyed lived in households of 7 or more. Household sizes ranged from a median of 8.14 in the lowest income category to 4.17 in the highest. There was a statistically significant association between the level of household income and the household size. Of all the larger-than-median sized families, 50% were in the lowest income category (1 of 4) and 75% were in the two lowest income categories (1 and 2 of 4) (N=398) (MNP 1980:C35).

Data from our own survey in the control area of Waaberi showed a similar significant relationship (at the 0.01 level). Almost 90% of the small families (1 to 4 people) were in the above-median food expenditure group, and 80% of the large families (9 and above) were in the below-median group. The household of Muuse, described in Chapter 2, is one example of such a family.

Both of the above findings are similar to what might be expected in a study of poor areas in an American or European city.

6.2 Dependency

Normally this is measured in terms of the ratio of children aged 14 and under, to adults aged 15 and over (See WHO 1981:24). Alternatively it can be expressed as the percentage of the population who are children aged 14 and under.

Dependency can be considered as an indicator of vulnerability. The larger the proportion of a family that is under 15 the greater the dependence on the income earners (who are adults in the vast majority of cases). This perspective is used in practice by at least some people in Mogadishu. One person we interviewed, when told of the death of a man who had been supporting a large family, asked how many children (under the age of 15) there were in the family. The reason she gave for asking this question was: "those over 15 can support themselves if they have to, but those under 15 will have to be looked after by the mother".

A more precise measure of vulnerability in this sense is the ratio of actual income earners (who

may be adults and children) to dependents in a household. We have used this indicator in our comparisons of the different areas we have surveyed (See Chapters 14, 15).

There are two slightly different norms for the city as far as dependency is concerned. The 1982 Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:30) found that 46% of Mogadishu's population was under 15 years of age. The 1980-81 National Population Survey (MNP 1986b:7) found that 41% of Mogadishu's population was under the age of 15. (This compares to 48% of the nomadic population and 45% for the country as a whole.) Overall Mogadishu's population is more concentrated in the middle age group 20-40, possibly because of the migration of mainly working-aged people to the city.

The 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor found that in the areas they sampled, 42% of the population were aged 14 or under. Within the sample the proportion varied from 48% in the lowest income group (1 of 4) to 28% in the highest income group (1 of 4) (N = 398). Similarly, in our Waaberi sample we found a statistically significant (0.001) association between high dependency ratios in households and low household food expenditure levels. The same contrasts were found when the areas we had surveyed were compared to each other. The percentage of the population under 15 varied from 53% in Beesha Shukri, the poorest area, to 40% in Waaberi, the control area. The largest concentrations of children can clearly be found in the poorest areas and in the poorest families.

6.3 Female-Headed Households¹⁰

The MNP 1980 survey found that 20% of the households surveyed were headed by a woman. Surprisingly, the proportion was almost exactly the same in all income groups. There appeared to be no significant association between the sex of the household head and the income level of the household. This is contrary to what is normally found in many other developing countries according to Oxfam (Pratt and Boyden, 1985:45).

In the control area of Waaberi, which we surveyed in 1986, we found similar results. There was no significant difference in the proportion of female-compared to male-headed households who were below the median food expenditure level for the area. Furthermore when we removed those female-headed households who were still married (their husbands could have been working overseas) from the sample and looked only at those female-headed households where the women were widowed or divorced there still was no evidence that this group was poorer than average.

When we compared the incidence of female-headed households in all the areas we surveyed we once again found similar results.

The proportions of female-headed households found in the areas we surveyed were as follows:

¹⁰ The enumerators asked who was the household head and let the respondent reply according to their own definition. Essentially the term female-headed referred to households where a husband was absent, for whatever reasons, such as divorce, migrant labour, death.

Table 4.6: Incidence of female-headed households in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Areas	Incidence	of which are Widowed or Divorced
Waaberi	16.0%	12%
Cabdulcasiis	29.0%	24%
Wadajir (Halane)	24.0%	18%
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	26.0%	15%
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	15.0%	12%
Beesha Shukri	20.6%	16%

On an area level there seems to be no clear relationship with income levels. (The areas above are ranked in terms of food expenditure levels, as before.)

Only in one area did we find female-headed households who were significantly poorer than average (both in terms of their own community as well as in comparison with Waaberi). In Cabdulcasiis the women who were divorced or widowed heads of households had a median food expenditure of 40/- per day compared to 48/- for people in other households of their area and 50/- a day in Waaberi. Cabdulcasiis is the area where we found the highest number of female-headed households. This high incidence in turn may be related to the fact that the area is reputed to be one of the areas in Mogadishu where a number of prostitutes are living¹¹.

In Beesha Shukri we found the position of female-headed households to be the opposite of what might have been expected. The median food expenditure per head in female-headed households was 40/- per day compared to 30/- per day in male-headed households and 33/- for the community as a whole¹². While they were poor compared to households in Waaberi they certainly were not amongst the poorest in Beesha Shukri.

We can only speculate why in Mogadishu there is not a strong relationship between low household food expenditure and households with female heads. In Somalia women often retain a significant connection with their own parents, brothers and sisters after marriage. Thus in many cases women who have been divorced may be able to return to their parents with their children, or at least receive some support from them. In other cases, they may have been able to obtain sufficient support from their ex-husbands, though many accounts would indicate that this is not often the case. This needs to be investigated further.

6.4 Polygamy

The 1980-81 National Survey of Population found that 17.5% of men in Mogadishu had more than one wife (MNP 1986b:16). In 1983 the Westinghouse survey found an almost identical proportion (18%) (MOH/WAS 1985:24). Typically these were men in the 40 to 60 age group. We did not give any special attention to polygamous households in the analysis of household survey data. We expect that some of the married female heads of households could be part of such households, but since some would also be from monogamous households it is not possible to make estimates of the numbers of polygamous households in each of the areas we surveyed.

¹¹ There are of course other areas where prostitutes are reputed to live, for instance, Xamar Jab Jab

¹² When married and divorced/separated female heads of households were looked at as separate groups the food expenditure levels remained the same as above.

The trend amongst many younger people in Somalia nowadays is towards serial monogamy rather than polygamy (Sacdiya Muuse 1987).

6.5 Family Life Cycles

Most demographic surveys focus on the attributes of individuals. This is partly for reasons of practicality, but also it is a Western bias, coming from a cultural context where individuals rather than families and larger kin groups are seen as the main, and sometimes only, actors.

In Somalia, as in many other non-Western cultures, family and extended kin networks are significant units in themselves, both economically and politically. Little formal research has been done on families in Somalia, in this sense. One useful step in this direction would be to describe the different stages of growth that families go through and the economic implications of each stage for the family (i.e their expenditure compared to their income-earning potential). Some research is being done on this area by Furhana Weheliye, Ph.D. student from Michigan State University. Another would be to look at employment in terms of households and not just individuals. We have taken some steps in this direction, in Chapter 7: Patterns of Employment.

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Chapter 5: LAND IN MOGADISHU

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of almost everyone who comes to live in Mogadishu is eventually to own a piece of land on which they can build their own house. There are four ways of reaching that goal. The route that people take depends on the resources that they have available. One way is to buy land direct from the Municipality. The second is to buy the same type of land on the open market from people who have obtained it this way. The third is to buy land in areas where illegal settlements (obbosibo areas) have been established. The fourth is not to buy at all but to settle illegally on land that is already owned by the government or by individuals. Each of these options will be described. The remainder of the chapter will look specifically at the obbosibo areas: their extent, recent trends in their growth, the history of their legalisation, conflicts over land ownership and the options for the future.

2. THE PURCHASE OF LAND FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF MOGADISHU

Officially, anyone who is without land and needs it has a right to purchase it from the Land Department of the Municipality of Mogadishu at the official price. If someone already has obtained land from the Municipality then officially, they are not eligible to be allocated another piece of land.

Most land being sold at present by the Land Department is in Wadajir and Karaan, at either end of the city. Land directly inland of Jidka Oktoobar 21 is mainly owned by the military and is not available for residential settlement. Overall, there are two types of land title that are available: temporary and permanent. In the past permanent title to land was sold by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing and that type of land was usually located along the sides of major roads and other prime locations. Now all land sales are under the control of the Municipality. Most land which is now sold by the Municipality has temporary rather than permanent title. However once that land has been built on, the title can be converted to permanent status, on application to the Municipality. Permanent title gives the owner rights to compensation should the government wish to reclaim the land for other uses. The sizes of blocks vary from 12 by 12 metres up to 60 by 60 metres with 15 by 15 metres and 20 by 20 metres being the most common sizes which are allocated at present. The official price of temporary land is 7/- a square metre. Thus a 20 by 20 metre block would cost 2,800/-. Once land is purchased, by law, a building of some sort, even a jiingad, must be erected on it within six months. With larger blocks of land, consisting of multiple plots (bosyo) there is a requirement that a sar must be built there within one year.

In theory then, land should be easily available to everyone in Mogadishu and the private market in land should be quite depressed. In practice the situation is very different. To obtain land from the Municipal Land Department is at the least a very time-consuming process. This route is thus not open to the poorest households in Mogadishu. The difficulty of obtaining land this way is reflected by the prices people are willing to pay for land which is available on the private market.

3. THE PRIVATE MARKET FOR LEGALISED LAND

A substantial number of private sales of land in Mogadishu are mediated by brokers known as dulaalo. They are in effect real estate agents without premises. There are a number of known street locations in Mogadishu where many of them can be found waiting for business, for

example outside the Croce del Sud hotel, in the mornings. All dulaalo dealing in housing and land sales in Mogadishu are registered with the Municipality. While dulaalo are involved in the selling of land already held in private hands, they are not involved in assisting people purchase land from the Land Department. However land is sometimes allocated as a result of recommendations made by the Municipality.

The following are some examples of recent (1986) market prices for residential land in Mogadishu according to a number of dulaalo and others with recent experience in the land market (for land which is 15 by 15 metre or 20 by 20 metre):

100,000/- to 200,000 /-	for land on the edge of Wadajir where there is as yet no electricity
100,000/- to 200,000/-	for land in Yaqshiid
200,000/- to 500,000/-	for land in Halane, Wadajir
800,000/-	for land at Bakaaraha, Hodon District.
1,000,000/- to 1,200,000/-	for land in Kaasa Bobulaare, Hodon District.

The most expensive residential land is that which has permanent title and is near Jidka Makka and Jidka Afgooye, in Hodon District. Prices in these areas are well in excess of a million shillings.

Some indication of the changes in land prices can be seen by the prices of average-sized building plots quoted in the report titled "Population: Social and Economic Development in Somalia 1981":

1971	10,000/-
1981	60,000/-

It is clear then that those who are able to obtain land, either directly from the Municipality or through the open market, are privileged in at least one of two ways. They either have good connections or they have access to the considerable amount of capital needed to buy land in Mogadishu.

4. THE PRIVATE MARKET FOR LAND IN ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS

Land is sold privately in almost all the areas of illegal settlement in Mogadishu. However there is no involvement of the courts as witnesses, unlike land sold privately in areas of legal settlement. The number of sales and the prices of land vary greatly from one location to another. The cheapest land is in Beesha Shukri. Plots there vary from 4,000/- to 7,000/- depending on the size of the land and the relationship between buyer and seller. However in the obbosibo areas of Wadajir similar plots can sell for between 25,000/- and 40,000/-. Prices are higher there because the city is expanding in that direction and the water supply for the city has already reached the edge of Wadajir.

In other areas even close in to the city, such as the obbosibo section of Xaafadda Fanoole in Karaan, the prices are low because it is rumoured that the land will be taken over by the government in the future. In some obbosibo areas such as behind Digfer Hospital there are no sales of land at all because the land is government land and the area has already been cleared before of illegal settlers. The size of the obbosibo behind Digfer is small because of this and because of the nature of the group living there. (See Chapter 17.)

In other areas such as the main obbosibo area in Hawl Wadag and Wardhigley the price of land is high, because of its proximity to the city but the number of sales is low, partly because the people themselves are not eager to sell and move further out of the city. Prices of land in the Yaqshiid obbosibo are high: from 100,000/- to 160,000/- near the market, if the plot size is large enough. But in areas of the obbosibo which are very densely settled there is little demand for land at all. Similarly on the steeper parts of the main sand hill in Xamar Jab Jab, very close to the centre of the city there is little demand for obbosibo land because it is difficult to build proper houses there.

5. ILLEGAL SETTLEMENT OF LAND

There have been obbosibo areas in Mogadishu throughout this century. Some areas of Mogadishu such as parts of Cabdulcasiis and Xamar Jab Jab which are still considered obbosibo areas were originally settled spontaneously before the Second World War. These two areas are only a fraction of the total number of obbosibo settlements which have come into existence in Mogadishu in the past 80 years since the imposition of Italian control over the city. Many have since disappeared, some by Government decree and others for reasons now unknown.

The major obbosibo areas now in existence in Mogadishu are:

1. Karaan District: Beesha Shukri and parts of Xaafadda Fanoole and Xaafadda Jibuti.
2. Wadajir District: the outskirts of Laanta Damme Yassin and Laanta Halane
3. Yaqshiid District: Xaafadda Heegan
4. Xamar Jab Jab: the whole area on the slopes of sandhill running through the centre of the district
5. Waaberi District: parts of Xaafadda Hanti Wadag known as Buulo Eelay
6. Cabdulcasiis District: parts of Xaafadda 1 and 2 on the sandhill behind the Lido area
7. Hawl Wadag District: parts of Xaafadda Sayidka

These and other smaller areas throughout the city are shown in Fig. 5.1

5.1 Illegal settlement: the African context

Compared to other African cities, Mogadishu has a relatively small percentage of its population living in squatter and slum areas. One Land Department official has estimated, in December 1986, that approximately 15% of the settled area of Mogadishu is obbosibo. In terms of population, we would estimate that a similar 10% to 15% of the city's population were living in obbosibo areas (60,000 to 90,000 people). It should be noted however that since the main part of Xamar Jab Jab is officially classed as non-legalised land then this estimate includes such areas, some of which consist of sar housing typical of legal areas of the city. In contrast to the proportion we have estimated for the city, Donohue (1982) gives the following figures for five other major African cities:

Table 5.1: The proportion of squatters and slum dwellers in five African cities.

	Percentage of "slum dwellers and squatters**"	Year
Addis Ababa	79%	1981
Casablanca	70%	1971
Kinshasa	60%	1969
Nairobi	33%	1970
Dakar	30%	1969

* any of the areas which could be considered as slums in Mogadishu e.g sections of Xamar Jab Jab, and Buulo Elay are also areas of illegal settlement, so these figures can be fairly compared with that for illegal settlements in Mogadishu

Compared with these cities Mogadishu seems to have a very small proportion of its population living in squatter areas.

There are at least three possible reasons why Mogadishu has such a low percentage of obbosibo dwellers in its population:

1. Land on the outskirts of the city has not been privatised prior to the growth of the city, and so the government has had little difficulty in asserting its control over that land. The acquisition of land has not been an expensive or contentious process for the government. As a result there has been no shortage of land for it to sell when and where it wants to.
2. There is an adequate stock of cheap housing for rent in the city. Many people build cheap carshaan or jingado on their land before they build more permanent and more expensive stone houses (sarro). This practice has possibly been facilitated by the laws requiring newly purchased land to have a dwelling built on it within six months of purchase. If followed in practice this law is likely to have positive side effects even if the buildings are fairly basic. This law would contribute to the establishment of a larger stock of cheap dwellings, many of which would then be available as accommodation for at least the poorer relatives of those owning the land, even if the land was bought only for speculative purposes. In Karaan, in the Waxara Cade area, it seems from observation that this law may be respected. There are a large number of plots of land, systematically laid out which only have small jingado on them.

However in Wadajir this is not the case. There are many plots there staked with stones at their corners along the outskirts of the district but few signs of temporary dwellings. The Deputy District Commissioner of Wadajir, when interviewed said his responsibility was to examine and approve building authorisations but not to police the above law, which was the responsibility of the Municipality.

Recommendation

Publicising this law and policing its implementation would be one appropriate development strategy for the Municipality if it wishes to control the growth of new obbosibo areas in the city.

3. Because of the importance of kinship and other support networks in Somalia many people have been able to obtain free or cheap housing from their relatives for a sufficient period of time to find employment and, later, their own housing. Some data on the incidence of households receiving free accommodation will be presented in Chapter 6: Housing Conditions.

5.2 Recent trends in illegal settlement of land in Mogadishu

Despite the low incidence of squatting in the city overall, there have been periods in recent years where the number and size of obbosibo areas have suddenly grown. This seems particularly to have been the case in 1980/81 and 1983/4 . These were years of very high inflation. The resultant growth in squatter settlements in these years may well be as a result of many households choosing to settle illegally rather than pay increased rents. Certainly this was a frequently quoted reason amongst the households we interviewed as case studies in the obbosibo areas. In the years since 1978 which was the base year for the current Consumer Price Index, rental costs have increased at a faster rate than all other household costs except for fuel.

There is however likely to be an element of self-interest in the answers given by people living in the obbosibo areas concerning their stated reasons for squatting. Inability to pay rent would be seen as more legitimate than other reasons which can also motivate people to settle illegally. Squatting can be a short-term investment as well as a long-term one. Land settled on illegally can be sold later on for a profit, even before it is legalised. As already mentioned there are land sales in almost all the obbosibo areas.

5.3 Competing claims over land ownership

1. Not all land purchases are without incident. The Municipality has set up a special section under the Vice-Mayor for Social Affairs called Baarista Dacwoyinka Dulka which investigates disputes over land ownership. Findings of the investigations by this section are referred to a Committee for Appeal headed by the Mayor. There are two major types of dispute over land ownership:

- a. Where squatters have settled on land already legally owned by others, or which is officially sold after they have settled there.
- b. Where there are competing claims to land by different people all of whom claim to have purchased the land legally.

While the first type of dispute is the most common we do not know how often such disputes are resolved in favour of the squatters or of the legal title holders.

2. Traditional occupants of the land surrounding Mogadishu

Up until now almost all the users of the land in the immediate hinterland of the city have been nomadic owners of livestock. There have been few if any permanent settlements, either in the form of villages or land fenced off for agriculture. However, there are some areas where the grazing land has been parcelled up into small areas (goof) with the use of acacia branches, cactus and the like, by people who are the traditional owners of the land.

Officially, these people have the right to be given some land when the city begins to infringe on land they are currently using. The land they will be given will not necessarily be in the same area nor of the same size as that which they have fenced off previously for their own use. Usually it is the size of a normal residential allotment. It is reputed that some traditional land users on the outskirts of the city have been able to make independent commercial arrangements with influential city people who have the ability to have the traditional users' land legalised in larger sections. There has also been at least one incident where so-called traditional owners have informally subdivided vacant land on the edge of the city and sold it on the open market. However in that particular case the government intervened and put an end to the subdivision. It does not seem, from the evidence available, that the people on the immediate outskirts of the city have suffered from the expansion of the city.

5.4 The history of legalisation of illegal land

We have not found any written accounts of past relocations of squatter areas in Mogadishu. The history of the people of those areas has not been written. What is known is largely a matter of different people's memories of areas they knew were obbosibo areas in the past. Some of the more recent relocations will be recounted.

1. In the late 1960's residents of an obbosibo area known as Iskararun, between Waaberi and Ceel Gaab, were resettled to Wadajir and the area made over for use as a bus terminus area. It is reputed that the adjacent areas of Xamar Jab Jab (Buur Karole) and Buulo Eelay in Waaberi were given notice that they were also to be razed, and that this is why there has been little interest from dulaalo in those areas since then. This may well have inhibited many local residents from upgrading their houses since then, but we do not have any clear evidence of this.
2. Another area that previously was an obbosibo area was the area in Hodon, presently used for the Trade Fair. This area was officially cleared in the early 1970's and the residents relocated to Wadajir.
3. In 1983 the Municipality put roads through the obbosibo area of Wardhigley and gave title to the land to many of those living there. Those more recent residents and those in the way of the roads were resettled to Karaan where they were given land. (Waxara Cade and Huriwaa). According to the Municipality, other factors that are normally taken into account when deciding who to relocate, in the process of such legalisations are:
 - Whether the people concerned are recorded as having paid any taxation (viewed as a point in their favour);

- Whether they have previously been registered as living there.
4. In March 1984 the Municipality resettled people living in a number of obbosibo areas around the city to the area known officially as Beesha Shukri (and known informally as Gubadley), four kilometers from the nearest tarmac road on the north-eastern end of the city. Included were the residents of a large obbosibo settlement behind Digfer Hospital. When that happened many other not-so-poor people also rushed there to stake claims to land they thought they might later be given title to. This is one of the reasons why there are so many unoccupied and dilapidated dwellings there at present (some are owned by absentee claimants who can afford to live in the city proper).

At the moment there appear to be no further plans for the relocation or legalisation of the remaining obbosibo areas in Mogadishu. The most recent obbosibo areas are the settlements on the edge of Halane and Damme Yassin Xaafado in Wadajir. These settlements, according to one Land Department official, have impinged on land already belonging to other people and may be relocated at some stage. That will not necessarily be something that happens in a hurry. In the process of surveying Heegan obbosibo in Yaqshiid we heard one official say that 12 attempts had been made by people there over the years to have their land legalised but with no success so far. It is obvious that legalising obbosibo land is not a simple process. Some people have to be moved out of the area, because they are in the way of roads and because the new plot sizes are bigger than the original and fewer people can be accommodated in the same area. There are many losers whose dissatisfactions have to be dealt with.

5.5 The future of illegal settlements in Mogadishu

We do not propose in this overview on land in Mogadishu to present any final solutions to the "problem" of illegal settlements in Mogadishu. The solutions needed depend on how the "problem" is seen. From the Municipality's point of view the problem of the obbosibo areas is that they are obstructing the orderly development of the city and in some cases the people in those areas have taken over land which already belongs to other people. From the point of view of the residents in the obbosibo areas the problem is that land and housing elsewhere is too expensive and their incomes are too low to enable them to build houses in Mogadishu in a more conventional way. There are many different possible responses to such settlements, all of which have associated difficulties. Five broad types of responses will be described:

1. Leave the existing illegal settlements as they are.

At best this choice would recognise the continuing need for some areas of cheap housing in the city. The older obbosibo areas are functional sections of the city that cater for the needs of people seeking cheap housing (purchased or rented). A positive step would be to set up programmes in these locations which are primarily aimed at increasing people's incomes and which will later give them the capacity to move on to better housing elsewhere if they wish to. Those that do not want to move would only be able to make those improvements to their housing which are practical given their lack of legal status. This might include installing cement floors in jingado and carshaan. However in the older obbosibo areas this could also include installation of water and electricity, since de-facto legal status has already been achieved simply as a result of the age of the settlements. This option could only be pursued in the older areas such as Yaqshiid where there are already boundaries to the settlement. If this was done with the newer illegal settlements on the periphery of the city it would be very likely to encourage more illegal settlements precisely in those areas where the Municipality is trying to regulate the

spread of the city.

2. Legalise the existing settlements but without reorganising streets and plot sizes.

With title to their land, people would be free to make substantial improvements to their housing. If titles were allocated, the market mechanism would lead to changes in the character of the population of the areas. Some people would sell their house and land and move out of the area, others would remain. The people who would lose out the most would be tenants in houses that were sold or demolished by the owners wanting to build new ones. They would need to find alternate accommodation which was as cheap as they had before. Access to the area for vehicles would remain a problem and it would be even less possible to change it once people had built stone houses on their plots, although some localised solutions based on voluntary cooperation might be achieved.

3. Legalise the existing illegal settlements and reorganise streets and plot sizes in the process.

Given the Municipality's preference for wide streets and large plot sizes in Mogadishu, this approach would inevitably lead to many people being displaced. This was the strategy followed with the Wardhigley obbosibo area which was re-organised and legalised in 1984. Since then there has been a noticeable improvement in the standard of housing in the area. However, no one has monitored what happened to the people who were previously living there but were relocated elsewhere. The major risk with this option is that many people will be displaced to areas far away from their places of work. In Wardhigley many people in the previous obbosibo area worked in the nearby animal market, where the day's work began very early in the morning, long before any public buses began their runs. Those working there who were displaced to areas like Waxara Cade would have found great difficulty continuing to work at the animal market. (However, in 1987 the animal was moved to the edge of Kaaraan District, nearby to Waxara Cade.)

4. Enforce relocations to new areas that have been specially allocated in advance.

This was the case with many of the people presently living in Beesha Shukri. This has been used as a strategy for dealing with spontaneous squatter settlements that have arisen on the edges of Mogadishu in the early 1980's, as well as those who were living behind Digfer Hospital.

There have been three main problems with this option. Firstly there were allegedly many people who already owned land in Mogadishu who joined the rush and staked a claim to land in the resettlement area alongside those genuinely in need. Secondly, the allocated area was far out, past the periphery of the city. The only source of employment nearby were the quarries and lime kilns on the coast. Thirdly the area remains totally without any street plan or any legalised allocation of plots. By relocating the people the problem has just been deferred: the issue of who is to get what land has not yet been dealt with. Fourthly no adequate arrangements were made for even the most basic services for the people moving to this area. Even now, two years later, there are serious inadequacies in the quality of the water supply for the people in the area (See Chapter 11).

5. Forced evacuations with no relocation areas being made available.

We are not aware of any recent examples of this response but it is highly likely that this has happened on occasions in the past. If this was done where there are now relatively small squatter areas such as those presently behind Digfer Hospital many of the residents there would probably relocate and resettle, illegally, in other areas of the city, while some might be re-absorbed into households renting or owning premises. In the case of larger obbosibo areas it

would probably not be feasible politically.

6. Increased sales of land by the Municipality.

In principal, this would deflate the price of land or at least slow the rate of increase. The housing stock might grow in size relative to the population and the rate of growth in rents could be slowed. In turn this might diminish the relative attractiveness of settling illegally on the edge of the city. However this assumes that the Municipality would find reduced land prices to be in its own interests. The relative appropriateness of options 1 to 5 varies according to the character of the settlements concerned. The most feasible options for the newer peripheral settlements are different to those for the older inner-city settlements. For example, relocation of residents is likely to have a far greater negative impact on those living in the more central and older settlements compared to those who have recently become resident in peripheral squatter areas. A more detailed description of the possible development strategies for some of the illegal settlements we have surveyed is given in Chapters 14 and 15.

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Chapter 6: HOUSING CONDITIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

The following section looks at housing in Mogadishu from two perspectives. The first is that poor quality housing is a form of disadvantage in itself that we should be concerned about. Some aspects of that form of disadvantage will be described. Secondly housing is often considered to be a proxy indicator of income as a whole and therefore has significance for a wide variety of research and development activities that might be carried out in Mogadishu in the future. The validity of housing characteristics as an income indicator will also be examined.

2. HOUSE TYPES.

There are at least seven different types of houses in Mogadishu:

1. SAR or DAAR: a house built with coral stone and/or cement block walls and either metal or concrete roof. Some variations of this type are:
 - Laba Dabaq: two storey houses found for example in the richer areas of Wadajir, and the Lido area of Cabdulcasiis District.
 - ordinary Villa: one storey houses with compounds big enough for vehicles and garden, usually with at least three rooms, flush toilet, tile floor and veranda.
 - Nus Villa: a "half" villa, with similar features but a very small compound, with space for one car, and with at least some of the walls of the house facing directly onto the street.
 - ordinary Sar: An ordinary stone house with a door or small gate opening on to the street directly from rooms or from a small courtyard, usually with three sleeping rooms and a pit latrine.
2. BARAAKO: A house whose walls are built with wooden planks, often second hand. In the older and more central parts of Mogadishu they can also be found with masonry bases up to a metre high: this sub-type is sometimes called Mitir Kuubo. These are sometimes transformed completely into sar, when people have legal title to the land. Second-hand wood from cargo crates coming through the port was a major source of supply before the advent of containerisation. Because of the current cost of wood this type of house is fairly uncommon in the newer areas of the city. Where they do occur they are always made of second-hand wood.
3. CARIISH: a house whose walls are built of sticks overlaid with mud, sometimes mixed with cow dung or cement, and with a roof of corrugated iron, usually of two or three rooms at the most. Cooking is often done outside in the attached courtyard, sometimes under a lean-to of sticks and scrap material. Many do not have cement floors. The problem with this type of house is that they need extensive replastering with mud each year, they are dusty inside and often harbour ants, ticks and other insects in the walls and floors. Most carshaan are located in compounds with two other carshaan in a U

shape arrangement. Carshaan are the most common form of second-class housing in Mogadishu.

4. JIINGAD / LAMIYEERI: a house, of one or two rooms, with walls as well as roof built with roofing iron. Some jingado are built from the metal of flattened 200 litre drums, called fuustoyin. Their main disadvantage is that they are very hot to live in. Their advantage is that they are cheaper to build than carshaan. This type of house is mainly found in the new areas of settlement, such as Waxar Cade, on the edge of Kaaraan.
5. AQAL SOMAALI: The traditional one room portable dwelling used by Somali nomads. These are rarely found in the main areas of legal settlement in Mogadishu but are reasonably common in the outlying obbosibo areas. The main complaint about this form of housing is that they are small, dusty inside, not completely water-proof and not secure against theft.
6. WAAB: a hut of one room, built with sticks as the frame and covered with sacks, plastic, tarpaulin, tin or anything else available. These are most commonly found in Beesha Shukri and in the obbosibo areas of Wadajir. Aqallo and waabab are the most common forms of what might be called third class housing in Mogadishu.
7. DAASH: a shelter built of sticks, sometimes in association with an acacia tree and mainly used either for koranic schools or for tea shops. They are rarely used for accommodation.

All sarro have cement floors but this is not the case with poorer quality housing such as carshaan and jingado. From the Family Health Survey (1983:30) it seems that more than 80 % of non-sarro houses in Mogadishu have floors of sand or earth.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING TYPES

In late 1984, in the process of planning a household budget survey, the Ministry of Planning listed all households and their house types in 80 tabeelayin, which were randomly but proportionally selected from the 13 districts in Mogadishu. The following table 6.1 shows an estimate of the proportion of the people living in three categories of house type, in each of the districts, based on this sample.

The total number of households surveyed was equal to a 10% sample in most of the districts and so is a reasonable indication of the situation in the districts as a whole. The proportions which are probably the most unreliable are those for Cabdulcasiis (based on a one tabeela sample) and Kaaraan. It seems likely from direct observation of Kaaraan that substantially more than 9.% of the district's population would be living in sarro. Nevertheless, we would feel that it is still true that the proportion of households living in sarro in Kaaraan is lower than for any other district.

Table 6.1: Distribution of house types in parts of the 13 districts of Mogadishu

District	Waab, Aqal,	Jiingad, Cariish, Baraako	Sar
Kaaraan	31 %	60.%	9.%
Cabdulcasiis	--	69.%	31.%
Yaqshiid	0.5%	66.5%	33.%
Wardhigley	--	65.%	35.%
Xamar Jab Jab	--	63.%	37.%
Wadajir	--	60.%	40.%
Waaberi	--	50.%	50.%
Boondheere	--	47.%	53.%
Hawl Wadag	--	43.%	57.%
Shibis	--	29.%	71.%
Hodon	--	20.%	80.%
Shangani	--	--	100.%
Xamar Weyne	--	--	100.%
Average	5%	55%	40%
N = 7,671			

Taking the figures for the city as a whole, exactly 59.7% of households were living in houses other than sarro, that is, baraakooyin, carshaan, jingado, aqallo, and waabab. The proportion of people living in sarro seems surprisingly low when general impressions from driving around the city are taken into account. It seems on this basis that sarro are clearly in the majority. However tarmac bias also operates in the city as well as the countryside. Along the tarmac roads sarro do dominate but much less so down far more numerous sandy backstreets. Similarly it is in the outlying districts that the largest number of non-sarro are found whereas in the centre of the city sarro are far more numerous.

The results cited above are consistent with data collected from a previous survey. The proportion found in the above household count was almost exactly the same as that found a few years earlier by Westinghouse and the Ministry of Health (MOH/WAS 1983:30). Their random survey of 1,017 households throughout Mogadishu found 59.3% of households they interviewed were living in houses other than sarro. In the central part of Waaberi, our control area which was intended to be representative of Mogadishu as a whole, we found the following distribution of households:

Table 6.2: The distribution of house types in part of Waaberi

Aqal	Cariish/jiingad/ baraako	Mitir Kuubo	Sar	All
1 %	42 %	8 % *	49 %	100 %
N = 218				

* Mitir kuubooyin have been distinguished here because they are partly built of stone and part of wood, and so are half way between being sar and non-sar types of houses. Their incidence in areas like Waaberi is much higher than in the newer areas of the city.

This distribution suggests that with 51% of households being in non-sarro buildings as far as housing type is concerned this area was representative of Waaberi district. Compared to the city as a whole there were a higher than average incidence of households living in sarro.

4. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Combining the information in Table 6.1** with data quoted by Puzo (1972:102)# it is possible to observe a significant change in the quality of housing in Mogadishu between 1953 and 1965 and also between 1965 and 1985. The following figures refer to the proportion of the population living in each house type during this period:

Table 6.3: Changes in housing conditions in Mogadishu from 1953 to 1986

Year	Source	Percentage of the population living in:		
		Aqal	Cariish,Baraako	Sar
1953	#	13 %	72 %	15 %
1965	#	14 %	59 %	27 %
1984	**	5 %	55 %	40 %

It seems clear from these figures that the proportion of the city's population living in the poorest quality housing has been declining since the 1950's. Bearing in mind the rapid growth of Mogadishu over the past 20 years this is a significant development. Mogadishu does not appear to be a city in crisis, when viewed in terms of changes in the quality of housing available.

Recommendation

As will be pointed out in Chapter 7, building construction is a significant source of employment in Mogadishu. As well as the construction activity itself, the production of building materials is also an important source of employment.

Most of the materials used to build houses in Mogadishu are obtained or manufactured locally. The stone and lime used to build sarro come from quarries on the outskirts of Mogadishu. The mud and sticks needed to build the walls of carshaan come from Shabelle Dhexe and Shabelle Hoose regions. The wood used for the walls of baraakooyin is usually second hand. Cement blocks are all made within Mogadishu using local sand. The cement itself however is imported in substantial quantities. (In 1987 a government factory began producing cement, near Berbera, on the north coast.) In some cases local lime is used for mortar instead of imported cement. However all roofing iron, used for jingado, carshaan, baraakooyin, mitir kuubooyin and sarro is imported. If an alternative roofing material which is cheaper than corrugated iron could be produced in Mogadishu it would both generate employment and reduce housing construction costs even for those building the simplest of houses, in obbosibo areas as well as areas of legal settlement. In other countries in Africa attempts have been made to develop locally made substitutes using sisal-cement-roofing tiles. It appears that here in Mogadishu the Habitat-funded Low Cost Housing Project, based in the Ministry of Housing and Public Works, has already carried out trials of tiles and roofing sheets made in this way. They have been able to produce roofing materials which are cheaper than corrugated iron sheets and which can be produced locally by Somali entrepreneurs. They do require stronger supporting structures than the grades of corrugated iron in present use, but according to the Habitat adviser, Fariid Sabri, these can be provided by design changes and involve very little extra cost. What is necessary now is to have this type of roofing material used in sufficient locations for people to see it as a realistic alternative and so that business people will consider investing in it's production. Foreign development agencies could help promote the use of this roofing material by incorporating its use in their own construction plans. Information on the sisal-cement roofing tiles is available from the Ministry of Housing and Public Works.

5. HOUSING AS AN INDICATOR OF HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE LEVELS

The MNP/SS Household Budget Survey (1984/85) collected data on household expenditure of 1,303 households from all districts in Mogadishu. Analysis of the raw data shows that there was a significant connection between the type of house people were living in and their total monthly expenditure. (This analysis did not however take into account other variables such as tenure or number of households occupying the same house, which are also significant as we shall show later.)

The distribution of households was as follows:

1. Of all households with below median expenditure:
 - 28% were living in sarro
 - 72% were living in carshaan, baraakooyin, jingado and aqallo
2. Of all those living in carshaan, baraakooyin, jingado and aqallo:
 - 27% had household expenditure levels above the median.
 - 73% had household expenditure levels below the median.

In the Waaberi sample a similar distribution of households was found:

Table 6.4: Food expenditure and house type of households in Waaberi

House type	Food Expenditure	
	Above median	Below median
Sarro	59%	41%
Carshaan, baraakooyin jingado, aqallo	36%	64%

(Mitir kuubo houses were equally distributed above and below the median.)

Of all those households with below-median food expenditure levels, 63% were living in carshaan, baraakooyin, jingado and aqallo.

These results show that there were significantly more poor households living in poor quality housing! This may seem to have been a predictable conclusion, but nevertheless the analysis is worthwhile since the exceptional cases of rich families owning many sarro but living in carshaan seem to dominate many people's consciousness.

One implication of the relationship between house type and household expenditure is that if a development programme, which was to be locality-based, wanted to maximise the number of low-expenditure households it was reaching then it would plainly make sense for it to be based in areas where poor quality housing was dominant. All the areas where we carried out surveys were characterised by a high incidence of such poor-quality housing. Only the section of Cabdulcasiis which we surveyed had a significant number of sar houses and this area was, according to our survey results, clearly better off than the other areas.

Using house type to identify areas most in need of development assistance in Mogadishu will still however leave aside large numbers of poor people living in areas of mixed house type: for example the legally settled areas of Kaaraan, Yaqshiid and Wardhigley. Furthermore, using house type by itself as an indicator of poverty in such areas would not be sufficient since it would

leave out the 39% of poor households living in good quality houses. Additional housing-quality based indicators that are useful in such circumstances will be described later in this chapter. Other means of identifying poor households in areas of heterogeneous housing in Mogadishu will be discussed in Chapter 13.

Given the connection between household expenditure levels and house type, the data on district variations in the proportions of people living in each house type are suggestive of the differences in income that may exist between these districts as a whole. Using the population proportions and estimates given in Chapter 4 (The Demographic Context), a calculation could also be made of the actual number of poor (below median) households in each district. This multiplication might be stretching the reliability of both sets of data but the results may be of some value when considering where to give priority to district level poverty-oriented development programmes, after the most obvious concentrations of poor housing have been identified.

6. RENTAL AND OWNERSHIP

Renting a house or room to live in is obviously a disadvantage compared to owning a house. Renting involves monthly costs whereas owning signifies ownership of assets as well as the potential to earn rental income from additional households taking rooms in the house (a common phenomenon in Mogadishu). Not surprisingly, we found that 67% of the households renting accommodation in Waaberi had daily food expenditures that were below the median for the area¹³

6.1 Rental values as an indicator

As will be shown in Chapter 9 (Household Expenditure), even for the average Mogadishu resident rent payments are the second largest part of the cost of living, after those for food. In the lower income groups it is particularly important. In the 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor, rental was 14% of household expenditure in the lowest income group versus 9% in the upper income group. Furthermore, rent is not like a bus fare or daily food costs. It is a large fixed sum of money that must usually be paid in a lump sum every month. For this reason, amongst households that rent their accommodation the amount of rental paid could be an approximate indicator of the economic status of the household as a whole. A more refined measure would be rental paid per head. Certainly there is a tremendous range in the amount people pay for rent. In the upper echelons of Mogadishu society, especially at the diplomatic level, we know of rentals as high as 70,000/- per month for a single person. The family of Muuse (Chapter 2) in contrast, pay 100/- per head per month.

6.2 Variations between districts in rental costs

Data collected by the Ministry of Planning on rental values in 9 districts in 1984 (for the Consumer Price Index) have shown little variation in rent values between districts for identical housing and amenities, but substantial differences between different standards of housing. For example:

Cariish (1 room, with no electricity or water) = 565/- per month in Dec 1985

Sar (1 room with water and electricity) = 1,280/- per month, in Dec 1985

In the areas we surveyed the median monthly rents for sar and cariish were as follows:

¹³ The incidence of rented accommodation was the same in both sarro and carshaan.

Table 6.5: Rental values for single rooms in 6 areas of Mogadishu, 1986

Area	Sar	N	Cariish	N
Waaberi	800/-	29	300/-	26
Cabdulcasiis	500/-	26	250/-	8
Wadajir (Halane)	---	0	300/-	2
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	1,000/-	4	400/-	19
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)			---	---
Beesha Shukri	---	---	---	---

In contrast to the Ministry of Planning data, our survey data show substantial variations, at least in sar rents, between different areas.

Other information we have obtained informally also suggests that rents vary substantially according to location. In Hawl Wadag a single room in a sar in 1986 cost between 1,200/- and 1,500/- per month. In Xamar Weyne comparable single rooms can cost up to 2,000/- per month. Even within the areas we surveyed, rents varied substantially for the same type of accommodation. Sar rooms ranged from 400/- to 1,200/- per month. There are at least three reasons for variations in rents both within and between areas. One is the differences that exist in the relationship between owner and tenant (friend, relative, stranger). The other is that rents tend to rise between changes in tenants rather than during tenancies, so areas with many long-term tenants will have lower rents for a given standard of accommodation. Thirdly, rents vary according to the desirability of an area, as is the case in Europe or America.

6.3 The extent of rental housing in Mogadishu

Anthony O'Connor, author of "The African City" has commented: "One of the main limitations of the existing literature is that it overstates certain elements in the total picture at the expenses of others. It is easy to get the impression that almost everyone lives in either government housing or in a squatter settlement. Generally this is far from the truth.....Most urban dwellers are thus renting accommodation from private landlords rather than squatting or depending on the state for housing" (O'Connor 1983:166)

In Mogadishu it is certainly true that far more people are living in rented accommodation than are living in squatter settlements. However, as yet, there are no precise figures of the proportion of people living in rented accommodation in the city. The Somali Family Health Survey (MOH/WPAS 1983:30) found that 47.4% of its Mogadishu-wide sample of 1,017 households were living in rented accommodation. This is the highest figure we have seen. The 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor found a lower proportion. In their sample 40% of the households were renting, but this was in an area of almost wholly non-sar housing. In another survey, of Damme Yassin, on the southern edge of the city, the Mogadishu Pre-Primary Services Study in 1986 found that 28% of the households contacted were living in rented accommodation. Since this area is on the periphery of the city the incidence there might be expected to be lower than for the city as a whole.

In our Waaberi household survey we found the following tenure arrangements:

Households owning their own houses	61 %
Households renting rooms/houses	30 %
Households receiving free accommodation	9 %

There was only a very small difference in the proportions of households renting accommodation in sarro compared to non-sarro (28% and 33%).

In our view, it seemed possible that the proportion of households reported to live in rented accommodation in Waaberi is an under-representation of the real situation. Since the Somali Family Health Survey in 1983 the government has publicly taken steps to collect tax from those earning income from rented sar houses and rooms. It is in the self-interest of any tenant in a house with a landlord present to refer any visiting enumerator, who may be associated with the government, to the household of the landlord, either to avoid potential trouble with the landlord or out of politeness. This may have affected the enumerators' choice of household once they entered a house or compound. In our sample 49% of the people interviewed in multiple household houses were owners, whereas our data on numbers of households per house suggest, if the sample had been random within those houses, that a maximum proportion of 35% would have been expected. An adjustment of the original incidence of households renting to take this bias into account indicates that 40% of the households in the area we surveyed in Waaberi would have been renting their accommodation. Additional data on the incidence of rental for the city as a whole should be available when the final analysis of the 1984/5 Household Budget Survey is available.

6.4 The African context

O'Connor quotes proportions of people renting accommodation for six other major African cities (Brazzaville, Douala, Blantyre, Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Kitwe) which vary from 45 % in Brazzaville (1974) to 76 % in Dar es Salaam (1967) (O'Connor 1983:171). In comparison to these cities at least, it seems that Mogadishu has a relatively low proportion of people living in rented accommodation.

6.5 Variations between districts in the extent of rental housing

We have not been able to find any published statistical data on the variations in proportions of rented and owned accommodation between the different districts of Mogadishu. In theory comprehensive data on the proportions of sarro houses rented in each district should be available from the Ministry of Revenue, as a result of their enumeration of such houses in late 1985.

Within the areas (mainly obbosibo) of the different districts that we have surveyed we have found the following:

Table 6.6: Housing tenure in 7 areas of Mogadishu

Area	Owned	Rented	Received	Free
Cabdulcasiis	63 %	28 %	9 %	
Waaberi	61 %	30 %	9 %	
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	71 %	25 %	4 %	
Kaaraan (Fanoole)	87 %	10 %	2 % *	
Wadajir (Halane)	96 %	1 %	3 %	
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	99 %	--	1 %	
Beesha Shukri	100 %	--	--	

*residual percents represent those households part renting/part owning. Sample sizes in each case were between 210 and 218 households, with the exception of the two areas of Wadajir, which were 151 and 101 respectively.

These areas are ranked in order of decreasing age with Cabdulcasiis being the oldest, having been initially settled in the 1930's. (Farjano and Yaqshiid were settled at approximately the same time.) There seems an approximate association between the age of the settlements and the proportion of households renting their accommodation. This probably reflects the fact that since the initial settlement of the areas concerned, some of the original residents have prospered to the extent that they have managed to obtain other accommodation in the city, while still renting out their houses in the area they were originally living. Other poor people have since come into the area to rent those houses.

One question that needs to be answered is the relative status, in the obbosibo areas, of households who are renting compared to those who are owning accommodation. In Waaberi, a legally settled area, households renting accommodation were, overall, poorer than those owning their accommodation. The little evidence we have at the moment (78 cases) suggests that those renting accommodation in the obbosibo areas are mid-way in economic status between renters in legal areas, who are better off, and owners in obbosibo areas, who are worse off. In both Cabdulcasiis and Yaqshiid, those households renting accommodation had higher median food expenditure levels than those owning their own accommodation. The gap was greater in Cabdulcasiis (renters' median 50/- compared to owners' median 40/-) than in Yaqshiid (renters' median 37.6/- compared to owners' 33.3/-*). Because of the large difference in food expenditure levels between these two areas for both owners and renters we would hesitate to generalise this finding to other obbosibo areas in the city, without data being gathered from those areas first. Nevertheless the position of those renting is different from what might be expected and should be investigated further.

7. FREE HOUSING

As already shown, in Waaberi there were a significant number of households receiving housing for free (9%). The same proportion was found in Cabdulcasiis, an area almost as well off as Waaberi. In contrast the 1983 Family Health Survey only found 2.7% of households neither renting or owning (thus presumably receiving accommodation free of rent). This is very low when compared to the incidence found in all the areas we surveyed. Only in the outermost obbosibo areas did we find rates this low. We suspect that their survey underenumerated this group of households, and probably as a result, overenumerated those renting houses.

* Sar houses have been excluded in this calculation since the land on which they are built is more likely to have been given legal status, and thus strictly speaking, they are not in obbosibo areas.

The overall proportion of people receiving free accommodation in Mogadishu may well be greater than indicated by the proportion of households receiving free accommodation in Waaberi and Cabdulcasiis. The survey questionnaire did not elicit how many households included individual relatives or friends who were being given free lodging and were considered as part of the household that was enumerated. Informal opinion suggests that there are a substantial number of people in the city being housed in this way, particularly new and single migrants, both male and female. Muuse's household of 12 (Chapter 2) included 5 relatives, three of whom were there temporarily and two of whom were living with the household on a permanent basis.

Another form of housing that is available on a concessional basis to some households in Mogadishu is that which is owned by the government. Some sections of the government have a policy of providing accommodation to some of their staff: the Commercial and Savings Bank of Somalia, Somali Airlines and the military, for instance. There are also blocks of government housing which have been provided to government workers from all Ministries such as "African Village" in Hodon. It is difficult to estimate the numbers of government workers accommodated in this way in Mogadishu. Since our concern is with disadvantaged groups we have not given this group and this form of accommodation any specific attention.

8. CROWDING

8.1 Shared houses

All the previous household surveys that have been carried out in Mogadishu have ignored an important feature of housing conditions in Mogadishu. The majority of households in Mogadishu do not have a whole house to themselves. In the Waaberi sample 71% of all those interviewed were sharing a house with other households. This phenomenon is not confined to the central areas of the city. In Wadajir District, on the southern edge of the city, 68% of the households in a tabeela nearest to the tarmac road were sharing houses with one or more other households. The proportion decreased with increasing distance away from the road, to 23% in the furthest tabeela, on the very edge of the city (Urban Basic Services Programme records).

In the Waaberi sample there was a clear association between the food expenditure of a household and the number of other households who were sharing the same house:

Table 6.7: Households per house and household food expenditure in Waaberi.

Proportion of Households with:	Number of people in the house:						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Above median food expenditure	75%	46%	43%	29%	24%	0%	0%
Below median food expenditure	25%	54%	71%	76%	57%	100%	100%
Proportion of all households	29%	26%	21%	10%	8%	4%	2%
N = 218							

It is clear that households sharing houses with three or more other households are very likely to be poorer than average. This trend was seen to be true regardless of the house type. The proportions of households sharing sarro and carshaan were almost the same.

8.2 People per room

As would be expected from the above data, within Mogadishu it is very common to find whole households living in single rooms. In the Waaberi sample 30% of all households lived in one room. Almost all of these would have been in shared houses. In the poorer housing areas the percentage of households living in one room was greater. The 1980 MNP Urban Poor Survey, which focused on poor housing sections of Wadajir, Wardhigley and Hawl Wadag found that 71% of all the households interviewed were living in one room. The highest incidence we are aware of is in Beesha Shukri, the poorest area we surveyed, where 86% of the households interviewed were living in one room.

Associated with one-room households are high densities of people per room. In Beesha Shukri where 86% of the households were living in single rooms the median number of people per room was 5. In Waaberi, where most households lived in more than one room, the average was 2.5. However, for those households living in single rooms in Waaberi the average number of people per room was 4.

In the Waaberi sample there was a clear relationship between the number of people per room in a household and the household's food expenditure:

Table 6.8: People per room and household food expenditure in Waaberi

Food expenditure	People per room								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Above median	87%	57%	61%	48%	23%	-	-	-	50%
Below median	13%	43%	39%	52%	77%	100%	100%	100%	50%
% of all H/Hlds	15%	33%	26%	14%	6%	3%	1%	1%	1%
N = 214									

Most households with one person per room were above the median. Most households with five or more people per room were below the median.

Shared houses and crowded rooms are not just significant as proxy income indicators. From discussions with Somali residents of Mogadishu it seems that many people feel that having to live in a house along with other households is a major disadvantage in daily life. All common space in the courtyard/compound (where washing and cooking is usually done) must be shared. Latrines must also be shared. Conflicts between households over lost, stolen or damaged property and over the behaviour of each household's children are inevitable. Apart from a greater likelihood of interpersonal conflict, the greater degree of crowding within individual rooms and the house as a whole also means that the people in such situations are more vulnerable to the spread of contagious diseases.

In such conditions, the fact that many men in Mogadishu spend time away from their houses in tea shops talking to other men, appears both understandable, but also privileged in comparison to the lot of the women who remain in the houses taking the responsibility for the housework and child care. Appreciation of the degree of crowding within houses in Mogadishu also shows another less directly economic benefit that some people have gained by moving to the obbosibo areas. In Beesha Shukri even though the type of house is poor and the number of people per room is high, 90% of the households have their houses to themselves.

8.3 People per hectare

In the table below some estimates are made of population densities in seven areas of Mogadishu, including some of the areas we have surveyed. It must be said that the quality of these estimates is dependent on the quality of the population estimates they are based on (Source C, Appendix 4.1). There may be a large degree of error involved in these estimates.

Table 6.9: Population densities in 7 areas of Mogadishu

Area	Per hectare:	Households	People
Legal areas			
Hodon Xaafadda	1 (Waaxda 2,3)	9	55
Xaafadda	3	32	198
Wadajir Xaafadda	4(Waaxda 1)	25	155
Yaqshiid Xaafadda	2 (Waaxda 2,3)	26	161
Waaberi Xaafadda	2	85	527
Obbosibo areas			
Yaqshiid Xaafadda	1 (Waaxda 4)	20	125
Waaberi (Buulo Eelay)	70	434	
Xamar Jab Jab Xaafadda	2 (Bur Karole)	83	509

As can be seen above the highest population densities are not necessarily found in the squatter areas. There is substantial variation in the population densities of the squatter areas for which we have been able to make estimates. In the case of the Wadajir obbosibo areas and the Beesha Shukri resettlement area we did not have any hard data with which to make a population density estimate. However to an outsider these areas, especially Beesha Shukri, do not appear to be closely settled.

Overall it seems that proximity to the centre of the city is a more significant determinant of population density. Both legal and illegal areas which are centrally located (e.g Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab) are more densely settled than corresponding areas in the outlying areas (Yaqshiid - legal and illegal - and Wadajir). There are some expected exceptions to this trend however. Within Hodon for example, areas of high quality housing (Xaafadda 1, Waaxda 2,3) have a much lower density than areas of more "middle class" housing (Xaafadda 3).

Our judgement is that the greater population density levels in the inner city areas are essentially a reflection of popular preferences for living in such areas rather than of any significant differences in the quality of housing available. The only statements we have heard people make which have expressed dissatisfaction with inner city areas have been about the poorer standard of public sanitation in such areas. We have made further comment about this aspect of Mogadishu in Chapter 11.

8.4 The African context

The highest densities reported above are not exceptional when compared to other African cities. In Lagos the density of settlement varies from 200 people per hectare to 1,100 per hectare (O'Connor 1983:213). In Mathare Valley and Kibera, in Nairobi, the densities are estimated to be over 1,000 people per hectare. In the wealthier suburbs it is as low as 15 people per hectare (O'Connor 1983:213). Overall, the population densities of most African cities are not very high

when compared to large Asian cities. A major factor accounting for the difference is that in African cities single storey residential accommodation is the norm and multi-storey apartment buildings the exception. Generally speaking, the most significant aspect of crowding in African cities such as Mogadishu is the density of households per house and people per room rather than the density per hectare.

9. SUMMARY

There are at least three basic variables which define a household's standard of living in Mogadishu, in terms of housing conditions. These are the type of house, the nature of the tenure and the degree of crowding. The ideal situation for many households would be to be able to afford to own and live in a sar which did not need to be shared with anyone else. The other extreme would be for a whole household to have to live in a single rented room in a cariish in a compound shared by other households. In between these extremes are the various possible combinations of house type, tenure and degree of crowding.

One reason why there is not a more pronounced difference in economic status between those living in sarro and those in poorer quality housing in Mogadishu is because of the combinations of situations that can occur. Consider, for instance, some households who live in a single room rented in a sar shared with a number of other households (19% in Waaberi). Compare them with other households, living in their own cariish, who also receive rent from other households living in other rooms of that cariish (and others in the same compound) (16% in Waaberi). The rooms of the cariish dwellers are less likely to have cement floors and they are more likely to have to use a public standpipe or share a tap in a compound (See Chapter 11). Yet they may often be financially better off than sar dwellers, by virtue of their ownership.

We have not done the analysis necessary to establish which of the three variables mentioned has the strongest relationship to household expenditure levels. Since all three variables are not only related to household expenditure levels but are also aspects of disadvantage in themselves, we would suggest that all three of these variables be used where possible in any selection process that is intended to identify disadvantaged households in Mogadishu. In particular, measures of the degree of crowding in households should not be left out because they are a key dimension of housing quality in Mogadishu.

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Chapter 7: PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will examine paid employment in Mogadishu from two points of view. To begin with, estimates of employment levels (male and female) in Mogadishu will be compared and interpreted (Section 2). In addition, data available on the relative employment status of working men and women will be presented, with some comments (Sections 3 and 4). Obviously the vast majority of women are already involved in unpaid employment (house cleaning and child care). But this chapter will only deal with paid employment in the city. Following these sections we will describe the major sectors of the Mogadishu economy in terms of their significance as sources of employment (Section 5). The next chapter will concentrate specifically on the paid employment of women in the city.

2. EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATES

The proportion of people estimated to be employed in Mogadishu varies both according to what time perspective is taken and what sources are used.

The following figures have been obtained by the 1982 Labour Force Survey (1), the Demographic Survey of Bay, Banaadir and Shabelle Hoose Regions in 1980-81 (2) and by the National Survey of Population in 1980/81 (3). Employment figures have been quoted because they are less confusing than those for unemployment, which can be defined in a variety of ways.

Table 7.1: Proportion of people employed in Mogadishu, according to three sources

Reference Period	Males	Females	Source
In the last week	45 %	11%	(1)
In the last month	57%	15%	(3)
In the last month	73%	18%	(2)
In the last year	49%	12%	(1)

Note: All percentages are of those aged 10 and above. In Somalia it is legal to employ a person from the age of 15 onwards. (See Chapter 16 for more information on working children in Mogadishu.)

Any of these sets of figures read by themselves and compared to unemployment rates in developed economies would suggest that the economic situation in Mogadishu is very bad indeed and that large numbers of people must be living in very impoverished circumstances. However there are reasons for believing the situation is not as straightforward as this.

Firstly, such figures do not include the numbers of people who are employed overseas and who are remitting their incomes back to their friends and family in Mogadishu. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 10: Support Networks.

Secondly, when we surveyed six areas of Mogadishu we found that the highest, not lowest, rates of employment were in the poorest areas. In the two poorest areas, Beesha Shukri and Damme Yassin obbosibo areas we found 50% of adults in both areas were employed in the previous week, whereas in the control area, Waaberi, the proportion was 40% (N= 339, 546, 762 respectively). The tendency was the same when the rates were analysed in terms of sex. This is not what would be expected if poverty in communities was simply a matter of how many

people were working at any time.

Nevertheless this trend is understandable. In cities such as Mogadishu, where there is no institutionalised state welfare system which pays out unemployment and other social security benefits, it could be said that in many cases people have to be able to afford to be unemployed, for anything more than a very short period of time. One illustrative example we are aware of is the family of Wiilo, who live in Hodon District, an above-average income area:

The household consists of 12 people, 10 of whom are adults. They live in a large stone house with a larger than average compound. Only 3 are working but in fact it is mainly the income from 2 of these that supports the whole family. Some income is also received from assets left by the father who died some years ago. There are four adult men and three adult women in this household who are not working at all and who are being supported by the others. The family is getting sufficient for their daily needs, and is in fact at present having some extensive repair work done on the house.

The fact is that individuals, employed and unemployed, are not the sole units of the economy of Mogadishu. As already pointed out in the section on demography only a very small proportion of people in Mogadishu live as single or even two-people units. Households of six or more people, of two or three generations, often with cousins, and relatives-in-law as well as the basic family, are closer to the norm. They are economic as well as demographic entities. Muuse's family (Chapter 2) is again an example.

When Waaberi and other areas we surveyed are looked at in terms of the number of households with employed members and no employed members the situation looks very different to that in Table 7.1:

Table 7.2: Incidence of households with employed members in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Area	Percentages of Households With N Employed Members					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
Waaberi	6	60	21	8	4	1
Cabdulcasiis	8	59	23	7	2	1
Wadajir (Halane)	8	61	24	7	-	-
Yaqshiid	10	51	29	7	2	1
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	14	62	21	3	-	-
Beesha Shukri	8	63	22	4	2	1

Note: areas have been ranked according to average food expenditure in each area, with Beesha Shukri as the poorest area.

Two points can be noted. Firstly, the number of households who are without work is much lower than the number of individuals who were reported to be without work. Secondly, the number of households with no employed members is relatively similar in all areas. This reinforces our view that there are factors other than the absolute level of employment that must account for differences in economic status of these areas of Mogadishu. We would also suggest that the percentages of households with no employed members are possibly the most realistic estimates of the level of real unemployment in these areas.

3. EMPLOYMENT STATUS

The 1982 Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:78) found the following pattern of employment status in Mogadishu:

Table 7.3 Employment status of working men and women in Mogadishu

Status	Men	Women
Employed	63%	57%
Self-Employed	26%	35%
Employers	9%	5%
Unpaid Family Helper ¹⁴	<1%	<1%
Not known	1%	2%
Total	100%	100%
N =	1,645	396

The following comments can be made about this distribution:

1. Self-employment is a much more common source of employment for women than for men. Men are more likely to be employers or employees.
2. The major part of the workforce are employees. Many of these are likely to be government employees. When other data from the Labour Force Survey, referred to in the description of employment sectors below, are combined with the above, we can estimate that of all those who are classed as employed, approximately 40% of the 62% (male and female combined) are government employees and 22% are employees in the private sector.
3. It should be noted therefore that there is a reasonably sized private labour market in Mogadishu. Discussions about wages rates which focus only on the wages rates of government workers and their relationship to inflation, will therefore give a distorted, and unduly negative impression of the state of the economy.
4. The numbers of people reported as unpaid family helpers in this sample are, in our opinion, substantially less than would be expected. Data presented in Chapter 16 suggest that this is the case because of underenumeration of children, and to a lesser extent, women, working in this capacity.

4. STABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT

What has been missed out of all the surveys done so far in Mogadishu, ours included, has been any attempt to look systematically at the stability or regularity of people's employment over time. We would recommend that any future socio-economic surveys include appropriate measures in this area¹⁵. Peter Worsley (1984:206) has commented:

"Stability of employment-security deserves far more attention than it normally gets in discussions of the life of the urban poor for though jobs can be classified into categories,...the existential reality is that any individual moves in and out of many different kinds of occupations. A major

¹⁴ A member who works in the family enterprise without getting any pay or profit.

¹⁵ For example "When was the last day on which you had no work?"

attribute of the urban poor...is the volatility of their occupations. Since they are the endemically casual poor, it is as the poor, rather than as members of the working class that they are likely to see themselves."

It is likely that high unemployment rates in a Third World city such as Mogadishu reflect to a considerable extent a rapid flow of some people between jobs rather than a large number of men and women without income for long periods of time. In Mogadishu the term *xoog sade* is sometimes applied to people in this type of situation, who have no occupational identity and who are moving from one job to another as opportunities arise. One translation of this term given to us was that: "he doesn't work in a special place, he goes wherever he wants, he wants to be free, he makes business here and there and sometimes he works for other people".

One implication of this employment pattern has been pointed out by Oxfam in their Manual For Development Workers (1985:28) "In general the mobile and transitory nature of the job market in Third World cities makes it very difficult to attack poverty at the place of work, and it is possibly easier to concentrate on problems presented at the place of residence". It is not only the transitoriness of employment but also the small size of most private sector enterprises in Mogadishu which make this advice even more relevant in this city. The 1986 Private Sector Manpower Survey found 75% of all enumerated working adults in the private sector were working in enterprises of 4 or less. In the case of working women, the proportion was 98%!.

This is one reason why much of the survey work which we carried out was concentrated on geographical areas rather than on occupational groups or economic sectors. However one survey, of women's work, was specifically concerned with the nature of people's work and workplace. This is reported on in Chapter 8: Women in the Mogadishu Economy. In addition to this particular study we have also identified some areas of employment where initiatives at the workplace could be appropriate. These are discussed in section 5 that follows and later in Chapter 14.

5. EMPLOYMENT IN SPECIFIC SECTORS OF THE MOGADISHU ECONOMY

In the following section we will make some comments on the significance of the different sectors of the Mogadishu economy as sources of employment. The data and observations we use have come largely from the six area surveys we have carried out, along with some specific inquiries into particular areas. Where possible we have tried to identify the most disadvantaged occupations within each sector. The categorisation of sectors has been adapted from the 1982 Labour Force Survey and are as follows:

1. Government	39%
2. Trade (wholesale and retail)	20%
3. Services (private sector)	23%
4. Manufacturing	6%
5. Construction	9%
6. Farming, fishing and other	3%

5.1. Government

We have not been able to find satisfactory estimates of the total number of government employees working in Mogadishu or the proportion of the workforce that they constitute. They may exist. Although they are a distinct and important section of the Mogadishu workforce the

Labour Force Survey did not treat them as a special category, possibly because it was using an internationally applied classification scheme. The category of "Community, Social and Personal Services" included government workers involved in "public administration and defence services" as well as private sector workers. This category accounted for 51% of all employed people in Mogadishu.

Some useful data do exist concerning the incidence of government employment in specific areas of Mogadishu. In 1985 VITA (Smale, M. et al 1985) found that 30% of its small sample of household heads (N= 90) from Xamar Weyne, Hodon and Wadajir were working for the government. The 1980 Survey of the Urban Poor which was done in poor housing areas of Wardhigley, Wadajir and Hawl Wadag found that 36% of those working were working for the government (MNP 1980). The UNICEF/Municipality of Mogadishu Pre-Primary Services study in Damme Yassin, Wadajir District, found that 32% of male heads of households were working for the Government.

When we surveyed six areas of Mogadishu we found the following:

Table 7.4: Incidence of government employment in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Area	Of all working		All
	Men	Women	
Waaberi	37%	44%	39%
Cabdulcasiis	49%	46%	48%
Wadajir (Halane)	47%	32%	43%
Yaqshiid	28%	10%	22%
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	35%	6%	27%
Beesha Shukri	27%	10%	22%

Note: Areas are ranked in terms of household food expenditure levels, from highest to lowest. (See Chapter 9.)

Further data should become available on Hodon District as a result of a survey being carried out by the Somali Family Health Services Project in December 1986. This will be of special interest since Hodon is a middle to upper class residential area, compared to the rest of the city.

Some points can be made about the above distribution:

1. The proportion of women who are government employees clearly declines in the poorer areas.
2. The incidence of men working for government does not show such a clear trend. The high incidence in Halane *obbosibo* can be explained by the fact that it is next to a major military camp, and that many of the men in the settlement were reported to be employed as soldiers. The high incidence in Cabdulcasiis is possibly related to the region of origin of the major group of migrant households in the area. (See Chapter 4.)
3. When both sexes are combined it seems that the three poorest areas have the lowest numbers of people employed as government workers.

On the basis of our own data and that already cited we would suggest that between 30% and 39% of the adult population in Mogadishu are working for the government. This is a substantial change from the situation twenty years ago, in 1967, when Puzo (1972:181) estimated from survey data that 64% of all working adults (aged 15 and over) were working for the government.

When wages alone are considered, government workers are the poorest paid in Mogadishu. Many teachers are paid little more than 600/- a month, less than a houseservant in a Somali house would get in food and board alone. Doctors are paid no more than 2,000/- a month, far less than construction labourers. On the basis of their wage levels alone government workers would definitely seem to be one of the most disadvantaged groups in Mogadishu. However the relatively low incidence of government workers in the poorest areas we surveyed is contrary to what would be expected if that was the case.

Furthermore, when the households sampled in Waaberi District were examined there was no significant concentration of government workers in the below- median-food-expenditure group. In fact, there was a slight, but statistically non-significant, tendency for government workers to be concentrated in the above-median group. (See also Chapter 8 on women government workers)

At least three reasons can be put forward why government workers, as a group, are not as impoverished as might be expected:

1. Technical skills: There are certain classes of government workers who can sell their work skills on the outside labour market. These include doctors, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, carpenters and some teachers.

Other government workers may have second jobs, unrelated to their government occupations, which they attend to later in the day and which enable them to survive. None of the government workers interviewed in our surveys declared having such second jobs, although common knowledge would suggest that many do.

2. Family support: There are some government workers who are supported by other members of their family or relatives, who are either within Mogadishu or overseas.
3. Niches: Those without specialist technical skills which can be sold or used on the open market can nevertheless earn additional income if they occupy key positions in the bureaucracy. Key positions are those for example where essential documentation is issued or processed, where access to senior staff is controlled, where staff appointments and transfers are made, and where physical resources are stored or allocated.

Benefits can come to people in these positions in a variety of forms. One is *dhaadhac* (literally "things that fall"). These are fringe benefits that come with a position. *Dhaadhac* can range from access to the use of a vehicle or telephone to access to storerooms holding government property.

Another form of benefit that can be received is *hawl fududeyn* (literally "make work easier"). These are informal payments received for services given, as a part of a person's normal duties (a fee for service). These services can be quite legal, such as stamping and completing a required form in accordance with normal procedures, but they may be completed in a quicker manner than normal.

A less tangible but equally important benefit is the accumulation of favours owed. People in

significant niches can negotiate favours of access or assistance in other forms, for others who are then in debt to them for similar favours to be done in the future. Astute trading of these favours can result in a large stock of influence being accumulated as well as significant material and status benefits (*garabsiin*, literally "giving a shoulder", is one expression used in connection with this activity).

The final possibility is that income can be earned by illegal activities such as taking of bribes (*laaluush*) in payment for carrying out activities which are clearly against the law.

Because of all the above possibilities it is not possible simply to state which workers in government employment are the most disadvantaged. Some teachers are better off than others, depending on where they work: similarly the case with nurses.

However there does seem to be some degree of consensus that the lowest class of government workers - the sweepers, watchmen, cleaners and messengers - are the poorest of all government workers. One of the main employers of sweepers in Mogadishu are the District Offices of Mogadishu. They pay sweepers 1,000/- a month. In some cases they are also given extra by shopkeepers and others in the areas they work. Since the work they do is of the lowest status it is only often only taken up when there are no better alternatives. Because they are amongst the poorest and because they are accessible through an identifiable contact point this group should be given specific attention in any area-based development programmes. Further comments about strategies for this and similar groups have been made in Chapter 11: Water, Sanitation and Health.

5.2. Wholesale and Retail Trade

Wholesale and retail trading are the most common and visible forms of private sector economic activity in Mogadishu. According to the Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:62) 30% of the female labour force and 18% of the male labour force were employed in this sector (equal to 20% of all those employed). In the control area of Waaberi we found that 18% of those working were earning income as traders.

Levels and Locations of Trading

At the upper end of the income scale in Mogadishu are the importers. Along with building construction, importing has been a major area of activity into which remittances and other surplus in the economy have been channelled in recent years. It is likely that the majority of those involved at this level of trading activity were included in the list of 423 holders of import licences published in Xiddigta Oktoobar on November 9th 1985. A large proportion of those on this list could be expected to be based in Mogadishu. This list could be the basis from which a sampling of data from this level of traders could be taken. Since our concern was with disadvantage rather than advantage we have not looked at this group any further.

There are two basic locations for trading activities in Mogadishu. The most visible are the modern shopfront developments extending along almost every main road in Mogadishu, but especially streets such as *Jidka Makka*, *Jidka Siinay* and *Jidka Soddonka*. Many of those involved in importing have also invested in buildings in these locations. The less visible locations are the village type markets, found in every district and numbering more than 23, according to the Municipality of Mogadishu. (See Appendix 7.1.)

These traditional markets are of central importance to the Mogadishu economy for a number of reasons. It is to these locations that the major part of the produce from the rural areas comes each day. It is in the vicinity of these markets that the main food warehouses (*bakhaaro*) are located, for example Via Egypt, near Xamar Weyne market. The markets are the primary sources for food supplies, often purchased daily, by the vast majority of households in Mogadishu and certainly by the poorest households. The markets are also important for the employment opportunities they offer. A major proportion of the regular workers in these markets are women. It is also to these locations that many young men and boys come looking for casual labouring work. For the Municipality of Mogadishu the markets are important because they are the major single source of tax revenue for the Municipality (conversation with Director of Finance, June 1986). Every trader in every market must pay a minimum of 20/- per day to the Municipality.

Common to both the main streets and the markets are the open-air and pavement-based traders and entrepreneurs known variously as *bacadleyaal*, *waratooyin* etc. who have no premises of their own where they can safely display and store their stock. These include

- *jeebleyaal* (literally the people selling out of their pockets): those selling cigarettes, peanuts etc. as they walk the pavements and streets
- *waratooyin*: those whose goods are laid out on the ground or sidewalk. In the markets they sell milk, vegetables and fruit. On the street they are selling clothes, toothbrush sticks, and a whole range of knickknacks.
- *nacnagadeyaal* (sweet sellers) and *sigargadeyaal* (cigarette sellers) and similar: those who operate from portable tables, cases and stools on the street side.
- *gari gacanleyaal* (handcart operators): those who sell fruit and vegetables in the markets and clothes and knickknacks on the pavements.

We have not systematically compared the earnings of these groups. It may be that their earnings will be directly related to the amount of money they have tied up in their stock. Those with stock of little value will experience the most intense competition from many others because of the low entry costs into that niche whereas those with stock of greater value may have better profit margins because of the higher entry costs. It is worth noting that some of the *waratooyin* and *gari gacanleyaal* selling clothes especially, can be holding between 15,000/- to 25,000/- of goods in stock. The other end of the scale is represented by the women in the sidestreets, sitting outside their homes with a handful of fruit and vegetables worth no more than 100/-.

Storage and transport are crucial issues for these traders. Goods must be able to be moved quickly from the street if action is about to be taken against them by the Municipal police. There must be a secure place where the goods can be stored overnight. Many of the *gari gacanleyaal* operating in the central parts of the city have to pay local shopowners for storage rights in their premises at night. Those that do not must be ready to transport their stock, usually on foot, to their homes in the nearby districts each night.

Those selling fruit and vegetables face the additional problem of having to sell their stock fast enough before it deteriorates and becomes unsellable. They have even less leeway than the others to insist on a price that will cover their costs and earn a small profit. Maxammed, a watchman by night, used to earn additional income each morning by selling grapefruit in his local market. The poorest people in the market, in his view were the women selling small amounts of vegetables and fruit. Often, he said, they do not even make a profit at the end of the day.

Status and social acceptability, as well as entry costs, affect profits available to people selling on

the street. Selling plastic bags requires no capital to start with since the bags can be obtained on advance from middle people. But usually this work is only done by young boys and girls, not women or men with families even though it seems, according to one case we came across, to be able to earn people up to 200/- a day. Similarly mobile sellers of peanuts seem mainly to be young boys even though two interviewed said they were making 200/- to 300/- a day (selling 400 to 500 packets and getting, 1/2/- a packet profit).

Summary

Most of those who work as traders are self-employed. A 1978 (Anon 1978:20) survey of employment in Mogadishu showed that 67% of all wholesale and retail trading enterprises consisted of only one self-employed worker.

Some idea of the importance of the street and markets as places of employment can be obtained from the household survey carried out in Waaberi District. All those classed as employed in the past week were categorised in terms of their place of work. The distribution of people according to workplace was as follows:

- 4% were based in the home
- 8% were based on the street, (without rented or owned premises)
- 27% were based in the markets
- 61% were based elsewhere, in offices, shops, workshops and factories.

The largest proportion of those working in the streets and markets are there as traders. Those remaining are service workers: car washers and watchmen, shoe polishers etc.

5.3 Services

Using the Labour Force Survey data (1985b:83) it seems that possibly 23% of those employed in Mogadishu could be considered as privately-employed and self-employed service sector workers. Four main groups can be identified:

1. *Transport Workers:*

According to the Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b) 9% of those employed were in this sector. In the Waaberi household survey 11% of those working were employed in this sector. The occupations found in this group in Waaberi were drivers, mechanics, garage workers, lacag qaadeyaal (money takers on the buses), petrol station workers, and bicycle renters! In Waaberi the most common single occupation for all those reported as working was that of driver.

There are other categories of transport sector workers which were not found in the Waaberi sample. One major category are the labourers at the port who offload ships' cargo onto the docks and onto the waiting trucks. Information is being gathered about this group by other researchers, as will be detailed later. These labourers belong to a cooperative and are reported to be among the better paid labourers in the city. Another category are those labourers who wait at the main truckstops in the city for work, loading and unloading building materials and general cargo at various locations around the town (warehouses, markets, and building sites). We have no information on their likely daily earnings. Finally there are the gari gacanleyaal (handcart operators) who transfer goods such as milk from the trucks coming from the countryside to the district markets, and from the markets to people's homes and stores. This latter occupation is mainly carried out by young men and boys. Casual inquiries at markets in June 1986 showed that incomes per day vary from market to market, but that average normal earnings seemed to be around 50/- to 600/- per day. Income from this work is very erratic. Individual loads are small and pay correspondingly so, thus a number of loads are needed each day to earn anything sufficient. This seems likely to be the reason why few older men, who are more likely to have

dependents, are working as gari gacanleyaal.

Another significant source of employment for young adult men and teenage boys are the garages scattered throughout the city. There is a large supply of young teenage boys waiting for opportunities to work in a semi-apprentice role in garages in Mogadishu. This is seen as an alternative, by many parents, to continuing a boy's education to the end of primary school or beyond. Although the wages available to apprentices are usually very low the training gives them the prospect of a good income in the future.

Donkey cart operators, although apparently numerous when seen on the street, are in fact a relatively small group in size, in the city as a whole. In Waaberi less than 1% of the households surveyed owned donkeys and no donkey cart operators were found to be amongst those working in the sample taken. Donkey carts are seen by many in Mogadishu as being the preserve of people from Shabelle Hoose and Shabelle Dhexe Regions. In Xaafadda Heegan in Yaqshiid District, which has a very large number of migrants from these regions, 6% of households owned donkeys and 2% of those working were working as donkey cart operators. The earnings of donkey cart operators are substantially better than those of day labourers and gari gacanleyaal, according to information we collected in June 1986 at eight market sites from where they operate. Payments per trip varied from 200/- to 800/- with an "average" of 600/- per trip. Most operators seem to obtain one trip per day at least. However earnings depended very much on location.

2. Restaurant and Hotel Workers.

Again appearances seem to be deceptive. Only 1% of the employed adults in Waaberi worked in hotels, tea shops or restaurants. The Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b) did not differentiate down to this level. Nevertheless, compared to many other enterprises which are self-run and employ no others, restaurants are significant places of employment in Mogadishu. The 1978 employment survey previously referred to found that 82% of those working in restaurants were employees. Some restaurant workers receive substantial salaries in comparison to labourers and government workers (official salaries). Workers interviewed in a middle class restaurant on Jidka Makka, aimed at a Somali clientele, reported earning 150/- a day in wages, and sometimes up to 200/- per day in tips. In addition they were provided, as most hotel workers are, with free meals each day.

Surprisingly, more people (2%) were found in the Waaberi sample to be involved in home-based food production than were working in hotels and restaurants. These included canjeero, mufo, sambuusi, bajiye and bread makers, grain grinders and onion and garlic peelers! Based on what we have come to know incidentally about these activities, it seems likely that most are carried out by self-employed women and the rates of return on a per-hour basis would be very much less than that received by hotel and restaurant workers. (See Chapter 8: Women in the Mogadishu Economy.)

3. Domestic Workers:

In this category we have found in the Waaberi survey watchmen (waardiyaal), house servants (adeegtayin), clothes washers (dhoobilayaal), child minders and garbage collectors. There we found that 2% of those employed were in this group. Within this group there are two tiers: those working in expatriate houses and those working in houses of ordinary residents of Mogadishu. Those working for foreigners are normally thought to receive the highest pay. Within Waaberi we found that 8% of households reported having an adeegto (house servant) who did housework, and 9% had a relative who lived in the house and did this work. Relatives working as domestic help are usually considered to be paid the least. Usually in these circumstances

they receive meals, clothing and other material assistance but not necessarily any wage as such.

4. Other Service Workers:

Two other small groupings of service workers can be identified. One are those based on the street: the shoe shiners (baalashleyaal, sweepers, car watchmen and car washers).

The other are what we might hesitatingly call religious workers: koranic teachers, traditional doctors, waddaado (religious teachers) and imaano (those in charge of the mosques).

These groups each comprised approximately 1% of those found to be employed in the Waaberi survey.

Not mentioned so far are a whole range of skilled and semi-skilled maintenance and repair workers. These are referred to in more detail below.

5.4 Industry

Since 1967 there have been 16 "Industrial Production Surveys" carried out by the Ministry of Planning. They have gathered data from all industrial establishments with five or more employees.

The survey results emphasise two points: that the majority of industries in Mogadishu are government-owned and run, and that government and private industries as a whole only employ a very small fraction of the total labour force.

The most recently available data from this source on industry in Mogadishu are for 1982. The total number of industrial establishments this size in Mogadishu at this time was 136, of which 123 were privately owned and 13 government owned. Although the the number of government owned enterprises was small they accounted for 62% of all the people employed in industry. The average number of people employed by government enterprises was 242 versus 16 for the privately owned industries. The total number employed in both public and private industries at this time in Mogadishu was 5,053. In the same year the Labour Force Survey found that only 6% of those employed persons whom they had enumerated were working in manufacturing enterprises.

We have not carried out any independent work on workers in any industrial sectors. However data are available from the household surveys on the proportion of those working in Mogadishu who could be called farsame yaqaano (skilled worker/craftsperson/technician). In Waaberi 16% of those working were in this category. Included in this category were: shoe makers, tailors, weavers, bed makers, furniture makers, wheelbarrow makers, painters, brick makers, plasterers, plumbers, electricians, metal workers, engineers, photograpers and goldsmiths.

Another 3% were what could be called petty artisans: matmakers, fan makers, basket makers, gumbar (stool) makers, and mattress makers, Most of the latter are home-based activities. Some are very marginal activities to the mainstream economy. Muuse, whose family is described in Chapter 2, earned some extra income through repairing broken gumbaro.

Farsame yaqaano seem to span three sectors. Some could be considered to be working in the construction sector - for example carpenters, masons, plasterers and painters. Others could be considered to be in small scale industry - for example bed makers, furniture makers, tailors, metal workers, weavers, and mattress makers. At the same time almost all could be considered

to be part of the Service sector in that they can earn varying proportions of their incomes by doing repair and servicing work.

5.5 Construction Sector

Background

In many descriptions of the urban informal sector in the Third World it is the small scale traders, artisans and service workers who get most of the attention. In a sense it is an urban form of "tarmac bias": people selling goods and services on the street dominate the attention of researchers at the expense of other marginalised and less visible groups. Labourers are one group that do not seem to receive much attention in the literature.

As some of the case studies included in this report show (Mooge, Chapter 14), labouring work can often be the first job new migrants seek out if they have no significant support on which they can rely until a better job becomes available. For those with no education or special skills and few usable contacts with wealthier people, it can be their main employment for most of their lives. While the majority of labourers are men there are also women working as labourers as well. Because of the shame associated with having a woman from one's family doing such work, we suspect that the families of such working women may be even poorer than that of the average male construction worker.

Labourers, like street traders and petty artisans, are not all the same. In Mogadishu, they can be classed into at least the following categories:

- 1 - workers in the stone quarries on the edge of the city, who cut and load building stone
- 2 - workers at the lime burning kilns, also on the edge of the city, producing lime for housing construction
- 3 - workers who load and unload trucks, at the port and at warehouses throughout the city
- 4 - workers on the construction sites
- 5 - workers carrying goods on handcarts, often between the markets and vehicles going to and coming from the countryside
- 6 - workers carrying goods on donkey carts
- 7 - workers looking for casual labouring work at the markets.

Some comments on categories 3, 5 and 6 have already been made in Section 3. We have managed to gather some detailed information about labourers in the construction sector: especially about the first two types of labourers. Their work is discussed next.

Labouring employment in the construction sector

Housing is one of two major areas where those with wealth in Mogadishu have invested their money in the last ten years. The boom in housing construction that has taken place this decade has been partially caused by the greater demand for higher class accommodation coming from

increased numbers of expatriates in the country and also by the lack of more productive ways to invest income that has been repatriated by overseas workers. One group that is at the base of all this activity are the building construction and associated workers. The Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:90) found in 1982 that 9% of the labour force in Mogadishu were working in the construction sector. Since the construction industry in Mogadishu does not use sophisticated materials it is likely that the vast majority of these were labourers rather than skilled workers.

Data from the survey of the control area of Waaberi showed that 4% of those employed were working as construction labourers. This is somewhat lower than the norm for the city reported in the Labour Force Survey and is probably because of Waaberi's relatively central location away from substantial building activity. In the outer districts labouring is a much more significant source of employment as the case of Beesha Shukri clearly shows. In 1986 UNICEF and the Municipality of Mogadishu sponsored a study of Pre-Primary Services in Wadajir District. This district is on the southern edge of the city and is expanding rapidly. In their sample of 107 households they found that 22% of the husbands were described as being fuundiyo, (which was interpreted as carpenter but more often means mason), and a further 8% were described as labourers.

We have no information on the percentage of construction labourers who are women. As we mentioned above, we suspect that in any household survey there will be an underenumeration of women working as labourers, because of the low status that is attached to women doing such work.

Although it is a small fraction of the labour force, in some areas of the city labouring in the construction sector is the main source of income for a substantial number of households. In Beesha Shukri, in Kaaraan District, we found that over 19% of those employed were described as labourers in construction-related activities. These included construction labourers, quarry labourers and lime kiln labourers. In addition there were another 6% described as masons, many of whom were likely to be slightly skilled building labourers. A further 7% of heads of households were described as simply as labourers with no other detail, so it is likely that many of these are also working in the construction industry. It could be that as many as 25% of those employed in this area were employed in construction-related activities.

Our impression is that wages for unskilled adult construction workers vary from 200/- to 350/- a day, but on some sites they may go as high as 500/- per day. The key feature about much of this work is that it is intermittent, so high wage levels on one job are often only a temporary bonus.

A critical point concerning wage rates of all classes of labourers is the degree to which they have changed over time. A Consumer Price Index is of little value in understanding how households are coping with changing economic conditions if there is no corresponding effort to measure market wage rates. In the past little seems to have been done in this area because the Government was thought to be the only significant employer and its static wage rates were a well-known fact. We would strongly recommend that the government or concerned agencies should periodically monitor wages rates for different categories of unskilled labourers in the city. Changes in these wages levels should then be related to CPI changes to see how this class who are at the base of the Mogadishu economy are being affected by changes in the economy as a whole.

A step in this direction has been taken by Cumar Edleh Suleyman, a SIDAM MBA student, who at the time of our research in 1986/87 was surveying prevailing wage rates of building and other labourers. In addition to information on employment conditions, he is also gathering information

on past employment history and housing and demographic details of the labourers and their families. This work should be followed up and built upon by further surveys at regular intervals.

In the course of our research we have looked with some detail into the situation of two groups of labourers working in the construction industry: quarry workers and lime kiln workers. A full description of the situation of the quarry workers in Beesha Shukri has been given in Chapter 14. A description of the situation of lime kiln workers is given below.

Lime Kiln Workers

There are several hundred lime kilns both on the southern and northern edges of Mogadishu, strung out along the coast. These provide lime for paint, plaster and cement used in housing and office construction in Mogadishu. The lime burning industry has been in existence since 1927 when the lime kilns were a joint enterprise of the Italian military and a private businessman. Approximately 60% of the lime kilns are now owned by 450 members of Iskaashatada Nuuriyadda (the Lime Cooperative). The rest are owned by the armed forces and other government agencies. Although some members clearly own a number of kilns it is not clear if all the members own kilns which are in operation at present.

A large number of lime kilns are in operation in Kaaraan District, on the right hand side of the road to Warsheik and just at the edge of the city. These are mainly owned by members of the Cooperative. There are two main types of kiln: pit kilns and furnace kilns. Each kiln employs 3 to 5 workers when it is in operation. The furnace kilns offer the most continuous employment, since they burn continuously and don't require a long cooling off period. Large furnace kilns can produce a truckload of lime a day, worth 2,700/- a load. The smaller pit kilns can require up to a month to cool but labourers can be employed relatively continuously where there are a large number in operation. In contrast to the quarries, work at the kilns is only available for the times of the year when there are neither strong winds or rain. Both affect the operation of the kilns. We were told that some of the kiln workers return to farming in the adjacent regions when the kilns are closed during the Gu and Dayr rainy seasons.

The labouring work available at the kilns consists of three basic jobs: loading wood and charcoal into the kilns, loading stone into the kilns and loading the lime onto the trucks for delivery into the city. Additional work is provided to a significant number of donkey cart owners who bring water necessary for the processing of the burnt stone into lime.

The workers are paid piece rates rather than daily or monthly wages. Using information given by the Chairman of the Cooperative it seems that daily wage rates vary from 200/- to 300/-. The most highly paid workers are those required to break the stone into smaller sizes before it is loaded into the furnace kilns. For a family of five or six 200/- a day would enable a maximum of 33/- per person per day to be spent on food (the median in Beesha Shukri, the poorest area) and such a wage leaves almost nothing for the other costs a family must face apart from food alone.

All the workers interviewed in the one area of kilns visited, on the edge of Kaaraan, were living in Kaaraan District itself. A substantial number of kiln workers seem to be living in the obbosibo area near the kilns. Although no household surveys were conducted in this area the standard of housing available is visibly very low. The most common type of house are one and two room jingado. The area is very dusty and the roads in the area are in a bad state because of the constant traffic of heavy trucks through the area.

Two problems were mentioned by the Chairman of the Cooperative. One was that many of the

workers suffer weakness and tiredness after a month's work on the kilns and have to take a rest from the work. This may be because of over exposure to carbon monoxide fumes from the kilns.

The other problem is the decline in the demand for lime. From 1976 to 1982 the Cooperative was selling 120 loads of lime per day. In the last two years daily sales have gone down to 60 to 70 per day.

Recommendation

1. Since lime is one of the few raw materials that are indigenous to the city and because it offers employment for a significant number of unskilled workers, further attention should be given to this industry by development agencies. The reasons for the decline in sales should be investigated. New end uses should be investigated as well as possible ways to improve existing methods of production.
2. The health problems facing workers in this industry could also be investigated and addressed at the same time as those of the quarry workers. (See Chapter 14.)

5.6 Farming, livestock and fishing

The Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:117) found that only 3% of the workforce of Mogadishu were involved in these occupations. Even that seems a high proportion according to our own findings (1.7 % in Waaberi). Many of those declared as farmers or livestock owners are likely to be visitors to the city. Very few of those who own livestock in the city would describe themselves principally as livestock owners. In the case of fishing people, there are significant variations within the city. In Cabdulcasiis the proportion was 5%, because men from a number of households in that area were earning their livelihood as fishermen on the nearby coast. In Yaqshiid, by contrast, none of those working declared themselves to be earning a living from fishing.

Despite these small proportions it should not be forgotten that a significant proportion of the city's workforce are employed in the distribution and processing of agricultural, livestock and fish products for local consumption and, to a lesser extent, for export. A large number of all the vehicles coming into the city each day are bringing in agricultural produce, livestock and livestock products. A major proportion of all those involved in trading are selling agricultural and livestock products (maize, sorghum, beans, sesame, peanuts, fruits and vegetables, meat and milk). This is especially the case with women. Some of these products are processed before they are sold: maize, sorghum and wheat are ground, sesame is pressed for oil, peanuts are roasted etc. Many of these activities are happening in small premises, usually located near the district markets. Although individually most employ only a few people, the total number employed in this way must be quite large. Since these enterprises use locally produced raw materials and meet basic rather than luxury needs employment in this sector should be encouraged.

Recommendation

1. We would strongly recommend that a specific investigation be made into the range of small scale food processing activities that exist in Mogadishu. The aims should be to identify:
 - What new methods of food processing could be introduced into Mogadishu. For

example, on a very small scale, there may be the potential for producing and marketing of dried fruit, or manual production of sugar cane juice. South-East Asian cities provide a wide range of examples that could be examined for their feasibility in Mogadishu;

- What technical adaptations and innovations could be made to existing methods of food processing which would improve the quality of the product or the profit margins that are being made.

The emphasis should initially be on food processing activities that are least capital intensive and which meet the needs of the local market. Included in such an investigation should be recommendations on how the new methods or innovations could be encouraged. The overall objective would be to create additional employment opportunities which are based on the use of local resources and which meet local needs.

--oOo--

"Women are a great working force which the reactionaries undermine"

President Maxammed Siyad Barre^{16 *}

"In the Islamic pattern of life and also in contemporary Islamic apologetics the woman's role is above all that of a mother, responsible for the home and the family, and the one who brings up the children. This is the best for both the children and the women, and besides, it is claimed that it spares her the struggles and worries of a career".

(Hjarpe, 1983)

¹⁶ 8th March 1975, quoted in Raqiya (1982:57-59)

Author: Rick Davies, Mogadishu. 1988. Funded by CIIR, UNICEF, Oxfam and CCFD.

CHAPTER 8: WOMEN IN THE MOGADISHU ECONOMY

1. INTRODUCTION

Very few women in Mogadishu do not work.

For the majority of women their work is within their own home. Their work includes child bearing, child care, food purchasing and preparation, clothes washing and mending, house cleaning and other domestic work. That work is normally expected to be done seven days a week.

Our concern in this chapter is with those women who, usually in addition to their domestic work, have other work as well, which earns them income either in cash or kind. Our references to working women will therefore refer specifically to that group of women.

To begin with, a description will be given of 9 working women with whom we have had contact in the course of the research. Following this, data available from previous research on working women in Mogadishu will be reviewed and discussed. We have then presented the results of our own survey on working women in one area of Mogadishu. Those results include both descriptive information about the women and their work and information concerning their attitudes and views on their work. Finally, a number of recommendations have been made concerning appropriate development assistance to working women in Mogadishu.

1.1 Nine working women in Mogadishu

1. Fatuma is 35 and an immigrant to Somalia. She originally came to Mogadishu to live with her husband's relatives, but later, when her marriage broke up, she became a housemaid in the house of one of his relatives. She hated this work as she received, in kind, only just enough to maintain herself, and she had no freedom. Now she is a housemaid in another house, but lives in a rented room and has more freedom.
2. Sahra is a graduate from Lafoole College. She has never been married and lives at home with her parents. She works for the government but relies a lot on her parents for money. Her ambition is to go abroad and study, then she will think about getting married. She wishes to have an educated husband and a relationship where she and her husband can understand and respect each other.
3. Xalimo is 36. She is the second wife of a man who is unemployed. Her husband's first wife supports their family, and Xalimo supports her own children through working as a housemaid.
4. Maryam is 70. She lives alone since her husband died. She has no children to support her, and depends on the good will of neighbours and distant relatives, as well as the small income she earns from child minding to support herself.
5. Miriam is a successful businesswoman. Since her husband died she has continued their business which imports consumer goods from Italy. She has a large house and supports her children and their families.
6. Khadija is 68. She lives in a squatter area of the city with her husband who is blind. They have no children and so depend on the earnings she makes, and the charity of neighbours. Khadija buys coffee beans from the market and grinds them. She wraps the ground coffee in small parcels and sells them for 5/- each to neighbours.

7. Xawa is 37. She makes 'muufo', a maize cake, which she sells to neighbours, as well as beans and grains which she buys in small quantities in the market. The work is very hard and requires a lot of preparation but it suits her as she can earn enough to pay for all the food and basic needs of the family, without being away from her children and home. Her husband is sick, and so he cannot provide for the family as he could before.
8. Amina is 40, and sells vegetables in a large market. She has lived in a squatter area in the city for 22 years. She came to Mogadishu to live with her second husband, who was a policeman before he died. Amina has remarried and has five children. She works because her present husband's salary is not enough to meet the family's needs. Her husband has another wife by whom he has several children and so he has certain financial obligations to that family as well, although Amina is the younger wife and he lives with her most of the time.

Amina leaves home for work at 5.30 a.m. every morning. Her oldest daughter looks after the three young children. Whilst she was breast feeding she would return home at mid-day, but more recently trade has been good and so she has been returning at nightfall. She does not mind the work although it tires her, because she is happy about the benefits her work brings for the family.

9. Cashar is a watchwoman. She came to Mogadishu four years ago from Kismaayo to live with her husband in Wadajir when she got married. The marriage quickly broke down, and at this point things became difficult for Cashar for the first time in her life.

Her husband refused to pay her any money when she wanted to leave, not even *meher*, a customary religious payment to women upon dissolution of marriage. "I want my wife to live with me, why should I pay her to leave me" he said to the court. But Cashar had no relatives in Mogadishu, and was entirely dependent on her new neighbours. One of her neighbours found her a job as a guard, and now she supports herself.

Working women can be divided into two groups: those who work because they have to and those who work because they want to. Amongst the more privileged there are those professional women working in government and private organisations, as well as in private business. Amongst those who have to work but who often have little education or training are the petty traders and artisans, as well as manual workers in service work (including domestic service), labouring and manufacturing. A considerable proportion of this latter group is self-employed. This chapter is primarily concerned with those women who are working because they need to work.

One form of disadvantage that these working women experience is the lack of recognition given to their role as workers in the economy and as income earners in households. Therefore a major part of this chapter will be concerned with simply documenting what is known about women's participation in the economy of Mogadishu.

2. THE EXTENT OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN MOGADISHU

Previous data that have been collected on women's employment in Mogadishu suggest that only a small number of women were working for income in cash or kind. The 1982 Labour Force Survey showed that only 12.6% of the women aged 15 and above were working in the week prior to the survey (MNP 1985b:78). This proportion was almost the same as that found 20 years ago, in the 1966-67 census when 11% of the adult female population were reported as working (Puzo 1972:182). This is a surprisingly static situation for a time period during which

there were major political and economic changes in Somali society. It seems very likely that at least the Labour Force Survey has underenumerated the number of women working in Mogadishu.

Independent of such surveys, a number of trends in women's employment in Somalia, especially Mogadishu, have been observed by writers concerned with women's issues. Raqiya (1982) for instance, has made the following comments on women's employment:

"In urban areas the status of middle class women has been improved and the desire for economic independence has been awakened. The number of new jobs now available to women is a significant indication of the emerging new Somalia, and women's economic horizon has widened considerably. Economic necessity has led women into all types of employment, and paid occupations are increasingly seen as natural for women. This has secured for women relatively better social positions compared to those who are not employed... a number of them are acquiring higher education and trying to advance their own professional work as doctors, lawyers, university lecturers and administrators. There are also women working in the small industries, such as textile and food etc., and the number of women petty traders has increased significantly. Women have also joined the armed forces, the various branches of public administration (at local and central levels) and become active in political and party work...[but] Women encounter much greater difficulties than do men in trying to obtain higher decision making posts or to advance themselves in their work, due, primarily, to the still existing prejudice against the value of women's work."

Those prejudices also act against the full recognition of the scope and significance of the work women are already engaged in. Many occupations by which women earn income involve small amounts of capital and generate small amounts of income. Many of the occupations are home based. However these occupations, in particular, are frequently dismissed or forgotten. Because of the prevalence of attitudes which are generally dismissive of women's income earning work we felt that the surveys we have quoted above were very likely to have substantially underestimated the real incidence of women working for income in cash or kind in Mogadishu.

The data we collected in late 1986 have supported this view. When we surveyed households in five areas of Mogadishu we asked the following question about each person in the household:

"What type of work did you / they do in the last 7 days?"

The enumerator was instructed to: *"Describe in a few words any work that gives income, in pay or profit."*

It should be noted that 13 of the 15 enumerators used in the survey were women and, in most areas we surveyed, between 70% and 80% of the respondents were women.

The results that we found were as follows:

Table 8.1: Percentage of adult women working in the last week

Area	Working
Waaberi	22.5 %
Cabdulcasiis	28.8 %
Wadajir (Halane)	27.5 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	29.4 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	28.0 %
Beesha Shukri	31.3 %
N = 1659	

Areas are ranked according to food expenditure levels

Women in Waaberi made up 26% of all adults there who were reported to be working in the previous week. In other words one in four working adults in Waaberi at the time of our survey were women. We have taken this as a likely norm for the city. In Beesha Shukri, the poorest area we surveyed, the number was even higher, 31% of all those reported to be working were women, or almost one in three working adults.

Similar findings have been obtained in another survey carried out since then, of an area of largely legal settlement in Wadajir District. The Pre-Primary- Services Study interviewed 151 women and found that 23% were earning income through some form of employment or income-earning activity. (UNICEF 1986:69). It seems from the data presented that those working women made up 24% of all the working adults in their households.

Overall then it is clear that the proportion of working women in Mogadishu is much higher than reported in the surveys that had been carried out prior to our own research. It seems very unlikely that this difference could be accounted for by sudden changes in women's participation in the economy in the last four years.

As well as asking about employment in our surveys we also asked if any men or women had been looking for work in the previous week. The following results were found:

Table 8.2: Percentage of adult women looking for work in the last week in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Area	Women	Men
Waaberi	11.5 %	10.8 %
Cabdulcasiis	11.8 %	14.7 %
Wadajir (Halane)	20.4 %	12.5 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	14.4 %	11.4 %
Wadajir(Damme Yassin)	13.0 %	14.2 %
Beesha Shukri	16.0 %	13.6 %
N =	1,659	1,525

Areas ranked according to food expenditure levels

In four out of the six areas there were in fact more women than men looking for work.

2.1 Households Dependent on Working Women

In the Waaberi control area we found the following distribution of households dependent on working women:

Table 8.3: Households dependent on working women in Waaberi

Households with only men working	61 %
Households with men and women working	22.5 %
Households with only women working	10 %
Households with no one working	6.5%
N = 218	100 %

It is clear from the above that almost *a third of all households* (32.5 %) in the area of Waaberi we surveyed had some degree of dependence on women for the household income. In addition 8 of the 14 households without any employment were female-headed¹⁷.

When the same analysis was done for Beesha Shukri (See Chapter 14), the poorest area that we surveyed, the most noticeable difference was the smaller proportion of households solely dependent on men's employment. In that area the proportion of households dependent on working women only and the number of households with neither men nor women working were both greater.

2.2 Age distribution of working women

Although age data were gathered on women working in the areas of our household surveys, they have not yet been analysed. Data are available on the age distribution of working women from the 1982 Labour Force Survey. While we feel that survey underenumerated working women as a whole their sampling procedures would not appear to have introduced any age bias into their findings.

Two points are clear from the following table. In absolute figures the greatest numbers of working women in Mogadishu in 1982 were between the ages of 20 and 24. In proportion to their numbers in any age group, the greatest numbers of working women were found in the 30 to 34 age group.

The results from that survey were as follows:

¹⁷ The head of the household was defined by the enumerator asking the respondent "Who is the head of this household" and then checking to see if this person was in fact currently living with that household.

Author: Rick Davies, Mogadishu. 1988. Funded by CIIR, UNICEF, Oxfam and CCFD.

Table 8.4: Age distribution of working women in Mogadishu in 1982

Age	Women working (%)	All Women (%)
10 - 14	1.4	18.4
15 - 19	13.1	20.0
20 - 24	25.1	16.0
25 - 29	17.2	11.0
30 - 34	17.6	10.4
35 - 39	7.5	6.2
40 - 44	8.5	5.6
45 - 49	4.1	2.8
50 - 54	2.2	2.9
55 - 59	0.9	0.9
60 - 64	1.7	2.7
65+	0.7	3.1
	N = 412	N = 4,020

2.3 Marital status distribution of working women

From Labour Force Survey data (MNP 1985b:31, 81) the following distribution was found:

Table 8.5: Marital status of working women in Mogadishu in 1982

	Working Women*	All Women in Mogadishu
Never Married	29 %	42 %
Married	55 %	46 %
Widowed/Divorced	16 %	12 %
	N = 412	N = 4,020

* Note: the proportions in this tabulation refer to 10 years and above, not 15 years and above. There was insufficient information available to show the proportions for adult women defined as 15 years and above

It is clear that while married women make up the largest number of working women, the group with the biggest proportion employed are those who are widowed and divorced.

One 22 year old divorced woman, whom we interviewed, described how she perceived the problems women may face when they divorce:

"If she doesn't have any children, a divorced woman doesn't have any problems because she can go back to live with her parents, or she can work. If she has children, it depends on the character of the husband and whether he will support her. But really whoever divorces his wife doesn't like to have to give anything. Unless she claims to the concerned departments, she may not get any money. Even if she gets money this way, he pays only the normal expenses and she doesn't know where to get the money for health care, books, pens etc. for school. So she has to look for another job to cover these: but she has to have someone to look after the children. If she has someone to do this, and is educated, she seeks work in a government or non-government office. If she is

not educated she works with her energy, or if she is a skilled person she works with her skills. If not then she gives the children to the father because no one can carry a life with just what the father pays".

The stories of Fatuma and Cashar, already described, are two examples of women who have had to seek work because of the failure of their husbands to provide adequate support following divorce.

2.4 Literacy status of working women

The Labour Force Survey (MNP 1985b:32,68) showed the following distribution of literacy amongst adult working men and women, and the population as a whole in Mogadishu:

Table 8.6: Literacy* of working women in Mogadishu in 1982

	Those Working	All Adults**
Women	67 %	40 %
Men	71 %	75 %
	N = 1,905	N = 7,859

* Literacy in the Somali language

** Defined as 15 years and older

The most noticeable feature is the large difference in the literacy status of women who are working and that of all women. Furthermore the difference which is visible here is an understatement of the real differences which exist. There are two reasons why this is so. Firstly, the population of women who are working are of older average age than those who are not. It would be expected that the literacy rates of the older age groups of women would be lower than average, not higher. Secondly the "All Adults" group will of course include working women and thus be higher than that which would be found for non-working women as a group by themselves.

Although the proportions of working men and women who are literate are almost the same, the data from the Labour Force Survey shows that almost twice as many working women have had primary level education as men (34% compared to 19%). It seems likely that both of these differences are partly to do with the greater importance of government employment (which requires primary level education) for women compared to men, in middle income groups in Mogadishu (discussed in further detail later in this chapter).

3. NEW RESEARCH ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Because of the apparent under enumeration of working women in the Labour Force Survey and because of the paucity of detailed data on the types of work done by those women, we decided to carry out further research that would shed more light on the nature of women's employment in Mogadishu.

There were also other reasons for doing more research. It is clear from general observation that women's work is essential in many cases for the survival of many poor families: both in female-headed households and in those where there is a male head of household, who may or may not be working. It was hoped that more understanding of women's work, particularly in a poorer area, would help the planning of appropriate assistance to these groups.

Even in households with more middle ranking incomes there are potential benefits from increasing women's incomes. Marilyn Carr, a consultant on women's employment in the Third World, has put the argument forward as follows: "Studies of consumption patterns have indicated that women express more concern for and spend more of their income on the health and feeding of their families than men who tend to commit resources to consumer goods, prestige items or entertainment....A recent study which surveyed available evidence on this issue concluded that 'the evidence, scattered and uncoordinated as it is, is strong enough to justify the assumption that enhancing a woman's contribution to family production and income is a sensible way of ensuring an immediate improvement in the health and welfare of family members.'" (Carr 1984:25).

With these concerns in mind, in October 1986 we surveyed working women in 2 Xaafado in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab. The purpose of this survey was to describe the types of income-earning activities women were involved in, why they were working and the problems they experienced in their work. Specific attention was given to women's own perceptions of their work.

3.1 The areas surveyed

Xaafadda Hanti Wadag in Waaberi is an area of mixed housing type. On the east side is an old and dense squatter area characterised by a narrow maze of dirt tracks, known as Buulo Eelay. This part of Hanti Wadag is mainly non-stone housing. The most common housing is the *baraako*, a popular type when wood was cheaper and easier to find. Towards the west side, near Jidka Makka, the land has been legalised and almost all the housing is made of stone. Waaxyo 3 and 4 of Xaafadda Hanti Wadag were the areas surveyed (See Fig 1.1).

Xaafadda Kowaad Maayo in Xamar Jab Jab is in the middle section of the sand hill that runs from Xamar Weyne to the airport. Waaxda 3, which was the area of the Xaafadda surveyed, is in the vicinity of Ansalotti market, which is known particularly as a major milk market, but also functions as a general district market selling most basic goods usually available at such locations. The land close by the road is legally settled and mainly occupied by stone housing, but further from the road, up the side of the sand hill, it becomes an *obbosibo* area with most houses being poorer quality (*carshaan, jingado, baraakooyin*) (See Fig 1.1).

The areas we selected to be sampled were chosen for two reasons. Firstly we expected that the inner city location and proximity to the market would make it easier to find households in which women work. Secondly both of the areas had significant sections of *obbosibo* areas where we might expect to find households that were poorer than average.

The aim of the survey was to develop a picture of a group of working women, not to obtain results which would describe the areas in which they were living.

It should be noted that in designing the survey particular attention was paid to the definitions used for women's work (in order to include women who may be working as housemaids, but only receiving payment in kind), as we felt this was an area in which definitions used by the Labour Force Survey were inadequate. Thus we deliberately tried to contact women whose work might normally have gone unrecognised. In this we were successful we believe, as almost a quarter of the women were working from the home, mostly in petty artisan and trading work, and we were able to identify a wide range of women, from an elderly woman who minds children through to a 12 year old housemaid who worked for maintenance in a household.

The question we used to identify working women was as follows:

"Are there any females in this household, age 10 or more:

- Who do work (house work or other) and who get some money for this.

- Or whose reason for being in the house is to work, or help in the house, and who receive all they need to be supported (food, clothes, a place to sleep etc.).

- Or who work to help the family business, but do not personally get any payment in cash or goods."

In each household we decided just to interview the eldest woman worker. This had little effect on our assessment of the average age of the working women since only 7 of the 211 households had more than one woman working and in each of these there were only 2. For more details about the procedure whereby these households were identified, see Appendix 8.1.

4. FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY OF WORKING WOMEN IN WAABERI AND XAMAR JAB JAB.

The results of the survey are described below in three separate sections:

- A. The nature and extent of women's work.
- B. How women started their present work.
- C. Women's attitudes to their work.

Section A: The nature and extent of women's work.

A.1. The significance of women's employment in the areas surveyed

The following distribution of working women was found in the 441 households that were contacted by the enumerators:

Table 8.7: Distribution of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

1. Households with working women

56 %

N (Households) = 249

Of these 38 or 15% of the women contacted refused to be interviewed.

The remaining 211 working women who were interviewed fell into the following groups:

2. Households in which the women said they were "the main income earner"

21 % of all households contacted or 44 % of all working women

(N = 93 of 441) interviewed (N = 93 of 211)

3. Working female - heads of households

18 % of all households contacted or 37 % of all working women

(N = 79 of 441) interviewed (N = 79 of 211)

4. Households with only women working

15 % of all households contacted or 32 % of all working women
(N = 67 of 441) interviewed (N = 67 of 211)

Note: The above categories are overlapping

Data from our area surveys put these proportions in some context. In the *control* area survey of Waaberi only 33% of all households had women members who were working. The highest proportion that we found in the course of our household surveys was in Heegan *obbosibo*, Yaqshiid where 40% of the households had women members who were working. Thus the area surveyed in Xamar Jab Jab and Waaberi, with its 56%, clearly had an above average number of households with working women.

A.2. Age and Marital Status Distribution

Compared to the group of women surveyed by the Labour Force Survey, the women we interviewed were slightly older. The median age in the Labour Force Survey was 28 compared to 30 in our sample. The age groups with the highest proportion employed were those between 35 and 40, and 45 to 55: whereas in the Labour Force Survey it was the 30 to 35 age group. The main reason for these differences is that the population in the area that we sampled was older than the average in Mogadishu. Only 38% of the people in the households contacted were under the age of 15 compared to 46% in Mogadishu's population as a whole.

The distribution of marital status amongst the women we interviewed was not substantially different from that found in the Labour Force Survey.

Table 8.8: Marital status of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

	Working Women Survey	Labour Force Survey
Never married women	28 %	29 %
Married women	52 %	55 %
Divorced/Widowed	20 %	16 %
	N = 211	N = 412

The slightly greater proportions of divorced and widowed women in our survey is probably accounted for by the older age of this group of working women compared to those interviewed in the Labour Force Survey.

A.3. Employment history

The survey asked all working women the question "*How long have you been working?*". The answers were as follows:

Table 8.9: Number of years worked by working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

Years working	Percentage of Working Women	
0 - 1 years	20 %	oooooooooooooooooooo
1 - 2	21 %	oooooooooooooooooooo
2 - 3	14 %	oooooooooooooooooooo
3 - 4	10 %	oooooooooooo
4 - 5	9 %	oooooooooooo
5 - 6	6 %	ooooooo
6 - 7	6 %	ooooooo
7 - 8	1 %	o
8 - 9	<1 %	
9 - 10	7 %	ooooooo *
10 - 11	1 %	o
11 - 12	2 %	oo
12 - 13	<1 %	
13 - 14	0 %	
14 - 15	1 %	o
29 - 30	1 %	o
N = 218**	100 %	

* This "heaping" is most likely to be due to approximation, similar to that found in Somalia when older people are asked their age.

** In seven households there were two women working. We have included these here simply to expand the sample size. There was no significant difference between those households and the rest.

The median length of time the women had been working was three years.

Of all these women 15% reported having other employment before their current employment.

The above distribution cannot be taken as evidence of increased participation by women of this area in the workforce in recent years. There are two other factors operating, whose influence cannot be separated out from these data. One may be that many women may only participate in the labour force at certain stages of their family's life cycle (72% of the working women were or had been married). The other is that, as in America and Europe, many new small businesses are normally started up each year but, because many do not make sufficient profits there is a progressive attrition over time.

A.4. Current Employment

A Employment Status

The data on the incidence of employed women, both from our survey and the Labour Force Survey, suggest that the conventional notion that most urban women in countries such as Somalia are dominantly self-employed in the so called "informal sector" is not applicable here. We would argue instead that in Mogadishu the most significant feature of women's employment is the extent to which women have been able to obtain government employment. Even within the private sector approximately one in three working women in this sample was an employee. The distribution of employment status was as follows:

Table 8.10: Employment status of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

	Working Women's Survey	Labour Force Survey
Employee	61 %	59 %
Government employees	41 %	
Private sector employees	20 %	
Self-Employed	36 %	36 %
"Employer" (See below)	3 %	5 %
	N = 211	N = 412

In the Labour Force Survey, those women in private business who had unpaid family helpers assisting them with their work were classed as self-employed. Those who had paid family members were considered as employers. In our survey we found that children were a major source of assistance for women in private business. Of those women who said there were other people regularly helping them in their business 78% said they had children regularly helping them. A further 18% said they received regular help from their relatives and 4% from friends and/or neighbours. In practice, distinguishing those women who have unpaid family members working for them from those who have paid family members (or others) working for them can be very difficult. Some women who make roasted peanuts, icecream and cold drinks or buy sweets in bulk, use children to sell them in the streets and markets. These children can either be paid daily or monthly, take a commission on each sale or simply be, in return, supported by their family or relatives. These children could be viewed as either sub-contractors, wage earners or dependents. Our data were not sophisticated enough to distinguish these groups so we have made the above estimate of the number of women employers on the basis of a case by case examination of the occupations and other details of women who said there were more than one person (themselves) working in their business.

In practice, we feel it is not these differences in contractual arrangements which are the important feature but the fact that it is children and relatives who are the major source of help for many women working in private business. This is much more a reflection of the family nature of business in Somalia than it is a reflection of the level of capitalist exploitation of child labour as might be found in India. Therefore we have in other parts of this chapter distinguished between self-employed women working by themselves and those working with the help of family and/or kin, whom we call family employers. Re-examining the number of women in business on this basis we find that 34% were family employers and 66% self-employed (13% and 26% of all working women respectively).

B Employment Type

The types of work done by the women surveyed is summarised below:

Table 8.11: Types of employment done by working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

Category	Percentage of Women
Government Workers	41 %
Small-Scale Traders	25 %
Domestic Servants	11 %
Small-scale artisans	9 %
Food producers/processors	4 %
Traders with premises	4 %
Hotel and restaurant workers	2 %
Transport workers	<1 %
Labourers	<1 %
<i>Farsame Yaqaano</i> (skilled workers)	<1 %
Livestock owners	<1 %
Other Services (e.g car watchwoman)	<1 %
N = 218	100 %

Comments on distribution of occupations:

1. The number of women in this area working as government workers is large but not surprising. In the control area of Waaberi, the proportion was 44% and in another slightly poorer area (Cabdulcasiis) we found that the proportion was 43%.

While it is well known that women as a whole are under-represented in comparison to men in government employment in absolute numbers, nevertheless in some areas of Mogadishu government employment is as equally an important source of employment for women as it is for men. (See Waaberi and Cabdulcasiis in Table 7.4.) However the situation in the four poorest areas that we surveyed was the reverse. There government employment was a more important source of employment for men than it was for women.

In this sample the majority of women government workers did not specify the exact type of work that they did. It can be safely assumed that few, if any, will have been in senior positions. However of those that specified their work, there were two distinct categories. One was of teachers and nurses who would have had some degree of education, at least to primary school level. They accounted for 13% and 9% respectively of all those women working for the government. As mentioned previously, many women in these categories would have opportunities through their positions and outside of their government work to make income in addition to their official salaries.

The other category was of those employed as sweepers, who made up 19% of all those who were government workers. The number of women working as sweepers is exceptional compared to most areas we surveyed, where the numbers were no more than 1% or 2% of those working, at the most. The reason is that the area sampled was adjacent to two main roads which are regularly cleaned by sweepers employed by the Municipality. Since sweepers are paid only 1,000/- a month and the job is of low status, a closer analysis of the households (N= 8) of the women earning income in this way would be worthwhile.

2. Small-scale traders were the largest single occupational group of private sector workers. They included the following categories:

Table 8.12: Categories of small-scale traders in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

Category	Incidence
Fruit and vegetable sellers	27 %
Cigarette and tobacco sellers	27 %
Peanut sellers	12 %
Small things (sic)	8 %
Grain and beans sellers	6 %
Bread sellers	4 %
Others: water, soap, oil, wood, sweets, dried milk, kerosene, spices, salt, incense, icecream	16 %
N = 54	100 %

The number of cigarette and peanut sellers is a reflection of the relatively inner city location of the area. In the outer areas these selling activities are not as common as the selling of grain, fuel and water.

3. Domestic Servants: Almost all women in this category (92%) were women working as *adeegtoyin* (housemaids). Many of these are likely to have been working within Somali households, possibly in the local area. In the control area survey of Waaberi (nearby) 8% of households reported employing *adeegtoyin*.
4. Small scale artisans: In this group we have included women involved in mat (fan and broom) making and basket making, both of which are home-based activities and which were found in almost equal numbers. In the poorest areas that we surveyed the proportion of women earning income this way was much greater (29 % in Beesha Shukri, See Chapter 14).
5. Food producers and processors: These are home-based working women making *bajiya* (fried balls of bean flour), *muufo* (bread from maize flour) and other food items.
6. Traders with premises: In this group are women owning shops selling clothing, food items and other household items. When this group is combined with the petty traders the proportion of women working in the wholesale and retail trade is 29%, almost the same as found in the Labour Force Survey (30%) for all working women in Mogadishu as a whole (MNP 1985b:82).
7. Transport workers, hotel workers, labourers, skilled workers: These are all the occupational categories in which, in Mogadishu, paid employment is normally dominated by men. It is not surprising to find few women working in these occupations.

Omitted from the above description is any estimate of the numbers of women, who are normally members of these households, but are at present working overseas, especially in the Gulf states. Much of the discussion about the flow of remittance money into Somalia from migrant workers overseas implies that those workers are all men. The one report that is available (Somconsult 1985) makes no reference at all to the sex of the 135 migrant workers that they interviewed. Informal opinion that we have heard is that although there are restrictions on the

migration of women to Saudi Arabia, a significant number of women from some districts of Mogadishu such as Yaqshiid and Waaberi have gone to the Gulf states to work. This is consistent with data on the ratio of male to female adults in the areas we have surveyed. If men only had gone to work overseas to work we would expect to find a visible imbalance in the numbers of adult men and women in the areas we surveyed. In the Waaberi control area¹⁸ the numbers of adult men and women were almost exactly the same (380 men and 381 women). This compares to a city-wide situation where 52.3% of the adult population is female (MNP 1985b:30)¹⁹.

What little information we have been able to gather on women's employment in the Gulf states suggests that a considerable number have found work as domestic servants. Access to this type of work is not dependent on having primary school level education, but would certainly be facilitated by being able to speak Arabic. With the drop in oil prices and the problem of substantial maintenance costs for newly built infrastructure it is possible that this type of work will remain available in the future, whereas those jobs available to male migrants in construction-related industries are likely to decrease (See Guardian Weekly 22.2.1987). Thus in times of diminished flow of remittances back to Somalia from the Gulf states, the amount sent by Somali women workers is likely to assume greater relative importance.

Further data on the occupations of working women are available from the household surveys we have carried out in six other areas of Mogadishu. These are available on computer disc but have not been presented in this report, because of insufficient time.

A.5. Location of work

When the working women were asked the location of their work the following distribution was found:

Table 8.13: Work locations of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

	Working women	Working men in the same households
At their own home	23 %	<1 %
On the street§	10 %	9 %
In the market	15 %	11 %
Other locations	52 %	80 %
- government premises	34 %#	
- private sector premises	18 %	
	N = 211	N = 171

§ This does not include those working in shops on the street, but solely refers to those doing business on the streets and sidewalks

Adjusted to exclude women street sweepers (N=8) employed by the government, who have been added to the category of those working on the street.

"Other locations" refer to premises such as offices, factories and shops (not including those in the markets). In this sample it is dominantly government workers who work in those locations while most of the private sector workers are working in their homes, on the streets and in the markets.

¹⁸ There is no evidence in the sample that the even balance in Waaberi results from large numbers of single or all-male households living in the area. By comparison the 1975 Census shows that 49.8 % of the adults (15 and over) in Mogadishu at that time were female.

¹⁹ The male/female balance in the sample of working women's households could not be used for comparison to the city norms because it is a consciously biased sample, having only households with working women.

A.6. Working Hours:

The working hours of the women interviewed were as follows:

Table 8.14: Working hours of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

	Hours per day*	Days per week*	Hours per week*
Self-employed	6	7	42
Gov't employees	7	6	42
Private employees	10	6	60
Family employers	9.5	7	66.5

* These figures are medians, i.e half the women were working less than these hours and half were working more

The long hours per day of those working as private employees are partly explained by the fact that many were working as domestic servants.

A.7. Child care for children under 7 years of age

The survey asked all working women: "*Who looks after your children under 7 while you are working ?*" (options were read out).

Table 8.15: Child care arrangements used by working women and non-working women

Child care arrangement	% of all responses given by women in the:	
	Working women survey	Damme Yassin
Koranic school	24 %	3 %
The woman herself, without assistance	22 %	19 %
Older children	17 %	31 %
Relatives	14 %	18 %
Government school	9 %	-*
Friends	8 %	-*
Nobody	4 %	6 %
Employed a carer	2 %	1 %
Neighbour	-*	19 %
Other	-*	2 %
	100 %	100 % (sic)
N (responses) =	162	170
N (women) =	91	151

-* = category not used in this survey

Of all the working women interviewed 43% had children under 7 years of age. The child care arrangements used by those women are shown above. Also listed, for comparison, are the incidence of use of the same child care arrangements by women interviewed in Damme Yassin, Wadajir in 1986 by UNICEF (UNICEF 1986:23). This group is of interest in that 77% of the mothers interviewed were not working women.

It is clear from this table that three quarters of the working women with young children were using some form of child care arrangement while they were at work. The most common of all was the koranic school, which was the single most frequently mentioned arrangement. This is in strong contrast to the reported frequency of use mentioned in the Damme Yassin group of women. We suspect that the different pattern of child care arrangements used partially reflects differences between women using short term child care arrangements, such as those needed while a mother visits the market and longer term arrangements when the woman expects to be away for a large part of the day. Of course there may well be other significant factors having an influence as well.

A.8. Sources of raw materials and location of sales

The survey asked the following question of women who were self-employed or family employers:

"Where do you get the raw materials and goods that you use ?"

The answers, to the options read out, were as follows:

Table 8.16: Sources of raw materials used by self-employed and family employers

Source	% of women using source
From a local market or shop	60 %
From a wholesaler or wholesale market	35 %
From livestock owned by the household	5 %
From a government agency	2 %
From a neighbour	1 %
From elsewhere	1 %
N = 83	

In addition, the survey asked all women who were self-employed or family employers:

"To whom do you normally sell your goods or services?".

The answers, to options read out, were as follows:

Table 8.17: Where family employers and self-employed women sell their goods/services

Location	% of women
Customers in the market or a shop	49 %
Households in your <i>waax</i> *	47 %
Restaurants or traders	4 %
Elsewhere	5 %
N = 83	

* Districts are usually divided into *Xaafadda (or Laanta)*, *Waaxda* and *Tabeela*. *Waaxyo* in the area where this survey was carried out contain between 150 to 500 households.

When asked if they sold mainly to people in their district or in other districts, 60% said they sold mainly to customers within the district where they live.

The answers given to the three sets of questions about supplies and sales show that at least half of all the private sector activity which we surveyed was carried out within the district where the women were living. Much of that activity was even more localised. Almost half the women were selling within the *waax* they were living in. This both results in and reflects the intensive competition that exists amongst traders in Mogadishu right down to the neighbourhood level.

The example of Shukri, mentioned in Chapter 10, illustrates just how small are some of the economic niches in a neighbourhood which people are prepared to occupy in order to earn some extra income. Shukri buys tea spices in the local market for 20/- and then wraps up very small amounts in scrap paper from an office where she works. She then sells individual packages to people from her neighbourhood who come to her house, for 1/- a packet. After making up 30 such packages she makes 50% profit on her investment. She does the same with peanuts, which she buys and roasts at home. To sell both the peanuts and the tea spices, and make 30/- profit may take her up to two weeks! She also sells henna in small amounts. Recently she had to shift to a poorer quality henna because the price for the better quality went up. As a result she has lost a few of her old customers. She can afford to buy the more expensive type but if she did her margins would have to stay the same as before if she was to make any profit. However she says she cannot raise the price up from what she used to sell it at because her customers will go to shops nearby to buy it. For Shukri competition rather than availability of capital is the most immediate factor affecting her income.

A.9. Earnings

The survey asked all working women: "*In a normal week, how much do you earn ?*".

The median earnings per week amongst the women interviewed was 250/-. This figure seems very low when it is seen that in the same households surveyed the median food expenditure per head was 50/- per day, the same as in the Waaberi control area. There are three possible causes which may have all been operating. One is that, as in other areas we surveyed, part of the money these households were spending on food and other items, was coming from *kaalmo* from other family members and relatives, within Mogadishu, in the regions and outside Somalia. The second is that, as common knowledge has it, many women in most female occupations in fact earn substantially less than men. Thirdly, as explained in Chapter 9 it is common for surveys asking questions relating to income to find that the answers frequently are understatements of real income levels. Because of the uncertainty about which of these causes is the most significant in this case we would regard the earnings figures reported below with some caution.

The reported earnings were distributed as follows:

Table 8.18: Weekly earnings of working women interviewed in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

Shillings per week	% of all working women	
0 - 100	9 %	oooooooo
100 - 200	27 %	oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo
200 - 300	36 %	oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo
300 - 400	9 %	oooooooo
400 - 500	1 %	o
500 - 1000	9 %	oooooooo
1000 - 1500	4 %	oooo
1500 - 2000	2 %	oo
2000 - 2500	<1 %	%
2500 - 3000	<1 %	
3000 - 3500	<1 %	
3500 - 4000	-	
4000 - 4500	<1 %	
N = 211	100 %	
Median = 250/-		

We have analysed the earnings of the women according to two different sets of categories which we thought might affect women's income levels. One is their employment status and the other is whether there are also men in the household who are earning income (the division of paid labour). The results are as follows:

Table 8.19: Earnings of working women according to employment status and division of paid labour

Category of working women		Median earnings per week
1. Working women who are :		
Private sector: self-employed	N = 52	190 /-
Employees	N = 43	250 /-
family employers	N = 28	325 /-
Government workers	N = 88	250 /-
	N = 211	
2. Households with working women only	N = 67	237 /-
3. Households with working women and men	N = 144	250 /-
	N = 211	

Analysed in terms of the above categories only the self employed and the family employers seem to stand out as substantially different from the norm, with the self-employed women apparently the poorest. However the real nature of the differences between these categories of working women is shown more clearly when characteristics of their household are brought into the picture:

Table 8.20: Household characteristics of working women in relation to employment status and division of paid labour

Status	Food expenditure	People per room.	% in stone houses
1. Family employers	37.5 /- per head	4.1	18 %
Self-employed	40 /-	3.3	13 %
Private employees	50 /-	2.5	33 %
Govt. employees	57 /-	2.7	50 %
2. Working women only	50 /-	2.5	33 %
3 Men and women work	50 /-	2.7	32 %

Analysed in terms of their households there are some substantial differences between the different groups of working women.

- While those women classed as family employers reported higher individual earnings, their household's housing and food expenditure situation is the worst of all the groups. In addition, as previously stated, the number of hours worked per week was greater than those of any other groups. This image is consistent with other data we have gathered on working children in Xamar Weyne which showed that those children were coming from the poorest families (See Chapter 16: Children in Mogadishu).

- Self-employed women still seem poor when their household circumstances are considered.

- Private sector employees seem to belong to middle ranking households. But the household data probably overstate their relative advantage, since for *adeegtoyin*, the enumerators by mistake took the description of the household they worked in rather than the household their own family lived in. Further information on this group of working women could be obtained from data on working women collected in the household surveys we have carried out in other areas of Mogadishu.

- Although government employees' *declared* earnings per week were no more than 250/-, they clearly seem to belong to households of above average welfare in terms of food expenditure and housing. This is consistent with our area survey findings of higher levels of government employment in the less poor areas (amongst all working adults and all working women).

- In this area, dependence on women's employment compared to dependence on employment of both men and women in a household does not seem to be associated with any differences at all in terms of food expenditure and housing standards. The difference in earnings between these groups is also relatively small.

However this is not the case in all areas of the city. In the area of Cabdulcasiis which we surveyed there was a substantial difference between the food expenditure levels of female-headed households and those of male-headed households (See Chapter 4).

A. 9. Uses of income earned.

The survey asked all working women: "*What do you do with the money that you earn ?*"

The following answers were given to options read out:

Table 8.21: Use of income earned by all working women

Use of money	% of Women
Used for the family's basic needs (food, fuel, rent)	63 %
Used for extra things for the household	16 %
Used for myself only	14 %
Gave to my husband	3 %
Used to develop my business	2 %
Other reasons	2 %
N = 211	100 %

Similarly, in a separate section of the questionnaire we asked all working women:

"What was the main reason that you started working?".

The responses to the options read out were essentially the same as the above:

Table 8.22: Reason for starting work reported by all working women

Reason for starting work	% Of women
To meet my family's basic needs (food, fuel and rent)	64 %
To buy extra things for the family (household equipment, <i>qaaran</i> *, clothes etc.)	13 %
To be independent and support myself	13 %
To save for the future	3 %
Other reasons	6 %
No answer given	1 %
N = 211	100 %

* payment for emergency needs of others

While the first answer, in both cases, might well be given because it is the most socially acceptable it is also the case that almost half (44%) of women who were interviewed were the sole providers for their households and in their case that answer would certainly be true.

B: DECISIONS ABOUT STARTING WORK

In the survey of working women we also enquired about how the women started their present work. Of particular interest were the relative roles of education and capital.

B.1. Choice of occupation

B.1.1 : The survey asked all working women:

"Why did you decide to do this particular work?"

The reasons given varied according to the employment status of the women. The most common response amongst those women with government employment were: "Trained for it/had the skills or experience to do it" (24%) and "I like the job/it suits me" (21%). Amongst the self-employed women the most common answers were: "easy to do or start" (27%) and "only job available/unable to find other work" (19%). Amongst the family employers the most common answers were : "no skills for any other job" (30%) and "not enough money to invest in another job" (26%). Amongst the private sector employees the most common answer was "no skills for any other job" (40%). The answers of the government workers imply a degree of choice whereas the answers given by the private sector workers imply much less choice.

The answers, which were categorised afterwards, were as follows:

Table 8.23: Reasons for choice of occupation reported by all working women

Answer	% of all responses given
Easy to do or to start	18 %
Had no skills to do any other job	15 %
It was the only job available/unable to find other work	14 %
Trained for it/had skills or experience to do it	14 %
I liked the job/it suits me	12 %
Did not have enough money to invest in another job	7 %
Better than previous job/can earn more money at this	3 %
The government selected the job	3 %
Cannot do another job because I need to stay at home/ near the house to care for my children	2 %
It was the job I got when looking for work/I did not look for anything else	2 %
Not too much work	2 %
Relative/neighbour/friend introduced me to it	1 %
Sick and I can remain at home with this job	1 %
I can work at home	1 %
Good money	1 %
Other	4 %
N = 222 responses, 211 women	100 %

Overall, the level of education and skills seemed a far more important determining factor than access to capital. Only in one group (family employers) was access to capital nearly as important as skills.

B.1.2: The survey asked all employees:

"Why do you do this type of work"

The answers, to the options read out, were as follows:

Table 8.24: Reasons for choice of occupation reported by all employed women

Reason	% of responses
I would prefer not to work but needs compel me	29 %
There is no other work open for someone of my education	28 %
I like this work	16 %
The work I would like to do needs money to start which I don't have	14 %
There is no other work open for someone of my age	13 %
N = 135 responses, 128 women	100 %

The main difference between the private sector and government sector workers was on the second option. Of the private sector workers, 39% said "There is no other work for someone of my education" compared to 25% of the government sector workers.

The answers to this question also showed that skills and education were more important than access to capital.

B.2. Sources of training for current work

The survey asked all working women:

"Where did you learn this work ?"

The answers, to the options read out, were as follows:

Table 8.25: Source of training reported by all working women

Source of training	% of women
Self taught	47 %
School/formal training	25 %
Relatives	18 %
Friends/neighbors	8 %
Trained at work	2 %
N = 209	100 %

When these responses were analysed according to employment status we found that *none* of those women who were self-employed or family employers indicated that school or formal training had anything to do with their present work. Almost all (96%) of those women who said their training had been at school/formal training were government employees. The few others were employees in the private sector.

This is not surprising when the literacy rates of the women who were employers or self-employed are compared to those working for the government. Almost three quarters of the government workers (74%) were literate, compared to 13% and 14% of the women who were family employers and self-employed respectively. Most government positions require at least primary school level education. The few that do not are those such as sweepers and cleaners.

B.3. Amount of capital used to establish self-employment

The survey asked a question related to the present rather than to the past, since the different times at which women had started their business would make comparisons of capital invested very difficult. The question asked, of all family employers and self-employed women was :

"If a women wanted to start doing this kind of work how much money would she need?"

The distribution that was found is shown on Table 8.26.

Table 8.26: Capital needed by family employers and self-employed women to start business

Capital needed in /-	% of women	
0 – 100	11 %	0000000000
100 - 200	13 %	000000000000
200 - 300	7 %	0000000
300 - 400	21 %	00000000000000000000
400 - 500	6 %	000000
500 - 600	10 %	0000000000
600 - 700	4 %	0000
700 - 800	4 %	0000
800 - 900	-	
900 - 1000	1 %	o
1000 - 2000	8 %	00000000
2000 - 3000	6 %	000000
3000 - 4000	2 %	oo
4000 - 5000	0 %	
5000 - 10,000	2 %	oo
10,000 - 20,000	4 %	oooo
Above to 65,000	1 %	o
N = 83		100 %

For the majority of the women the amount of capital needed to start up an enterprise was surprisingly small. Just over half (52%) of the activities involved would take 400/- or less to start. Only one quarter of the women's activities would require more than 1,000/- to begin with. These levels of capital investment are consistent with the types of commodities most women were trading or producing. They also suggest that some of the earnings reported may be realistic.

B.4. Sources of capital

Women who were family employers or self-employed were asked:

"Where did you get the capital to start".

The answers to the following options were as follows:

Table 8.20: Household characteristics of working women in relation to employment status and division of paid labour

Source of Capital	% of responses
Relatives in Mogadishu	28 %
Husband	24 %
Own money	18 %
Money saved from previous work	16 %
Hagbad*	6 %
Friends or neighbours	6 %
Relatives outside Mogadishu	2 %
Bank	0 %
N = 88 responses, 83 women	100 %

* A hagbad is a rotating credit group (See Chapter 10)

The women were also asked if the money was a loan, a gift or neither.

47% said it was a gift

37% said it was neither gift nor loan (i.e. their own money)

16% said it was a loan

Of those who said it was a loan, 90% said the loan was from relatives.

The most substantial difference we found between those who used loans and those who did not was the amount of capital involved. Those who used loans started their present business with a median capital of 960/- or twice the median for the group, whereas for those who did not use loans, their median starting capital was only 360/-.

If the figures on food expenditure and earnings are to be believed, the use of loans to start a business seems to have had little effect on resulting income or expenditure. The situation was as follows:

Table 8.28: Comparative earnings and food expenditure of women using and not using loans to start their business

	Median earnings	Median food expenditure
Users of Loans	225 /-	38.7 /-
Non-Users	210 /-	40. /-

The occupations of those using loans was varied. They included fruit and vegetable sellers, mat makers, tea shop owners, peanut sellers, muufo makers, grain sellers, and others. They did not differ substantially from those who did not use loans to start their business.

What is most striking in the answers concerning sources of capital is the small degree of reliance on loans to start a business. It suggests that access to capital may not be a very significant factor affecting the number of women involved in small scale self-employed activities. Our view is that what is likely to be more important is their assessment of the likely return on time they invest, in relation to their degree of need for extra income. Further comment on the importance of time will be made in the following section.

C: ATTITUDES TO WORK

C.1. Problems with work

C.1.1: The survey asked all employers and self-employed women:

"What is the main problem facing your business now?"

The answers, to options read out, were as follows:

Table 8.29: Problems facing all women who were family employers and self-employed.

Problems	% of responses by women
Lack of money to expand your business	33 %
Competition from other business	18 %
Lack of time	16 %
Few customers	13 %
Lack of raw materials	7 %
Lack of equipment	5 %
Lack of other goods	4 %
Lack of skills to develop your business	4 %
N = 85 responses, 83 women	100 %

If a relatively cynical view of human nature is taken the proportion saying lack of money was the problem seems to be surprisingly small. Many writers on small business promotion complain that this is the only way in which many small business people can conceptualise their problems, even though the real problems may be otherwise (Harper 1984:26). Yet in Mogadishu this does not seem necessarily to be the case.

The number of women citing the next three answers (18+16+13 = 50%) suggests that many women do have an alternative view of their problems. In a business such as petty trading, where competition for a limited number of sales is intense and where the profit margins on any sale are small, the profits that are to be made go to those who have the most time to wait for the sales that may come their way. Lack of time, competition from other business and few customers are all a reflection of the same basic predicament.

Involvement of one's children, and in some cases one's relatives, in the business is one way of trying to cope with this predicament. Working additional hours is another. This seems to be the strategy followed by those women we have called family employers.

It was in this group of working women who are already using their labour time to the maximum that we found the most women saying that their main problem was lack of money to expand their business. Of all the women in this group 46% said that lack of money to expand their business was a problem compared to 26% of those women who were self-employed (i.e. working on their own).

C.1.2 : Later in the interview all employed women were asked:

"What is the main problem that you experience in your work".

The answers, which were categorised afterwards, were as follows:

Table 8.30: Problems facing all employed women

Problem	% of Women
No problem	48 %
Too many hours	13 %
The work is too much/too hard	11 %
Arguments/personal disagreements at work	9 %
Too little money	6 %
Problem with transportation	2 %
Pursued by tax people	2 %
Did not have enough skills when I started	2 %
Other	7 %
N = 128	100 %

Predictably, fewer women working as government workers reported having work problems (45%) than the private sector workers (65%). The main complaint of the government workers was "Too many hours" (15%)! whereas the main complaint of the private sector workers was "Arguments/personal disagreements at work". The latter is understandable because many of the private sector employees in this sample are domestic servants, a type of work where there is a high likelihood of interpersonal conflict.

C.2 Attitudes of others

The survey asked women who were either self-employed or family employers three questions that related to attitudes of others concerning their work.

1. When the women were asked *"What difficulties did you meet when starting this work"* one option, which was read out, referred to the attitudes of others:

"getting permission from my kin".

Only 10% of the women indicated that this was a problem when they started their business.

2. Later in the interview the same women were asked if the following phrases were true or false for their situation:

"My husband would like to stop me working".

11% of the women said that was true in their situation.

"I don't wish to expand my business because I might upset my family by spending too much time outside the home".

20% of the women said that was true in their situation.

When it is remembered that 54% of the women reported getting their starting capital from their husbands or relatives in Mogadishu it would seem, in this sample of women, that attitudes of other family members and relatives are having only a limited effect on their participation in the economy. However what is not clear from this sample is to what extent the attitudes of husbands, other family members and kin are the reason why *other women are not working*.

C.2. Attitudes to working

The survey asked all working women:

"If you had a daughter would you like her to do the work you now do?".

Over half (59%) of the women said they would. Of those women who said they would not, the most common reasons given were:

Table 8.31: Reasons for dissatisfaction with current work reported by all working women

Reasons	% of Responses
I want my daughter to have a better life than mine.	42 %
It is hard/tiring/unpleasant work	19 %
I would like her to continue her education	11 %
The income is too low	11 %
I don't like the work	10 %
Other reasons	7 %
N = 96 responses, 87 women	100 %

The levels of satisfaction with work varied substantially according to employment status:

Table 8.32: Relationship of work satisfaction to employment status

Employment status	% of women who would like their daughter to do the same work
Government workers	70 %
Self-employed	56 %
Family employers	50 %
Private sector employees	42 %

There was little difference between these groups in the reasons given for their job dissatisfaction.

The ranking of the first three employment status groups is consistent with how we would see their relative well being in objective terms (See Table 8.21). However our inadequate information about some of those women who are private sector employees (*adeegtayin*) makes it difficult for us to assess objectively their relative position. We suspect that their higher level of work dissatisfaction is also indicative of their actual standard of living.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The recommendations that can be made as a result of the above survey are inherently tentative, since the survey was of only one small group of working women in Mogadishu.

1. Objective and subjective measures taken in this survey and the area surveys suggest that women working for the Government, despite their low official salaries, are not a disadvantaged group, *in comparison to other working women*. However within the government there is no doubt that women are under-represented at the middle and higher levels, and therefore in that sense they are disadvantaged.
2. In the past the government guarantee of employment for all school leavers wanting work meant that the government service was a significant source of employment opportunities for that group. The availability of government employment has been a major factor affecting the number of women who are working in Mogadishu. With the change in government policy, those opportunities are now available only to a few school leavers. However there is still significant demand for Government employment by those with primary or secondary education. Competition for employment in areas such as the banks, the insurance agency and Somali Airlines is intense.

The net effect of this change in policy must be greater competition both amongst women themselves, and with men, for any wage sector employment that is available.

Since many foreign aid funded government programmes involve "incentive" payments on top of official salaries we would suggest that a minimal action that could be taken would be to ensure that women be given equal access to positions in these programmes. The funding agencies could in many cases be in a position to influence this process.

3. In the private sector there are few women employed as skilled or semi-skilled workers. Access to those jobs is partly dependent on access to education and training. Since the majority of skilled workers, (such as mechanics) in Mogadishu obtain their training through informal apprenticeship schemes often associated with family businesses it seems unlikely that women's access to such training will change very rapidly. *Technical training schemes specially oriented to women may be the only way to increase women's access to this type of employment*. There are two immediate steps that can be taken. One is to identify the range of forms of technical training women are interested in and which seem feasible sources of employment in Mogadishu (not necessarily in the immediate term). The other is to identify the appropriate means of doing such training, preferably on a sustainable basis. Suggestions not requiring expensive training institutions have been made in Chapter 12.
4. Increasing productivity in sectors where women are already involved in some form of production could help address the problem of low return on time that many women are facing at present. Activities that should be looked at include home-based food production and the

making of mats, baskets, fans, and brooms. Home-based activities are important for many women because of child care and other demands and should not be neglected solely in favour of work located elsewhere. Improved productivity could equally be in the form of greater diversity of products rather than simply an increased rate of production. One example could be the making and packaging of dried fruit, as is sold on the street on the coast of Kenya. Another would be the use of a greater range of dyes and designs in the making of mats and similar products. (See Chapter 14: Beesha Shukri, for more details on mat and basket making as an occupation.)

More specific research should be carried out in a poor area of Mogadishu to identify the potential for *expanding or diversifying home-based productive activities* by women. Where the opportunity exists, that research should be converted immediately into a trial project. That research should be mindful of the extent to which home-based activity is, for each woman, a practical choice in the circumstances, or an option taken for the lack of any alternative available outside their home.

5. Trading activity is an important source of income for many working women. It offers easy entry and its earnings are inflation-indexed to the degree that selling prices can be adjusted upwards. Its major disadvantage is the intense competition for sales and the low rate of return on the time women invest. To the extent that women are visibly involved in trading activities involving small amounts of capital and low profit margins, this is indicative of their relative need for extra income compared to other women who are not working.

Women involved in such activities should be considered as candidates for programmes aimed at increasing women's incomes by other means.

Women who have children working with them in such small-scale activities should be given special priority in such programmes.

We suggest that, in many cases those women who are not employed in any form of income-earning activity, begging included, could be considered less in need than the above two groups of women. In a city such as Mogadishu it can be said that people have to be able to *afford to be unemployed* (in the longer term sense, not between one casual job and the next).

6. As far as small-scale trading activities are concerned, it seems as though access to capital is not a major problem nor the main limiting factor on the earnings that can be made this way. Except in the case of groups who evidently have much less access to support networks than others in Mogadishu, there seems likely to be little role for credit extension services to women involved in such activities. It may be more appropriate to build in credit components to either of the other proposals mentioned above (3 and 4). This could enable those trained women some degree of choice between employment by others and self-employment. If credit extension is planned it should attempt to build on the form and functioning of the *hagbad*, as described in Chapter 10: Support Networks.
7. The previous recommendation is made with some caution. The whole process whereby money is saved and invested, given or lent is, to outsiders at least, out of sight and undocumented. Since it is these processes that economic life is based on, they need to be understood in more depth before interventions in the form of credit extension are proposed. We would recommend that more research be done on this subject because it is so central to understanding how the Somali economy works.

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Chapter 9: HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE

As we have already pointed out in the section concerning employment levels in Mogadishu, it is more appropriate to think of the household rather than the individual as the basic economic unit in the city's economy. This chapter will look at households from the point of view of their expenditure patterns. In the following section trends of household expenditure in Mogadishu over the last 20 years will be reviewed. In particular, the significance of fuel and food expenditure will be analysed. The findings on food expenditure levels in the Waaberi control survey will be described and their implications for assessing the level of poverty in Mogadishu will be discussed. Data on other major household costs such as rent and water are presented in Chapter 6: Housing Conditions and Chapter 11: Water, Sanitation and Health.

1. TRENDS IN HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE IN MOGADISHU

Over the past 20 years there have been a number of surveys that have gathered data on expenditure patterns of households in Mogadishu. The earliest one we have found reference to is a survey done in 1966 in order to construct a cost of living index (Luling 1971:283). The most recent survey was the Household Budget Survey carried out in 1984 and 1985. Average household expenditure patterns are shown below, from the sources we have had access to:

Table 9.1: Household expenditure pattern in 1966 (quoted in Luling 1971:283)

Items	Percentage of household expenditure
Food	55.9 %
Housing and water	16.1 %
Fuel	3.8 %
Tea and coffee	3.7 %
Tobacco	3.6 %
Household operation (sic)	3.3 %
Clothes	2.8 %
Furniture	0.4 %
Miscellaneous	10.4 %
N = 600	100.0 %

Table 9.2: Household expenditure pattern in 1977 (Mogadishu Family Budget Survey 1977)

Items	Percentage of household expenditure
Food	60.1 %
Housing and water	15.3 %
Clothing and footwear	5.6 %
Fuel and lighting	4.7 %
Beverages,tobacco and khat	2.2 %
Miscellaneous	12.1 %
N = 768	100.0 %

Table 9.3: Household expenditure patterns in 1980 (MNP Survey of the Urban Poor 1980)

Items	Percentage of household expenditure
Food	58.4 %
Fuel	12.3 %
Water	7.9 %
Rent	7.3 %
Clothing	5.8 %
Medicine	5.2 %
Education	2.6 %
Assistance to others (kaalmo)	0.5 %
N = 398	100.0 %

It should be noted that 95% of households sampled in the 1980 survey were living in poorer quality housing, for instance, baraakooyin, jingado, carshaan and aqallo. This is not a representative proportion for the city as a whole. However it may be representative of the poorer quality housing areas of the city.

The same survey analysed the variations in expenditure patterns between income levels. The following range was found:

Table 9.4: Expenditure patterns in relationship to income levels

Item	Lowest Income group (1 of 4)	Highest Income group (1 of 4)
Food	65 %	60 %
Rent	14 %	9 %
	79 %	69 %
N = 398	(of total household expenditure)	

While the difference in expenditure patterns between income levels is a small one, it is consistent with the results of similar surveys carried out elsewhere in Africa which show that food expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure decreases as incomes increase (Schofield 1979:68).

The most recent data are from the 1984/85 Household Budget Survey, conducted by the Ministry of Planning with assistance from Swedish Statistics. This was carried out in order to reconstruct the Consumer Price Index. While the final results of this survey have not yet been published, it is expected that they will show that food expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure in Mogadishu has remained essentially the same as found in 1977.

Overall the most noticeable feature of the results of the above surveys is that, for average households, food costs as a proportion of total household costs seem to have changed very little over the past 20 years. Similarly, the significance of housing and water costs (combined) also seems to have changed very little, remaining between 15.2 % to 16.1% between 1966 and 1980. While these figures would suggest that the standard of living of the average household in Mogadishu has neither improved or deteriorated significantly during this period there is some evidence of improvement in some aspects of daily life, for example in housing quality and access to water. (See Chapter 6 and 11.)

The broader context

We do not have similar expenditure data for other African countries but some information is available from the U.S.A. and Britain which puts the Mogadishu situation in a broader context:

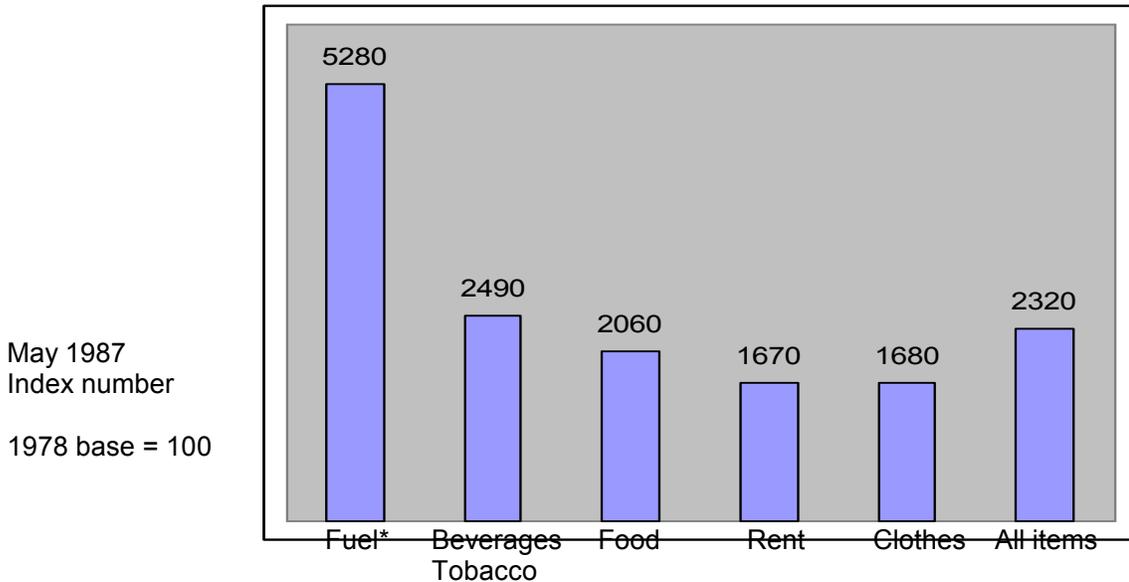
- In the U.S.A. food expenditure as a percentage of total household expenditure for average households declined from 33% in 1955 to 17.8% in 1987 (Economist 14.3.1987, p.41).
- In Britain the 1985 Family Expenditure Survey found that only two kinds of households spent more than 25% of their income on food: pensioners depending on welfare benefits and one-parent households with two or more children (Economist 19.1.1987).

The absence of heating costs as a significant component of household expenditure in Mogadishu introduces some difficulties into the comparison of Somalia with these two countries. Nevertheless the gulf between the standard of living in Mogadishu and those in the U.S.A. and Britain remains a large one.

The impact of inflation

Since the current cost of living index was established in 1978, there have been two periods of very high inflation. The first was in 1981 and the second in 1984. During the later period the rate for the whole year was approximately 90% (MNP 1987). Since then the rate has dropped. The rate for 1986 was approximately 35%. The inflation that has taken place since 1978 has not affected all living costs to the same degree. As shown below, fuel and lighting costs have increased at a much faster rate than all other major costs of living in Mogadishu:

Table 9.5: Changes in fuel and lighting costs in relation to other household costs



* The index has been created in such a way that it measures the impact of inflation on a basket of commodities that would be typical of the average household in Mogadishu. Thus an increase in diesel or petrol prices would have much less impact on the fuel index than an increase in the price of charcoal.

This dramatic increase in fuel costs is likely to have affected poor households in two ways. Firstly, in the choice of cooking fuel to use, and secondly, in the number of meals to be cooked each day. We have gathered some information about both of these aspects of fuel use in Mogadishu.

Fuel preferences and usage

For the majority of people in Mogadishu charcoal is the preferred fuel, even where there is electricity. This is because its supply is more reliable, the equipment is far cheaper and because it is what most people are used to using. Firewood is liked less because it produces much more smoke, it is harder to regulate the amount of heat it produces and it affects the taste of food. To have to use wood as a cooking fuel is considered a disadvantage. The only exception is when large amounts of food have to be cooked for gatherings such as weddings. On these occasions wood becomes the most practical fuel.

In our Waaberi control survey we found that households there fell into four major groups of fuel users:

- | | |
|--|------|
| 1. Those who buy charcoal in bulk | 26 % |
| 2. Those who buy charcoal daily | 35 % |
| 3. Those who buy both charcoal and wood | 34 % |
| 4. Those who buy wood only ²⁰ | 5 % |

Two major studies have been made of fuel usage in Mogadishu in recent years (Laux 1985 and VITA 1984). In these studies of households in five districts the proportion of households using

²⁰ There were almost no bulk purchasers in these groups. (A bulk purchase was defined as an amount sufficient for three or more days.)

wood have ranged from 13% to 30%. In another study, the 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor, in sections of Wardhigley, Hawl Wadag and Wadajir the proportion of households using wood was only 8%. None of these studies is of much use to us here as bench marks however because either the sample area was not clearly identified or the definition of fuel usage was not clear enough.

In the course of our own surveys we were able to identify the proportions of households in each area who were using wood as their sole cooking fuel.

Table 9.6: Households using wood as the only cooking fuel in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Area	Percentage
Waaberi	5.0%
Cabdulcasiis	7.5%
Wadajir (Halane)	36.0%
Yaqshiid (Xaafadda Heegan)	19 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	46.0%
Beesha Shukri	44.0%

* These areas are ranked in order of economic status (See Table 9.9)

Two trends are noticeable. Firstly, the number of households using firewood as the sole fuel is substantially higher in the poorer areas. Secondly, it is apparent that the number of households using firewood is highest in the three newest settlements on the outskirts of the city (Wadajir - Halane and Damme Yassin, and Beesha Shukri). However the reasons for this are not so immediately clear. The price differences which we observed between the charcoal and wood on sale in these areas were no greater there than in other more central markets. However it was reported that the quality of charcoal on sale there was poorer. This may simply reflect the wholesaler's view that there would not be sufficient demand for better quality charcoal in places such as Beesha Shukri. The higher proportion of households using wood in these areas may be the result of efforts to economise and the relatively greater availability of wood in comparison to charcoal, however this needs more investigation.

In the areas which had a high proportion of households using wood as their sole cooking fuel, many households seemed to have also reduced the number of meals that they were cooking each day. For most households in Mogadishu it is normal to cook three meals a day. The midday meal is usually the largest meal and the evening meal the smallest. If people are cooking less than three meals a day it is usually the evening meal which is missed. When we surveyed Waaberi we found that 82% of households reported cooking three meals a day, 16% cooked only twice a day and only 1% cooked only once a day (an additional 1% cooked 4 times a day). However, in the three poorest areas that we surveyed the number of households cooking twice a day or less ranged from 32% to 54%.

If only one meal a day is cooked it reflects both shortage of money for food and an attempt to reduce fuel costs so that more can be spent on food. With the poorest families, who may only be spending 150/- a day on food for a family of five, a fuel bill of 20/- per day can represent a significant amount of food that could otherwise have been bought. In the three poorest areas we found that between 6% and 12% of the households we surveyed were cooking only one meal a day.

Recommendation

In Mogadishu there has already been some work done on improving the fuel use efficiency of stoves used for cooking in ordinary households. This has been done by VITA, an American organisation, which has now, in Somalia, become the National Woodstoves Programme, managed and run by Somali nationals. Although the VITA/NWP developed improved stoves for wood as well as for charcoal use in Mogadishu, NWP has concentrated solely on the promotion of the improved charcoal stoves. This has been because NWP saw that charcoal was by far the most widely used fuel, and therefore it was with this type of fuel use that they could have the most impact on overall consumption levels. In two years of operation, they have enabled some 8,000 improved charcoal stoves to be sold in Mogadishu. Demand is strong but production has been limited by lack of electricity at the government-run foundry which produces grills for the stone stoves.

So far the NWP has not attempted to promote the use of the improved wood burning stove in Mogadishu although they are doing so in the rural areas. As a result the poorest communities in Mogadishu, who are the major users of wood, apart from restaurants, have not received any benefits from the NWP so far. However the costs of the new model wood stove are such that it should bring cheaper fuel use to such families with very little extra cost burden involved at all. The cheapest they have been made for is 20/-, the same as the traditional model, but prices vary according to location. This compares well with the cost of the improved charcoal stove which sells for 360/-: 150/- more than the normal cost of charcoal stoves. The new model wood stoves also last much longer than the older models and are thus cheaper in the long run. There is reason then to believe that such stoves could help households in the poorest areas we have surveyed make economies within their present budgets.

On this basis we have initiated discussions between the Urban Basic Services Programme and NWP to introduce the new model woodstoves to Beesha Shukri on a trial basis. It is planned that the 9 households whom we have previously interviewed in case studies will be approached and offered free wood stoves in return for their later opinions on the value of these stoves. If they feel they are a worthwhile improvement then the question of production and supply through local people in the community will be investigated.

2. FOOD EXPENDITURE AS AN INDICATOR

The amount of money a household spends on food is obviously a direct indicator of disadvantage, if it is stated in per head terms. Not to have enough to eat is an immediate disadvantage in itself, apart from any of its other effects. Food expenditure is also potentially an indicator of both "physical weakness" (from lack of calories) and "vulnerability" to disease, two of the aspects of disadvantage categorised by Chambers (1983:108). These are the reasons why we have used reported food expenditure as one of the main indicators in our study of different areas of Mogadishu.

Because of the significance of food as a major item in household budgets in Mogadishu, the amount spent on food within a household might also be a good approximate indicator of a household's overall expenditure level. Direct inquiries about income are not likely to be any more accurate. The 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor found that 35% of households surveyed had expenditure in excess of their stated incomes! In many of the case studies we carried out the apparent income was rarely sufficient to cover the reported expenditure. It seems likely then that using income measures alone will lead to an underestimation of people's standard of living. In addition, surveys asking details of income often encounter high rates of refusal to answer, making the information that has been given unrepresentative of the sample as

a whole. The rates of refusal encountered by our survey enumerators were no more than 3% of all households and less than 3% for the questions on food expenditure.

There are a number of reasons why the reported household expenditure on food is possibly the most useful quantitative indicator of overall expenditure levels, especially of low income groups. In Mogadishu almost every household buys its meat, milk and vegetables on a daily basis. Many families with some cash reserves buy other items such as maize, sorghum, flour, rice, pasta, beans, oil, sugar, as well as cooking fuel (charcoal and wood) in bulk quantities (i.e. at least 3 days' supply) when possible, in order to make economies of scale. However the poorest families, who normally have very small or non-existent daily cash reserves, have to buy whatever of these items they can afford, on a daily basis.

To be a daily purchaser of food has its own disadvantages, regardless of precisely how much is spent. People purchasing all items daily have to pay higher food costs per weight or volume of food. In addition the opinion of residents in Mogadishu is that it is also these people who suffer the most in times of inflation because the prices of small quantities rise much quicker than the prices for bulk items. There are advantages of daily purchases though. Purchasing food in small amounts is a way of keeping some control over the rate at which items such as fuel and sugar for example are used up.

Reported daily expenditure on food by those who purchase all items daily will normally represent their total daily expenditure. With the higher income groups, who purchase some or all goods on a bulk basis the daily expenditure figure will be an underestimate because it will often exclude the value of the bulk purchases. However the percentages of households who buy all or part of their non-perishable food in bulk will in itself be another useful indicator of the economic composition of an area, or a group. In a sense these households represent a type of middle to upper class group in Mogadishu.

An additional advantage of asking about daily food expenditure is that normally food purchases are made by only one or two people in the household, usually the mother or elder daughters. Income in comparison may come into the household through a diversity of people. In the household surveys we have carried out the vast majority of people interviewed were women (an average of 79% in our area surveys) so it is likely that most of the information we have obtained concerning food expenditure has come from informed members of the households. In addition 13 of the 15 enumerators whom we used were young women, many of whom were familiar with current food costs from the markets in their own areas.

There are three possible limitations to using daily food expenditure as an indicator of overall household expenditure. One is the possibility that eating out in restaurants by male members of households will cause an underestimation of a family's real food expenditure. This does not seem likely to be a significant problem. The most common opinion we have heard is that it is mainly single men living alone or single men in households of other single men who eat regularly in restaurants. Even in these situations many men prefer to find a family with whom they can eat, say relatives or others, either on a paying or non-paying basis. The cost of this type of arrangement varies from 1,000/- to 2,000/- a month. This, incidentally, is well within the ranges of per head food expenditure that we have found in the areas we have surveyed. Eating regularly in restaurants is the most expensive option available to people living on their own. According to resident's opinions one group who are likely to eat frequently in the restaurants are those people, especially men, who have come into Mogadishu for a short period of time to do business. Others, who eat in restaurants less frequently, are business people and senior government workers.

The second possible limitation is of course people's unwillingness to disclose their real food costs, which is likely to lead to overestimates at the bottom end of the scale and underestimates at the top. In our surveys we have had to rely on the enumerators' own comments on the reliability of individual respondents when assessing if the food expenditure data were falsified or not.

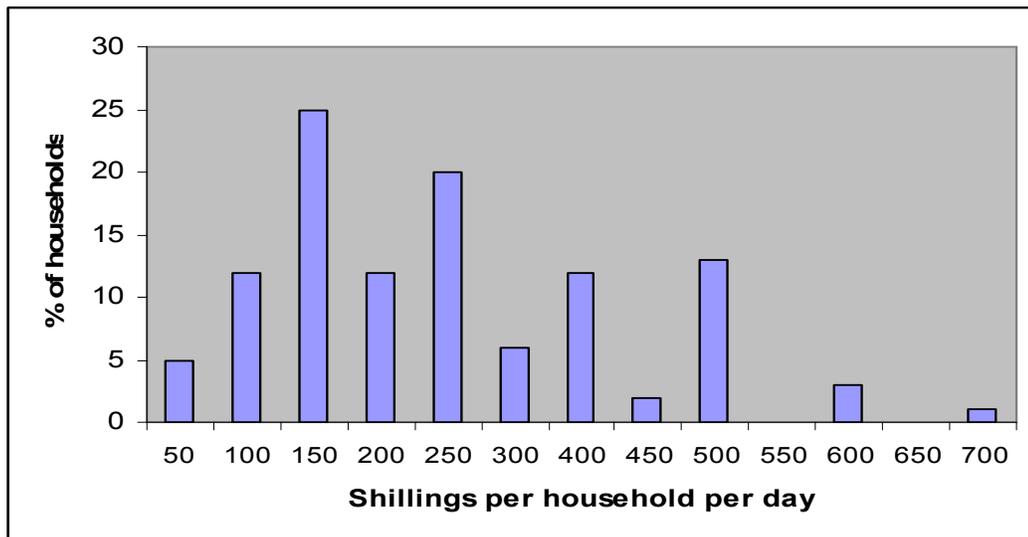
The third possible limitation is that people's food expenditure can vary from day to day. With some households daily income may be enough one day but not enough the next. In this situation asking people for their average food expenditure will inevitably lead to approximations and "heaping" on round numbers such as 200/-, 250/-, 300/- etc. in the same way that many people when asked their age in Somalia pick the nearest decade or half decade. This was found to be the case in all the areas we surveyed.

3. FOOD AND HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE IN WAABERI

The Distribution of Household Food Expenditure

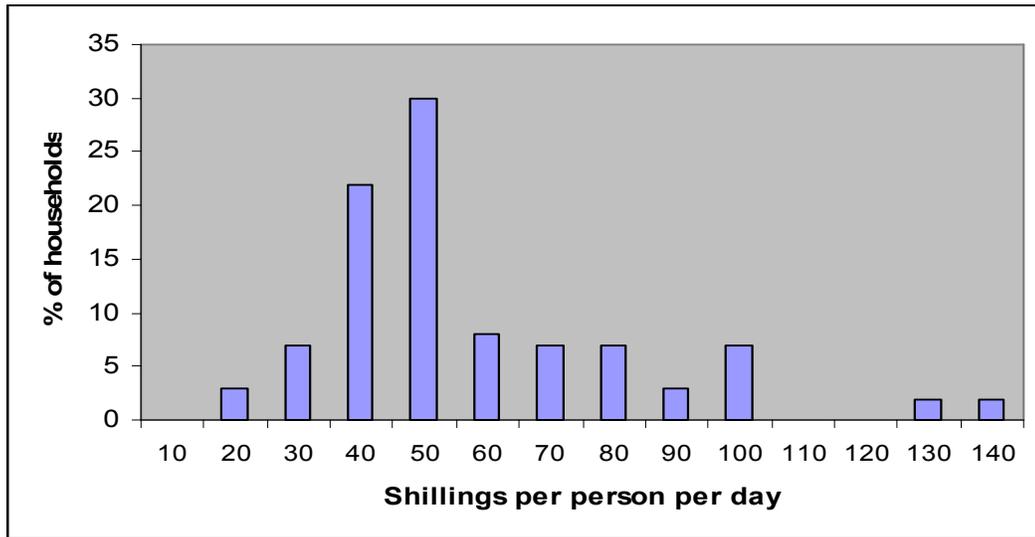
We found the following distribution of household daily food expenditure in Waaberi in November 1986:

Table 9.7: Daily food expenditure per household in Waaberi District, November 1986



Because of variations in numbers of people per household we converted the above data into daily food expenditure per head. When this was done the distribution became more concentrated around the median, as is clear in the following table. This distribution suggests to us that there is relatively little inequality of household food expenditure in this area of Waaberi.

Table 9.8: Daily food expenditure per head in Waaberi District, November 1986



The median food expenditure in Waaberi was 50/- per person per day. In terms of the basic food staples available in the Waaberi market at the time of the survey this was equivalent to:

- 1.0 kg of pasta or
- 1.6 kg of rice or
- 1.7 kg of flour or
- 2.5 kg of maize

We have reported these food equivalents here so that future measures of household food expenditure in Mogadishu can be compared to this figure in a meaningful way.

Bulk and Daily Purchase of Food

In Waaberi we found the following pattern of food purchase:

- | | | |
|----|--|------|
| A | Households purchasing on a daily basis: | 68 % |
| B | Households purchasing both daily and in bulk ²¹ | 28 % |
| C. | Households purchasing on a bulk basis only | 4 % |

Those households purchasing all non-perishable food on a bulk basis were clearly better off. Their median food expenditure per head was 87.5/-. However these households were a small minority. When the median food expenditure per head was recalculated for those households that purchase all their food daily the median food expenditure remained at 50/- per head.

The items which were most commonly purchased were cooking oil and sugar. These were bought by everyone, regardless of their particular preferences for food staples such as pasta, rice, maize or beans. Both are costly items compared to the food staples. The items which were most commonly bought in bulk were as follows:

²¹ In the survey questionnaire bulk was again defined as sufficient to last the household three or more days

Author: Rick Davies, Mogadishu. 1988. Funded by CIIR, UNICEF, Oxfam and CCFD.

Item	Percentage of all households
Oil	22 %
Pasta	20 %
Rice	18 %
Flour	16 %
Sugar	14 %

Maize, which is often regarded as the poor person's food staple (although there are regional variations in its preference) was being bought by 88% of the households, 11% of which bought it in bulk.

In practice we found that the figure we were given as daily food expenditure was actually a measurement of something more than food expenditure. There are two words available in Somali which refer to daily living costs. They are *biil* and *masruuf*. From the information given to us by the enumerators and from 27 case studies that we carried out it is clear that when people were asked their daily food expenditure (quite specifically) they replied in terms of what their normal *biil* or *masruuf* is. They did not separate out the additional daily costs. These extra costs are of two main types: fuel and water. In the case studies which we did of households in the areas we surveyed, the costs of fuel and water represented 14% of the average *masruuf*. Since fuel and water are in fact essential to a household's daily food consumption we have in the rest of this report, for simplicity's sake, continued to refer to food, water and fuel costs simply as "daily food expenditure". The exception is in Chapter 16, where reference is made to the daily food costs of street children.

Taking the median household size of 6.47 people per household, found in Waaberi, 50/- per person per day is equivalent to a monthly food expenditure of 9,705/- for a median size and status family in Waaberi. Assuming that food expenditure (including fuel and water, i.e *masruuf*) was 70% of total expenditure, this implies a median household expenditure of 13,864/- in Waaberi in November 1986.

The implication is therefore that through employment or other means median type households in Waaberi must be finding about 462/- per day to cover their costs, before making any savings. This is equivalent to around US\$ 184.88 per head per annum, calculated at the market rate²² of 141/- to 1 US\$ or US\$292.89 per head per annum at the then official rate of 89/- to 1 US\$.

Other food sources

In addition to obtaining cash which is spent on food, some families in Waaberi also obtain food directly from animals which they keep near their houses. These are most commonly chickens (19% of households) and goats (8% of households). Furthermore, as Chapter 10 (Support Networks) describes, many families in Waaberi receive *kaalmo* (support) from other relatives, neighbours, friends and people overseas. Very often this is in the form of goods, particularly food, rather than money, especially in poorer households and especially if received from neighbours. Therefore the above food expenditure estimate for Waaberi is likely to be an underestimate rather than overestimate of the real value of people's food intake during the period of the survey.

4. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF POVERTY IN SOMALIA

A useful summary of previous attempts to estimate the extent of poverty in Somalia is contained

²² Jeddah free market rate Nov 1986 (USAID 1987)

in "Women and Children in Somalia: A Situation Analysis", published by UNICEF and the Ministry of Planning in 1984 (MNP/UNICEF 1984). Three of the studies referred to have made estimates of the proportion of urban dwellers in poverty in Somalia. Two were by the ILO and one by the World Bank. Their estimates are as follows:

ILO/JASPA 1978	IBRD World Bank 1978	ILO/JASPA 1981
42%	42%	5 - 7%

Since Mogadishu's population would account for more than half of those included in the category of urban dwellers it can be taken that these figures could have been suggestive of the situation in Mogadishu at the time they were made.

All three surveys used the FAO recommended figure of 2,200 calories per capita as an average minimum calorie intake which would define a poverty line. None of these was based on any empirical data gathered from households in Mogadishu. Instead, national and regional level statistical data were analysed to produce the above figures. The 1981 ILO study by Jamal (1982) is presently accepted as the most accurate assessment of the extent of poverty in urban Somalia to date.

The bulk of our report is concerned with identifying groups who are poor and disadvantaged in relative terms. However the data we have gathered in Waaberi can be the basis on which another estimate could be made of the number of people who are "in poverty" in Mogadishu, in an absolute sense, using the same calorie definition as above. We have made this estimate below.

In order to make such an estimate information is needed about the prices of basic food items available from local sources. In the course of carrying out the household surveys we gathered information on the price of the basic food staples in the markets of each area surveyed, including Waaberi. In that district the prices for each of the main food staples were as follows:

Pasta	52 /- per kg.
Rice	31 /- "
Flour	29 /- "
Maize	20 /- "

(according to a female price collector)

Prices gathered by USAID at the same time in Bakaaraha, Siinay and Xamar Weyne Markets (the main markets in the city) were as follows:

Pasta	70 /- per kg
Rice	42 /- "
Flour	40 /- "
Maize	24 /-

(according to a male price collector)

While the costs are substantially different for each item the price relationship between the different items is almost the same. We suspect that some of the difference in prices is due to measurement error rather than actual differences between markets.

From Refugee Health Unit data (RHU 1986) we know that the calorific value of these basic food

staples range from 3,460 per kilogram for flour to 3,630 for maize. Because of the above price variations the cost of calories available to people will thus vary significantly according to the type of food they choose to eat. Maize, in Waaberi, was by far the cheapest source of calories: 2,200 calories cost only 12/-, using our prices, whereas for pasta, at 51/- a kilogram, 2,200 calories costs 30/-. Obviously then assumptions about food preferences will make a big difference to the proportion of households that appear to be in poverty.

To enable comparisons to be made with poverty estimates by others we have used for our calculations a food basket designed for poor households that was constructed by Jamal (1987:36). In that basket 75% of the calories and 58.5% of the daily food costs came from flour, rice and maize²³. Oil, sugar, fruit and vegetables made up the balance. On the basis of these figures we have calculated that in Waaberi in November 1986 a food (only**) expenditure of 22/- would have been necessary to provide 2,200 calories per person per day. Using the USAID prices instead of those we collected in Waaberi the minimum needed would be 28/- per person per day.

In terms of households the figure based on Waaberi market prices would imply that in Waaberi in November 1986, 7% of the households we surveyed were spending less than the minimum needed per day to purchase 2,200 calories²⁴. Using the USAID price data the proportion would have been 12%.

The proportions of households "in poverty" in the above terms, in the other areas which we surveyed, were as follows:

Table 9.9: Incidence of households in poverty in 6 areas of Mogadishu

According to:	Waaberi prices	Bakaaraha/Siinay prices
Waaberi	7 %	12 %
Cabdulcasiis	14 %	24 %
Wadajir (Halane)	24 %	35 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	23 %	36 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	33 %	42 %
Beesha Shukri	37 %	47 %

Reservations

The construction of such estimates and their interpretation is fraught with hazards which should be pointed out at this stage to prevent their misapplication. Firstly, from one perspective, the above figures are likely to be overestimates, since as incomes decline to very low levels the non food-staple components of people's diets, such as meat, fruit and vegetables which are the most expensive sources of calories, will become a smaller proportion of the overall diet. At the same time the proportions of flour, rice and maize are likely to change, towards the cheapest combinations, thus further reducing food costs per calorie. We have not taken these changes into account in the above calculations. Secondly the estimates deal with food expenditure, not consumption. As pointed out, in Waaberi as elsewhere in the city, many households own

23 The omission of pasta is consistent with our experience which is that the poorest households do not buy pasta, not surprisingly bearing in mind the cost.

24 Fuel and water costs given as part of reported "daily food expenditure" (i.e masruuf) have been excluded when doing this calculation.

animals within Mogadishu, especially goats, from which they obtain food directly, without a daily cost. Furthermore, in Mogadishu many poor households are given gifts of food both from neighbours and relatives who are aware of their circumstances.

These estimates should also be seen in their temporal context. Last year (1986) was a particularly good year for maize production, and the surveys were done not long after the maize was harvested. At other times of the same year and other years the price may be substantially different. In 1986 the price of maize at Siinay, Bakaaraha and Xamar Weyne Markets varied from 15.5/- to 30/- a kilogram. Imported goods such as flour and wheat, the basis of pasta, canjeero and other food items, also tend to arrive in the country episodically and so prices for these items vary considerably, depending on whether there is a glut or scarcity of the particular item. In February 1987 the price of pasta had rocketed to 150/- a kilogram, three times its November price, because the government pasta factory had run out of wheat. Bearing these changes in mind then the above estimates could at times become underestimates rather than overestimates.

SUMMARY

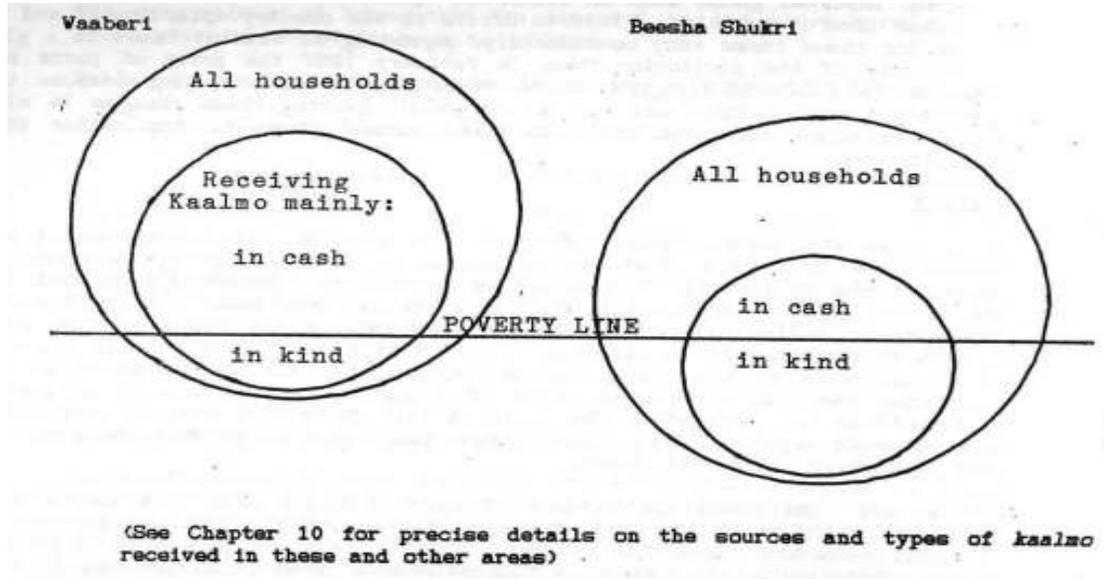
In a sense the calorie-based definition of poverty is a very strict and limited view of poverty. What we have looked at is only one aspect, albeit an important one, of poverty. That aspect is expenditure, specifically on food. But the income side is neglected in this calculation. If a household is regularly dependent on kaalmo (support) from others as well as its own income in order to have sufficient food to eat then surely that household is poor in the eyes of those around it and also in strict economic terms: the household is not sustaining itself as an economic unit²⁵. If a calculation was made of the number of households "in poverty" on the basis of this definition (not an easy task!) then we would expect to find a much larger proportion of households in poverty both in Waaberi and Beesha Shukri.

Bearing all the above reservations in mind it would seem that in November 1986 few households in the area of Waaberi that we sampled were "in poverty" in the calorie-defined sense. The incidence of 7% to 12% of households in poverty is not substantially different from the estimate made by Jamal in 1981. However looking at the other areas which we surveyed, the picture is very different from that in Waaberi. In the poorest obbosibo areas, Beesha Shukri for example, the survey data suggest that incidence of calorie-defined poverty may be as high as 37% to 47%. We would treat these figures with some caution however.

We did not notice signs of extensive malnutrition in these areas, which is what might have been expected with such a large percentage of households in poverty. This may be partly explained by the fact that many of the poorest households in Beesha Shukri are receiving kaalmo from their neighbours, which in many cases is likely to be in the form of food rather than money. This would not of course have been reported as part of the daily food expenditure of those poorest households. We need to remember therefore that Jamal's definition of poverty accounts for kaalmo received in cash, such as overseas remittances, but does not include kaalmo received in kind.

²⁵ The implication here, as we have explained before, is that the household should still be seen as the basic unit of analysis in the Somali economy, and not some larger network of households which operates as an economic entity of which households are just a component part. This is an issue that is open to argument and which we have not had the time or resources to explore

A sketch representation helps to clarify the different significance of kaalmo in the two communities:



Recommendations:

1. To focus solely on the food expenditure and calorie equivalents of households in Mogadishu will mean that an important aspect of the situation of many poor households will be neglected. It is equally important to recognise the scale and importance of indigenous support networks that keep afloat economically many households which would otherwise fall below the poverty line (as defined by the number of calories purchased). The functioning and significance of these networks will be discussed in Chapter 10: Support Networks.

2. Nevertheless, we recommend that the poorest areas (Beesha Shukri, Damme Yassin obbosibo, Yaqshiid obbosibo and Halane obbosibo) be given first priority in the planning of any nutritional surveillance in the city. Nutritional status surveys should be carried out in May, June or July, the time of year when maize prices can normally be expected to be at their highest. This would give a "worst case" picture for Mogadishu.

4. In those areas one useful development would be the establishment of small-scale maize banks (See Appendix 9.1) including, if possible, the families with undernourished children identified in such surveys. These would enable households with low incomes to purchase maize throughout the May, June and July period at prices only marginally higher than those available just after the harvest. Organised on a small group basis, they could later be the basis on which other initiatives to raise household incomes could be organised or self-initiated.

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Chapter 10: SUPPORT NETWORKS

In the preceding chapters considerable emphasis has been placed on the household as a basic unit in the Mogadishu economy. However it is well known that throughout much of Somalia many households belong to broad kinship networks. Through these networks individual households can call upon money, goods, information and influence in times of crisis or just of need. In turn, at other times, other members of those networks can make demands on these individual households for the same kind of support. In urban areas of Somalia particularly, these networks have expanded to include neighbours and friends made at school and at the workplace.

These support networks have at least two functions, which in day to day practice overlap. Firstly they function as an integral part of the market economy mobilising money and information to be used for both consumption and investment. Secondly they also function as a welfare system supporting those who are not able to survive in the market economy by themselves. Some understanding of both of these functions is essential if any development projects aimed at assisting disadvantaged groups are to be appropriate and effective. We have examined some aspects of both of these functions in the course of our research. Much more work remains to be done.

1. WELFARE SYSTEMS IN SOMALIA

Within Somalia there are at least three different welfare systems in operation. By welfare systems we mean those organisations, formal and informal, through which goods and services are distributed, without profit, to people who normally cannot afford them through a market system.

The first are the Ministries and other sections of government that are concerned with health, education and other services to the community. Most development agencies are already familiar with the functioning of the main Ministries involved. These structures have been imposed on Somali society by those who colonised the country, and then later adapted and revised by successive Somali governments following Independence. They did not evolve from what had already existed in Somali society.

The second system are the local representatives of the various international development and relief organisations: multi-lateral, bilateral and non-governmental. These organisations operate in most cases in partnership with the Government and only rarely on their own. To the extent that their services are given either to government or to individuals freely or below market cost, they too can be considered to be carrying out a welfare function both internationally and within Somalia. To what extent they are reaching those most in need is a subject of continuing concern.

Outside both of these systems, but also permeating both of them, are a diversity of interconnected support networks which constitute a third system, which has been called by Goran Hyden, in a broader African context, (Hyden 1983:8) "the economy of affection". The exchanges that take place within these support networks are "by their very nature normally confined to only a few individuals at a time, but, if taken together, they perform an extremely important welfare function in society that formal institutions cannot match. Its role has been grossly underestimated and it has quite unfairly been placed in the shadow of the ambitious, but hardly successful, efforts to build up the basic structures of a welfare state at the national level." (Hyden, 1983:11). Many examples can be cited of the welfare functions that these networks carry out in Somalia.

Refugee resettlement is probably the most dramatic example of the scale on which these support systems can operate. Without doubt many more refugees have been settled outside of the refugee camps in Somalia through the assistance of extended kin networks than have been settled by any official resettlement scheme, and certainly at a much lower cost per head.

Similar to the resettlement process is the contribution these support networks make towards housing migrants to the city from within Somalia. As mentioned in Chapter 6: Housing Conditions, we estimate that a minimum of 10% of the city's population is accommodated freely by relatives and friends.

For many people in the *obbosibo* areas of Mogadishu these networks are also a significant source of finance for house construction (given freely, not as loans). In the twenty in-depth interviews that we carried out in the *obbosibo* areas that we had surveyed, the majority had obtained money to build their dwellings from relatives. The same is the case with many people in Mogadishu when they want to establish a business. In our study of women's employment described in Chapter 8, grants from relatives were the most common source of starting capital. Even those who took loans to start their businesses in most cases obtained their loans from relatives.

Within established areas these networks are also significant sources of support in day to day life, for example in the provision of child care. In the Pre-Primary Services Study carried out in Damme Yassin, Wadajir District in 1986, interviews with mothers of 309 children found that relatives and neighbours accounted for 38% of all child care arrangements. (UNICEF/Municipality of Mogadishu 1986:23).

There are many other circumstances in which assistance is given freely through people's support networks, often without request. For example:

- when a couple get married
- when a member of a household dies
- when medical treatment is needed
- when a person is about to travel overseas or to other regions
- when a family wants to send their children to school but can't afford the costs, especially when the children go from the countryside to the city.
- when a family does not have sufficient for its basic needs such as rent or food to eat, because of lack of employment or insufficient income.

Because of the obvious significance of support networks in the lives of people in Mogadishu we specifically sought information about the use of these networks by households in the areas we surveyed. Our view was that those who are poor *and* isolated from such support systems could be considered particularly vulnerable, in Chamber's terms (1983:108) and thus disadvantaged in comparison to other groups in Mogadishu.

2. INFORMATION ON THE USAGE OF SUPPORT NETWORKS

In the course of our surveys of five areas of Mogadishu we inquired about the giving and receiving of both *kaalmo* (support) and *deeyman* (loans). *Kaalmo* was distinguished from *deeyman* because it is given without expectation of repayment whereas a *deyn* is expected to be repaid. *Kaalmo* is usually sought first whereas a *deyn* is the next alternative if *kaalmo* is not available.

The two questions we asked concerning *kaalmo* were:

1. In the last month, did your household give support to other families or members outside your household?²⁶.
2. In the last month, did your household receive support (in cash or kind) from:
 - relatives in Mogadishu
 - relatives outside Mogadishu but in Somalia
 - friends
 - neighbours
 - people/relatives outside the country

We did not attempt to measure the form or volume of support households received. That would be a major task in itself. Our main interest was in the significance of the different sources of *kaalmo* and the degree to which households in each area were interconnected with other households through the giving and receiving of *kaalmo* and loans.

Sources of *kaalmo*

When the sources of *kaalmo* received by households in each area were examined the following distribution was found:

Table 10.1: Sources of *kaalmo* in 6 areas of Mogadishu

	Percentage of Households receiving <i>kaalmo</i> from:					
	Waaberi	C/Casiis	Wad/Hal	Yaq/Heeg	Wad/DY	B/Shukri
Relatives or others overseas	36 %	25 %	13 %	10 %	11 %	8 %
Relatives in Mogadishu	32 %	33 %	37 %	17 %	47 %	28 %
Relatives outside Mogadishu, in Somalia	26 %	21 %	29 %	10 %	26 %	13 %
Neighbours	8 %	12 %	15 %	10 %	17 %	18 %
Friends	15 %	8 %	12 %	7 %	11 %	7 %
The median daily food expenditure per head in each area was as follows:						
	50 /-	47.8 /-	38.2 /-	37.5 /-	33/-	33/-
N =	218	212	151	210	101	218

A number of observations can be made:

1. Support from overseas was substantially more common amongst households in the areas with the highest food expenditure and declined significantly in the poorest areas. In Waaberi one in three households received some form of support from overseas in the last month, whereas only one in twelve households in Beesha Shukri had received support from overseas in the preceding month. Many people whom we spoke to were of the opinion that many more than one in three households in Mogadishu as a whole would have had relatives overseas, and therefore would be receiving support from them. Indeed using data of frequency of remittances from a small survey of Somali workers in the Gulf states (Somconsult 1985:68) we have estimated that possibly as many as 57%

²⁶ We did distinguish between the giving of regular support and irregular support but these have been aggregated in the table below. Irregular support can be either *qaaran*, which is assistance given in emergencies or *shaxaad* that is asked for in more casual circumstances.

of the households in the area surveyed in Waaberi would have been receiving remittances from overseas within a twelve month period.

The differences between areas that we have seen are of course only half the total picture. Incomes available to Somali workers overseas depends partly on their educational level. Data from the one study done so far on the characteristics of the Somali workforce in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states showed that the proportion of those employed there who had no government education was half that which is found in the Mogadishu workforce (33% compared to 63%, Somconsult 1985:64). The proportion for the Somali workforce there who had some level of government school education was correspondingly higher than that found in Mogadishu.

The levels of literacy and school attendance found in Waaberi are approximately average for the city, and thus likely to be much less than those which would be found in some other areas of Mogadishu such as Hodon District where school enrolment rates are higher. (See Chapter 12.) Within those areas we might expect both the incidence of households receiving support from overseas and the scale of that support to be substantially greater than in Waaberi.

Another factor that might accentuate inter-district variations is the fact that the Somconsult study showed substantial differences in the proportions of migrant workers coming from the different regions of Somalia. For example, 27% came from Waqooyi Galbeed and Togdheer regions (Somconsult 1985:65)*. Areas in Mogadishu with substantial numbers of migrants from these regions, such as Hodon, might be expected, for this reason alone, to have more households receiving remittances than average.

The importance of these inter-district differences is emphasised when one recognises something of the significance of foreign remittances to the city's economy as a whole. The most extensive examination of these flows that has been done so far is Jamal's paper "Somalia: Economics for an Unconventional Economy"²⁷ (Jamal 1987:40). In that paper Jamal suggests that the bulk of overseas remittances flow to the urban population and in doing so in effect *triple* the urban-based Gross Domestic Product.

Furthermore, most of the assistance that individual households receive from overseas is likely to involve significant amounts of money or goods. For example foreign remittances frequently form a major part of the capital people accumulate both to buy land and to build stone houses. At a minimum it will be in the form of clothing or electrical goods. It is on quite a different scale to that received from neighbours for example, which is often in the form of food or other small items. Overall it seems likely that the inequitable distribution in Mogadishu of *kaalmo* received from overseas would be a major contributing factor to the inequalities that exist between the areas we have surveyed.

2. Support from relatives in Mogadishu was with one exception (Waaberi) the most commonly reported source of *kaalmo* in all the areas surveyed. With the exception of Yaqshiid the proportion of households getting support from this source did not vary greatly from area to area. If this is the case for the rest of Mogadishu it may be that this type of support is a force moderating rather than accentuating present inequalities between households in Mogadishu. To the extent that overseas remittances are redistributed through these networks their polarising effect may be mitigated to some extent.

²⁷ Given the small sample size in this study this figure may not be completely reliable

Author: Rick Davies, Mogadishu. 1988. Funded by CIIR, UNICEF, Oxfam and CCFD.

3. Support from relatives outside Mogadishu was not directly associated with the economic status of the area. The incidence in the *obbosibo areas* in Wadajir was as high as those in the less poor areas of Waaberi and Cabdulcasiis. However there was a much lower incidence in Heegan *obbosibo* and Beesha Shukri, a squatter resettlement area, than in the Wadajir *obbosibo areas*.

The highest incidence overall was found in Wadajir (Halane) *obbosibo* where 29% of households reported receipt of *kaalmo* in the preceding month from this source. In the same area we also found the highest reported ownership of animals outside Mogadishu. This area is also unique in terms of the place of origin of many of the households in the area. The largest single group (18%) of migrants coming to this area had come from "outside the country". This compares to between 1% and 6% in the other areas we surveyed. In the vast majority of cases this is likely to mean the Ogaden side of the Somali border. The high level of support from relatives cannot simply be explained by the fact that many of the households have only recently come to Mogadishu. Although 25% of the heads of the households had come to Mogadishu in the last 5 years this proportion is no different to what was found in Beesha Shukri (24%), an area receiving much less support from outside Mogadishu.

4. Support from neighbours was most commonly reported in the two poorest areas, Beesha Shukri and Damme Yassin *obbosibo*. There more than twice the number of households as in Waaberi reported receiving *kaalmo* from neighbours. Common opinion is that it would be mainly poor households that would be receiving this type of support and that most of this support would be in kind rather than in cash.

Looking at the variations between the areas surveyed, it would seem in general that the *kaalmo* from overseas and the *kaalmo* from neighbours are the two forms of *kaalmo* which most distinguish the richer areas from the poorer areas.

After examining the above distribution we aggregated the data so areas could be compared in broad terms of the number of households receiving *kaalmo*, giving *kaalmo* and neither giving or receiving.

The following distribution was found:

Table 10.2: Households giving and receiving *kaalmo* in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Percentage of Households in	N=	Giving <i>Kaalmo</i>	Receiving <i>Kaalmo</i>	Neither
Waaberi	218	52 %	70 %	16 %
Cabdulcasiis	212	36 %	62 %	24 %
Wadajir (Halane)	152	38 %	64 %	25 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	210	31 %	41 %	51 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	100	34 %	73 %	20 %
Beesha Shukri	218	26 %	49 %	44 %

The areas are listed in order of median food expenditure levels, with Waaberi having the highest and Beesha Shukri having the lowest.

The following observations can be made:

1. Beesha Shukri and Heegan *obbosibo* stand out as the two areas where significantly fewer households were receiving *kaalmo* in any form. There were also significantly more households whom we could call "isolated", in the sense of neither giving nor receiving *kaalmo*.
2. In the Wadajir *obbosibo* areas there were as many households receiving *kaalmo* as there were in the wealthier areas of Cabdulcasiis. Waaberi was only distinguished from these areas by the greater proportion of households who were giving *kaalmo*.

Access to loans

In Somalia the borrowing and lending of money occurs as part of both the market economy and part of the informal welfare systems that assist those not surviving in the market economy. Its welfare function is possible because throughout most of Somalia interest is not charged on loans. This is because of the general observance of the Islamic prohibition against the charging of interest (*riba*).

In the course of our surveys we asked people questions relating to loans. The first two questions were:

1. "In the last month did anyone in this household receive loans from people outside this household?"
2. "In the last month did anyone in your household give loans to people outside the household?"

The responses to these questions in each area were as follows:

Table 10.3: Households giving and receiving loans* in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Households who:	Received Loans	Gave Loans	Food expenditure**
Waaberi	28 %	19 %	50.0 /-
Cabdulcasiis	29 %	9 %	47.8 /-
Wadajir (Halane)	48 %	20 %	38.2 /-
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	28 %	10 %	37.5 /-
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	43 %	17 %	33.0 /-
Beesha Shukri	31 %	7 %	33.0 /-

* Loans (*deyn*) included loans of commodities (*qardo*).

** per head

There was no clear association between the economic status of each area and the percentage of households reported to be giving and receiving loans. However the areas do seem to fall into three separate clusters.

The two *obbosibo* areas in Wadajir stand out from the other areas in that households there reported both giving and receiving more loans than in any of the other areas. The areas of Beesha Shukri, Cabdulcasiis and Yaqshiid, at the other end of the city, had the smallest proportions of households who reported giving loans. Waaberi stands out alone, with as many households receiving loans as these areas but with the number reported as giving loans similar to that found in the Wadajir *obbosibo* areas.

We can offer no reasons for this distribution, except to say that it fits in with the perceptions which visitors to Mogadishu often make about how easily money flows from hand to hand. What the above figures do not show of course is the amounts that were given and received. It is on this level that significant differences between areas would probably have been found.

The relationship between receiving *kaalmo* and loans

As we explained previously, for day-to-day needs people normally seek loans if they feel they cannot get access to *kaalmo*. A cross-tabulation of the relationship of these two sources of support was done in Waaberi, the control area, to identify what proportions of households were using these two sources exclusively, mutually and not at all.

Table 10.4: The relationship between *kaalmo* and loans in Waaberi

% Of Households	Receiving <i>Kaalmo</i>	Not Receiving <i>Kaalmo</i>	Total
Receiving Loans	22 %	6 %	28 %
Not Receiving Loans	48 %	24 %	72 %
Total	70 %	30 %	100 %

It is clear that in Waaberi very few households were using loans only. *Kaalmo* was received by more than twice the number of households who had received loans. The majority of those using loans were also receiving *kaalmo*.

It might have been expected that the number of households only having access to loans (but not *kaalmo*) would be greater in the poorer areas. However when we analysed the data we did not find that this was the case. Our interpretation of why this was so was that in Mogadishu loans are in most cases obtained from the same source that people obtain *kaalmo*. They are not an option involving relationships with different people. Those that provide *kaalmo* may also be expected to provide loans. Those that do not have access to *kaalmo* may also not have access to loans. In these circumstances it is the access to, or isolation from, networks that can provide such assistance that is a crucial issue for households. When we aggregated the data on access to *kaalmo* and loans in each area that we had surveyed we found that there were two areas which had large proportions of their households reporting neither receipt of loans or *kaalmo* in the month preceding the survey. These were Heegan *obbosibo* in Yaqshiid and Beesha Shukri:

Table 10.5: Households receiving neither *kaalmo* nor loans in the previous month in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Areas	Percentage of Households
Waaberi	24 %
Cabdulcasiis	30 %
Wadajir (Halane)	23 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	49 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	17 %
Beesha Shukri	42 %

All of the data analysis that has been presented so far on the operation of support networks only concerns differences observed at the area level. What remains to be done is an analysis at the household level of the differences: between those households who are receiving support and

loans from different sources, and those not receiving any support at all.

Recommendation

1. The four poorest areas that we surveyed seem to divide into two separate groups when their access to *kaalmo* and loans are examined. The newer *obbosibo* areas in Wadajir seem to have relatively good access to such support. The older settlement of Heegan *obbosibo* and the squatter resettlement area of Beesha Shukri seem to have many more households isolated from such sources of support, although their income levels combined are little different to the two areas in Wadajir. It may be then that there would be a more appropriate place for credit extension programmes in the latter two areas. There they would seem to be filling a gap and not necessarily displacing a function that is already being provided informally.

Other sources of loans

The other question that the survey asked concerning loans was:

"How many people in this household belong to a *hagbad/ayuuto/shalongo*".

Loans directly from one individual to another are not the only way in which money is lent in Mogadishu. In Somalia, as in many other parts of Africa, people come together to form rotating credit groups (RCG's). In Mogadishu such a group is commonly called *hagbad*, *shalongo* or *ayuuto*, depending on what part of the country the person is from. Typically a group of women^{28*} arrange for each to contribute a sum of money of, for example, 100/- a week, every week, to a common fund. Each week one of the members has the right to take the total amount given in. Each other member in turn has the right of withdrawal in the subsequent weeks. The way in which the order in which people take their turn is decided varies from group to group. To the extent that members get access to the lump sum before they have made all their contribution, it is a form of credit extension. For those who are last in line to take the lump sum it is a savings mechanism only.

In our six household surveys we asked how many members of each household belonged to a RCG, yet in all areas we were only told of a very low incidence, ranging from 1% in Beesha Shukri to 7% in Waaberi.

Later discussion with the survey enumerators confirmed an earlier feeling that public attitudes towards these informal organisations are ambivalent. Some (both men and women) feel that they are *xaaraan* (forbidden by Islam) because they encourage women to take money men have given them for food purchase on "false" pretences and to save it for other purposes. Others feel that even if the money is "honestly" acquired the RCG's encourage women to hide things from their husbands and that since it is against the Quran to keep anything secret.

Another could be associated with the circumstances in which the question was asked. Often there were people listening in to the interview. Some people may have been unwilling to disclose publicly that they had some savings accumulating, for fear that their friends and neighbours would then ask for some of those savings.

28 The vast majority of members of RCG's are women. from your husband it is a bad practice. Some feel it reduces men's control over family finances and that it should not be allowed. Others feel they are entirely legitimate, especially if the woman has earned the money herself. This dubious acceptability is very likely to be one reason for the apparently low rates of participation that were reported in our surveys.

Following the discovery of these low participation rates in *hagbado* we asked 7 enumerators to go through their own personal networks to gather data on *hagbado*. Within the space of one week and without apparent difficulty they contacted members of 46 different *hagbado* having a total of 728 members. The people interviewed came from the districts of Waaberi (21), Wadajir (9), Wardhigley (7), Hawl Wadag (6) and Hodon (3). Looking at the data on the women and their households they appear as a sample to be of slightly above-average socio-economic status. This is more likely to be a reflection of the backgrounds of the enumerators than it is of the typical *hagbad*. For details concerning the background data on these women and their households see Appendix 10.1.

The main findings of this small piece of ad hoc research were:

1. RCG's in Mogadishu are very flexible in their scale and form. The following data relate to the groups we surveyed. The number of members ranged from 8 to 40 (mean size = 14). Contributions can be made daily (67%), weekly (11%) or monthly (22%). The ones we sampled dealt with contributions from as little as 10/- a week to 10,000/- a month (mean = 62/- a day). The amounts that can be collected at any one time varied from 350/- to 150,000/- !!
2. They appear to be made up almost solely of women who have access to some means of making money. Only 9% of the members we interviewed had no source of income of their own. Of all those who were working 81% were in the private sector and 19% worked for the government. Occupations of the women members working in the private sector included:

Shopowners/keepers	17 %
Fruit and vegetable sellers	17 %
Other food sellers: ice cream, oil, bread	12 %
Clothes sellers	12 %
Muufo and bajiya makers and sellers	10 %
Other sellers: incense, wood	9 %
Others: mat maker, slaughterer	4 %
Total	81 %

In a sense the membership of each *hagbad* is self-sorting, since the bajiya makers who only put in as little as 10/- a day cannot afford to belong to the RCG's that the shopowners belong to, where contributions may be a 100/- a day or more.

3. The advantages of RCG's are simple and straightforward. There were two main advantages cited: "You can save money" (55%) and "You can do whatever you like with the money" (38%). Another advantage mentioned by Xawa (see Chapter 2) is that money is available on call in the case of emergencies.
4. The reported uses of the money that was saved this way were as follows:

Purchased clothing and other things for self*	33 %
Purchased clothing for children	16 %
Used it for the family's basic needs	11 %
House repairs/building	11 %
Started or expanded a business	9 %
Bought drums for water storage	5 %
Gave it to someone	5 %
Paid back loan	4 %
Put it in the bank	4 %
Ceremonies	2 %

* This included purchase of gold jewelry. Gold is not simply a personal indulgence. Many women regarded it as an investment that will keep pace with inflation and one which will remain under their own control

5. They are not based on single kinship networks. They extend across kinship networks and can be either neighborhood or workplace based. We asked "where do you have contact with the other members?" The answers, given in both terms of location and relationship, were as follows (multiple answers were allowed):

Work at the same location	27 %
Neighbours	24 %
Weddings	15 %
Funerals	8 %
Friends	6 %
Relatives	6 %
Others: circumcision ceremony, death ceremony, collecting <i>qaaran</i>	14 %

(We noted that 15% of the members interviewed also reported belonging to another *hagbad*.)

6. They are indigenous informal organisations that survive only through the trust of the members who are participating. The women who are in the position of treasurer are chosen because they are felt by all participants to be particularly reliable and trustworthy. We asked on what criteria is the person in charge selected.

The answers were as follows (multiple answers were allowed):

Trustworthiness and honesty	38 %
Older than the rest	12 %
Must live in the same area and be available when needed	11 %
All members must be happy with that person	10 %
Must have experience of <i>hagbado</i> and be good at arithmetic	10 %
Responsible person	7 %
Must be able to deal with disputes	5 %
Other reasons: fights less, has some money, dont know	7 %

7. There do not seem to be many major problems experienced by the members with the

operations of the *hagbado*. Of all the members 38 % said they had no problems in their *hagbad*. The most frequent problems cited by the other members were:

Quarrels that happen when the money is collected from the members	15 %
Sometimes you have to take a loan to make the payment/cannot make the payment	15 %
Some members leave after they have taken their money (but before they have paid the full amount they owe)	9 %
Long period to wait before you receive a payment	7 %
Others: the money you receive (at the end) buys less because of inflation, you can't leave it at any time you wish, Misuse of the money collected, someone will take the money before your turn because they need it for emergency purposes	16 %
No problems	38 %

8. They are relatively stable organisations. The average age of the RCG's we contacted was 6.5 years, and some had been operating for as long as 14 years. The average length of membership of the people we interviewed was 3 years.

Case Example: Shukri is a *adeegto* who works for foreigners. As well as earning money from her employment in the mornings, she also earns a small amount of money from buying tea, spices, peanuts and henna in bulk and selling it in small packages to the people in her neighbourhood. Each month she contributes 1,000/- to an RCG in the area in which she lives. There are 10 members in the group, which was formed many years ago. (Shukri joined when she started her present job.) When she last received her money she used it to buy some gold for herself. The other members in the RCG are all earning money in some way. Their occupations include vegetable sellers, clothes sellers, grain sellers and *adeegtoyin*. They all live in the local area. Three out of the 10 members are related to each other, the rest know each other as neighbours.

Recommendations

1. Such informal organisations have obvious relevance for any development agency that wants to work with women at a "grassroots" level. Any efforts to organise group-based credit extension could either build on or imitate the functioning of these groups which most women in Mogadishu are familiar with. At the same time, care should be taken that credit extension schemes do not displace RCG's which are already operating in the community concerned.
2. While common opinion is that they can be found amongst both the rich and poor in Mogadishu, more randomly sampled information on how common they are in Mogadishu and on the extent to which they include members from poorer households would be useful.
3. In addition to the above data on RCG's we have also gathered other data on women's access to loans specifically for the establishment and expansion of their businesses. This is reported in Chapter 8: Women In The Mogadishu Economy. Apart from these data there seems to have been little formal research done in Somalia on the means by which people raise capital for business purposes outside the banking system. Yet these alternate sources are evidently so important. In the separate survey of working women, referred to above, not one of those in the private sector had obtained the capital needed for their business from the bank.

Such knowledge is essential for the planning of appropriately targeted credit extension

components to employment programmes in the poorer areas of Mogadishu. Where any further household level economic research is being planned in Somalia, we would strongly recommend the inclusion of questions concerning sources of capital used for business.

3. SUPPORTING VALUE SYSTEMS

Behind the networks which provide all the assistance referred to in the above sections are two overlapping ideologies. One is the set of moral values associated with Islam, especially those concerning one's social responsibilities to different disadvantaged groups in the community. The other is a less formally expressed set of values concerning responsibilities to family and extended kin.

We have not explored these in any systematic way. However we can make a number of observations which may be of value.

Concerning Islam and Social Welfare

1. Within Islam there is a strong tradition of helping the poor. There are two forms in which this should be done. One is the annual religious tax known in Somalia as *seko* (in arabic, *zakat*). The payment of *seko* is one of the five pillars of Islam, an obligatory act of giving for all those who consider themselves as Muslims. This responsibility is in fact considered more important than the pilgrimage to Mecca and fasting at Ramadan. The second form is *sadaqo*, the voluntary giving of alms to those in need.

Whereas in some country areas of Somalia the *seko* is still collected by a designated person this is not the case in Mogadishu except, it appears, in the case of the small Pakistani community in Xamar Weyne. While the government has taken over the role of tax collection in general it does not officially collect *seko* nor has it authorised any other organisation to do so. However it does encourage people, over the radio, to give *seko* at the time of Idd el Fitr. At that time many people give *seko* in the form of food (2½ kg of maize, sorghum or rice from each man, woman and child) to poor neighbours in particular. Some people consider that the payment of tax to the government in effect includes the *seko* one must pay, because of the government's role in the provision of health and education services. Others consider that each person must pay whoever they think is most in need.

Although it does seem that the formal collection of *seko* is now uncommon in cities such as Mogadishu, there is no substantial evidence that the giving of *seko* or *sadaqo* has declined significantly. It is common to hear people say that these days richer families are unwilling to give the support to others that they should give, but it is not clear if this a side effect of increased economic stratification in Mogadishu or simply an age-old human phenomenon connected with urban anomie.

2. Within the Quraan there are a number of statements about who constitute the "deserving poor", to whom *sadaqo* should be given. The groups most commonly mentioned are:

- the poor: both *masakiin*²⁹, the poor who have some means of support of their own but which is not enough in itself, and *faqir*, the poorest, who have nothing and are totally dependent on the charity of others. Usually included in this group are the aged and the disabled who cannot work and who are poor as well.

²⁹ *masakiin* also has other meanings. It can mean those who are suffering or disadvantaged in other ways than simply lacking enough money.

- children who are orphans (but, according to some, not those born illegitimately)
- divorced women
- those heavily in debt
- those travelling on long journeys without sufficient for their own sustenance
- recent converts to Islam
- slaves
- those collecting the *seko*

3. Separate from the giving of *kaalmo* that can be considered *sadaqo* when given to eligible groups, is the giving of loans. While this is not considered to be *sadaqo* even when given to the poor, the Islamic injunction against the charging of interest on loans seems to have had two positive social effects in Somalia.

Normally, before people are willing to make a loan to someone some degree of trust is required. In other countries, when there is an increased risk that a loan may not be repaid the interest rate rises accordingly. Where that form of compensation for risk is not available, as in Somalia, it may be that the effect is to keep all lending behaviour to within the kinship and (in the city) neighbourhood networks where people have sufficient knowledge of each other to be ready to take such risks. To the extent that the benefits of obtaining loans are kept within those networks then the relevance of those networks as a means of survival within the city is enhanced. In effect, the absence of alternative sources of financial help would help maintain the kinship-based support networks that have been such a significant source of social security until now.

The other obviously positive aspect is that the poorest households are not subject to extortionate interest rates on loans they may need simply to cover their immediate consumption needs.

4. In addition to the injunctions concerning interest on loans, there are other important injunctions within Islam that effect the lives of people within a city such as Mogadishu. In particular there are statements in the Quraan concerning obligations towards one's kin and to one's neighbours. In principle believers have the responsibility to know 40 neighbours in each direction from their own home: the implication being that if this is done then the needs of those neighbours will be known and responded to.

5. Within Islam in Somalia it appears that most of the giving to the poor is done through the individual in his or her own daily life. However two other significant channels are the mosques and religious communities, especially those located at places like Biyoole (the burial place of Sheik Aweyis and the location of the Awesiya dariqa). Until a few years ago it was legal for those people without homes to sleep in the mosques at night. There are still some mosques within the city where beggars can find a place to sleep during both the day and night. Also in many mosques every Friday, collections of small amounts of money are normally made from the congregation and given to the poorest that wait outside. In addition, for people facing special hardship, appeals can be made for assistance by others on their behalf through the *Kitaab*.

6. Possibly because assistance to the poor is most frequently in the form of individual alms-giving, most *sadaqo* and *seko* appears to be relief rather than developmental in its impact. Until recently there have been no indigenous religiously motivated charitable organisations which have taken such donations and used them to longer term effect. Nevertheless, the potential is clearly there.

Summary and Recommendations

1. Many societies throughout the world have their own indigenous welfare mechanisms whereby the needs of different groups are cared for at certain times of the year, at certain stages of life or during certain life crises. These systems can change over time, especially in the face of contact with very different cultures. It should be possible for foreign development agencies to see a positive developmental role for themselves in the promotion and adaptation of traditional welfare or social security practices which help people, without feeling that they themselves are regressing to the form of a 19th century European charity organisation. Welfare provision is a legitimate concern of development agencies.
2. Some modesty about the capacities of foreign development agencies to do better or even as well as the indigenous welfare system would be appropriate. For example we are not aware of many developmental programmes in Somalia which would be assisting people on the scale that we observed in Waaberi.

It is worthwhile reviewing our findings concerning Waaberi. In October 1986, 70% of households we surveyed in Waaberi had received some form of support from others in the previous month. Since we have estimated the population of Waaberi in late 1985 at approximately 42,000 people or 7,000 households, this could mean that possibly 4,900 households in this District alone received some form of support during this one month period in 1986. In contrast, the major form of assistance many families receive from the government in Waaberi is access to free primary school. In that same month approximately 32% of households (2,240) were sending their children to primary school. The main foreign assisted welfare programme, child immunisation, reached a substantially smaller proportion of the households. It reached 79% of the children between the ages of 1 and 2 years (= 13% of households (910) in Waaberi) at the height of the city wide immunisation campaign in late 1985. Overall, when such support mechanisms are compared to official development aid and government services the breadth of its impact and its overhead costs (are there any?) are extremely impressive.

3. Much more effort should be made by foreign agencies to understand the positive social practices that are promoted by Islam and to seek out ways in which those positive values can be promoted. It would be fair to say that very little effort has been made so far. One positive step that has been taken in this direction has been the publication by UNICEF of "Child Care in Islam", a study of Islamic views on all aspects of the welfare of children, including significant quotations from the Quraan relating to childcare.

A large amount of work needs to be done concerning the whole field of what is said in the Quraan and the Hadith about social responsibilities to different groups in society, for example to the poor, to one's neighbours and others. When this is done there might be more common ground in the dialogue between foreign development workers and Somali people about development in Somalia.

4. In between the foreign development organisations, the Somali government and the informal welfare systems are the newly emerging Somali non-government organisations. There are at least two directions in which they might develop in the future. They may become almost totally dependent on foreign funding and through this dependence find themselves taking on ideologies and methods of practice that are often unconnected with the realities of what is happening in Somali life. They could in effect become cheap international subcontractors in the aid business and perhaps not much more effective than

the present international agencies.

Alternatively they could seek significant amounts of funding from within Somali society, knowing that there are in fact substantial flows of money already circulating through support networks and being used for welfare purposes. To do this they would have to prove to others in the Somali community that they could make this money have more productive effect than its current use. This would, by necessity, involve a serious dialogue with other Somalis about the values behind their organisation and their view of what was the best way to use Somali resources for development purposes. If Somali NGO's succeeded in this task they would represent a real development in the extension of social security within Somalia, and possibly one that could never be made by foreign agencies no matter how much money they had at their disposal.

The most useful contribution foreign agencies could make to help ensure the latter outcome might be to restrain their urge to donate money automatically to any organisation that looks like an indigenous non-government organisation. Encouragement should be given to the matching of foreign funds, in some ratio, with funds raised from within Somalia³⁰ Better still would be some evidence that the local NGO was trying to interpret "development" in a way that related to the Somali cultural context and not just the standards and ideologies of foreign funding bodies.

Some might argue that the majority of people in Somalia are having difficulty making ends meet and that this proposal for matching of funds is unrealistic. However our view is that there is clearly evidence, within Mogadishu at least, that an affluent upper class has emerged and is quite capable of giving such support if it was motivated to do so.

Final comment

So far nothing has been said about the destructive effects of the operation of support networks on the workings of government infrastructure in Somali society. The very strengths of the support systems we have referred to are the major causes of the limitations in the government's ability to provide health and education services to all, on an equitable basis. In the words of Goran Hyden: "It must be accepted that the economy of affection imposes social obligations on individuals that limit their interest and capacity to support public concerns outside their community, however defined....The economy of affection tends to swamp the public realm, limiting the scope for decisions aimed at defending the foundation on which its existence rested" (Hyden 1983:17, 19).

Over the years different ways of improving the functioning of the government services in Somalia have been promoted by different multilateral and bilateral agencies: for example technical assistance, staff training, and improvement of the national data base. Despite the resources that this strategy has demanded, according to the UN, there has been little evidence of any significant success. The UNDP/World Bank Technical Cooperation Assessment Mission (TCAM) to Somalia, in 1985, expressed its judgment as follows:

"In terms of impact on Somali institutions, on the capacity for managing its own development and on the transfer of knowledge and skills to Somalia ...the results of this massive effort can only be characterised as dissappointing. Externally funded technical

30 Some research is being done by Abdirahman Maxammed Sheik, a MBA student at SIDAM, into the raising of money within Somalia by Somali NGO's. It is hoped this will provide some information about how successfully this has been done so far and give some suggestions on what approaches might be taken in the future.

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assistance projects tend to continue for long periods and to leave few visible results when discontinued. Many institutions that have received assistance for a long time show few signs of being able to function without continued help." (UNDP, 1985:14).

This is not surprising since, in practice, the criteria of rational functioning which are used within Somalia are more often those of the economy of affection than those of American and European business and government bureaucracies, where these methods have evolved.

How these radically different systems of allocating resources can be reconciled while maintaining the advantages of both is *the major development issue* in Somalia. It has not been within the scope of our research to suggest how these systems can be reconciled. We suspect that, in the long run, only Somalis can do that, and then only if they have the opportunity to argue the issues involved.

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Chapter 11: WATER, SANITATION AND HEALTH

1. WATER

Water is the most basic of human needs. Inadequate access to water is a major disadvantage. Without water of sufficient quantity or quality people are significantly more vulnerable to a range of health problems such as skin and eye diseases and intestinal illness. Therefore the distribution of access to safe and sufficient water in Mogadishu should be a matter of prime concern to the Municipality, as well as to development agencies and the people of Mogadishu.

1.1 Access to Water

The volume of water available to households in Mogadishu is determined by at least three factors: the proximity of the source, the cost per litre and consumption habits. The best access possible is to have a tap in one's own house. The next best alternative is to have access to a tap in a compound shared by a number of households. This can however involve some limitations. In the case of Muuse (Chapter 2) the landlord has imposed a limit on the total amount per day that his household can use. The next best alternative is to be able to afford to have a *gari dameer* (donkey cart) bring water to the house from a public standpipe, if it is far away from the house or to live very near a standpipe. The least attractive alternative is, if the standpipe is far away, for the female members of the family to have to carry water in an *ashuun* (clay pot) from the standpipe everyday.

In 1983 the Somali Family Health Survey (MOH 1985:30) found that access to water in Mogadishu was distributed as follows:

Table 11.1: Access to water by households in Mogadishu in 1983.

Piped water within the house	28 %
Piped water within the compound*	5 %
Water brought by donkey carts	41 %
Water taken by household from public standpipes	25 %
Other	1 %
N = 1191	100 %

* Therefore, in most cases, shared with other households

In Waaberi we found that the households there had better access to water than those interviewed in the above survey. The following distribution was found:

Table 11.2: Access to water by households in Waaberi in November, 1986

Piped water within the house	39 %
Piped water within the compound	27 %
Water brought by donkey carts	17 %
Water taken by household from public standpipes	17 %
N = 218	100 %

The difference between these two sets of survey data is probably because of two factors. Firstly, the Family Health Survey, being a city-wide survey, would have included many newer areas

where connections have not yet been extended: for example Kaaraan and Wadajir. Secondly, the number of new household water connections made since 1983 has been considerable. Analysis of information from Gibbs, the consulting engineers associated with the extension of Mogadishu's water supply, shows that the total number of house connections has increased by an average of 20% each year since 1981. At the end of 1986 there were almost 35,000 houses with water connections. Because there are many houses, new as well as old, which accommodate more than one household (see Chapter 6), it could be expected that the number of households with access to water, at least within their compound, will be even greater.

A historical comparison is of interest. The 1966 census found that only 8% of households had water connections (Puzo, 1972:95). In terms of access to water supply, Mogadishu has been coping well with the additional demand created by the city's rapid growth rate.

1.2 Variations in access between house types

In Waaberi there were substantial differences in access to water according to the type of house that people were living in:

Table 11.3: Variations in access to water according to house type, in Waaberi

	<i>Sar</i>	Other than <i>sar</i>
Piped water within the house	51 %	23 %
Piped water within the compound	27 %	28 %
Water brought by donkey cart	14 %	20 %
Water taken by household from public standpipe	8 %	29 %
N = 218	100 %	100 %

More than three quarters of households (78%) living in *sarro* had access to water within their house or compound, compared to half of those (51%) in *carshaan* and other poor quality houses.

1.3 Variations in access between districts

Both sets of survey data reported in Tables 1 and 2 give some impression of the city as a whole. Within the city there are significant inequalities of access to water. Some information is available on differences in piped water supply between the different districts of Mogadishu.

1.3.1 Household connections

According to the Mogadishu Water Agency three areas of the city have significantly more connections than the rest when compared to their share of Mogadishu's population:

Table 11.4: Distribution of access to water in 6 districts of Mogadishu

	Percentage of City's Water Connections (1)	Percentage of City's Population (2)	Ratio of 1 to 2
Shangani	1.7 %	0.5 %	3.4 :1
Hodon	13.7 %	7.4 %	1.8 :1
Wardhigley,Boondheere*	21.2 %	13.9 %	1.5 :1
Waaberi	7.2 %	7.5 %	1.0 :1
Kaaraan	7.8 %	15.9 %	0.5 :1

*This aggregation was associated with the source of the data: local water agency offices.

The high number of connections in Hodon and Shangani are consistent with what is known of the housing standards in those areas. The high proportions for Wardhigley/Boondheere are, according to some local opinion, associated with a boom in new stone houses in the area between Jidka Siinay and Jidka Oktoobar 21, in Wardhigley District and the number of established houses owned and rented by foreigners on the coastal side of Boondheere District, near the central Post Office.

The situation in Kaaraan is the worst of all the districts in Mogadishu. It is not likely to improve in the immediate future. The current extension and improvement of the water supply for the city will not cover the needs of Kaaraan District. Extensions to the water supply there are not planned to be implemented until 1990 and those plans that do relate to that stage do not even cover the whole of the present district area. Beesha Shukri, for instance the squatter resettlement area on the outer edge of Kaaraan District, just does not appear on the planning maps being used at present.

1.3.2 Public standpipes

Since the majority of users of public standpipes are from poorer households, the distribution and functioning³¹ of public standpipes should be a matter of concern. As of mid-1987 there were 188 functioning standpipes in the city. Their distribution is shown below in table 11.5.

Overall the distribution is consistent with the relative populations of these districts (see page 19), but with one exception. As with household water connections, Kaaraan has substantially fewer public standpipes than is justified by its population (17% of the population but only 9% of the standpipes). This inequality is exacerbated by the fact that this district has substantially more than its share of the city's poor households (see Chapter 13). Of particular concern in the Kaaraan district is the squatter resettlement area known as Beesha Shukri. In this settlement of approximately 20,000 people there is no piped water available at all. (See Chapter 14 for details of water supply provision and other services in this area, and the associated recommendations).

³¹ We have not been able to establish the number of malfunctioning standpipes in each district, although with some perseverance it would be possible to obtain the data.

Table 11.5: The distribution of functioning standpipes, by District

District	Number	Percentage
Wadajir	45	24 %
Yaqshiid	27	14 %
Wardhigley	23	12 %
Hawl Wadag	19	10 %
Karaan	17	9 %
Waaberi	14	7 %
Hodon	13	7 %
Xamar Jab Jab	11	6 %
Shibis	7	4 %
Boondheere	6	3 %
Xamar Weyne	3	2 %
Cabdul Cassis	2	1 %
Shangani	1	1 %
Total	188	100 %

Recommendation:

Any interim work on improvements to the city's water supply should give priority to the repair of existing public standpipes and to the construction of additional standpipes where needed. In particular, attention should be focused on Kaaraan district and after that, on the districts of Wadajir and Yaqshiid.

1.4 Variations in access between areas surveyed

The proportions of households in the areas we surveyed which were without access to piped water within their house or compounds were as follows:

Table 11.6: Households without access to piped water in their house or compound in six areas of Mogadishu

	Donkey cart	by self	Total
	from standpipe or from <i>berkado</i> *		
Waaberi	17 %	17 %	34 %
Cabdulcasiis	34 %	30 %	64 %
Yaqshiid	45 %	44 %	89 %
Wadajir (Halane)	63 %	35 %	98 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	12 %	88 %	100 %
Beesha Shukri	7 %	93 %	100 %

* *Berkado* are stone and cement water tanks set in the ground, usually with corrugated iron sheets as covers. In Beesha Shukri and Wadajir (Damme Yassin) they are common sources of water for many households.

It is clear that the four poorest areas have negligible access to piped water within their own houses. In Yaqshiid and Wadajir this is simply because of the illegal status of those houses. The

investment involved in providing piped water is not justified since long-term security of tenure does not exist.

In Beesha Shukri there were not even any standpipes. All household water supply came from either the public wells or from privately owned *berkado*. Unfortunately our survey did not discriminate between these two sources. In most other *obbosibo* areas there were very few *berkado* or wells. The absence of standpipes in Beesha Shukri is of major consequence when water quality is considered, as we shall see below.

1.5 Water Prices

Inequalities in physical access to water in Mogadishu are compounded by the present pricing structure for water. In Mogadishu one shilling will buy the following amounts of water:

- ⇒ 40 litres of water from a tap inside a house or compound
- ⇒ 4 - 15 litres purchased at a public standpipe
- ⇒ 1 - 2 litres from a donkey cart bringing water from a public standpipe.

Those who have to rely on water from public standpipes clearly have to pay much more for water than those with water pipes within their house or compound. A consequence of this is that households using water from donkey carts or which is brought by family members from a standpipe or *berkad* have an interest in minimising the amount of water they use. In Beesha Shukri, amongst 6 households we interviewed in some depth, the amount of water they reported using varied from 2 to 11 litres per person per day. By contrast the WHO recommended minimum amount per head per day is 10 litres and the optimum amount is 20 to 25 litres.

1.6 Water Quality

Mogadishu receives more than 95% of its water supply from two sets of bore holes, at Balcad and Afgooye. That is the water which is available through private household connections as well as through public standpipes which are located in every district of Mogadishu. In 1985 the Ministry of Health Environmental Health Unit, with the assistance of WHO, tested the water available from public standpipes throughout the city. They found that, of the 82 public standpipes they tested, only one source showed signs of bacteriological contamination. However private water sources were found to be significantly more contaminated than the public water supply. Of the 71 privately owned sources (wells and *berkado*) 20% were found to have bacteriological contamination. Over a third of these contaminated privately owned sources were in Kaaraan District. A half of all the contaminated private water sources in Kaaraan District were located in Beesha Shukri, the squatter resettlement area.

Recommendations

1. The Municipality should involve foreign donors in extension of mains water supplies and associated public standpipes to Kaaraan District as soon as it is possible. Only when that is done will the Municipality be able to close down the private wells and *berkado* that are the major source of contaminated water in the district. If nothing is done before 1990 it is likely that as the population of Kaaraan continues to expand, the number of private wells and *berkado* in use will also increase and so will the associated health risks.
2. In the interim, steps should be taken, as soon as possible to provide safer drinking water, in adequate volume, to the people living in Beesha Shukri. Further comments on this

recommendation are made in Chapter 14 concerning Beesha Shukri.

2. SANITATION

In this section arrangements for the disposal of the city's waste are reviewed in terms of both the problems they present and also the potential that they present for employment creation.

2.1 Water waste

Mogadishu is a city built on sand. This has both advantages and disadvantages as far as the city's sanitation is concerned.

One of the major advantages is that a large amount of the daily waste water from households in Mogadishu is able to soak directly into the ground, without leaving stagnant pools of contaminated water or streets of mud so typical of many tropical Third World cities. It is only in the older and more congested areas of the city such as Xamar Jab Jab and parts of Waaberi that the streets are showing some signs of long term contamination as a result of water waste being thrown into the street every day of the year³². Thus, if any public sanitation campaigns or similar measures are to be initiated in the city they should focus on the oldest areas first and, of those, the areas which are most densely settled.

The disadvantages of Mogadishu's location become apparent during the rainy seasons (Gu and Dayr). Mogadishu is located on a number of coastal sand dunes that run parallel to the coast. In this area there is no system of streams and tributaries which normally drain a landscape. Between the major dunes, which have progressively been built over since the beginning of the century, there are instead a number of hollows which collect large amounts of runoff in the rainy season. A major chain of hollows runs from Hodon through Hawl Wadag, Wardhigley and Boondheere to Shibis (See Fig 5.1). Because of the volume of the water and contamination of this water by city waste, the runoff in these hollows takes a long period of time to empty through seepage into the sands below. While large pools of water remain in these hollows they are a major health risk. At present Saarberg Interplan, a German engineering firm, are installing collection dams, pump stations and pipes to drain water from some of the major hollows out to the edge of the city. This should substantially reduce the health risks associated with these areas.

Some problems will remain however. Many of the city's markets have areas adjacent to them which accumulate large pools of foul water during the rainy season. Two such areas are Suuqa Bakaaraha and the previous Suuqa Xoolaha, which has now been converted to a local fruit and vegetable market. The installation of adequate drainage in the proximity of all the city's markets should be the next priority as far as improved sanitation for the city is concerned, following the completion of the present plans for disposal of the city's waste water runoff.

Even in low lying areas where there is not a justification for the installation of pumping stations, there are still significant problems for those who own houses in such areas. In some places the runoff from the surrounding higher ground has carried so much sand with it that the houses in the hollows are progressively being buried. This problem can only be dealt with by looking at its source.

³² The practice of burying animal remains and other foul waste in holes dug in the street must also be diminishing the absorptive capacity of streets in these older areas.

Author: Rick Davies, Mogadishu. 1988. Funded by CIIR, UNICEF, Oxfam and CCFD.

Since the city has spread over the landscape, large areas are now covered in concrete or by buildings with iron or concrete roofs. This means the sandy streets of Mogadishu now have to carry off far larger volumes of water than ever was the case when the area was simply bush. The result is that in some areas the streets are being badly eroded by water runoff, to the point where vehicles cannot use the streets. The most visible consequence of this erosion can be seen in the sanding-over of extensive sections of the main tarmac roads in different areas of Mogadishu each rainy season. This effect alone requires the mobilisation of substantial numbers of people at these times to clear away the sand from the streets.

Associated with this street erosion are public health risks for the city. In some areas (Hawl Wadag), where there are streets which have developed into gullies, people are beginning to use them as places to dump rubbish which would have previously been taken to the Municipal rubbish bins located in the district.

In the long term there will be more serious effects. Already the foundations of many houses in areas suffering erosion are being exposed. Although these foundations are periodically shored up, in the future the progressive lowering of the street levels will weaken and possibly destroy these houses. It should be remembered that much of Mogadishu has only been settled in the past 20 years. The effects of erosion which are visible now are only the beginning of a process which will continue long into the future, unless some action is taken.

Recommendations

1. Mogadishu could benefit from an erosion control programme. The labour force needed could come from two sources. One would be the Municipal workers who are already employed to sweep the streets of sand and rubbish, and the local residents of the affected areas. Alternatively, in times of economic recession when many families in the city might be facing significant hardship, the programme could act as a source of labouring employment for any families in need. At that time food aid which is already committed to the country by WFP or by bilateral agencies could be used to fund, on a food for work basis, the labour content of the erosion control work. In order for that to be possible some planning would need to be done in advance.
2. Priority should be given to improving sanitation in the vicinity of all the major markets within the city. The major need is to ensure that these areas have adequate drainage and that rainfall runoff does not accumulate in stagnant pools for weeks at an end. At present these pools constitute a major health risk for all people either working in those areas or buying food there.

2.2 Human waste

Almost every household in Mogadishu has access to a pit latrine or flush toilet. The Family Health Survey (1983:30) found that only 2.6% of households had no toilets of any sort. The 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor found, in three areas of poor housing, that 14% of households surveyed had "inadequate or non-existent" toilet facilities. In the lowest income level 19% were inadequate or non-existent. However these figures by themselves do not take into account the fact that in most such cases the families concerned have the use of neighbour's latrines. Even strangers walking along a street in Mogadishu can normally expect to be able to use the latrine of a house nearby if necessary. Because of the emphasis placed on personal cleanliness by Islam, in Somalia it is uncommon to see evidence of people defecating in public places. Even in the newest obbosibo areas on the edge of the city it is not a problem. Many of the people there have built latrines, near to their aqal, jingad or cariish.

Furthermore since the aquifers from which the city's water supply is drawn comes from bores more than 30 kilometres inland, there is also no threat of the city's water supply being contaminated by the seepage of sewerage from the latrines into the ground.

Recommendation

1. We are not aware of any research that has been done on the type of latrines in use in Mogadishu or whether any improvement in design is needed. Given the broad level of use of latrines there would possibly be scope for the introduction of improved versions i.e those less attractive to flies, if they were necessary. If research was done it should include examination of the functioning of latrines in the oldest areas of the city where they have been in use for the longest period.

2.3 Solid waste

Distributed throughout Mogadishu are approximately 112 large garbage collection containers which are removed, irregularly, by purpose-built trucks owned by the Municipality of Mogadishu. They do not seem to be located systematically but more according to wherever there is vacant land. In many areas there are sweepers assigned to keep the area around the containers clean, with varying degrees of effectiveness. There is approximately one container for every 5,300 people in Mogadishu. This includes business firms which are responsible for a substantial amount of the rubbish generated in the city.

Given this situation, it seems as though the waste disposal system in Mogadishu definitely needs upgrading. In some areas, such as the depression on Jidka 21ka Juun, there are large mounds of rubbish which have accumulated independently of the removal system. Following an examination of waste disposal arrangements for the city, the WHO Sanitary Engineer has put forward a proposal to the Municipality for the modernisation of the Municipality's solid waste disposal system. At present it appears that the fleet of new vehicles required will be provided by Italian aid funds. The fuel costs alone, for these vehicles has been estimated by WHO at 7,626,000/- or US\$ 86,000 per year, at the then official rate.

In the initial proposal put forward by WHO there were two significant omissions. The only mention of the role of animals in the city's waste disposal system was that their foraging in the rubbish containers was a public health hazard. Nothing was said of their positive role. Secondly, no examination was made of how much the city's waste was being recycled by human activity. Both forms of recycling have the potential to reduce the load on the official waste disposal system and to enrich the local economy. While we have not studied this area of the city's life in detail we can make some observations and recommendations.

In Waaberi we found that 8% of the households interviewed owned goats in the city. Similar figures were found in the other areas surveyed within the city. In Yaqshiid (Heegan obbosibo), a poorer area than Waaberi, 12% of the households owned goats. Also in Cabdulcasiiis 12% of households owned goats. If we assume the average percentage of households owning goats in Mogadishu to be approximately 8% then this suggests, by our population estimates for the city, that there are at least 24,000 goats in the city or 3.12 per hectare (assuming 3 goats per household who own goats). Over 80% of these goats are the ari-carbeed breed. These are goats of Arabian origin with longer hair than the ari -somaali. They are specially suited to urban areas since they will eat and subsist on food refuse whereas the ari-somaali will rarely do so. The goats usually sleep in the area of their owner's house but are also able to roam far throughout the city without getting lost. They are urbanised.

Despite their nuisance on the roads these animals are a major asset to the city and to the households that own them. Daily they recycle vast amounts of food waste which would otherwise just rot, and worse still be the breeding ground of flies and contribute significantly to the spread of disease in the city. It is very unlikely that the present official garbage disposal system could cope with this extra volume of wet waste if there were no goats in Mogadishu. In addition, the waste that the goats recycle is converted to milk and meat. The milk that is produced is mainly consumed within the family that owns the goat. Almost none is sold on the market. Such milk is usually given as first priority to the children and to those who are old or sick in the family. Where there is surplus it is given to neighbouring families. The common opinion is that the milk from these goats is more healthy than that which is available from cows. Any young male goats which are surplus each year are usually killed and eaten for their meat.

Recommendation

1. Goats, cattle and chickens³³, should be considered as an integral part of the city's waste disposal system. Improved sanitation in the city should not be at the costs of the destruction of this present system which is ecologically sensible and economically and nutritionally beneficial to many families in Mogadishu.

Inquiries should be made about whether there is any need to improve the health of the existing goats or to upgrade the present breed, without jeopardising the benefits that are already available. In Waaberi, households in both sarro and poorer quality houses reported owning goats. Consultation with a group of households from poorer quality houses would be a useful first step. This would best be done in the context of a broader locality-based programme that aimed to increase the incomes of the poorest households.

2. In all areas of the city there are people who make a living from rubbish. In many cases these people are from the poorest households. In every district there are dhaloolayaal (bottle collectors) who pay small amounts of money for used bottles. These bottles are later sold back to both factories and to households needing them for storage purposes. Also in each area are people who are paid to take away rubbish from houses and businesses and dump it in the containers left by the Municipality. At the edges of the city, in the disused quarries, are the final processors: people who scavenge from the waste that is dumped there from the rest of the city.

As Mogadishu's economy grows in size and complexity there will be increasing opportunities for employment through the recycling of the city's waste. Organisations interested in facilitating recycling of waste in the city should first talk to those people who are already making a living from recycling. A first step would be simply to learn about the work they are doing at present. From there it may be possible to see if they could be helped to gain more income by either diversifying the products they collect or processing those that they already do, so that more value is added to what they sell.

Some of the other waste outputs from the city which are at the moment "sanitation problems" but which should be investigated for recycling potential are:

³³ The incidence of households owning cattle in Mogadishu in the areas we surveyed ranged from 1% to 10%. Chickens were the most commonly owned animals in Mogadishu. The proportion of households owning chickens ranged from 50% to 56% in the two poorest areas to 16% and 19% in the two least poor areas. More information on chickens is given in Chapter 14.

- animal manure from cows kept in the city
- offal and bone waste from the Municipal slaughterhouse
- plastic waste from shops, businesses and households.

3. HEALTH

When the available data on household expenditure patterns for Mogadishu were reviewed in Chapter 7, there were no references to the costs of health care. Yet, while health costs are not a regular part of every household's expenditure in Mogadishu, when the need does arise people are often prepared to pay substantial amounts of money for health care. Within the 27 households whom we interviewed in depth, six households reported having spent large amounts of money on treatment for health problems. The amounts ranged from 4,000/- to 13,000/- for treatment of problems relating to diarrhoea, eye diseases, malaria, and childbirth. In casual discussions with people in the areas we surveyed, improved health services were frequently expressed as a major concern of the people.

In the following section we have reviewed five aspects of health in Mogadishu.

1. Infant mortality rates
2. Nutritional status of children
3. Immunisation coverage
4. The incidence of disability
5. Usage of health services

Other specific aspects of health have been surveyed in Mogadishu by other organisations but it is not our intention to review all those studies here. Details of the studies we are aware of are listed in the References section.

3.1. Infant mortality rates

3.1.1 Mogadishu in comparison to the rural and nomadic areas of Somalia

Two separate demographic surveys carried out in 1980 and 1981 have found infant mortality rates for Mogadishu which are almost identical. The rates were:

147 per 1,000	1980 Demographic Survey of Banaadir, Bay and Lower Shabelle Regions (MNP 1983)
148 per 1,000	1980/1 National Survey of Population (MNP 1986b)

These rates are consistent with the rate calculated from the the 1975 census data for "urban areas" which was 146 per 1,000 (MNP 1984). "Urban areas" were defined as all district capitals and any other town or village with a population of 1,500 persons and more. Mogadishu's population would have dominated this category.

In UNICEF's annual publication "The State of the World's Children", countries which have rates such as these are classified as "Very high infant mortality rate countries" (UNICEF 1987:128).

In many of the countries included in this group one might expect the infant mortality rates for the capital cities to be lower than those for the rest of the country on the basis that people in the major cities normally have better access to health services (Harpham et al, 1985:30). However in

Somalia this is not the case. The infant mortality rates for Mogadishu are essentially the same as the country average. In fact the evidence from the 1980-81 National Survey of Population suggests that the rates in Mogadishu are significantly higher than those for many of the regions which are classed as "nomadic". The same National Survey of Population found that the rate for the nomadic population (N = 3,000, sampled from throughout the country) was 114 per 1,000.

In this survey "nomadic" was defined as "those who do not have a permanent residence in a village or an urban area, and are characterised by their migratory movements").

Even lower rates of infant mortality have been found in three separate surveys of the nomadic population in Sanaag region, in the north of Somalia. There the infant mortality rates were found to range from 65 to 71 per 1,000 (N = 3 x 210 households). It has been suggested by some people (Bentley 1987) that the higher figures for infant mortality found in the nomadic areas by the National Survey of Population may in fact be an overestimate of the normal situation in that the survey was carried out during a drought year, when infant mortality rates would be expected to be higher than normal.

The areas of Somalia which had higher infant mortality rates than Mogadishu were in what the National Population Survey called the "rural areas", which they defined as "all settled areas (villages) outside District headquarters". The infant mortality rate for the 2,500 rural households sampled was 165 per 1,000. This rate might also have been affected by the timing of the survey. The real rate could be lower.

Recommendations

1. The purpose of these comparisons is to emphasise that despite the concentration of the country's medical resources in Mogadishu the population of the city still faces a major health problem: large numbers of deaths during infancy. This problem is on a greater scale than is found in many of the more isolated areas of the country. There is ample justification then for the investment of appropriate resources into health care in the city as well as in the rural areas in Somalia.

3.1.2 Variations within Mogadishu

As far as we know, the only survey which has measured infant mortality rates in a specific area of Mogadishu was the Damme Yassin Health Status Survey done in 1985. This survey found a rate of 175 per 1,000 in Damme Yassin section of Wadajir District, on the edge of Mogadishu (N = 3,000 households). This area is not the poorest in Mogadishu, nor is it the most crowded³⁴. Areas in Mogadishu with higher rates than this could thus be expected.

Because all the surveys we have carried out in the different areas of Mogadishu had sample sizes of approximately 210 households no attempt was made to gather data which could be used to estimate infant mortality rates in each of these areas. The individual sample sizes would have been too small. In retrospect however, it could have been useful to aggregate data from a

³⁴ The household survey which we carried out in this section of Mogadishu was limited to the obbosibo area, consisting of possibly 500 households at the most, whereas the majority of the households in Damme Yassin, possibly 5,000 or more, live in the legal areas of settlement and are much better off. The infant mortality data are from a sample of households in the whole area of Damme Yassin.

number of obbosibo areas to produce a figure representing that section of Mogadishu's population.

We did however collect data on literacy rates of adult women as well as the primary school attendance rates of girls in six of the areas we surveyed. The relevance of this indicator is emphasised in the 1986 edition of "The State of the World's Children" (UNICEF 1986:117):

"Research in many countries shows a clear correlation between high levels of female literacy and low levels of infant and child mortality.

It has usually been assumed, however, that female literacy is merely an indicator of general living standards rather than a factor, in its own right, in determining infant and child health.

Recent research suggests that this is generally untrue. Far from being merely a reflection of living standards, maternal education acts as a powerful independent force in reducing the numbers of infant and child deaths."

Unfortunately no data were gathered during the 1985 Damme Yassin Health Status surveys on adult female literacy so the precise nature of the relationship at that time and in that district between adult female literacy and infant mortality rates cannot be seen. An assumption could be made that the findings referred to above by UNICEF also apply to Mogadishu but we cannot say exactly how strong that relationship is.

A point should also be made about the connection between adult female literacy and infant mortality in areas outside Mogadishu, specifically the nomadic areas already referred to. When those areas are compared to Mogadishu the relationship does not appear. Although rates of female literacy are lower in the nomadic areas the rates of infant mortality are also much lower. This is because of major differences in the two environments. In the drier, sparsely populated nomadic areas there is little tetanus and certainly less opportunity for other fatal contagious diseases to spread. In Mogadishu tetanus is common and in the much more crowded housing conditions contagious diseases have a much greater opportunity to spread from family to family³⁵. Only when major environmental factors such as these are constant for a whole population such as in Mogadishu can we expect that female literacy to have more of a visible influence on the variation in rates of infant mortality amongst different groups of women in the city.

When we surveyed seven areas of Mogadishu we found the following variations in rates of female literacy:

³⁵ Differences in the practices of umulisooyin (traditional midwives) in the city and nomadic areas may also be a contributing factor.

Table 11.7: Adult female literacy rates in seven* areas of Mogadishu

Area	Literate Adult Women (aged 15 and over)
Waaberi	47 %
Cabdulcasiis	49 %
Wadajir (Halane)	36 %
Kaaraan (Fanoole)*	35 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	28 %
Yaqshiid	26 %
Beesha Shukri	22 %

* This area is Xaafadda Fanoole, in Kaaraan District. The survey in this area specifically looked at the correlates of primary school attendance (See Chapter 12). Fanoole obbosibo is ranked here on the basis of the median food expenditure of households in the area.

In all of these surveys literacy has been taken as self-defined by the respondent, as has been the case with all previous demographic and labour force surveys in Mogadishu. A measure which may be more refined, based on numbers of years of school attended, is also available from our own and other surveys quoted here, but this has not been utilised here because of the additional data processing time required.

The two demographic surveys referred to above, which were carried out in 1980/81 also collected data on female literacy rates in Mogadishu as a whole. The rates found at that time for women aged 10 and over were 40% (MNP 1983) and 42% (MNP 1986b). The rates found for those aged 15 and above were not published. However the 1982 Labour Force Survey found that in this age group the literacy rate for women was 39%. In comparison with this figure, the rates for female literacy in Waaberi appear slightly above average for the city (assuming no significant changes in the level of literacy between 1982 and 1986). If this is the case then we might expect infant mortality rates somewhat lower than 146-148 per 1000 in areas like Waaberi. However, on the other hand, we might expect substantially higher rates of infant mortality in the poorest areas which we surveyed where the rates of female literacy were less than half of those which were found in Waaberi.

Recommendations

1. If any further attempts are made to measure child and infant mortality rates within the city, care should also be taken to measure literacy and similar measures (such as years of school attended) so that it can be seen precisely what type of relationship exists in Mogadishu. Mogadishu is exceptional as a city in several ways (Jamal 1987) so the possibility of it being an exception as far as the literacy/infant mortality relationship is concerned should not be ruled out.
2. If any other organisations are then planning to carry out any household surveys in different areas of Mogadishu, especially the poorer areas which we have not surveyed, strong encouragement should be given to include measures of the literacy of adult women and similar measures so that the relative infant mortality rates of those areas could be estimated.
3. Until then, on the basis of overseas evidence, the areas of Beesha Shukri and Yaqshiid (Xaafadda Heegan) should certainly be regarded as priority areas for any health services aiming at reducing infant and child mortality in Mogadishu.

3.2 Nutritional status of children in Mogadishu

As far as we are aware the earliest data collected on the nutritional status of people in Mogadishu were those collected by the FAO expert Dr M.C. Malakar in 1963-4. Unfortunately the results of his survey (Food Consumption Survey: Report to the Government of Somalia, FAO Document No. 2042, Rome, 1965) are not available in Mogadishu.

In 1971-2 Dr Axmed Sharif Abbas of the Nutrition Department of the Ministry of Health in Mogadishu carried out food consumption and nutrition surveys in three areas of the city (Shibis, Hodon and El Gab (sic)) (Abbas, 1972). His reference to almost all the households living in "permanent stone buildings" suggests that the group sampled was at least from the middle income range. Analysis of his published data indicates that the children he surveyed were on average well nourished. The average percentage of median weight for height for the 3 groups of children from the above areas was respectively 99%, 97% and 99%.

As far as we are aware there has been only one study of the nutritional status of children in Mogadishu carried out in recent years. This was carried out in Damme Yassin laanta of Wadajir District in April - May 1985 (Sibanda, F.S. and Jamma, A.I., 1985:72-78). A random sample was taken of 1,146 children aged 2 months to 5 years (and 120cm height or less) from throughout the laanta. Unfortunately no socio-economic data were collected concerning the households of these children, so no accurate statement can be made about the type of population that was sampled. However on the basis of our own knowledge of Mogadishu we would suggest that the households in that outer fringe area of the city at that time occupied a position in between the middle class and the very poor.

The results of the survey showed a surprisingly high rate of malnutrition. Overall 16.0% of the children were classified as moderately malnourished (between 71% to 80% of normal weight-for-height) and 4.0% were classified as severely malnourished (70% or less of normal weight-for-height). Only 15% of the children were above the median weight-for-height. The average percentage of median weight-for-height was approximately 86%, compared to 99% in the Abbas study in 1972.

The situation in Damme Yassin was significantly worse than that found in four refugee camps surveyed in January the same year.

Table 11.8: Comparison of protein-calorie malnutrition in Damme Yassin and four refugee camps in Somalia in 1985 (after Sibanda, F.S., and Jamma, A.I., 1985).

Locations:	% of children 80% or less of reference median weight-for-height*
Damme Yassin, Mogadishu	20.0%
Gedo refugee camps	14.8%
N/West refugee camps	9.0%
Hiran refugee camps	6.6%
Qorioley refugee camp	3.9%

* as given by the normalised reference chart developed by the National Centre for Health Statistics, the Centre for Disease Control and the World Health Organisation.

More recent data gathered in 1987 from a series of UNICEF-funded nutrition surveys in normal populations outside Mogadishu reinforce the impression that the situation in Damme Yassin was worse than that which has recently existed in many other areas of the country.

Table 11.9: Protein-calorie malnutrition in 5 southern regions of Somalia

Region	Time	% under 80% of normal weight for height
1. Bakool	December 1987	7.5 %
2. Shabelle Dhexe	Nov-Dec 1987	6.3 %
3. Juba Hoose	November 1987	4.9 %
4. Bay	Oct-Nov 1987	4.9 %
5. Gedo	October 1987	6.7 %

All surveys were carried out by UNICEF and the Somali Red Crescent Society

Recommendations

1. Since the 1985 survey was carried out two development interventions have been carried out in Damme Yassin. Sixteen local TBA's have received training to upgrade and expand their health care skills. In addition a Women's Training Centre has been established to provide skills training opportunities for 100 women from poor households along with child care, education and feeding for their children under five. On the surface however, considering housing type for example, the area looks as though it is becoming less poor each year. Bearing in mind the dramatic nutritional findings in 1985 it is important that the nutritional status of children in this area be reassessed soon. This will enable an informed decision to be made about whether the above programmes should be either expanded or phased down. It may be that other areas of the city are now in more need.
2. The high rates of malnutrition found in Damme Yassin in 1985 give additional weight to the recommendation made in Chapter 9 that nutritional status surveys be carried out in the three poorest areas of the city which we surveyed (Beesha Shukri, Halane and Damme Yassin obbosiboyin). All three areas appear worse than Damme Yassin (as a whole) on such indicators as food expenditure levels, access to water supply and crowding.

3.3 Immunisation coverage

Immunisation coverage is an indicator of the vulnerability of the population to the six major contagious diseases: measles, polio, diphtheria, tetanus, tuberculosis and pertussis. Inadequate immunisation coverage not only means more infant and child deaths but also a greater incidence of disability in the population as a whole. Comparative studies from a number of countries carried out during the International Year of the Disabled suggested that poliomyelitis was the most common cause of crippling disease in children in all the countries which did not have an effective immunisation programme (Huston 1981). While recognising that in Somalia, as a whole, low immunisation coverage rates are a major problem, we should also be specifically concerned to identify groups or areas which are especially vulnerable because of their lower than average rates of immunisation coverage.

3.3.1 Variations between districts in immunisation coverage

The most recent data relating to all districts of Mogadishu come from a thirty cluster survey of immunisation coverage conducted after the third round of the Mogadishu Immunisation Campaign in October 1985. These figures would represent the situation in Mogadishu at the best it has ever been. The weighted average figure for full vaccination coverage of children between the ages of 12 and 23 months for the city as a whole at this time was 74%.

The Districts with highest coverage were

Cabdulcasiis	82 %
Hawl Wadag	82 %
Shibis	80 %

The Districts with the lowest coverage were

Kaaraan	71 %
Wadajir	70 %
Yaqshiid	67 %
Wardhigley	63 %

The E.P.I. office ascribed these differences to different attitudes and capabilities of the respective district level officials rather than the people's attitudes themselves. Nevertheless to the extent that the attitudes of the officials responsible at the district level have such an effect they are another form of health-related disadvantage that the people in those districts suffer.

Comparison of the DPT (diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus) 1 and DPT 3 coverage rates gives some indication of the level of understanding of the importance of immunisation. The districts with the highest rates of non-completion of immunisation (on DPT round 1 and DPT round 3) were:

Wardhigley	24 % not completed
Wadajir	22 % not completed
Yaqshiid	20 % not completed
Kaaraan	19 % not completed

The average for the whole city was 17%.

These four districts are the largest, in population terms, in Mogadishu, accounting for 61% of the city's population. It is likely that the sheer size of the task of organising immunisation in these districts is also reason for the low coverage and completion rates, and not just the attitudes of the district officials or the people in these areas. Three of these districts (Kaaraan, Yaqshiid and Wardhigley) are also the districts with the largest proportion of their population living in second-class (cariish, jiingad, baraako) housing.

It would seem that, within the context of an overall programme of immunisation, these districts should be given special attention.

3.3.2 Correlates of low immunisation coverage

In 1983/84 Abdi Aadan Mohamed carried out a survey of immunisation coverage of 2,792 two year old children in all districts of Mogadishu (Abdi Aadan Mohamed 1986). When he cross-tabulated immunisation coverage against educational and employment characteristics of the children's mother and father, he found the variations in immunisation coverage as in table 11.10 below.

The occupation described as "*self-employed*", which was associated with the lowest immunisation coverage rates, specifically referred to "*casual employment on a day-to-day basis with no certainty of regular income. Activities such as casual labouring, portering, and occasional haulage work were included*" (Abdi 1986:33).

The variable that seems to be associated with the greatest range in immunisation coverage seems to be the education level of the father (a range of 34%), followed by the occupation of the father (a range of 25%). Thus children from households with fathers with little education and insecure or non-existent employment were more likely to have received no immunisation coverage at all.

Table 11.10: Immunisation coverage of certain groups in Mogadishu, 1983/84

Group	% Immunised by any agent
Average for the whole sample	76 %
By Father's occupation	
"Government worker" (N=550)	84 %
"Professional" (N= 35)	83 %
"Merchant" (N=830)	78 %
"Skilled worker" (N=317)	75 %
"Military and Police" (N=195)	72 %
"Unemployed" (N=203)	71 %
"Self-Employed" (N=101)	59 %
By Mother's occupation	
"Government worker" (N=110)	82 %
"Other" (N=120)	80 %
"Housewife" (N=2,609)	76 %
By Father's level of education	
"Secondary" (N=689)	91 %
"University" (N= 50)	88 %
"Intermediate" (N=979)	80 %
"None" (N=949)	63 %
"Primary" (N=172)	57 %
By Mother's level of education	
"Intermediate" (N=480)	90 %
"Secondary" (N=77)	83 %
"Primary" (N=297)	73 %
"None" (N=1,983)	73 %

Additional data on the characteristics of households of immunised and non-immunised children are also available from the sample of 175 households with children between the age of 12 and 23 months which were found in our own area surveys in 1986.

Of all the children enumerated in these households (175):

- 42 % had received no immunisation at all
- 58 % had received their DPT 1 dose
- 44 % had received their DPT 3 dose

The coverage rate was lower than that found after the 1985 campaign, which is what would be expected. When the results from the four poorest areas (Wadajir [both obbosibo areas], Yaqshiid and Beesha Shukri) were analysed in terms of non-completion rates the proportion of children who were incompletely immunised was found to be 32%. This incidence was higher than that found for any single district of Mogadishu following the 1985 campaign. An analysis of the differences between the households of children who were immunised and those not immunised at all, or those fully - compared to partially - immunised, has not yet been carried out, but the data are available for analysis.

3.4 Disability

Disabilities such as blindness, deafness, and inability to walk or use one's hands and arms are manifestly a major form of disadvantage in themselves. In addition, to be disabled also very often means to be impoverished, to be dependent on others and to be a burden on others.

Disability is not only a consequence of ill health itself but also the socio-economic conditions in which people experience health problems. What is disabling in one environment can merely be a temporary illness or injury in another. It has been estimated that in most Third World countries, where access to effective health services is limited, one in ten of the population are handicapped in some way (Moyes 1981:1).

In each of the six areas we surveyed we asked people whether there were any disabled people in their household, and if so, what was the nature of their disability, their age and sex. The incidence of disability found in these areas was as follows:

Table 11.11: Incidence of disability* in 6 areas of Mogadishu, 1986

Incidence of disability	% of households	% of people
Waaberi	12 %	2 %
Cabdulcasiis	12 %	2 %
Wadajir (Halane)	12 %	2 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	15 %	3 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	8 %	2 %
Beesha Shukri	10 %	2 %

* The categories of disability were taken from the WHO manual "Training Disabled People in the Community: Guide for Local Supervisors" (WHO Geneva 1983:39). This manual has been used by another agency in its own surveys of disability in northern Somalia. In retrospect, we feel the WHO categories are less than perfect, but they may allow some comparison with data from previous surveys. Mental disability is included in this table.

Overall, the percentage of individuals described as being disabled appears very low in comparison to the rates that Moyes and others say should be expected. It is also low when compared to the impression gained from casual observation of the city, which suggests quite a high incidence of disability. The low incidence is most likely to be due to respondents taking a more strict interpretation of what constitutes being disabled, for example disability being something that requires the assistance of others in daily life.

As with unemployment it is the effect on the household, not just on the individual that must be considered. The above table shows that more than one in ten households are affected by disability. With severe disabilities (most likely those represented in Table 11.8) the disability not only means loss of income earning capacity for the individual but often also means additional demands being placed on others in the household. A common example seen on the streets of Mogadishu is the use of young school age children as guides for older men or women who are too blind to walk unaided.

Of the areas we have surveyed, the area with the largest number of households affected by disability was clearly Yaqshiid. An area-based development programme for this area should give these households specific attention.

In so doing, different (non-medical) strategies are needed according to whether the disabled are adults or children. For households with disabled adults, what is often most important is assistance to increase household incomes, to make up for what the disabled person is not earning. This can happen either by assisting the disabled adults themselves to earn income or by assisting other members in the family to earn more income for the family. Selection of persons for income-generating programmes should treat the presence of a disabled person in a household as an extra reason for selecting a person from that household.

In the case of children the main focus should be on ensuring that the child's disability does not lead to exclusion from school and other opportunities for learning. Many disabled children never have the chance to attend school. In late 1986 the Somali Relief Fund and the National Council of Social Welfare carried out a survey of 295 physically disabled children in Kaaraan District. Their survey found that only 14% of those children of school age were attending school. This is as low as what we found in Beesha Shukri, which is located 4 kilometres away from the nearest school (16%) and much lower than the rate of 39% which we found in Fanoole obbosibo, a poor area in the centre of Kaaraan District (the rate in Waaberi was 54%).

The case of one family we interviewed, in another district of Mogadishu, illustrates some of the problems facing families with disabled children:

"Muna lives in one room of a cariish in Hawl Wadag. She is the head of a family of 3 young children all aged under 8. Her eldest daughter, Leyla, has paralysis of the legs. Leyla has never received any medical attention because Muna does not know where to go for help. The only treatment she is able to offer Leyla is to read verses from the Quraan to her.

Her greatest concern is for Leyla's safety. Leyla has learned to crawl on her knees and she now frequently knocks things over as she moves about. Muna feels she cannot leave Leyla with the neighbours when she wants to go out because of this. Also she can no longer leave Leyla in the care of the eldest of the younger children because she has just recently started going to school. In order to keep Leyla safe while she is out of the house she has to lock Leyla in the room that they live in."

Muna says there are two main problems which prevent her from sending Leyla to school. One is that in order for Leyla to go she would have to carry her there and back each day. Already Muna finds Leyla heavy to lift and this problem will only become worse. The other is that Leyla would not be able to sit properly in the classroom because of her legs.

When she grows up Leyla will be unlikely to marry. Instead of having children who will support her as she grows older she will continue to depend on her own parents or her brothers and sisters. Without access to even a primary school education her opportunities for employment will be limited to those requiring least skills and consequently earning the lowest income. Begging on the streets will be one option. Approximately 25% of those begging on the streets in the centre of Mogadishu are disabled (see Chapter 17 for further information on beggars in Mogadishu).

3.4.1 Types of physical disability

Obviously the type of assistance given to help disabled children such as Leyla attend school will depend very much on the nature of their disability. The survey carried out by the Somali Relief Fund also inquired about the incidence of different types of disabilities.

They found the following distribution:

Table 11.12: Types of disabilities affecting children in Kaaraan District, 1986.

Type of disability	Incidence
"Legs only"	39 %
"Deaf"	15 %
"Hands Only"	4 %
"Legs and Hands"	9 %
"Blind"	8 %
"Unable to Speak"	6 %
Other - unspecified in report	19 %
N = 295	100 %

The major group by far are those like Leyla whose legs are disabled. Many of these are likely to have been victims of polio. All of those in this group could benefit, at least socially, from a standard primary school education if they had access to a school. More specific assistance would need to be given to help if the aim was to enable them to find employment afterwards.

Further information on the type of disabilities affecting people is available from the household survey data we have collected from six areas of Mogadishu. In those surveys we collected data on 135 disabled people and the households they were living in. These data are yet to be analysed.

3.5 Usage of Health Services

Knowledge of the relative usage of health services by different groups in Mogadishu is relevant to the planning of how health services should be targeted to those most in need.

In our household survey of Waaberi and five other areas of Mogadishu we asked each household how many women in the household had used the following services in the past six months:-

- ⇒ Private doctors
- ⇒ Banaadir Hospital
- ⇒ MCH centres

We focused only on these options because they are the main channels through which most women with children in Mogadishu have access to modern (western) medicine. Our main concern was to see to what extent women from poorer communities and poorer households were using these services, compared to those from richer communities and richer households.

3.5.1 Variation in use of health services in different areas

The following pattern of usage was found in the areas we surveyed:

Table 11.13: Usage of government and private health services in 6 areas of Mogadishu

Areas	N	Not using any*	Of all users** those using:		
			N Priv	Priv + Govt	Govt
Waaberi	217	60 %	36 %	16 %	48 %
Cabdulcasiis	212	67 %	41 %	24 %	35 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	199	58 %	29 %	17 %	54 %
Wadajir (Halane)	147	54 %	18 %	21 %	61 %
Wadajir(D/Yassin)	98	54 %	18 %	14 %	68 %
Beesha Shukri	215	69 %	13 %	21 %	66 %

N = all households with adult women

* = % of N

** = % of all those women who reported using any of the health services mentioned above

Amongst those women who had used any of the health services in the preceding six months there were clear differences according to the areas they came from. The incidence of women using private health services in the three poorest areas was only half of that which was found in Waaberi. Associated with this trend was a greater proportion of women using government health services in the poorer areas.

A more thorough study would have included private pharmacies and the other non-maternity hospitals as well as measures of frequency of usage.

Within the groups of women who reported using government health services, in all areas except one, more women reported using Banaadir hospital than the MCH's. It was only in Yaqshiid (Heegan obbosibo) that the MCH was used more frequently. This is very likely because in this area the local MCH is on the actual perimeter of the obbosibo area. The areas with the highest usage of Banaadir hospital were, not surprisingly, the areas closest to the hospital: Waaberi, and the two Wadajir obbosibo areas. Usage of MCH services varied from 37% of all health

services users in Wadajir (Damme Yassin) to 48% and 49% in Yaqshiid and Beesha Shukri respectively, the two areas furthest from Banaadir and other hospitals in the city.

We should point out that the pattern of usage of health services that we found was substantially different from that found in the Damme Yassin Health Status Survey done in 1985 (Sibanda et al 1985:33). In that survey while 43% of women interviewed in Damme Yassin (the legally settled section) mentioned using the MCH for health problems, only 9% mentioned using the hospital and only 1% mentioned using a pharmacy. Considering this was in a district in where there are two major hospitals within reasonable distance and in which there is no shortage of pharmacies, these figures do not seem plausible.

Our data are however consistent with that collected by the study by Bowker and Keane in July 1987 (Bowker, M., and Keane, H., 1987). This study was of 199 women with children aged 5 or younger randomly selected from throughout Mogadishu, and thus could be said to represent "the average woman" in their demographic class in Mogadishu. In this group private health services were more widely used by women (61% pharmacies, 53% private doctors) than the government services (40%). Of the government services, hospitals were used by marginally more women (40%) than were the MCH's (37%) despite the wider distribution of MCH services. Our data on all adult women in Waaberi showed a similar but more muted ranking of preferences: 1. private doctors (21%), 2. Banaadir Hospital (19%) and 3. MCH's (16%). The lesser use overall of these services is accounted for by the fact that the sample included all women, age 15 years and above, not just those with children aged 5 or younger.

3.5.2 Variations in usage of health services between households

Within the Waaberi sample of households there was only a slight tendency for the government health services to be used by the poorer households. With both users of Banaadir and MCH services, 56% were from households with below median household food expenditures. Private health services were used equally by poor and wealthy households. One reason for the small magnitude of this difference in usage may be the nature of the income distribution in this district. The data on food expenditure for households in this area suggest that incomes in this district are concentrated within a relatively small range, more so than in the other areas we surveyed.

At this stage no analysis has been done of the relative economic status of the MCH and Banaadir Hospital users compared to the women who were non-users. This would help us to establish the extent to which these services were still missing out the very poorest women. Data are available concerning both groups from all six areas.

However, since our own research was completed the study by Bowker and Keane, referred to above, has provided some additional information on differences in the socio-economic background of MCH users versus non-users. Their survey data showed that these groups differed the most on the following characteristics:

1. Womens' educational level: Of all the non-users 90% had never been to primary school compared to 52% of the users.
2. Access to water: Of all the non-users 70% came from houses with no piped water in the house or compound. This compared to 34% of the users.
3. House type: Of all the non-users 83% came from poor quality housing (non-sar) compared to 52% of the users.
4. Literacy: Of all the non-users 80% were illiterate compared to 62% of the users.

Bowker and Keane, commenting on their own data, report "the most noticeable differences were geographic, with non-users living in the poorer areas on the outskirts of the city in houses made of wood, corrugated iron, with no water tap in the house or compound".

There is some evidence that those who do use MCH services in Mogadishu are slightly more disadvantaged than non-users in terms of their health status as well as their income. In 1981 Aden and Birk (1981) carried out a survey of 700 women who were users and non-users of 7 MCH centres in Mogadishu. They found an overall child mortality rate for the 2 groups of 247 per 1,000. When separated, they found "there was a persistent difference between MCH attenders and non-attenders in Mogadishu with the latter having the lower rate" (270 vs 222 per 1,000). This difference is understandable simply because those women who are not experiencing any problems with their pregnancy or with their children's health are less likely to need to visit the MCH in the first instance.

On the positive side, Abdi (1986:29) found that amongst all those households reporting use of MCH services (N=2,119), 93% of the two year old children had received at least one round of immunisation, whereas amongst the non-users (N=708) only 26% of the children had received any immunisation cover. This is simply a reflection of the fact that the MCH's are the main location where children can be immunised in Mogadishu.

Recommendation

Upgrading of MCH services in the districts which are the furthest from the major hospitals in the city would be the most effective way to reach the largest number of women from poor households in the city. It is the children from these households who will otherwise be the ones most likely to miss out on any immunisation coverage. The three MCH's in Kaaraan and Yaqshiid should be given first priority and the MCH in Wardhigley second priority.

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Chapter 12: ACCESS TO EDUCATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The Somali government education system is in a critical state. The number of children enrolled in primary school has fallen dramatically in the last seven years, from 272,000 to 194,000 (UNICEF 1987). This is despite an estimated national population growth rate of 3.1% per annum during the same period. It is estimated that throughout the country less than 14% of all children of primary school age are in fact enrolled at school. Even amongst those who are attending school the dropout rates are high. Nation wide primary school completion rates were estimated to be 31%, for the 1973-81 period, and thought to be even lower for the period since then.

Despite these statistics, informal evidence suggests that many people in Somalia still see the value of education in its broad sense. The decline in school enrolment can best be seen as the result of two processes. One is that in some areas of the country children are not attending school because of the unavailability of teachers to work in such areas. The other is that many parents have judged that the trade-off between the financial and opportunity costs of sending their children to government school and what is to be gained in return, is not sufficient to justify sending them. This in turn is likely to be due, at least in part, to the inadequate state of teacher's pay and training, and inadequate supplies of text books⁶⁵ and other school equipment.

Predictably, within Mogadishu the levels of primary school enrolment and attendance are much better than in many of the more isolated areas of the country. On this basis it might be argued that any improvements to the educational services in the country should first happen outside Mogadishu, not in Mogadishu. However, taking a realistic view of the implementation of government policy, it seems likely that at least some of any additional resources available in the future will be allocated within Mogadishu. Given that likelihood, it is appropriate to suggest where in Mogadishu they might be needed the most.

In the sections that follow we will examine three aspects of education in Mogadishu: adult literacy rates, primary school enrolment and primary school attendance. With each measure we will try to identify areas and groups which are most disadvantaged. In addition we examine survey data from a poor area of Kaaraan District showing the relationship between school attendance, household economic status, parental attitudes and children's daily activities. Finally some comments will be made about the role of the private market in education in Mogadishu, and the potential for using non-institutional forms of vocational training.

2. LITERACY RATES IN MOGADISHU

The 1975 census of Mogadishu was carried out one year after a literacy campaign had been conducted throughout Mogadishu, and just after the campaign had been extended to the whole of the country. The census data for Mogadishu showed an overall literacy rate of 68%, with the male literacy rate at 76% and the female rate at 61% (aged 10 and above, MNP 1984:119). Since then the rate of adult literacy in Mogadishu appears to have declined. Three separate surveys in the early 1980's have all found rates of adult literacy in Mogadishu lower than those found in 1975. These are shown in Table 12.1:

Table 12.1: Literacy* rates for men and women (aged 10 and above) in Mogadishu (1980-82)**

⁶⁵ A CDC study of 5 schools in Mogadishu and 5 regions in 1986 showed that most children had no school texts at all. At best the teachers had a text of their own, often bought on their own initiative.

Date	Source	Men	Women	All	N
1980-81	(MNP 1983:42)	73 %	40 %	56 %	12,732
1980-81	(MNP 1986b:36)	75 %	42 %	60 % (sic)	5,826
1982	(MNP 1985b:32)	78 %	46 %	62 %	7,739

*In all three cases people were simply asked if they could read or write in any language.

** Literacy levels of the 15 and above age group are only available from the 1982 survey

This decline has occurred despite the fact that the oldest age cohorts (presumably less literate) have since been dying off and many of the youngest age cohorts have had the opportunity to go to primary school.

It appears that the overall decline is due specifically to a decline in female literacy rates. While the rate for men has remained almost the same as in 1975 the rate for women has declined by approximately 20%.

2.1 Area variations in literacy

As far as we are aware there are no disaggregated data showing the distribution of adult literacy rates within the different districts of the city.

However, as far as individual areas of the city are concerned there are at least two sets of data. In 1980 a study of "the urban poor", in poor housing areas on the outskirts of Hawl Wadag, Wardhigley and Wadajir, found lower rates (49%, with 61% for men and 36% for women) of literacy than in the city-wide samples mentioned above. In our own household surveys we collected data on literacy rates in six different areas of the city. At this stage only the data on women's literacy have been analysed. As reported in detail in Chapter 11, (See Table 11.7) we found major differences in literacy rates of adult women in the different areas of the city which we surveyed. In the control area of Waaberi, which was surveyed in November 1986, we found that the literacy rate for adult women was 47.5%, somewhat higher than the city average as it was in 1980-82. However, in the poorest area, Beesha Shukri, only 22% of the adult women were reported as literate, less than half the incidence in Waaberi. The likely health implications of this have already been pointed out in the same chapter.

2. PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN MOGADISHU

According to the Ministry of Education statistics on enrolment in the 1984/5 school year, a total of 55,340 children were enrolled for all Primary School classes in Mogadishu⁶⁶. If it is assumed that the population of Mogadishu was 600,000 at the end of 1985 this would represent only 43% of all those eligible to go to primary school (those aged 6 to 13 inclusive being 21.5% of the population). An assumption of a bigger population for the city at that time would of course reduce this percentage even further.

66 This represents 38% of the school enrolment for the country as a whole!

Analysed on this basis the enrolment figures show that three districts: Hawl Wadag, Wadajir and Hodon, accounted for over half of all the primary school enrolments in Mogadishu. On the other hand, Kaaraan, Yaqshiid and Wardhigley District all stand out in that they have a disproportionately low number of children enrolled in primary school. Yaqshiid and Kaaraan in particular are clearly disadvantaged in terms of the numbers of schools in those districts. This may be partly due to a decline in school building activity by the Ministry of Education in recent years.

2.1 District variations in primary school enrolment

The Ministry of Education data on primary school enrolment for each district can be compared to the population shares of each district, (See Chapter 4) to give an indication of the relative rates of school enrolment in the different districts.

Table 12.2: Primary school enrolment rates in relation to population in the districts of Mogadishu (1985)

District	Percentage		
	Of City's Population	Of Total Enrolment	Of all Schools
Wadajir	17.7 %	18.0 %	13.0 %
Kaaraan	16.9 %	6.2 %	6.0 %
Yaqshiid	15.3 %	9.4 %	8.0 %
Wardhigley	11.0 %	9.4 %	11.0 %
Hodon	9.4 %	11.8 %	15.0 %
Hawl Wadag	8.6 %	19.1 %	11.0 %
Waaberi	6.4 %	7.7 %	8.0 %
Boondheere	4.2 %	6.0 %	8.0 %
Xamar Jab Jab	4.1 %	3.9 %	4.0 %
Shibis	3.3 %	3.3 %	6.0 %
Xamar Weyne	1.3 %	3.8 %	4.0 %
Cabdulcasiis	1.3 %	1.1 %	4.0 %
Shangani	0.5 %	0.3 %	2.0 %
	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0 %

Recommendation

1. Kaaraan and Yaqshiid clearly should be regarded as priority districts as far as the extension and upgrading of schools within Mogadishu are concerned.

3. PRIMARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN SELECTED AREAS OF MOGADISHU

In the course of our survey information was collected on primary school attendance rates in seven areas of Mogadishu. Those rates are shown below:

Table 12.3: Primary school attendance in 7 areas of Mogadishu

	Boys	Girls	Both
Waaberi	61 %	47 %	54 %
Cabdulcasiis	74 %	57 %	66 %
Kaaraan (Fanoole)	44 %	33 %	39 %
Wadajir (Halane)	70 %	50 %	60 %
Yaqshiid (Heegan)	34 %	31 %	33 %
Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	51 %	28 %	39 %
Beesha Shukri	15 %	17 %	16 %

* areas ranked in diminishing order of economic status (See Chapter 9)

Compared to the enrolment rate for the city as a whole, estimated above, Waaberi, Cabdulcasiis and Wadajir (Halane) would seem to have above average school attendance rates. It could be that either the population estimate we used for estimating the enrolment rate for the city was too high, which seems unlikely, or that in fact more children are attending school than are indicated by enrolment figures.

In five of the seven areas, the female attendance rates were substantially lower than that for males. This is in contradiction to the official enrolment statistics for Mogadishu (1984/85) which show that girls made up 60% of all those enrolled for Primary school. On the other hand our figures are consistent with the data presented earlier showing a substantial decline in female literacy rates since 1975.

Looking at the variations between the areas there seems to be at least four influences at work. The first is household income. The levels of attendance in Waaberi and Cabdulcasiis, the two least poor areas we surveyed, are substantially higher than that for Damme Yassin *obbosibo* and Beesha Shukri, the poorest areas. The second is distance. Beesha Shukri is of almost the same economic status as Damme Yassin but many more kilometres from the nearest primary school. The third is the place of origin of the migrant households in each area. Damme Yassin, Heegan and Fanoole each have substantial numbers of households from the southern riverine and inter-riverine regions, whereas Cabdulcasiis, which has the highest attendance rate has the most migrants from the northern regions. People from these areas are commonly considered to be very keen on formal education. Halane is unique in that despite the low income of the people there it has the second highest attendance rates. This is most likely due to the fact that the Halane primary school is one of the few schools in the city with a World Food Programme supported school feeding programme.

Recommendations

1. In contrast to enrolment figures, both adult literacy rates and school attendance rates both show women to be more disadvantaged educationally. Because of the health implications of women's education (See Chapter 11) there is ample justification for the commitment of additional resources aimed specifically at increasing female school attendance rates.
2. In Somalia variations in parental attitudes to education are generally reputed to be associated with the region those parents have migrated from. The survey data should be analysed in more detail to establish how strong the association is between parents' region of origin and children's

school attendance rates. If necessary, a specific effort should be made to direct additional resources to those groups with lower attendance rates in an attempt to increase their children's levels of attendance. Otherwise these differences in access to education are very likely to compound existing inter-regional differences into more significant income, health and other inequalities.

4. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN XAAFADDA FANOOLE

In October 1986 we⁶⁷ carried out a survey of 210 households in Xaafadda Fanoole, in Kaaraan District. (See Fig 1.1) The aim of this survey was twofold: firstly, to explore parental attitudes to education in an area where we thought school attendance was likely to be comparatively low; secondly, to identify the activities that children of school age were involved in, when not at school.

The area was selected because it was in the district which has the lowest enrolment rates in Mogadishu and it was a relatively poor area within that district. It is largely an *obbosibo* area, which was first settled, we think, in the late 1950's. It is similar in character to Heegan *obbosibo*, which is not far away. Like Heegan, it is near Baar Sanca, a main intersection and bus stop and it also has a primary school very nearby. In terms of economic status it is between that of Halane *obbosibo* and Cabdulcasiis. The median food expenditure per person in the households we surveyed there was 42.5/- per day.

The rates of primary school attendance in Fanoole have been given in Table 12.3. When school attendance is described in terms of households there were three basic groups:

- A. Those with all eligible children attending primary school 28 %
- B. Those with some eligible children attending primary school 17 %
- C. Those with none of their eligible children attending p/school 55 %

4.1 Parents' attitudes towards education

Surveying attitudes is a difficult task at the best of times. Surveying attitudes towards government services in an environment where there is normally little open public debate about such matters is especially difficult. There is a strong likelihood that people will give the answers they feel are going to be acceptable or required. The results of any attitude surveys carried out in Mogadishu should be interpreted in this light.

4.2 Attitudes concerning school attendance

In the case of groups B and C above, we asked the parents the reason(s) why their children had either never attended school or had dropped out of school. In the case of groups A and B we asked why they were sending their children to school. The answers which were given were categorised after the survey and are listed below:

⁶⁷ A major part of the planning, implementation and analysis for this survey was carried out by Maxamuud Xasan Jaamac. Assistance in planning and implementation was given by Sue Reading. Assistance with data entry and analysis was given by Kevin Hancock.

Table 12.4: Reasons given for children not/never attending school

I don't have enough money to buy his/her uniforms, books, pens etc	39 %
S/he is needed at home	26 %
S/he is from the countryside, and has not had the chance to go to school	22 %
I did not send him/her because elder brothers/sisters dropped out of school without finishing	7 %
S/he is sick/disabled	6 %
N = 88 responses (44 other responses were not actual reasons)	100 %

Table 12.5: Reasons given for children dropping out of school

S/he dropped out of school because of household work that needed to be done	45 %
S/he dropped out of school in order to contribute to the household income	19 %
S/he failed to learn what was taught	19 %
S/he dropped out of school because of sickness/disability	10 %
S/he dropped out of school because s/he could see no benefit	7 %
N = 31	100 %

Two basic and related reasons accounted for most parents' responses. One was the direct cost of sending their children to school. The other was the perception that the child's work at home and for the household was *relatively* more important than having the child at school. This may partly be a judgement of the costs of education, but it also may be a judgement of the value of the education that was being given.

Table 12.6: Reasons why children were attending school

To learn something that will help him/her and ourselves	48 %
To learn something that will make him/her self sufficient	23 %
To learn something (not specified)	11 %
To learn to read and write only	3 %
Other reasons	15 %
N = 158 responses	100 %

The reasons given for sending children to school were very general. Benefits for the student alone were not the main reason. Almost half the responses indicated that the family *also* expected to benefit. Moreover, as is clear from other responses below, parents seemed to expect the children to learn more than just the basics (literacy).

4.3 Other attitudes towards education

As well as asking specifically about school attendance, we asked about parent's attitudes towards

education in general. This was done by reading out statements then asking all parents if they agreed or disagreed with the statement, or if they did not know what they thought. Those statements have been sorted out into two groups that are listed below. The first group is of all statements which are critical of the education system and the second is of all those which are approving. The responses of parents to each of these statements are given below.

Table 12.7: Responses to critical statements about education

Statement Percentage who :	Agree	D/agree
Sending a child to school is too expensive nowadays	75 %	20 %
Schooling hours interfere with my children's household activities	57 %	34 %
I am too busy looking for my children's bread to control and supervise their education	47 %	32 %
I don't send my daughter(s) to school because I need them to help at home	33 %	57 %
Our children do not like to go to school nowadays because they found what was taught in the schools was uninteresting	30 %	47 %
Boys contribute more to the family income when they are not at school	23 %	64 %
Even if children finish school that won't help them support themselves when they leave school	23 %	60 %
Going to school is a waste of time for my children which they could be spending better doing other things	20 %	73 %
When my children leave primary school they should have practical skills like carpentry, mechanics, tailoring etc	18 %	56 %
N = 210 households		

Residual percentages represent those who "don't know"

Table 12.8: Responses to approving statements about education

Statements Percentage who	Agree	D/agree
I need my children to have a good education so that they can support me in the future	78 %	12 %*
Even if it is expensive I should send my children to school	75 %	20 %
When my children leave primary school they will have a good knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic	68 %	14 %
The present school system prepares a child for all his/her future needs	46 %	28 %
N = 210 households		

* residual percentages represent those who "don't know"

Three main points seem to emerge from the responses that were given:

Firstly, that cost is the over-riding concern as far as most parents were concerned. This is consistent with responses already described in Table 4. Secondly, children's household work was seen by more than half of the parents as more important than their children's attendance at school. Thirdly, there was relatively little agreement with overt criticisms of the education system.

What was surprising was the low proportion of parents agreeing with the view that children should leave the primary school with specific technical skills. When the earlier response (Table 12.6) about children learning to read and write is also recalled, it reinforces the view that many parents' expectations for their children's education were broader than the acquisition of specific technical skills. We suspect this also reflects the lower status image of that type of education compared to a more general and academic education. It may also be a reflection of general expectations that such skills are not normally taught at this level of school in any case.

4.4 Children's activities

As well as asking parents about their attitudes to their children's education, we also asked a sample of two school age children (where possible), from each of the sampled households, what they had done on the previous day. The answers were precoded into 22 categories. The frequencies for each of these have been tabulated below (next page) for two separate groups: those children attending school and those not attending.

The major differences between the children who were attending school and those who were not were in two areas of activity. Firstly, those attending school reported more frequent involvement in education-related activities outside school (homework, reading a book for pleasure, reading the Quraan). This is plausible. Secondly, they reported more frequent involvement in sports and other play activities, including TV/video/films. This may be due to the age difference between the two groups of children concerned.

There was little difference between the two groups in terms of their involvement in either paid work or unpaid work for their family. This seems inconsistent with the claims by parents of children not attending school that the reason for their children not attending school was because they were needed at home. However, this may have been a more guarded way of saying that the education available to their children was of relatively little value.

Superficially, the similar incidence of working children in both groups is also contrary to the finding (Chapter 15) that the level of school attendance (11%) amongst the working children in Xamar Weyne and Lido is significantly lower than the average rate found in all the *obbosibo* areas we surveyed. However two points should be noted: firstly, the non-attenders were, as a whole, younger both than those attending school, and than the working children described in Chapter 15. They were therefore less likely to be working than older children. Secondly, both attenders and non-attenders included those working casually as well as regularly, so any major differences between the two groups in Fanoole would have been obscured.

Table 12.9: Previous day's activity reported by 349 children in Fanoole *obbosibo*

Activity Children:	Attending school	Not attending
Went to school	100.0	--
Played in the street with friends	87.1	51.8
Read the Quraan	59.0	44.4
Went to Koranic school	52.8	46.8
Read a book for pleasure*	49.0	12.6
Cared for younger children	45.2	44.6
Went to the market to buy things for the household	45.1	52.2
Watched sport	42.8	16.6
Watched TV/video/film	41.7	19.6
Did school homework	38.2	12.0
Helped to do the housework/cooking	37.5	46.3
Played sport	34.7	21.5
Went to the Mosque	34.0	35.4
Helped with other jobs for the h/hold	33.0	31.2
Stayed in the house to play	33.0	49.3
Went to the market for his/her own interest	24.4	18.5
Helped mother with her work	24.0	21.0
Helped with father's work	11.8	5.8
Went to private school	8.4	2.9
Went to the market for work reasons	7.4	5.4
Went to work/sell things	5.6	6.3
Median age	11 years	9.5 years
Average number of activities reported per child = 6.7		

* In most cases this is likely to be the Quraan.

4.5 The significance of socio-economic characteristics of households

There was a clear difference in the economic status of the households sending children to school and those who were not. The median food expenditure per head of households sending all their eligible children to school was 50/- compared to 40/- for those not sending any of their eligible children to school. Those only sending some were more similar in food expenditure terms (43/-) to the poorer households sending none. These expenditure differences in households are consistent with the fact that three quarters of the parents in the sample expressed concern about the costs of government education.

It should be noted that this survey was carried out prior to the decision by the government in late 1986 to charge school fees of 100/- or more per month for each child attending government school. While this measure is one way of coping with the financial emergency that many schools and teachers are facing, it can only increase the numbers of poor households who decide not to send their children to school. In this case the inequalities between areas of Mogadishu, described in Table 12.3 are very likely to increase. There seem to be two possible responses to this situation.

One is to try to raise the incomes of households in such areas. However that is a long-term task which is not easily achieved. The other is to direct additional resources specifically to schools in the poorest areas. While the high attendance costs would remain, parents of poor households may then feel that trade-off of costs against benefits would still make it worth their while to send their children to school. A school feeding programme, as in Halane, is one way in which poor schools could be favoured.

Recommendation

1. We would strongly recommend that steps should be taken to monitor the impact of the introduction of school fees on the levels of school attendance in the areas that we have surveyed in 1986. This could be done by either observing changes in school enrolment levels for schools close to those areas, for example in Heegan, Damme Yassin and Fanoole *obbosibo* areas and the Waaberi control area. Alternatively, a *simple* school attendance survey could be carried out in exactly the same areas in 1988, as we surveyed in 1986. Although the latter method takes more time and resources it would be a more accurate measure of change. It is particularly important to include the Waaberi control area in the monitoring exercise, regardless of the method used, since it is the *relative* decline that would need to be documented (since there appears to be a general decline already occurring).

4.6 Access to other education

As well as attending primary school many of the 349 children we interviewed were also attending Koranic schools and, to a smaller extent, private schools. The relationship between attendance at these three schools was as follows:

Table 12.10: Attendance at government, private and koranic schools in Fanoole *obbosibo*, Kaaraan

Attending Primary school *	42 %
Not attending Primary School	58 %
Attending koranic school	22 % + 27 %
Attending private school	4 % + 1 %
Attending no school at all	31 %

*The rate was slightly higher in this sub-sample than in that of the whole sample of households in Fanoole.

There was only a small difference in the rates of koranic school attendance between those attending primary school (53%) and those not attending (47%). Predictably, the rates of attendance at private school were higher amongst those attending primary school than those not attending.

We did not investigate the functioning of private schools in this survey because it was assumed the numbers of children involved would be small and the economic status of their households would be above average. However, when we examined the data on the small number of households (N= 14) where children were attending private school we found that the median food expenditure per head was 43/- per day, little different from the average for the whole sample. Data on private school attendance rates in wealthier areas would indicate if this result was exceptional or not.

In Mogadishu a large number of elder children and young adults also learn skills through employment in apprentice-type positions in private firms. Because of the age group of the children who were sampled and because of the orientation of our questionnaire no data were gathered by us on apprenticed children. In retrospect this was an oversight. We suspect that it is often some of the poorest households which seek education and employment for their children through this channel. This is an area that should be given more attention by future researchers.

5. THE PRIVATE MARKET IN EDUCATION

The private market in education, in the form of koranic schools, was in existence in Somalia long before the government education system was established. The most noticeable growth in the private market in recent years has been in the widespread establishment of small-scale private general schools. This has been the result of two converging sets of needs. On the one hand many parents, dissatisfied with the education their children were receiving in government schools, sought alternate ways of educating their children. At the same time, the very low salaries paid to government teachers led many of them to take up private teaching as a means of supplementing their meagre income. These private schools are now teaching not only Arabic, English, typing and accounting but also the official school curriculum for the final years of Primary and Secondary school. Some are even using audio-visual aides, not normally available in government schools.

A similar development has not yet occurred in the area of technical education. Very few private schools teach technical skills such as welding and metal work, carpentry, automotive mechanics, electrical wiring and repair etc. Yet from our own contacts with people, and from the case studies we have made, many poorer households at least, are keen to find opportunities for their children to learn such skills. The non-existence of private schools teaching these skills is largely to do with the nature of the market for such skills. It is still much more profitable for those with carpentry and other technical skills to be using them directly as carpenters and mechanics etc. than to be teaching others the same skills. In this situation the only way young people can learn these skills is to offer their labour for meagre wages as apprentices.

Official attempts by both government and foreign development organisations to set up vocational training programmes in Somalia have not matched either the economic efficiency or the scale of impact achieved by such informal apprenticeship schemes. Most technical training establishments require large amounts of capital to set them up (buildings and equipment) and often use expensive foreign staff in direct teaching roles. This intensive investment is then lavished on a comparatively small number of students, who when they finish have higher aspirations (overseas work or managerial positions) than are appropriate to setting up one more household in the community with an adequate income.

Of course the informal apprentice-type arrangements are not without their problems. Access is often limited to relatives of those who work in or own the establishments. Those without such connections often have no access to such opportunities. Also the rate of learning during some apprenticeships can be fairly modest, since the apprentice's labour is the employer's main concern. Nevertheless there is potential for the constructive use of private sector skilled workers in teaching roles in the course of their normal work activities. This has been practically pointed out by the Partnership for Productivity vocational training programme in Hargeysa. In that programme refugees first indicated in what area *they* wanted skills training. The programme staff then identified a suitable local business person with such skills. A contract was then signed with that person to teach, through an apprenticeship relationship, specific skills of his/her trade to the refugee-apprentice. For this they

were paid US\$20 per month plus a small allowance which was to be paid to the apprentice as an apprentice's wage. During the apprenticeship the apprentices were carefully supervised to make sure that they were not simply exploited as cheap labour. The skills training was limited to that which could be learned in six months.

In the first eight months the PFP programme trained 272 refugees in 16 different skills. The main aim of the training was to enable people to become self-employed rather than to find jobs with others, although it was expected that a number would find jobs first then move up to self-employment later. By June 1986, eight months after the start of training 150 of the trainees were self-employed, and some of the others were employed either locally or outside Somalia. The remainder were either unemployed in the area or could not be traced.

Such an approach to vocational training has the following advantages:

- it is demand-driven rather than resource-driven
- it is very flexible in the range of skills that can be taught
- the level of skills taught are appropriate to the demands of the local market
- it is economical in its use of money and skilled personnel. Highly trained technical staff are more effectively used in this type of programme through being in supervisory roles, overseeing the teacher-apprenticeship relationship. They are essentially teacher trainers/supervisors rather than direct teachers.

Nevertheless in a non-refugee context there is still a question that remains to be answered. What sort of institutional structure should be set up to provide such a system of subsidised and supervised apprenticeships. Since the existing government services cannot meet their recurring costs it would not be feasible for a new service to be funded by the government. On the other hand funding from sources from outside the country would require some structures for accountability which would meet the standards of those organisations. As with any project where there is potential for real benefit to the target group and which involves the disbursement of payments in cash, careful monitoring would be needed to ensure proper management of resources.

Recommendations

1. Vocational skills training programmes based on subsidised and supervised apprenticeships would be an appropriate development input into an area- based development programme in Mogadishu. A small scale project initiated on such a basis would be an opportunity to test out the feasibility of the method before applying it on a broader scale in Mogadishu. In principal, this approach has the potential of appealing to those families whose aspirations do not normally include tertiary level study in Somalia or overseas, or in many cases, even secondary school. At the same time, it is unlikely to appeal to those households with the resources to provide their children with higher levels of formal education than primary school.
2. This approach could also be the means by which women could be given access to technical training which is normally unavailable to them.

6. SUMMARY

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there are signs that the education system in Somalia is in

a critical state. Without doubt the situation is at its most serious in the rural areas. The first priority should of course be to direct additional resources to those areas. However it should also be remembered that there are substantial inequalities of access to education within Mogadishu. In a situation where resources for the development of education are scarce we would strongly recommend that resources available for distribution within the city be focused on two types of priority areas:

1. The districts of Kaaraan and Yaqshiid, which have few schools and very low enrolment rates, compared to the rest of the city.
2. Primary schools immediately adjacent to *obbosibo* areas in all other districts of the city.

Furthermore, as recommended in Section 3.5, it is essential that steps be taken to assess the impact of the introduction of school fees on the poorest communities in the city.

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Chapter 13: IDENTIFYING DISADVANTAGED AREAS AND GROUPS IN MOGADISHU: AN OVERVIEW

1. INTRODUCTION

In the next two chapters, two of the poorest areas we surveyed in Mogadishu will be described. These are Beesha Shukri, a two year old squatter resettlement area in Kaaraan; and Heegan obbosibo, a twenty-five year old squatter settlement in Yaqshiid. The two chapters which then follow look at the situation of two groups which can easily be overlooked by only focusing on the residential areas of the city: children on the streets and in institutions, and beggars.

Before describing these areas and groups it is appropriate at this stage to make a number of comments about the nature of stratification in Mogadishu and the implications for the planning of development programmes and projects.

Mogadishu has a dual character. On the surface it does not appear to be a very visibly stratified city. In many of the districts of Mogadishu it is possible to find rich households living next to poor households. Even when the different districts are compared there are not radical differences between them in standards of housing and public amenities, as may be found with the suburbs of Nairobi for example. Even within some of the districts with the best quality housing (Wadajir, Hodon, Cabdulcasiis) there can also be found areas of very poor quality housing.

However there are significant exceptions. Throughout the city, as mentioned in Chapter 5, there are obbosibo areas which can be visibly distinguished from the surrounding areas of legal settlement, both by the pattern of settlement (unplanned) and the poorer quality of housing (non-sar). Based on our own survey results we would suggest that these areas, as a whole, are populated by households which are poorer than households in the legally settled areas. Since these obbosibo areas are visibly demarcated they are appropriate places in which to locate area-based development programmes.

The problem remains however that, as pointed out in Chapter 5, these areas do not account for more than 15% of the city's population. A large proportion of the city's poor households must therefore be living in the legal areas of settlement. Identifying these households is a more difficult task since many of the legally settled areas appear so heterogeneous.

This task can be separated into two stages: firstly, by identifying priority districts and secondly, by identifying households within those districts.

2. IDENTIFYING DISADVANTAGED DISTRICTS

This may be necessary in order to identify which districts should be given priority in the delivery of new or improved services. There are two ways in which this can be done. One is to identify districts where the largest proportions of all the city's poor households are located. Combining both the population and housing type frequency data given in Chapters 4 and 6 gives the ranking shown below:

Table 13.1: Distribution of households in poor quality housing in Mogadishu

District	Proportion of all households in Mogadishu living in second class housing*
Kaaraan	26.2 % **
Wadajir	18.1 %
Yaqshiid	17.1 %
Wardhigley	12.2 %
Hawl Wadag	6.3 %
Waaberi	5.8 %
Xamar Jab Jab	4.4 %
Boondheere	3.4 %
Hodon	3.2 %
Shibis	1.7 %
Cabdulcasiis	1.6 %
Xamar Weyne	0.0 %#
Shangani	0.0 %#
	100.0 %

* Defined as other than sar.

** likely to be an over estimate: see note on page 157

Obviously this housing-based definition excludes the poor households that do exist in these two small districts.

The largest number of poor households, according to this analysis, are to be found in the largest and most peripheral districts in the city.

Alternatively, it is possible to identify districts which have the largest proportion of their own population living in poor households. This can be done simply by looking at the incidence of second class housing within each district. Analysed in this way the districts can be ranked as shown in Table 13.2.

The most noticeable difference between the two approaches to identifying districts of concern is the relative change in rank positions of two districts: Cabdulcasiis and Xamar Jab Jab (in Tables 13.1 and 13.2). Both are small districts near the centre of the city. While they contain only a small fraction of the city's population as a whole, a large proportion of their populations are living in second class housing in areas which are still considered as obbosibo areas. Those sections of these districts are the nearest to what might be called slum areas in other cities.

Table 13.2: Concentration of poor quality housing in each district

District	Waab,Aqal	Jiingad,Cariish,Baraako	Sar	
Kaaraan	31. %	60. %	9. %	100 %
Cabdulcasiis	--	69. %	31. %	"
Yaqshiid	0.5%	66.5%	33. %	"
Wardhigley	--	65. %	35. %	"
Xamar Jab Jab	--	63. %	37. %	"
Wadajir	--	60. %	40. %	"
Waaberi	--	50. %	50. %	"
Boondheere	--	47. %	53. %	"
Hawl Wadag	--	43. %	57. %	"
Shibis	--	29. %	71. %	"
Hodon	--	20. %	80. %	"
Shangani	--	--	100. %	"
Xamar Weyne	--	--	100. %	"
N = 7,671				

The same reservations apply to these data as those stated in Chapter 6⁶⁸.

3. IDENTIFYING DISADVANTAGED HOUSEHOLDS

We recognise that using house type alone is a crude basis on which to discriminate the poor areas of the city. However, at present, there are no other data available on a district level of analysis which are of comparable use.

When it becomes possible to gather data about the characteristics of individual households, it is possible to identify disadvantaged households in a more refined way.

However, the first point which should be made is that poverty and disadvantage are not a medical condition with a set of symptoms that occur in a predictable sequence. Not only can people be disadvantaged in many ways, as described by Chamber's "clusters of disadvantage", but they can and do experience disadvantage in many different combinations. Surveys can measure the incidence of different forms of disadvantage, for example, female illiteracy, but no computer can analyse the full set of measures chosen in such a way that many individuals' conditions of life can

⁶⁸ The total number of households surveyed was equal to a 10% sample in most of the districts and so is a reasonable indication of the situation in the districts as a whole. The proportions which are probably less reliable are those for Kaaraan, and Cabdulcasiis (which was based on a one tabeela sample). It seems likely from direct observation of Kaaraan that substantially more than 9% of the district's population would be living in sarro. Nevertheless, we would feel that it is still true that the proportion of households living in sarro in Kaaraan is lower than any other district. Similarly in Cabdulcasiis, despite the single tabeela sample, the proportion found seems representative of the area, judging by direct observation. Despite the wealthy exterior, there are a substantial number of people living, not so visibly, in second class housing in the central part of the district.

then be ranked unambiguously. In the end, the assessment of the relative significance of an individual's total situation remains a human and subjective process.

Bearing this reservation in mind, we have nevertheless attempted to develop a systematic approach to identifying the most disadvantaged households from within any group that is identified in Mogadishu. The specific point of this exercise was to assist in the selection of participants for programmes aimed at the most disadvantaged.

At this stage this approach has only been used so far in the setting up of a skills training programme for women, being established by the Municipality of Mogadishu and Concern Ireland, in Damme Yassin laanta in Wadajir.

In this programme the first step in the selection process was taken by the district officials of the area. They selected 100 women who were within a specified age range and who they considered were "poor" and were interested in the programme as it had been briefly explained to them. The next step was taken by the programme staff. Each woman was interviewed according to a set format, using a questionnaire adapted from that used for the household surveys in this study. Two programme staff took part in this interview, and immediately following the interview they assessed the situation of the woman in the light of the answers given. The interviews of all the women in the group proceeded over a period of 10 days, during which time there were meetings with additional staff, to review all the selection decisions that had been made to date. The aim was to reduce the subjectivity of the judgement process by making the process a collective one, based on a common set of data.

The total number to be selected for the programme was 50. Since it was likely that some women might not eventually participate, members of a waiting list were also selected.

The indicators of disadvantage which we developed and which were used in this selection process were:

1. For households in legal and non-legal areas

- 1 The interviewer's own judgement as reported at the end of the questionnaire that the household was a "very poor family".
- 2 They used wood as their main cooking fuel.
- 3 They normally cooked two or fewer meals a day.
- 4 All food was purchased on a daily basis and their average food expenditure per head per day was lower than the average found in Waaberi and lower than the average in the group being interviewed.
- 5 There were 4 or more people per room in the house.
- 6 The household did not have access to piped water in the house or compound in which they lived.
- 7 There was a large ratio of children to working adults.
- 8 None of the children eligible to attend primary school was attending.
- 9 There were children below the age of 15 years working.
- 10 Women were working:

- as labourers;
 - as traders of items of small value and in small volumes, on the ground, or on a portable stand;
 - as matmakers or food producers in their own homes.
- 11 If there were government employees in household they were cleaners or watchmen/women, or in similar positions.
- 12 If there were private sector workers, they were not skilled workers or traders with premises (drivers were included as skilled workers).
- 13 The head of the household was illiterate in Somali.
- 14 All adult women in the household were illiterate.
- 15 The household was receiving support from neighbours.
- 16 The household was not receiving support from overseas or from other people in Mogadishu.

2. For households living in legal areas of settlement (or very old obbosibo areas)

- 17 They shared the house/compound with other households.
- 18 The house was not a sar.
- 19 They rented the room(s) they lived in.

3. In combination with the above characteristics (part 1 and 2), also:

- 20 The household head had either been born in Mogadishu or had lived in Mogadishu for many years (10 years or longer).
- 21 There were disabled adults in the household.
- 22 There were disabled children in the family.

Problems of reliability

These indicators of course gave data of varying reliability. For example, we felt that food expenditure information was substantially understated, certainly more so than in our surveys in 1986 when respondents saw no likelihood of any immediate benefits resulting from the survey. Similarly answers indicating that no support was received from kin in Mogadishu or overseas also seemed to be more common than expected.

The indicators which seemed to be the most reliable were those relating to the educational status of children and adults, and housing conditions.

Indicators relating to the employment status of women and children in particular have potential problems of reliability if the interview process is not carried out with care. Casual work is frequently dismissed as not being real work worth reporting, especially that of children. So is any type of work bringing in the least income. It frequently seems to be that people feel they will be seen as in greater need if they say they have no work at all, even though in reality that is an option the poorest can

often not afford. It is participation the very marginal occupations that is often the greatest indicator of a household that is in real need.

Additional indicators

Rhoda Maxamuud Ibrahim and Canab Saciid Cusmaan of the Women's Development Unit of Oxfam have suggested two additional indicators which would appear to be very useful.

1. The parents in the household have some of their children being looked after by other relatives in the city. This is often the case with poorer families.
2. The mother of the children in the household may be the first wife of a polygamous marriage. The first wife in such circumstances is often the one least favoured by the husband, materially as well as emotionally. The first wife is normally likely to be less affluent than the average wife of a monogamous marriage.

In addition we have of course not mentioned so far the use of nutrition surveys which are also obviously a means of identifying malnourished children and by extension, in most cases, low income households.

4. IDENTIFYING OTHER DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

In any household survey there are some groups which are likely to be either missed or ignored.

1. The first of these will be the homeless. In this group we would include all those living in institutions and those living on the streets. As a whole, we would consider those living in institutions to be more disadvantaged than those living in the poorest areas of the city. In this category are those who are mentally ill, orphaned and abandoned children, and those adolescents and adults in detention centres and gaols. Not only are their physical standards of living low but, more importantly, they are evidently isolated from the normal support networks that enable people to survive in the city. In many cases, if they still had the support of these networks they would not still be in such places.

Those living and sleeping on the streets - adult beggars and street children - suffer the same isolation from normal neighbourhood and kinship support networks. Their relative advantage is that they have more individual freedom.

Both groups also suffer from another form of isolation: isolation from social acceptance. This is so pervasive that even the vast majority of relief and development agencies shy away from working with such groups. Justifications such as "it is easier to achieve a broader impact working with other groups" continually lead such organisations into situations where they are working with the powerful rather than the powerless.

2. Less easy to identify are those people who are not homeless but are also very likely to be isolated from social acceptance, and to that extent from the support often available through kin and neighbourhood networks. In this category we are including:
 - prostitutes and their children
 - beggars (not living on the streets) and their children
 - adults with Tb and their children

- low status cultural groups

As well as being socially isolated, many of those in these groups are likely to be impoverished as well.

It is these groups on which we have gathered the least information in the course of our work⁶⁹. By nature, it is these groups whose circumstances are the most difficult to document. They are not necessarily concentrated residentially, nor are they often willing to disclose their identity. The identification of such groups is probably best done within the context of the daily operation of area-based development programmes, or programmes that were targeted towards other groups, be they on the street or in institutions, who were more socially acceptable. To do so would require a specific intention and approach.

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⁶⁹ At the same time street children held in the Militia Centre were interviewed we also interviewed 30 prostitutes. The data from those interviews have been retained but there has been insufficient time to include an analysis of those data within this report.

Chapter 14: BEESHA SHUKRI: A TWO YEAR OLD SQUATTER RESETTLEMENT AREA

1. THE LOCATION

Beesha Shukri is the official name for a squatter resettlement area located on the outer edge of Kaaraan District. The name means "the place of Shukri", a local government official who was a central figure at the time the area was established. The unofficial name, seen on the buses that go that way, is Beesha Gubadley, meaning "the burning place". The settlement is located about 5 kilometres north-east along the coast from the District Office of Kaaraan and about 4 kilometres from the nearest tarmac road. (See Fig. 1.1.)

The area which has been settled was originally sand hills covered in some areas with a small amount of grass and scrub. Some areas of the sand hills had been eroded away by wind, leaving grass-covered hillocks standing 20 to 50 feet above the rest of the landscape. The whole area is devoid of trees and in that way is very different from the rest of Mogadishu.

2. HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT

The area was officially made open to settlement on March 25th 1984. The people who came to settle immediately after that date fall into two groups. Firstly there were those already living in *obbosibo* settlements in other parts of Mogadishu. These included: Waxara Cadde and the area of land opposite the Pasta Factory on Jidka 21ka Oktoobar; the area behind Digfer Hospital; and the edge of Wadajir District. The people who had been living in these areas had been told by the Municipality to relocate to a new area of the city that was to be made available to them, now known as Beesha Shukri.

One of those who moved from the *obbosibo* in Waxara Cadde was Dhool, a divorced woman with three children: came to Mogadishu from Jowhar in 1958 when she was ten years old. When she first arrived she stayed with her aunt, with whom she lived until she married, at the age of 23. After having one child she was divorced. Over the next few years she married twice again and had two more children. During that time she lived in Hodon and Hawl Wadag districts. When her last husband divorced her she could not find enough money to rent a house so she moved to the *obbosibo* at Waxara Cade. In 1984 the whole *obbosibo* was relocated to Beesha Shukri. Dhool and her youngest daughter, aged 3, now live in one *aqal somaali* in Beesha Shukri. The *aqal* they live in was built by Dhool, using materials which cost 1,200/- at the time she moved from Waxara Cade. Dhool earns money by selling vegetables and fruit in the Beesha Shukri market each day. Her eldest daughter, aged 13, works as an *adeegto* in Mogadishu. She receives only food and clothing as her wages. Her one son, aged 14, is in the Militia. Dhool placed him there because she could not afford to provide his food and clothes. The second group of people were those who were already living in the legal areas of Mogadishu, and who applied to the authorities in Beesha Shukri for land. Many of these people were renting accommodation in Mogadishu and were looking for cheaper accommodation or a way of acquiring land which they could otherwise not afford to buy. Some of those people moved out to live on the land they acquired, others who could afford to, stayed in the city. One of those who was renting a room in the city but who decided to move to Beesha Shukri was Raage, a married man with seven children: Raage was born in 1942 near Garowe, the capital of Nugal region. Before he came to Mogadishu he was working in Belet Weyne as a policeman. In 1976 he was transferred to Mogadishu. At that time he and his wife had only two children. They settled in a single-roomed *cariish* which they rented in a legally settled area of Hawl Wadag District.

They lived in that house for almost ten years. But in September 1985 they moved into Beesha Shukri because of the difficulties they were having in paying the monthly rent, which at that time was three hundred shillings per month. Raage and his wife now have seven children, the youngest of which is eight months old. They are all living in a one room *jiingad* which they built with money they obtained from their relatives. Raage is still working as a policeman, and his wife works at home looking after their children. One of those who was renting a room in the city and who did not move to Beesha Shukri, although he had obtained land there was Muuse Ibrahim: Muuse, a 25 year old single man, was living Hawl Wadag when Beesha Shukri was established in 1985. There he was renting a room for himself in a *sar* which had both water and electricity. Although he was earning a monthly income of 6,000/- he felt he could not afford, on his own, to buy land anywhere. So on hearing of the land being made available in Beesha Shukri, he went there and was able to secure a plot 13 metres by 13 metres on the edge of the settlement, some months after the area was opened up. He has not moved there to live because he can afford to rent a room in the city. At this stage he has not even built a *waab* on the land, although he is aware that there is a risk that the authorities may take the land back or give it to someone else if he leaves it that way. He has however made an arrangement with some people living there to watch the land for him, but he has not seen them for some time. Another group of people who came to the area later on were those who could afford to buy land from others who had already obtained land in Beesha Shukri. From the beginning of the settlement the Municipality established a special committee in Beesha Shukri whose task it was to authorise the allocation of land in the area. Theoretically, all owners of land in Beesha Shukri should have been registered by this authority. In practice however this is not the case. A number of people have taken up land in the area without official authority. How many of the present occupants of Beesha Shukri are now in this category we can not say.

3. DEMOGRAPHY

3.1 Population estimates

Realistic population estimates of the area are not easy to make. In some areas perhaps as many as 2 in 3 structures are evidently unoccupied, and in many cases dilapidated and falling down. In the more central areas there are fewer unoccupied dwellings and the settlement is denser. All the roads there are completely irregular in layout and no map exists of the area. Aerial photographs of the city are not recent enough to include the area.

Population estimates for Beesha Shukri vary. Some officials have estimated that there are 5,000 households living there. A household count done in mid-1986 came up with a figure of approximately 3,700 households. Since we found the median household size in our sample was 5.4 this latter figure would suggest that there may be approximately 20,000 people in the area. Since we have estimated the area of the settlement to be approximately 115 hectares this would be equivalent to about 32 households per hectare.

3.2 The composition of the population

The vast majority of household heads living in Beesha Shukri have migrated to Mogadishu during their lifetime. Only 10% percent were born in Mogadishu, compared to 38% in Waaberi, the control area.

While Beesha Shukri has not been settled by people who have come directly from the rural areas many of the people who have settled there have migrated to Mogadishu relatively recently. Of all those living there who have migrated to Mogadishu, 24% have been here for 5 years or less. This

compares to 8% in Waaberi.

Of all those household heads who have migrated to Mogadishu and who are now living in Beesha Shukri, over a quarter were from Galgaduud region (26%). This is twice their proportion in the city as a whole and four times their proportion (as a region) of the country's population. The other significant sources of migrants to this area were Shabelle Dhexe and Shabelle Hoose, with 12.5% and 17.2% respectively and Mudug, with 13.5%. However, these proportions are not substantially different to those found in the city as a whole, although in the case of Mudug migrants they are far in excess of their proportion of the whole country's population (6.6%).

In comparison to Waaberi and to the city as a whole the population of Beesha Shukri is dominated by young people. In the households we surveyed, 53% of the people were aged 14 or younger. This compares to 40% in Waaberi, and 46% for Mogadishu as a whole, as found in the 1982 Labour Force Survey.

Female-headed households made up 21% of the households that we surveyed. Although this figure is higher than what was found in Waaberi, it is not the highest amongst the *obbosibo* areas that we covered. It is almost the same as that found in the 1980 MNP Survey of the Urban Poor (20%) which was carried out in poor housing areas of three districts in Mogadishu.

Of all the female-headed households 16% were headed by divorced or widowed women and the rest (4%) were married with absent husbands. This is no different to what was found in Waaberi.

4. HOUSING

The quality of housing in Beesha Shukri is uniformly poor. In the whole area there are no permanent buildings made of coral stone or cement block. Even the office of the Xaafadda only occupies a two room *jingad*, which was built by the people organising the immunisation campaign in 1985. Almost all the households are living in either *waabab* (30%), *aqallo* (28%) or *jingado* (33%) with just a few living in *carshaan* or *baraakooyin*.

Almost all of these dwellings are single roomed (86%). The number of people per room is high by Mogadishu standards. Half the households surveyed had five or more people per room. In contrast to the rest of Mogadishu, almost all the houses are occupied by a single household (90%) and everyone interviewed said they owned the house they live in. It may actually be the case that a significant number of these people are really caretakers for relatives who originally claimed the land in 1985. However we saw no evidence of any of the houses being rented, unlike the older squatter areas closer to the city.

Overall, the area looks similar to a refugee camp but not as densely settled. There is a market in the centre of the area, but it is not a prosperous one by comparison with other markets in Mogadishu. The market shows signs of having had more occupants in the past. Nevertheless there is a separate market selling building materials which is still in operation, suggesting that a number of people are deciding to invest in the area rather than leave.

5. HOUSEHOLD FOOD EXPENDITURE LEVELS

At the time of our survey in August 1986 we found that the median daily expenditure per head on food was 33/- and the average per household was 150/-. Household food expenditure was distributed as follows:

At the time of the survey, in August 1986, 33/- would buy 1.6 kilograms of maize, 1.1 kg. of rice or 0.66 kilogram of pasta in the local market. In terms of a calorie defined poverty level it would seem on the basis of the reported food expenditure levels that between 37% and 47% of the households in the area could be "in poverty" (See Chapter 9). However the reservations already made about this figure in Chapter 9 need to be restated. The food expenditure figure does not include food provided by animals owned by the household nor would it include gifts of food from neighbours or relatives. Furthermore, since the prices of basic food staples can vary greatly, according to the season and according to the volumes being imported the proportion of households in poverty in Beesha Shukri could vary substantially from month to month. Finally, we do not know to what extent the support networks that people in this area have, would cushion the impact of the sudden price rises associated with temporary food shortages in the city.

Recommendation

The information on per capita food expenditure levels in Beesha Shukri suggests that people in this area of Mogadishu would be amongst those most likely to be suffering from malnutrition in the city as a whole. Because of the actual levels measured, and because of the area's relative status on this measure, we would strongly suggest that nutritional surveillance should be carried out first in this area of the city, and only later in other areas of the city.

In addition we would recommend that such a survey be followed up by a trial attempt to establish maize banks for the most malnourished families. (See Chapter 9.)

6. WATER SUPPLY AND USAGE

There is no piped water in Beesha Shukri. There are two sources of water. One is the numerous *berkado* which are scattered around the settlement. These are small tanks, a metre high, built from cement blocks and cement render and covered with corrugated iron. There were 123 in the area in November 1986. The owners of these structures buy their water from private tankers which bring water from the city. Water from these sources seems to cost 1/- for 2 to 4 litres. While we did not ask all households their daily water consumption we found people in a small sample of households were consuming from 2 to 8 litres per head per day! This seems very low and certainly much lower than the optimum recommended by WHO which is 20 to 25 litres per head per day. Furthermore, much of the water from the *berkado* is likely to be polluted. As we already pointed out in Chapter 11, tests done in 1985 found a third of the *berkado* sampled in Beesha Shukri had bacteriological contamination. The water originally comes from the city's mains water supply network, so should be pure at its source. The most likely reason for the contamination is the use of buckets to lift the water out of the *berkado*, and the failure to clean the *berkado* out at regular intervals. In addition to the problem of pollution it appears that actual scarcity of water is also a problem. This situation occurs when there is a shortage of diesel in Mogadishu and as a result fewer trucks are able or willing to bring water to Beesha Shukri.

The other main source of water in Beesha Shukri is the wells, of which there are 5. There is one other well which has been spoiled by salt water intrusion, and is only used by animals, and for washing purposes. All the wells are hand dug, open mouth wells. The water from these wells is cheaper than from the *berkado*. 1/- will buy 5 to 20 litres of water. Their present number is totally insufficient for the water needs of the people in the settlement. This is the reason for the proliferation of *berkado*.

Recommendation

Improvement to the water supply in Beesha Shukri should be regarded as a top priority. The widespread use of polluted water from the *berkado* represents a major health risk, especially in an area with such a concentration of people. Placing taps on the *berkado* is not feasible since the majority are dug into the ground. If additional wells can be constructed which avoid the problem of salt water intrusion, then these would be preferable to the proliferation of *berkado*, where water quality control is more difficult. This would mean cheaper water to the people living in Beesha Shukri but would have one disadvantage: they would not be as easily accessible to some people as the *berkado* are now. Before any action is taken both technical advice and consultation with present users and suppliers would be needed.

Often with such projects foreign agencies giving assistance to such a community would expect some form of matching contribution, at least in the form of labour, by the community who were to benefit. In this situation where the existing water supply is not only the poorest but also the most expensive in Mogadishu it could be said that the community have already been paying more than enough for the water they have been using, certainly more than those households with water piped to their houses in the centre of Mogadishu. Asking them to make further contributions seems difficult to justify. Employing local people to do the work would be more appropriate.

7. FUEL

Almost 44% of all the households we interviewed used wood only as their cooking fuel. This was the highest proportion that we found in any of the areas we surveyed in Mogadishu. This wood is all purchased in the local market. The surrounding countryside has long since been scoured of burnable vegetation. We found, amongst a small sample of households that fuel costs for households were ranging between 5/- and 20/- a day for cooking fuel. Kerosene for lighting cost another 5/- to 10/- a day.

Recommendation

As already mentioned in Chapter 9, the introduction of fuel-efficient wood burning stoves into this area of Mogadishu would potentially benefit a large number of households. These have been developed within the country and tried and tested in other areas. An initial trial with a small number of households on a free demonstration basis would be a useful first step. Initiating their manufacture and sale by local people on a commercial basis would be the next.

We realise that such a move will not improve incomes, except for those who may be either making or selling the stoves. Such a move will only enable a substantial number of households to gain a small amount of extra value out of their existing incomes. Nevertheless it is a step that should at least be discussed with households in the area, to gauge their interest.

8. EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

In Beesha Shukri we found two contrasting features in the figures concerning unemployment and employment. On the one hand the number of households without any work in the previous week was 10%, somewhat more than the 6% found in Waaberi. Similarly, the proportion of all men and women who were reported to be looking for work in the previous week was 14% and 16% respectively, again slightly more than the 11% and 11.5% found for men and women in Waaberi.

However, the proportions of all men and women, who were working, were greater than those found in Waaberi:

Table 14.2: Employment rates in Beesha Shukri and Waaberi

	N	Females working*	Males working*	Combined
Waaberi	324	23 %	60 %	41 %
Beesha Shukri	274	32 % §	71 %	50 %

* % of all adult females and males respectively

§ It should be noted that although women in Beesha Shukri make up only 31% of all those doing paid work (male and female) compared to 69% of men, there are in fact an equal number of women and men looking for work (see Chapter 8).

As we have previously emphasised individual employment or unemployment only makes sense when considered in the context of the households to which those people belong. A significant household-oriented measure is the number of people dependent on each working person. While there were more adults working in Beesha Shukri than in Waaberi, there were also more people under the age of 15 years who were dependent on adults. The net effect was that the number of dependents per income earner in Beesha Shukri was actually the *same* as it was in Waaberi. Nevertheless the actual food expenditure per head in Beesha Shukri was substantially less than in Waaberi (33/- compared to 50/-). Therefore, except for those 10% of households without any employment at all, the problem in Beesha Shukri cannot be simply one of not *enough* employment.

There are two likely reasons for Beesha Shukri's poverty. One is that the particular type of employment that is available to people in Beesha Shukri is much less remunerative than that available in Waaberi. The other is that households there receive much less *kaalmo* (support) from others than is the case in Waaberi and elsewhere. We will look at the evidence for each of these in turn.

6.1. Types of Employment in Beesha Shukri

The main occupations by which people were earning income in Beesha Shukri in August 1986 were as follows:

Table 14.3: Distribution of occupations in Beesha Shukri

1. Labourers

Labourers - in the stone quarries	13.7 %	
Labourers - on building sites	3.2 %	
Labourers - at the port	1.2 %	
Labourers - unspecified	8.6 %	<u>sub-total</u> 26.7 %

2. Government workers

Soldiers, police and militia	5.4 %	
Teachers, nurses, doctors	2.1 %	
Undefined government workers	4.3 %	<u>sub-total</u> 11.8 %

(but in total = 21.5 %)
see below*)

3. Small scale traders in the local market and neighbourhood

Fruit and vegetable sellers	3.6 %	
Grain and beans sellers	2.9 %	
Milk sellers	2.2 %	
Meat sellers	1.4 %	
Oil sellers	<1. %	
Water sellers	<1. %	
Charcoal sellers	<1. %	
Wood sellers	<1. %	
Bag sellers	<1. %	
Bread sellers	<1. %	
Spice/salt/incense sellers	<1. %	
Sweet sellers	<1. %	<u>Sub-total</u> 15.2 %

4. Small scale artisans/craft workers

Mat,fan and basket makers	9.4 %	
Gumbar makers	<1. %	
Mattress makers	<1. %	<u>Sub-total</u> 10.1 %

5. Skilled workers (*farsame yaqaano*)

Masons	5.8 %	
Carpenters	1.8 %	
Painters	1.1 %	
Plumbers	<1. %	
Metal workers	<1. %	
Wheelbarrow makers	<1. %	
Bed makers	<1. %	<u>Sub-total</u> 9.7 %

6. Transport workers

Drivers	4.7 %	
Garage workers	2.5 %	
Mechanics	<1. %	
Donkey cart workers	<1. %	
Kirishboys/lacag qaade *	<1. %	
Vehicle brokers	<1. %	<u>Sub-total</u> 9.7 %
7. <u>Koranic teachers and waddaddo</u>		5.1 %
8. <u>Traders with premises</u>		3.6 %
9. <u>Domestic servants</u>		3.2 %
10. <u>Others</u>		
Hotel and tea shop workers	2.2 %	
Farmers and animal keepers	1.1 %	
Home-based food processors	<1. %	
Other services	<1. %	
		<u>Total</u> 100.0 %

* Note: 11.03% of the 21.5% of workers employed by the government were included in groups 1, 3-10, for example drivers, hotel workers, carpenters, and other services.

There are three points to note about the occupations of people in Beesha Shukri. Firstly, there were fewer people employed by the government there than in any other area we surveyed, except Yaqshiid. The number of government workers in Beesha Shukri was only 56% of the number found in Waaberi (22% compared to 39%). Although government workers may be, by official salary, the poorest paid, they do not seem to be crowded into the poorest areas of the city.

Secondly, there are significantly fewer skilled workers (carpenters, mechanics, painters, plumbers, electricians, furniture makers, tailors) in Beesha Shukri than in Waaberi (10% compared to 16%).

Thirdly, labouring work of different kinds is clearly a major source of employment in Beesha Shukri (27% compared to 6% in Waaberi). Almost half those reported to be doing labouring work were working as labourers in the stone quarries along the coast, in Kaaraan District. In the hottest months of the year the work available in these quarries must be amongst the hardest in Mogadishu. The one compensation is that it is regular. It is not subject to seasonal lulls as is the work in the lime kilns or at the port, or to substantial variations in consumer demand.

6.1.1 The Quarry Workers

Because of the significance of the quarries as a source of employment in Beesha Shukri we gathered some information about the quarries and those who are working in them.

The situation of Mooge, a quarry worker, is typical of many people in Beesha Shukri dependent on income from the quarries.

Mooge was born in Mudug region in 1940. Before he came to Mogadishu he was working as

a labourer with a water supply project in Balcad. In 1982 the project was terminated so he came to Mogadishu with his wife and children, to look for work. At first they rented a *jiingad* in Xamar Jedid, Wardhigley. Then in April 1985 he and his family moved to Beesha Shukri because he wanted to "get rid of the trouble of paying rent every month" and also to get some land where in the future he could build a good house for his family. When they came to Beesha Shukri they built an *aqal*, at a cost of 3,000/-, in which they now live. Mooge and his wife have three children, aged 8, 6 and 1.

Mooge's wife cooks two or three times a day using fire wood and, according to Mooge, spends about 50/- a day on food. This is very low, even by Beesha Shukri standards (and may well be an understatement). The main types of food which they eat are maize and beans with oil, and tea. The only type of meat which they buy is small quantities (1/4 kilo) of camel or cattle meat for making soup once or twice a week. On the day before the interview they had maize with oil and tea as their major meal in the evening and *canjeero* for breakfast. The youngest child also is given milk. All their food is bought on a daily basis. Only Mooge eats away from the house. He sometimes eats at the small restaurants set up under the trees near the stone quarries.

His household uses 36 litres (at 9/- total) of water per day on average. The water is brought, most often by the children, from a private well 250 metres away.

Mooge works as a labourer in the stone quarries nearby. He says the money he earns there does not cover his household's food expenses, even though he works 9 hours a day from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. He knows how to do steel fixing but he prefers to work as a stone labourer because it is more regular work and that is what he needs to support his family.

He often asks his relatives and friends in Mogadishu for support. They give support to him both in cash and kind (more often). Sometimes he fails to get this support so then he resorts to borrowing money to cover the costs his wage will not cover. He says he takes loans at least twice a month, usually from his neighbours and co-workers.

Although the household has no animals in Mogadishu he does own some sheep, goats and camels in the countryside. These are looked after by relatives (normally in these cases the income in milk goes to those people, while the benefits in increased stock numbers accrue to the owner). His relatives visit him one or twice a year, but he does not go to visit them.

In the last six months Mooge's wife visited the MCH at Yaqshiid, Banaadir Hospital and a private clinic. But when she gave birth to her last child she used the local TBA. That child has since been fully immunised. The pharmacy is the place Mooge most often goes for help with health problems. Last month he bought drugs from there at a cost of 450/-.

The eldest two sons, aged 6 and 8, go to Koranic school, at a cost of 90/- each a month. He says he would like to send them to government school but cannot because of the costs of buying uniforms, transport to school, contributions towards school repairs and welfare, and the costs of the documents necessary. Both he and his wife have had no formal education, but he did go to Koranic school when he was young.

Mooge's view is that while the main advantage of living in Beesha Shukri is not having to pay rent, the main problems of living there are that water is scarce and there are no schools.

In the future he would like to become a mason so he can increase his income. He has also

thought of becoming a petty trader selling things from a wheelbarrow, but he does not have the capital necessary to get started. His wife would like to get training to be a tailor. Mooge would also like to be able to increase the number of animals he owns in Mudug. In the future if he gets sufficient money from his work in Mogadishu he would like to go back to live in his home area.

Mooge's situation is representative of many quarry labourers. The quarries that Mooge works in have been in operation in Mogadishu throughout this century. Although cement blocks are now widely used for construction purposes coral rock is still in strong demand as a building material, even though it is more expensive (it is more durable). The quarries are all located along the coast, to the south and north of the city, especially in and beyond Kaaraan District.

None of the quarries is privately owned. Approximately 60% to 70% are owned by the Banaadir Stone Cooperative (Iskaashatada Dhagaxa ee Banaadir). The rest are owned by at least 6 different branches of the government, including the Army, the Police, the National Security Service, and the Militia.

We visited one quarry belonging to the Banaadir Stone Cooperative in Kaaraan District, three kilometers from the edge of the city and a kilometre from Beesha Shukri. The quarry consists of a cliff face perhaps 300 metres long and 20 meters deep, cut into the landscape less than half a kilometre from the coast. Opposite the cliff face which is being worked are large hills of sand and dust, the piled-up refuse from the quarrying operation. The whole area is very dusty and very bright, because of the high reflectivity of the white rock, sand and dust in the quarry.

In the quarry the work is broken down into different tasks which are managed by different groups of workers, mainly men. There are those who cut the stone from the face of the quarry and then break it into sizes usable for building construction. These people are members of the Cooperative. There are those who load the large stones onto the trucks which take the stone away. Some other men sort out the usable smaller material which is sold to the lime kilns. Yet others sift the remains so the gravel can be sold for use in concrete construction work. The sand and dust that remains is carried in baskets by women to the tops of the large hills of waste which are built up in the rear of the area which has already been excavated. Women also seem to be employed carrying water into the quarry from a source outside. Also just outside the quarry are a number of teashops selling tea and cheap food to those working in the quarry.

In the quarry we visited we estimated that there were perhaps 100 to 150 people working there. It is not clear how many of these were Cooperative members but we would estimate that there are at least two subcontracted workers to every working member. Approximately 20% of the people working in the quarry were women.

We have also talked to the Chairman of the Cooperative, Abdi Farah, who provided the following information:

The Cooperative has 670 members, almost all of whom work in the quarries in Kaaraan District. Only 43 work in the quarries south of Wadajir. The Cooperative controls 13 quarries in Kaaraan and 6 at Ceel Cadde, south east of the city. There are no female members of the Cooperative.

The maximum amount of stone a member (and sub-contracted assistants?) is usually able to cut and load in a day is one truck load (6 tons). The minimum is one load every three days. Trucks coming to the quarries for stone purchase the stone for 500/- a load. According to

another Cooperative member approximately 95 to 115 truckloads of stone are taken from the Cooperative quarries each day. The trucks that remove stone from the quarries are organised into a separate Cooperative. According to other sources a truckload of stone from the quarries is said to be sold in the city for approximately 3,000/-. The trucks which purchase loads of stone from the quarry sites have to pay the following extra charges:

- 120/- per load to the Stone Cooperative,
- 40/- per load to the District and Municipal authorities,

In return the members of the Stone Cooperative receive the following benefits :

- Use of a vehicle to be transported to hospital if injured at work
- Payment of the costs of medical treatment
- An allowance of 300/- per month while receiving treatment
- If crippled by an injury, a payment of 300/- per month for the rest of the person's life
- If killed in an accident, the wife and children will get 300/- per month
- The building of water tanks in the quarries which are kept filled with water
- The right to purchase dynamite which the Cooperative has purchased for the members for their use
- Protection from other people claiming access to use of the quarries.

Considering the likely daily income of the Cooperative as an organisation the benefits it provides to workers who are injured seem very modest indeed. It is not clear from our contact with the Cooperative if the subcontracted workers receive any health benefits at all.

If the quarry workers receive 500/- a load in total then the amount earned per day per person must be substantially less, since the labour of at least five different classes of workers is involved at any one location in the quarry. It may well be that the workers receive additional payments, above the 500/-, from the trucks coming to buy the stone. Because of this uncertainty it is difficult to make very informed estimates of how much each worker earns per day. However we would doubt if they exceeded 200/- per day, on average.

In the same interview with the Chairman of the Cooperative the following problems were expressed:

- Lack of tools. What the cooperative needed was a caterpillar, a loader, drills, and dynamite (sic).
- Lack of health facilities.

When we interviewed the workers in the quarries the main types of health problems they reported were:

- injuries from falling rocks as the stone was cut from the cliff
- cuts from flying pieces of metal coming off the spikes which are used to split the rocks
- eye problems from dynamite burns and from dust

Recommendations

1. It would seem appropriate for a form of primary health care to be developed within the quarries which would help the workers there cope with the occupational hazards of the work. The Cooperative has previously received assistance from the Somali Red Crescent who trained some of the workers in first aid but it seems that they have not maintained contact with those trainees

since then.

2. With our current knowledge of the situation in the quarries we would question whether heavy machinery would be the best way to improve the incomes of the majority of those who are working in the quarries. Nevertheless there may be a place for appropriate technical improvements. These should be investigated. One particular technical problem that was of concern at the time of our visit was the difficulty the Cooperative had in obtaining dynamite for use in the quarries. This was apparently because of official concern about its possible misuse. This is obviously not a problem any foreign organisation could assist with.
3. On a broader scale there is the problem of the income level of the workers in the quarries. This was not mentioned by the Cooperative officials but was expressed as a problem by Mooge. As we understand, the charges for loads of stone are set collectively by the members of the Cooperative. How they determine rates of pay for those working for them on a subcontracted basis is not clear. Because of the demand for work it is unlikely that those who are subcontracted have much bargaining power as far as their wage levels are concerned.

Since it would not be appropriate for any foreign organisations to be involved in wages negotiations, alternative forms of assistance would need to be considered. Within a locality-based development programme, in Beesha Shukri for example, skills training programmes could enable workers such as those in the quarries to find better-paying employment. Local knowledge of the community would be essential to ensure that those given that option were from the households most in need.

6.2 The significance of female employment

In Beesha Shukri we found that working women were distributed amongst the surveyed households as follows:

1. Households dependent on working men only:	54%
2. Households dependent on working men and women	21%
3. Households dependent on working women only	15%
4. Households with no working members	10%

Compared to Waaberi, there were 7% fewer households solely dependent on working men and 5% more households solely dependent on working women. The number of households with no working members was, as already mentioned, greater (by 4%) and there was essentially the same number of households dependent on both working men and women. Women were supporting, or helping to support, more than a third of all the households which had some employed members.

6.2.1 The mat makers

The second most common single economic activity in Beesha Shukri is mat making. Of all the households we interviewed 9% of the women reported earning income through weaving mats and fans. This was equivalent to 28% of all the women working for an income. We feel there were probably even more women who also carried out this activity but because their husbands, sons, or fathers had some kind of employment they felt it was not worth reporting (80% of the respondents were women). Certainly from walking around an area such as Beesha Shukri it seems as though many more than 9% of households have women in them who earn some income from this type of activity. Included in this category are those who also make brooms and baskets out of the same raw

materials.

We have not investigated this form of employment in as much detail as employment in the quarries, however it is clear from our own observations that many women throughout Mogadishu are earning income in this way.

The case of Maryam who lives in Beesha Shukri and who earns income by making mats is illustrative of the situation of a number of these women:

In 1980 Maryam came from Wardheer, on the Ethiopian side of the border, to Duusa Mareeb where she lived for three years. She and her husband had left the border area because of the fighting that was going on in that area. In Duusa Mareeb they heard that there was an *obbosibo* at Mogadishu, called Waxara Cade, where it was possible to settle. She and her husband decided to move to Mogadishu and settle there. When they arrived in Waxara Cade they built an *aqal* to live in. At that time neither Maryam or her husband were working, and life became more difficult for both of them. They often fought with each other and finally they divorced. Since then Maryam has borne the responsibility of looking after their five children (aged 2 to 15). Her husband has given her no support since.

In 1984 the government told all those who were living in the Waxara Cade *obbosibo* to move to Beesha Shukri. It was at that time Maryam moved to Beesha Shukri, where she has lived until now. She did not move any closer to the city because she did not have enough money to rent a room.

Maryam and her children now live in a one-room *jiingad* and an uncompleted *aqal*. The *jiingad* is owned by her sister, who lives in the city centre. Maryam owns the uncompleted *aqal*. She built the *aqal* by herself, at a cost of 200/-.

Maryam's main source of income now is weaving mats and fans. She borrows the palm leaf from the store which sells it in the Beesha Shukri market. When she has sold the items she has made she repays the money she owes to the shop. A quantity of leaves, called a *boqol xabbo* costs 70/-. From this she makes 3 mats and a few brooms and fans. She sells each mat for 200/-, the brooms for 10/- to 15/- and the fans for 10/- to 20/-. She makes a profit of 530/- per *boqol*. Since she can make 6 mats a month she can earn approximately 1,060/- a month from the mat (a daily income of 35/-, excluding income from fans and brooms). She sells all the mats she makes to women in the local market or to people who come to her house to buy them. She does not try to sell them in any other districts of Mogadishu.

Unlike many of the families living in Beesha Shukri, Maryam's family have no animals inside or outside Mogadishu which could provide them income in cash or in kind.

Maryam normally cooks two meals a day. She says she spends about 50/- a day on food (8/- per person). She buys all the food on a daily basis. Usually they eat maize with milk and sometimes *canjeero* (made of wheat flour). They rarely eat pasta or rice. Sometimes when they have no food they take a loan from the shopkeepers in food, or money to buy food and then repay it. She normally tries to get a loan when she has nearly finished making a mat. Three of her children go to eat at her sister's house in the city four times a month (on Fridays).

Maryam only uses wood for cooking, at a cost of 5/- a day. She brings the water they need from a well. She says they use 24 litres a day (excluding clothes washing water) at a cost of

6/-.

Maryam's family only use public transport twice a month. At other times the children walk into Mogadishu.

Three of her children are eligible to go to school but none of them goes. She says the reason is that the books and clothes cost too much. None of the children is going to koranic school either, although the two eldest children, age 15 and 12, went when they were younger.

Her children are healthy and well nourished, but she looks anaemic and has *cambar*, a skin disease. When asked why she did not go to a doctor she said she had no money to pay for medicine.

The main problem with Beesha Shukri according to Maryam, is that there are no educational facilities and no hospitals or clinics in the area. Also lack of water is a problem.

In the future she would like to be able to send her children to school. She would also like the older ones to become "handicrafts men" or mechanics.

The income Maryam is earning from making mats is reasonably representative of women who earn money this way. An ILO study of small manufacturing enterprises in Mogadishu carried out in 1987 (ILO 1987) included interviews of 8 women making mats, baskets and brooms. Their median daily income was 40/- a day. If Maryam makes a small number of brooms and fans in addition to the mats each month it is likely that her income would be similar. Nevertheless, it is clear that it is not sufficient by itself to meet the basic needs of her family. It is likely that she must also seek assistance from her neighbours and her relatives.

Recommendations

Amongst international development agencies there are at any one time certain views which are fashionable and others which are not. Assisting women to earn income through handicrafts is not so fashionable at present. However there are good reasons why a development agency should look seriously at mat and basket making as an economic activity in Beesha Shukri and elsewhere in Mogadishu. The main reason for doing so is that there are so many women already involved in this activity. It is hard to believe that there would be so many unless there were some economic and other returns from such activity. To the extent that it earns very small incomes, as it appears is the case with Maryam it would seem that the women involved are in particular need of extra income despite the low return on the labour involved.

1. There are two ways in which such women could be assisted, and both would involve consultation. One is that small groups of women already involved in such activity could be consulted on what are the obstacles to expanding their income from this type of activity. For many women, an activity such as this which can be carried out in the home, in between other work, is the most practical way of earning extra income for the household. Outside support might be of use in overcoming supply or marketing problems. Assistance in diversifying the range of dyes and designs used might also help expand the market that exists at present and increase the return on the time invested.
2. With other women mat making may simply represent the only form of economic activity they can afford to be involved in at present. Their ambitions may be broader. In this case consultation with

such a group on what other business activity they want to get involved in and the obstacles they are facing would be the logical next step.

9. SUPPORT NETWORKS

It is not only the income that people obtain from employment that is important in Beesha Shukri. A substantial number of households depend on support given by other people, to enable them to survive from day to day. In Beesha Shukri 46% of the households we interviewed reported receiving some form of *kaalmo* in the previous month.

The most commonly reported source of support was from other relatives in Mogadishu (28%). In comparison to Waaberi, there were far fewer households receiving support from relatives overseas (8%) and from relatives elsewhere in Somalia (13%). This is likely to be one of the major reasons accounting for the lower household incomes in the area, along with the difference in the types of occupations found in Beesha Shukri.

In terms of support, the people in Beesha Shukri are depending far more on help from within their community than is the case within Waaberi. After other relatives in Mogadishu, the second most common source of support was from neighbours (18%). Within the local economy there is also considerable recycling of incomes. Over 75% of households interviewed were purchasing their food each day in the local market.

There is one good implication of this greater degree of interdependence of households in terms of income and support. It seems likely that any programmes affecting household incomes in Beesha Shukri will have a multiplier effect greater than would be the case in other less contained communities in Mogadishu.

10. LIVESTOCK

Livestock in Mogadishu are a significant source of food and income for many households. In Beesha Shukri 60% of households owned some form of livestock. As in other areas of Mogadishu almost one in ten households kept goats. However by far the most commonly owned animals were chickens (51%). The number of households owning chickens in Beesha Shukri was far higher than that found in Waaberi (19%). Almost all the chickens are local breeds that scavenge off household waste and in the little scrub that remains in the area. For households that own them the chickens are a useful source of income and food. The eggs are usually sold on the market for cash and the income earned from the chickens is normally under the control of the women in the household. The income, small as it is, is thus more likely to be spent on the needs of the children than income which is under male control. Eggs which are not sold are often given to sick members of the family.

Recommendation

Benefits to the families owning these chickens could come from three types of improvements: increasing the size of the eggs produced, increasing the number of eggs the chickens produce, and increasing the survival rate of the young chickens that will later produce eggs. Since the diet of the chickens in this area is an opportunistic one and will always be so, it would seem best to focus on improving the survival rate of the newly born chickens as the first step to increasing incomes from this source. One means of doing so would be to identify breeds that are known for their hardiness which already exist within Somalia. As has been done in other areas, the existing cocks could be replaced with cocks from the hardier breeds.

11. SERVICES

11.1 Transport

As a whole, services in the area are effectively minimal.

There is a bus service to Bar Sanca, a major intersection at the northern end of Mogadishu, but other buses have to be taken from there to get to the city itself or to any of the hospitals or major markets. The road that the buses follow is a very rough dirt track that has been cut into the ground by the hundred or more lorries that pass each way, each day, carrying stone from the quarries. It is quite easy for light vehicles (including mini-buses) to become bogged in the sand on the way.

Recommendation

A separate road, of a very basic type, has been built from Waxara Cade to Beesha Shukri. Because of problems with wind blown sand and its poor construction overall, this road has not been used as a bus route. If this road was upgraded it could become an alternate route to that presently in use, and would also help serve the needs of the growing population of Waxara Cade. It is unlikely to be used (and destroyed) by quarry trucks because it is some distance away from their base in Cabdulcasiis. Food aid which is already committed to the country could be used to pay for labour needed and the labour itself could come from Beesha Shukri.

11.2 Schools

There are no government schools in the area. Children who do go to school go to schools in the older part of Kaaraan some 4 kilometres away. Not surprisingly there was a very low rate of school attendance. In our survey sample only 16% of the children who were eligible to go to primary school were doing so. This was the lowest rate that we found in all of the areas we surveyed. Even if the population of Beesha Shukri is half that estimated i.e. 10,000 instead of 20,000, and even with the present low attendance rates there would be more than enough students present in Beesha Shukri to justify one school. Placing only one school in Beesha Shukri could substantially improve attendance rates.

Low school attendance rates are not an immediate disadvantage for a community such as Beesha Shukri but in the long term they will be a major handicap. Inability to read and write, and lack of numeracy will increase the likelihood that, for most of the children as they grow up, access will be limited to only the least skilled jobs on the labour market. Lack of basic education may also mean continued high rates of infant and child mortality for the community if the relationship described in Chapter 11 does operate in Mogadishu.

11.3 Health Services

Although there are no MCH services in the area, 15% of the households in our sample said that women in the household had used an MCH service in the past six months. Until recently women in Beesha Shukri who wanted to go to an MCH have used the Yaqshiid MCH. But now there is a MCH in the Waxara Cade end of Kaaraan which can be reached most quickly by foot, although it is some kilometres away. Not surprisingly, fewer women in this area reported using Banaadir hospital than in areas more central to the city. All the main hospitals are located at the opposite end of Mogadishu, with the exception of Forlanini Hospital which deals with infectious diseases only. Households in this area also reported the lowest rate of use of private doctors, most likely for reasons both of cost and

of access.

Recommendation

In 1987 Al Muntadhar, a Somali NGO, started to develop both a clinic and a school for the people of Beesha Shukri. Since both services are in great need it would be very useful if this agency was given encouragement by both the relevant government ministries and by other development organisations. BOCD has, at this stage, offered to provide a midwife in a training role, as soon as the clinic is ready for operation. Other organisations could assist by providing equipment and supplies for the school or the clinic.

12. EXPRESSED PROBLEMS

It was not our intention, during the research stage, systematically to canvass the views of the people in Beesha Shukri on their problems and needs. Detailed discussions would have, in our view, led quickly to premature expectations of development activities in the area when we were in a position to offer none. Nevertheless we did hear many people express their views, some of which will be mentioned here.

Abukar Abdulle Cusman, Chairman of the Xaafadda Committee, in an early interview, listed the following as the main problems facing the people in the area:

- Lack of health services
- Lack of schools
- Lack of planning of the area i.e. land allocation and road alignment.
- High unemployment amongst the youth.

Certainly the first two problems were frequently mentioned in interviews we had with selected households. Those concerning the legalisation of the land and youth unemployment were mentioned less frequently.

Other problems that were mentioned by ordinary people were:

- the need for capital
 - to set up in business
 - to expand a business activity
 - to build additional rooms
 - to buy animals
- the need for training or education which would lead to employment, for either the adults or the older children in the family
- the unreliability of the water supply (Sometimes the trucks do not bring water to the area when diesel is in short supply).

13. SUMMARY

The problems facing the people in Beesha Shukri seems to fall into two broad categories: the need for services and the need for income.

.1 In terms of services the following would seem to be the priorities:

- Improvement in the water supply, with special emphasis on improvement in water quality. This could also function as an employment generation programme.
- A clinic meeting the basic health needs of the population, especially women and children. This would include arrangements for training and supervision of local TBA's and other community health workers.
- A primary school.
- An improved road surface, which will enable easier access by buses into the settlement. This could also function as an employment generation programme.

Although not expressed as a need by people in the area, we would suggest that a nutritional status survey should be given second priority, after action has been taken to improve the water supply.

.2 In terms of income, while access to capital and appropriate training both seem to be in demand, it would seem that for outside organisations the essential first step should be a process of consultation. That should ideally be on a small group basis, with the following groups of people:

a. Women already involved in the following activities:

- mat making,
- labouring,
- keeping chickens,
- home based food production, for sale purposes,
- trading items of small value and in small volumes

b. Men involved in unskilled and low paying occupations, for example:

- labourers,
- trading of items of small value and in small volumes.

c. Men or women from households with no working members.

With each common (occupational) interest group the consultation should be aimed at identifying:

- those who want to expand the incomes they are getting from their current work,
- those who want to become involved in other activities, and who can identify the information and skills they need to do so.

From this point onwards a training approach based on that used by Partnership for Productivity, in Hargeysa would be the most appropriate (See Chapter 12: Education).

If credit extension was to be considered, then we would make two suggestions.

Firstly, it should be delayed until after training-oriented assistance has been operating for some time, and only be accessible, initially, to those who have received some training assistance.

Secondly, it should be accessible only on a group basis. By that we mean that those wanting credit to expand or establish a business should first form into groups (by their own selection). Credit would be extended to one member at a time, on approval of the other members, as well as that of the providing organisation. The group's members would be required to act as guarantors for each loan

applicant, and each member's access to credit would be conditional on loans by the previous applicant having being repaid. Repeated access to loans would come in cycles, as with the *hagbado*. Examples of group based credit extension schemes are described in an ILO Workshop report (Nov 1983): Group Based Savings and Credit for the Rural Poor.

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Chapter 15: XAAFADDA HEEGAN, DEGMADA YAQSHIID: A TWENTY FIVE YEAR OLD SQUATTER SETTLEMENT

1. LOCATION

Xaafadda Heegan is located in the north east corner of Yaqshiid District. It is bounded on the south and east by tarmac roads (Jidka Ummadda (Siinay) and Jidka Balcad). The total area of the Xaafadda is about 76 hectares. Approximately 80% of the Xaafadda is *obbosibo*. Much of the area is shaded by trees. In some parts there are a number of households keeping cattle next to their homes. Just on the outskirts of the area are an MCH centre, a Primary School and major market, Suuqa Bacaad. Privately owned public transport vehicles run frequently along Jidka Ummadda from Baar Sanca to Banaadir Hospital, and from Baar Sanca to the city centre, 3 kms away. In terms of services Heegan *obbosibo* is well located.

2. HISTORY

It appears that the first settlement in this area began in the early 1960's. By the late 1960's the area had been completely occupied. The majority of houses in the area at that time were *aqallo* (Puzo 1972:97)

3. DEMOGRAPHY

3.1 Population estimates

A count of households in mid-1986 suggested that there were approximately 3,500 households in the *obbosibo* area of Xaafadda Heegan. Since we found in our sample of houses in this area a median household size of 6.2, this would suggest a possible population of 22,000. The population density is then calculated at 290 people or 46 households per hectare. This is greater than in Beesha Shukri but lower than in Waaberi where in many cases there are more than one household sharing the same house.

3.2 Migration

The majority of household heads living in Heegan *obbosibo* have been living in Mogadishu for many years. Of all the household heads surveyed, 29% had been born in Mogadishu. Of those household heads who had migrated to Mogadishu the median length of residence in Mogadishu was 15 years, with only 9% having come to Mogadishu in the last five years, compared to 24% in Beesha Shukri.

On the surface it could be expected that Heegan *obbosibo* would be a more cohesive one than other areas that we surveyed, and in fact many other areas of Mogadishu as a whole. Of those who had migrated to Mogadishu 48% had come from one region: Shabelle Dhexe. In no other area surveyed did we find such a concentration of people with the same region of origin. We expect that many of the household heads in this area who have been born in Mogadishu may themselves have come from Shabelle Dhexe Region.

The second most common region of origin was Galgaduud, from where 10% of the migrants had come. This incidence is similar to that found in the city as a whole.

3.3 Household size and dependency

The median household size in Heegan was the same as the median for the city. However, in contrast to the other poor areas of Mogadishu which have been settled more recently, there were a smaller proportion of children in the population of Heegan *obbosibo*. Only 40% of the population was below the age of 15, which is the same as in Waaberi and below average for the city as a whole.

3.4 Female-headed households

Within the area there was an above average number of female household heads. Of all the households 26% were headed by women. However a significant number (11 of 26%) of these were married and therefore had husbands who were living elsewhere, possibly in Shabelle Dhexe, elsewhere in Mogadishu or overseas. Despite this large number of female-headed households there was in fact a surplus of adult males in the area. Men made up 54.6% of the adult population. This was exceptional as far as all the areas we surveyed and as far as any other surveys in Mogadishu are concerned. It may be that many of these men are temporary visitors to the city, from Shabelle Dhexe.

4. THREE HOUSEHOLDS IN HEEGAN OBBOSIBO

4.1 Waasuge

Waasuge is a 28 year old bachelor (*iskaabulo*) who is living by himself in a single roomed *cariish* in Heegan *obbosibo* of Yaqshiid District. He was born in 1958 in Shabelle Dhexe, where he lived with his father who had a farm at Mahadey village. He left there when he was 20 years old (1978) to study religion in Mogadishu. He first settled in Shibis district with relatives in a rented *cariish*. Besides studying the Quraan in the daytime he also found a job as a watchman at night. The relatives with whom he was living used to pay the rent and they also paid some of his food needs, so when they decided to move to Heegan *obbosibo* in 1985 he was obliged to move with them.

Waasuge now lives in a single room in a *cariish* owned by his relatives. This cost his relatives about 10,000/- for the building materials and 2,000/- for the labour when it was built in 1985. He says it does not protect against the rain very well and it needs replastering with mud every year.

When he first moved to Heegan he managed to get permission to establish a Koranic school on land near where he was living. He is at present teaching 30 pupils in this school. He says he charges 40/- for each pupil every month and 5/- per student every Thursday. This means that every pupil pays 60/- per month and for 30 students it amounts to 1,500/- every month.

Waasuge's relatives cook three times a day, with wood which they buy daily. It costs the family about 100/- per day for their food. Their most common dishes are maize porridge, beans and local bread (*muufo*). They buy all their food items on a daily basis and give him food when he can't find it elsewhere. The parents of his pupils also invite him to eat with them very often but, on very rare occasions, he eats in restaurants.

The water he uses daily is around 16 litres (1 *ashuun*) which costs him 1/-. The neighbours get the water for him from a waterpoint nearby, however Waasuge pays for the cost of the water

he uses.

Waasuge had two year's religious education in his home village while he was very young. Since that time he has studied the Islamic Sharia, the Hadith, Arabic Grammar and the Tafsir in different mosques of the city. At present he studies at one of the mosques in Yaqshiid when he is not teaching at his Koranic school. Waasuge can read and write Arabic but he has not learned how to write Somali or any other language.

In 1972, when he was 15 years old, while swimming in the river Shabelle at his home village, a hippopotamus bit and crushed his leg. He was taken to Digfer Hospital in Mogadishu where his leg was then cut off at the knee. The treatment there cost him 10,000/-. Later, the Red Crescent centre for the disabled made a wooden leg for him free of charge and which he is still using. He wishes that he could get a better plastic leg from abroad because this one gives him pain when he walks for long distances. Besides the leg, Waasuge's health condition is quite good.

As we already explained Waasuge gets considerable support from his relatives in Mogadishu. He also gets support from the parents of his students when he has a special need. Last month he borrowed 2,000/- from one of the parents and four others gave him some wood and corrugated iron sheets. He used the materials and money for roofing his school.

Despite his low income, Waasuge manages to give regular support to his mother and brothers near Mahadey. Every month he sends around 500/- to 700/-. He also gives some loans to friends and relatives once every four months or so for emergency costs like burials as well as for normal daily needs. His relatives visit him once every two months and he visits them 2 to 3 times a year.

Waasuge wants to continue learning the Islamic religion so that he can teach others in the future. He is planning to get married in 1987 and to do that he is thinking of expanding his school so that more pupils can join. This will enable him to continue his support to his mother and to save some money for the marriage. Before that he wants to buy a piece of land in the area and build a house of his own.

Waasuge was described as "poor" by the person who interviewed him.

4.2 Abukar:

Abukar says Heegan *obbosibo* was settled in 1965 by people from many different regions but mostly by people from Jowhar and Kismaayo. The reason people came here was to find better jobs than the ones they had where they had been living and to have a house of their own. Abukar was born in 1946 near Marka. His family were farmers near the town. He never went to school because his family wanted him to work on the farm, and because Marka was too far to walk each day.

In 1965, at the age of 19, he left his parents farm and came to Mogadishu to live and to learn a skill with his uncle who owned a garage. After a few years he became a mechanic. In 1969 he married his present wife. She was an orphan who was raised by a relative. She received no education when she was young.

Abukar and his wife now have four children: three girls and one boy. They live in one room of a *cariish* which they own. The land on which the *cariish* was built was given to him by relatives.

Abukar built the house in 1969 for a total costs of 2,000/-. Since there is no kitchen they use the sandy yard as a cooking area.

Abukar now works at a privately owned garage where he earns 300/- per day which he uses for his family's daily needs. His wife does not work.

Abukar's family cooks two meals a day, using charcoal which costs them 25/- for one to two day's supply. Altogether they spend 200/- a day on food, fuel and water (33/- per head). All their food is bought on a daily basis. Normally they eat pasta or rice for lunch and *canjeero* for breakfast. They spend 20/- to 30/- a day on meat. No one eats in restaurants

Each day Abukar's wife brings three *aashuuno* of water from a public water pipe 250 metres away from the house at a cost of 2.5/- per *ashuun*.

Abukar says his household does not receive any *kaalmo* from anyone. The reason why is that all his relatives are far away and all his neighbours are poorer than him.

None of the daughters, who are all of school age, goes to school. Abukar says it is because of the cost of sending them there.

Abukar would like to build a stone house and to improve his work skills. He would also like to open a food or clothes shop for his wife.

Abukar's household was described as "poor" by the person who interviewed him.

4.3 Daahira

Daahira says Heegan *obbosibo* was first settled in 1961. The people who settled there came from different places. Daahira was born in the Ogaden in 1926. There she grew up. She did not go to school because they were in an area where there was a lot of fighting. Also at that time, educating girls was considered unimportant.

At the age of 20 she was married and then afterwards she had three children. Her husband, who was a soldier for the Ethiopians, was later killed in the war that started between Ethiopia and the Somalia Republic.

In 1977 Daahira came from the Ogaden to Mogadishu. She says the reason she moved was to save her life and those of her children. Since then she has not returned to the Ogaden, although when her husband died he left them a stone house which he had owned there.

At first she settled in another district of Mogadishu. There she started a trading business so she could support herself and her children.

But in 1979 she was evicted from the *mitir kuubo* she was renting so she looked for another place to live. She eventually settled in Heegan *obbosibo* because the other *obbosiboyin* were crowded and she could not find a place to build a room there. She now lives in a one room *cariish* which she built at a cost of 7,000/- including the wages of the builder (2,000/-).

Her three children are now all adults. One is in Saudi Arabia and one lives with her. Also living with her are two grandchildren. The eldest, a girl, has completed secondary school and is now doing national service. The youngest is a boy who is doing his final year at secondary school.

Daahira, who is now 60 years old, is no longer working. The main income earner of her family now is her older son who is a driver for the Chinese embassy. He earns 8,000/- a month. Her family household also receives regular *kaalmo* from the other son who is in Saudi Arabia. However, she says, they do not manage to save any of it.

The family cooks three meals a day and spends 300/- a day on food, fuel and water (75/- per head). Their charcoal costs 25/- and lasts for 1 to 2 days. They buy some foods (pasta and oil) in bulk and some on a daily basis. With more money they would buy rice, sugar and flour in bulk. They spend 30/- a day for meat except on Fridays when they buy one kilogram of meat. They cook pasta and rice for lunch, *muufo* or beans for dinner and *canjeero* for breakfast. None of the household eats in restaurants.

The family gets water from a donkey cart. They use a drum which fills 12 tins and which costs 50/-. That water lasts them 1 to 2 days. The public tap is 150 metres away from the house.

Daahira wants to build a house of stone in which she can rent some rooms while she lives in other rooms. She also wants to open a shop.

Daahira's household was described as "rich", by the person who interviewed her.

5. HOUSING IN HEEGAN *OBOSIBO*

The standard of housing in Heegan has improved considerably since the 1960's when the most common house type was the *aqal*. Now only 3% of the households are living in *aqallo* or *waabab*. The majority are now living in *carshaan* (37%) or *jingado* (40%). A smaller proportion lives in *baraako* (13%), *mitir kuubo* (2%) or the better quality *sarro* (5%).

Heegan is like Waaberi and Cabdulcasiis, the older and less poor areas, in that a significant proportion of households rent their accommodation rather than own (24%). But on the other hand it is like the newer *obosibo* areas in that the proportion of households that are sharing houses with other households is relatively low (40%). This is largely due to the nature of the houses in the area: *jingado* and *carshaan* rarely have more than two rooms. Few *sarro* have been built in the area because legal title has not been given for most of the land.

6. FOOD EXPENDITURE

Very few people in the households that we surveyed bought food on other than a daily basis. Over 94% bought their food daily and only 2% bought all non-perishable food in bulk.

The median food expenditure per head in the households surveyed was 37.5/- compared to 50/- in Waaberi and 33.3/- in Beesha Shukri. In terms of local market prices at the time the survey was carried out this would have been sufficient to purchase the following amounts of food:

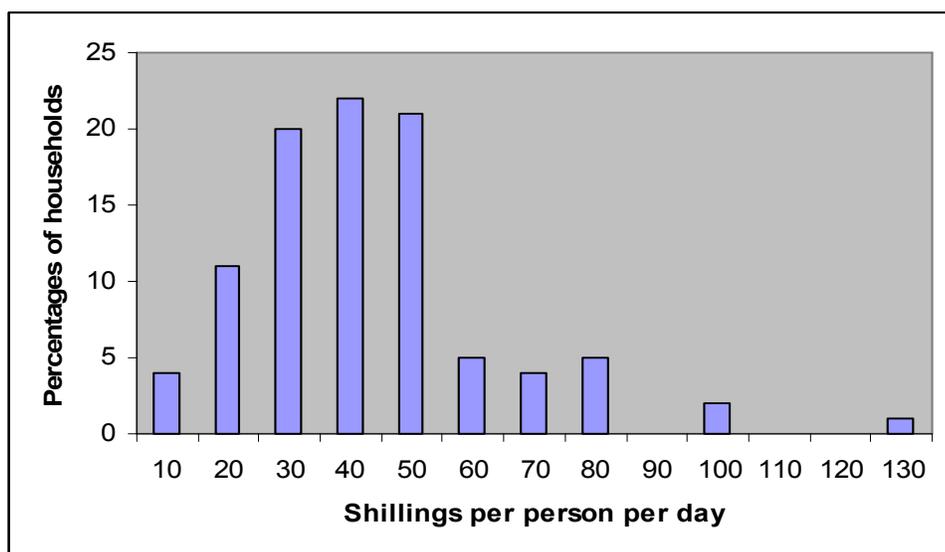
2.2 kg. of maize

0.9 kg. of rice (rice was more expensive in Yaqshiid than Beesha Shukri)

0.7 kg. of pasta

The distribution of households according to their food expenditure per head was as follows:

Table 15.1: Distribution of households in Heegan *obbosibo* by food expenditure per head



Note: 2.5% of households were above 140/-

Recommendation

On the basis of the calculations made in Chapter 9 we would estimate that possibly 24% to 36% of the households were below the poverty line in Heegan when the survey was carried out in August 1986. However, because of the reservations already stated in Chapter 9 this information should be followed up by a nutrition survey, to identify the impact these apparent food expenditure levels have had.

7. EMPLOYMENT

7.1 Government and private sector employment

It seems that in the poorest areas of the city such as Heegan *obbosibo* Government positions are a less significant source of employment for both men and women. The relationship between government and private sector employment in Heegan is almost the same as in Beesha Shukri. The majority (77%) of working adults worked in the private sector and less than a quarter (23%) worked for the government.

While government employment accounted for 30% of the working men only 10% of the working women were employed by the government.

7.2 Location of work

What is exceptional about Yaqshiid compared to other areas we surveyed is the large number of people who were working at a market location: in most cases, we would expect, the nearby Suuqa Bacaad. Over one quarter (27%) of all those employed were working in a market. A further 6% were working on the street and 10% at home. Those working elsewhere (shops, offices, factories) constituted the remaining 57%. No other area that we surveyed had such a large proportion of the adults working in market locations.

7.3 Occupations

The following distribution of occupations was found in Heegan:

Table 15.2: Distribution of occupations in Heegan *obbosibo*

Petty traders	24 %
Government workers	23 %
Transport workers	11 %
Labourers	10 %
Petty artisans	6 %
Religious workers	6 %
Other services	6 %
Domestic servants	5 %
Skilled workers	5 %
Food producers/processors	2 %
Hotel/restaurant workers	2 %
Traders with premises	2 %
Farmers/animal owners	1 %
	103 % *

* 3 % arises from some government workers also being included in other categories as well as that of government.

The occupations which are more common in Heegan *obbosibo* compared to Waaberi were:

Petty traders	11 % more
Labourers	6 % more
Religious workers	5 % more (mainly Koranic school teachers ⁷⁰)
Petty artisans	3 % more
Other services	3 % more
Domestic servants	2 % more

The occupations which were less common were:

Government workers	16 % less
Skilled workers	11 % less
Traders with premises	3 % less

These differences in occupations are likely to be one of the reasons for the lower household expenditures in Heegan compared to Waaberi. As in Beesha Shukri the absolute number of people employed is not an explanation in itself since, despite the lower proportion of children in the population, there was still the same ratio of dependents to income earners in Heegan as in Waaberi and Beesha Shukri.

⁷⁰ It is common to find more Koranic schools in such areas because of the greater difficulty of finding land for such schools in legally settled areas (especially older areas).

7.4 Male and female employment

The following distribution of male and female employment was found in the households that we surveyed:

1. Households with men only working	50%
2. Households with both men and women working	31%
3. Households with women only working	9%
4. Households with no one working	10%

Heegan differs from Waaberi in that there were approximately 11% fewer households depending solely on male employment and 8.5% more households depending on female as well as male employment. The number of households dependent on female employment was almost the same.

Heegan *obbosibo* was unique amongst the areas we surveyed in that while there were more adult men than women than in any other area, the number of women as a proportion of all the working adults was greater than in any other area.

8. LIVESTOCK

One in three households surveyed in Heegan *obbosibo* owns some form of livestock within Mogadishu. As with Wadajir (Damme Yassin) *obbosibo* and Beesha Shukri the most commonly owned livestock were chickens (19%). The number of households owning goats (12%) was similar to what was found in Waaberi and what we would expect to find in other areas of Mogadishu.

Heegan *obbosibo* is different from other areas in that quite a few households keep cows and donkeys. This is something known commonly in Mogadishu as a characteristic of Yaqshiid. When we surveyed the area we found one in ten households owning cows. There is no other area of Mogadishu as far as we know where so many households keep cows. In Waaberi less than 3% owned cows and in many other areas of the city we would estimate that the proportion could be as low as 1%. A substantial amount of the milk produced by the cows in Heegan is sold on the open market and the rest is consumed by the households that own them. It seems that in the past some efforts have been made to collectivise milk production in Heegan. On the periphery of the area there is a large and apparently unused compound which was designed for housing the cows of the neighbourhood some years ago. Any attempts to work with people in Heegan on improving incomes through animal husbandry would need to consider the legacy of such experiments.

When we asked about the ownership of donkeys we found 6% or about one in twenty households having donkeys in Heegan. This is well above average compared to the rest of Mogadishu. In Waaberi less than 1% of households reported owning donkeys in the city. Most of the owners of these donkey carts are likely to be donkey cart operators or people who lease out donkey carts to others who operate them. At night time rows of carts can be seen up-ended outside some of the houses in the area. These carts are involved both in transport of goods within the city and between the city and surrounding countryside. Building materials, firewood, grass, and bulk food items are the most common loads.

9. SUPPORT NETWORKS

If the answers given to questions about *kaalmo* and *deyn* are correct then the households that we surveyed in Heegan are more isolated from support networks than in any other area we have surveyed. The data from the household survey showed that the proportion of households receiving support from relatives in Mogadishu was only half of that found in the other areas and support from relatives outside Mogadishu the lowest of all the areas, including Beesha Shukri. In addition the number of households who reported receiving *kaalmo* from overseas in the last month was only 10%, just above the level in Beesha Shukri and less than a third of what was reported in Waaberi.

From one point of view this is contrary to what might have been expected. The most common region of origin is Shabelle Dhexe, which is adjacent to Mogadishu. Contact between families in the city and the countryside should be comparatively easy. In addition, since almost half the heads of households who have migrated to Mogadishu have come from that single region a greater than normal degree of linkage between households in Heegan would be expected.

There are two possible interpretations. One is that the results are a result of measurement error, due to lack of familiarity with the question by the enumerators or frequent misreporting by the respondents. The other is that the figures are not wildly incorrect but in fact reflect a greater degree of social isolation of households in this area.

The possible evidence in favour of this view is that despite the considerable age of the settlement the overall household expenditure levels are still low in comparison to other areas of Mogadishu. This suggests that the residents in the area have not been able to improve their economic status over the years as well as can normally be expected. Making progress economically in Mogadishu is often dependent, as elsewhere, on the connections people can muster to help themselves. In Mogadishu where support networks are such a central part of the workings of the economy isolation from these networks would be particularly disadvantageous.

Another possible explanation may lie in the fact that many of the people in Heegan have come from relatively settled areas of the south rather than from dominantly nomadic areas where the kinship networks are more geographically extensive and less bound to place. The move to the city for those from the settled areas in the south may involve more of a dislocation from existing support networks than is the case for those coming from more nomadic backgrounds.

10. SERVICES

Heegan is well placed as far as access to health and education services is concerned. As already mentioned there are schools and an MCH centre within close proximity to the area. Not surprisingly, this was the one area we surveyed where more households reported women using the MCH than Banaadir Hospital. Usage of private doctors was also higher than the areas surveyed which were further out from the centre of the city.

The Heegan *obbosibo* was also unique in that more households reported having disabled members than in any other area (15%). This may be partly explainable by the fact that the Yaqshiid population is older than in many of those other areas. The area with the nearest number of households with disabled members was Waaberi (12%) where the proportion of under 15 year olds was almost exactly the same.

As already mentioned, because of the higher rates of disability in Heegan and its associated poverty we would specially recommend that any projects aimed at assisting the disabled include this area in

their plan of operations.

10.1 School attendance

Despite the location of a primary school on the edge of the settlement, primary school attendance was little more than half of that in Beesha Shukri and when compared to Waaberi they were very low. The rates for Heegan and Waaberi were as follows:

Table 15.3: Primary school attendance in Heegan and Waaberi

Attending Primary School	Heegan	Waaberi
Boys	34 %	60 %
Girls	31 %	47 %
Combined	33 %	54 %
N =	210	218

The rates found in Heegan were the lowest of all the areas we surveyed where physical access to a school was not a problem.

The rate of literacy amongst adult women in Heegan was only 26%. With the above rate of school attendance by girls it seems that the literacy rate of adult women in this area is not likely to increase very rapidly at all in the coming years. Since women's literacy appears to be closely connected to child health, this seems likely to have consequences for the health of the community in the future.

10.2 Water supply

Very few households in Heegan *obbosibo* had access to water within their house or compound (11%). For those that did not, there were two main means of obtaining water. Donkey carts brought water to 45% of the households and another 42% brought their water from the public standpipes themselves.

Water quality is not a problem in Yaqshiid. The main problem is the cost of water in money terms for those who have it brought by donkey cart and in terms of effort for those who bring it themselves. The cost for example, for Daahira's household was 1/- for 4 litres of water, about ten times the cost of water obtained from a pipe that brings water directly into a house. The consequences of the higher cost in money and effort, are a greater likelihood that less water will be used for washing and cleaning purposes, and as a result the risks associated with poor sanitation will be magnified.

11. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There are three characteristics of this area which when combined suggest that it should be given priority of attention when development activities are being planned for the city. They are as follows:
 - a. The households in Heegan have been settled in Mogadishu for a long time. It is not a new community made up dominantly of new migrants to the city who might be expected to improve themselves as time goes by.

- b. Although not the poorest area in the city, the people in Heegan are certainly poorer than average. Possibly 24% to 36% of the households were below a poverty line defined in calorie terms on the basis of reported food expenditure.
- c. A larger number of households seem to be isolated from support networks than in any other areas that we surveyed.

The people of this area seem to be relatively powerless, in the sense of having less capacity to improve their living conditions, in comparison to the other groups which we surveyed.

- 2. Physical access to services is not a major problem in this area in the way it is for the people of Beesha Shukri. However this does not mean of course that the health problems of the people in Heegan are less serious. On the basis of the women's literacy figures we would suspect that infant mortality rates in this area would be considerably higher than the city average of 146-7 per 1,000 and possibly not much lower than in Beesha Shukri. Therefore this area should still be seen as a priority area for improvement of existing health services to mothers and children, specifically through the MCH centre adjacent to the area.
- 3. Households in Heegan seem to be more dependent on employment alone for their daily needs compared to other areas, where support from others is a more common element of people's survival strategy. Amongst those who are working there is greater dependence on private sector rather than public sector employment. Amongst those who are working in the private sector petty trading is by far the most important source of employment. In addition there are fewer skilled workers in Heegan than in Waaberi.

As recommended for Beesha Shukri, assistance with appropriate technical education aimed at increasing people's opportunities for employment as skilled workers could also be an appropriate strategy for this area. This could be aimed at both self-employment and employment by others. Since support from others seems to be less available in this area, it could be more appropriate here to provide credit extension components to training programmes which were aimed at self-employment or expansion of existing enterprises.

- 4. In Chapter 9 a suggestion was made concerning investigation of the potential for extending employment through the diversification of food processing activities. Bearing in mind the large proportion of people in this area working in the markets and the transport links with Shabelle Dhexe, it could be appropriate to initiate such research in this area of Mogadishu first.

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Chapter 16: CHILDREN IN MOGADISHU

"Horay iga kori gadaal aan ka koriye": wiil iyo abbehiis

("raise me now and I will look after you later" :
the understanding between a son and his father)

1. INTRODUCTION

Almost half the population of Mogadishu is children⁷¹.

Those children have rights to a basic level of care and education. In addition, how they are cared for now will determine both the future welfare of their own families and of Somali society as a whole.

The quality of care and education that children receive in Mogadishu varies. Our concern in this chapter is with children who are disadvantaged relative to other children in Mogadishu.

Since we have addressed the overall issue of household poverty in other chapters of this report we will not address it here. Similarly, disadvantage as experienced in terms of access to education has been discussed in Chapter 12. This chapter will focus on three specific groups of disadvantaged children.

The first of the groups is those children who work for a living, either for themselves or for their families. Where those children are still living with their families, we have used the term working children.

The second group is those children who work for a living but are in effect isolated from their families, and in most cases, living on the streets or in other public places. We have called that group street children.

The third group is those children who are living in institutions, isolated from their families and the community.

These groups have been given special attention because in the course of normal household surveys, even in the poorest areas of the city, they would often be either absent, ignored or forgotten.

⁷¹ The age of adulthood in Mogadishu is normally considered to be 15. According to the Labour Force Survey (1985:30) 46% of the population in 1982 were below the age of 15. By comparison, in England only 11% of the population were under this age in 1981 (Economist 21.2.1987).

2. WORKING CHILDREN IN MOGADISHU

2.1 The incidence of working children

Little attention has been given to child labour by any of the social research that has been carried out in Mogadishu so far.

The 1982 Labour Force Survey did not ask about the work activities of anyone below the age of 10 years. Of those between the age of 10 and 15 they found the following percent of boys and girls working for pay or profit (MNP 1985b:48):

Table 16.1: Incidence of child employment in Mogadishu (1982)

		<u>Working children as % of:</u>			
		<u>those between 10 and 15 yrs</u>		<u>all who were working</u>	
Boys	n = 15	(of 854)	1.8 %	(of 1,763)	0.9 %
Girls	n = 9	(of 740)	1.2 %	(of 457)	2.0 %
Combined	n = 24	(of 1,594)	1.5 %	(of 2,220)	1.1 %

These figures would of course exclude any street children who are working, since all data were gathered from household surveys.

In our own surveys of households in six areas of Mogadishu in 1986 we found a greater incidence of working children than that found in the Labour Force Survey. In Waaberi (the control area) we found that working children below the age of 15 made up 2.2% (N = 9) all those who were working. In Beesha Shukri, the poorest area, the proportion was 4.6% (N = 12).

In terms of households in Waaberi and Beesha Shukri, 2.3% and 5.5% of the households in those areas, respectively, reported children working.

We believe these figures are still an underenumeration of the number of children working in these areas. Enumeration of the incidence of working children faces the same problems as that of working women: their labour is frequently discounted. This is especially the case when there are also adults in the household who are earning income.

We tried to overcome this problem by directly interviewing children about their daily activities in the course of another household survey. This was a survey on educational issues carried out in Xaafadda Fanoole, Degmada Kaaraan, in October 1986 (See Chapter 12). This is a poor, largely *obbosibo* area, in Kaaraan District.

From within a sample of 210 households, the enumerators spoke to a sub-sample of 349 children evenly distributed between the ages of 6 and 14. The children were asked what they had done on the previous day. The answers were coded into 20 categories. Of these 8 were work activities. The responses concerning the work categories were as follows:

Table 16.2: Children's work activities in 210 households in Xaafadda Fanoole

Activity	Incidence:		
	Girls	Boys	Both
1. Housework			
- cared for younger children	70 %	30 %	50 %
- to the market to buy things for the household	71 %	29 %	50 %
- doing housework/cooking	74 %	10 %	42 %
- helped with other jobs for the household	42 %	20 %	31 %
Any of these			<u>73 %</u>
2. Assisting parents income earning work			
- helped mother with her work	33 %	10 %	22 %
- helped father with his work	2 %	14 %	8 %
Any of these			<u>29 %</u>
3. Their own income earning work			
- went to work in the market	5 %	7 %	6.5 %
- went to sell something	5 %	6 %	5.5 %
Any of these			<u>11 %</u>
N =	172*	174*	349

* Sex of three children not recorded.

All percentages are of figures at the base of the respective column.

Comments

1. Although outside most survey definitions of what constitutes "work" in a conventional economic sense, it is clear that the most common work activity for these children was domestic work. This was specially the case with girls.
2. Assisting parents with their income-earning activity, which is more often considered work in the economic sense, was the next most common activity, and more common than children's own income-earning activity. This was also done more frequently by girls than boys.
3. The proportion of children involved in some form of their own income earning activity (11%) was higher than that found in either our Waaberi or Beesha Shukri surveys, although the area was not as poor as Beesha Shukri. In terms of households 11.8% had children who had been involved in some form of income-earning activity. This is plausible when it is remembered that much of this activity could be casual and opportunistic rather than regular employment (the

reference period was one day, rather than the one week used in the household surveys).

When information given about the household of these children by their parents⁷² was compared to the children's own reports, we found that 3.3% of the parents interviewed had reported that any of their children were working. Since the children's reports of their previous day's activities were, in most cases, in the presence of adults it seems unlikely that there was large-scale misreporting of activities by the children.

Because of the differences in numbers of children reported working in Fanoole and Beesha Shukri, a poorer area, we would interpret the numbers of working children reported in Beesha Shukri as representing the number of children involved in relatively regular employment.

2.2 Estimates of the total number of working children in Mogadishu.

Any such estimates involve a considerable amount of approximation!

Using the Labour Force Survey incidence given above and a population estimate for Mogadishu in December 1985 of 600,000, there may have been approximately 1,300 working children in the city at that time. This figure would undoubtedly exclude children who are assisting with the work their parents do to earn income since the Labour Force Survey reported no children (age 10 to 14 inclusive) working as "unpaid family helpers", which is the category they would have used for many children who were assisting their parents.

Using the incidence reported in the Waaberi control survey (and its population structure) and the same population estimate as above would give a figure of 3,300 for the city as a whole. Broken down to the district level this would suggest a figure of 570 working children in a district the size of Wadajir. On subjective impressions of the district, this would be quite plausible, if not an underestimate. Furthermore, on the basis of the differences between the reports by parents and children in Fanoole the number of children working casually/ occasionally could be two to three times this figure.

2.3 Children's occupations

We have not attempted systematically to survey children's occupations in Mogadishu. However some of the most common occupations that we are aware of are listed below, table 16.3.

In addition there are many children who work in what could loosely be called apprentice roles, with builders, mechanics, tailors and other skilled workers. Their rates of pay are very low, sometimes no more than 50/- a day, but their hope is to learn skills and to find opportunities whereby they can progress to better paying work.

⁷² The Fanoole survey proceeded in two stages. At first parents were interviewed about matters relating to children's education and their own household, including employment of household members. Then two children, if present, were asked directly what they had done on the previous day.

Table 16.3: Common occupations of working children in Mogadishu

Car watchman	Baabuur ilaaliye
Car washer	Baabuur nadiifiye
Shoe cleaner	Balaashle
Cigarette seller	Sigaar gade
Sweet seller	Nacnac gade
Peanut seller	Loos gade
Plastic bag seller	Bac gade
Hand cart operator	Gari gacanle
Labourer [shops, markets, houses, building sites]	Xamaali
Rubbish collector	Qashin gure
Ice cream seller	Jalaato gade
Drink seller	Cabbid gade
Money taker [buses etc.]	Lacag qaade
Newspaper seller	Warqeys gade
Truck drivers assistant	Kiriish boy
Garage boy	Garaash boy
Petrol seller	Batrol gade
Beggar	Dawar sade

Common locations where children can be found working in Mogadishu are:

- At home; helping parents or relatives with family enterprises, for example preparing food such as *bajiye* or *muufo* for sale, or in other people's homes as domestic workers.
- On the street; by themselves, selling cigarettes, peanuts, plastic bags, cleaning shoes, and washing cars. Major intersections such as Baar Sanca and K.4 and main roads such as Jidka Makka, Jidka Soddonka and the Lido, are typical locations.
- In the markets; selling food such as sweets, cold drinks and doing casual labouring work. Children can be found working in every district market but major markets such as Bakaaraha, Sinay and Xamar Weyne, are areas where their numbers are largest.
- Other premises; working in shops, small repair and manufacturing establishments, garages, and restaurants.

The types of locations children work in are similar in some respects to those of working women. Very few children work in offices. The majority work on the streets, in the markets and in their own homes.

3. WORKING CHILDREN IN XAMAR WEYNE AND THE LIDO

Two well known locations in Mogadishu where children can be found working are the commercial area of Xamar Weyne and the bar and restaurant area known as the Lido (Fig 1.1).

Xamar Weyne is what could be called the central business district of Mogadishu. On the coastal side of Xamar Weyne District is the oldest residential part of the city, a very densely crowded area of three and four storey stone buildings intersected by very narrow pathways. Many of the premises on the ground floor are shops. On the inland side are government buildings and modern shops, on a grid of streets put through the area by the Italians before the Second World War. The third main area is where most of the more informal trading activity goes on. This is the area of the gold market, the meat and vegetable market, and where the new general market is being built (replacing the market burnt down in 1983). Nearby is Via Egypt, and other streets, which are known as the locations of wholesalers of food, building materials and other items. Scattered throughout the area are people selling goods from a space on the pavement, and from wheelbarrows. Where they are at any one time varies, according to where they feel safest. On the edge of Xamar Weyne itself are the bus stands, large open areas where buses from outside the city and parts of the city itself, wait for passengers. Children can be found working in all these areas, but especially around the central market area.

The Lido is an area of the city well known for the bars serving alcohol, tourist shops selling handicrafts, restaurants and nightclubs. It is located along the seashore to the north of Xamar Weyne. The beach attracts local people and foreigners alike. Most afternoons young men and children gather on the beach to play football and enjoy the sea, although the beach is renowned for regular shark attacks. A number of fishermen also work from here and the nearby harbour. The area has a bad reputation among local people though, as being dangerous after dark because of drunken people and as a 'pick up' point for prostitution. There is some truth in this belief, but such reputations are easily earned in Mogadishu. On the whole it is a very safe city in which to live compared to other capitals in East Africa.

Between September and December 1986 two members⁷³ of the research team made contact and developed relationships with a number of children working in both areas. The stories of three of those children are told below.

3.1 Three case studies:

3.1.1. Rooba: a 13 year old girl working in Xamar Weyne

Rooba is one of the working children at Xamar Weyne market who sell plastic bags. She is the main income earner for her family.

Rooba started working at the age of twelve. Her sister, who used to sell bags and cigarettes at the market, got married and so Rooba's mother decided that the family's financial situation required Rooba to take her place. Rooba started by selling cigarettes, but profit was low, and she could not get cigarettes on loan when she had no money. She now gets plastic bags on loan everyday from a man at the market, and pays for them at the end of the day.

Except when sick, Rooba works every day, for eight hours a day. She earns about 200/- a day, depending on sales. All her money is given to her mother, although sometimes when she is late for

⁷³ This work was done by Fowsiya Maxammed Muusa and Safiya Farax Xassan, with assistance in planning and analysis by Sue Reading and Rick Davies.

work she gets money for her bus fare.

Rooba copes with the risks of street life by imposing strict rules upon herself. She knows most of the working children there but does not involve herself with any of the children engaged in jobs other than plastic bag selling. Normally she sells only from one place to avoid interference by other children. Rooba is part of a group of four girls who sell bags and who all look out for one another. Near where Rooba sells bags there is a woman selling eggs who is a neighbour of Rooba's family. She also looks out for Rooba.

Rooba does not mind working but she would rather stay at home, and so sometimes her mother has to push her to get up and go. Rooba hates this, which is not surprising because she is always tired.

Rooba also helps with household work. Before work she collects 6 clay pots of water from the nearby public tap and every evening she cleans the kitchen and the cooking utensils.

Rooba is a straightforward, likeable and practical girl. She has a good reputation with the neighbours who say she is a good girl who works for her parents. She is the favourite daughter and gets on well with all the family except her twin brother, who beats her whenever she comes near. Rooba says she does not understand him, and sometimes feels like leaving home because of him. But Rooba's mother trusts her, and soothes her when she does not want to go to work. When her mother needs a loan from neighbours or the local shop, she always sends Rooba to collect it because she is more reliable than the other children.

Rooba's ambition is to marry. She is expecting one of her cousins to ask to marry her. Although she is fearful of marriage since her sister's marriage ended in divorce, it is still something she thinks about constantly. However, she sees her responsibility to her parents as never ending. Even if she marries, she feels she must work for them because she knows what sort of life they would lead without her.

The household, housing and property

Rooba belongs to a family of 7 who live in Boondheere. She, and her twin brother, are the second and third eldest of five children. Rooba's eldest sister was married but has recently been divorced and is now back living with her family.

Rooba's father came to the city from Afgooye at the age of 25 to look for work. Rooba's mother came from Jowhar at the age of 17. She had run away from her family. In Mogadishu she found a place to stay with her cousin. Her husband is a relative of that cousin.

They all live in one room of a stone house. The other room is occupied by her father's other wife. Rooba's father bought the house at a more prosperous period of his life, so they pay no rent. But both families share the same kitchen and tiny yard. Because they have only three beds for seven people, Rooba sleeps in the house next door most of the time.

The family has no other property or land, and the only animal they have is a hen. The eggs are usually sold. They would only be eaten by someone in the family if he or she were sick.

Family Employment

Rooba's father is a mechanic looking for work, but his age and lack of contacts have prevented him from finding work so far. He has never thought of opening a garage for himself because he never

had enough money. At the moment he earns a small amount of money by selling chewing tobacco.

Rooba's mother gets occasional work as a labourer on building sites. At other times, while at home, she makes baskets which she sells. These take a lot of time to make. She used to make mats as well but she found the profit on the mats, considering the amount of time they take to make, was not as good.

Rooba's elder sister would like to sell cigarettes on the street in Xamar Weyne but she says harassment by the municipal police makes it too difficult.

Rooba's twin brother is an apprentice working in a garage.

Household expenditure

The family eats three cooked meals a day, spending 300/- a day on food, about 200/- of which Rooba provides. They cannot afford to buy food in bulk, and so everything is bought on a daily basis, even fuel. From the 300/- they spend 40/- per day on charcoal and wood, and another 12/- is spent on water.

Support Networks

When Rooba gets sick she takes a loan of money for food from her neighbours, or the nearby shops. All clothes and utensils are bought on loan as well; the mother decides when the loan will be taken, and how much it will amount to. The father decides who gets the clothing.

Rooba's mother belongs to a *hagbad* (rotating credit group). She contributes 20/- every day. She said she became involved in the group when she was looking for a way to save for future expenses, and her husband approved of the idea.

The family only visit relatives outside Mogadishu when there is a funeral or someone is badly sick. They only receive material support from relatives outside Mogadishu in similar circumstances.

It is over a year since any member of the family used a hospital or an MCH. They prefer to visit a traditional healer rather than a doctor. At the moment Rooba's mother is taking traditional medicine for a "uterine" disease.

Education

The parents do not feel positively about the value of primary school education. They feel it is expensive to send a child to school, and not so profitable for them or the child. They feel it is more valuable to train a child in a skill like Rooba's twin brother who is a trainee mechanic. Their ambition for Rooba is to train her in sewing and tailoring, but at the moment they have no means to do this. Rooba's youngest brother is the only one in the house who goes to school. His parents told him not to go, but he kept going until the principal insisted that he get school uniform and books. The child now has these through charity, and is attending school.

Rooba went to school up to the 3rd grade. When she was at school she enjoyed it. She feels that if her parents had really tried they could have put her through school. Although she believes education is a good thing she also believes she can earn a living through work and now she does not want to

go back to school.

Participation in the Community

Rooba's parents say they would be prepared to contribute financially to setting up a technical school for adults, which also helped in getting jobs. However, their low income would make such a contribution quite a burden on the family finances. They say they would also support medical help for children and poor families. Also, people in the area are looking for an investor to set up a coffee grinding machine, and people on their side of the road want some help in building pavements, an obligation imposed on them by the government which they cannot really afford.

The problems Rooba faces

The main disadvantage Rooba suffers is the overwhelming sense of responsibility she feels for her family.

Her family cannot easily break out of their situation, as they have no capital, nor sufficient money to make savings on what they buy, by buying in bulk. They are reliant on loans and Rooba's income to meet their basic needs, and they have no contacts to find work which might exploit the father's skills as a mechanic.

Apart from this Rooba also works in a hazardous environment. All children working in the area are vulnerable to extortion of money, physical assault, theft, and arrest. Many of these problems arise out of the intense competition for sales. One day Rooba fought with a woman over sales of plastic bags, so she was arrested for the day. In the fight she received a cut over her eye which took a month to heal.

It is obvious that Rooba has given up her education to support her family. Her only hope of really becoming significantly better off would be to make a very good marriage, but it seems unlikely that this will happen. She has no skills of high value on the labour market, and so if she does work in the future it is likely she will be involved in petty trading as she is now, although she may get a little capital together, and be able to increase her profits.

3.1.2 Liibaan: a 12 year old boy working at the Lido

Liibaan has been working for two years as a car washer. at Lido in Cabdulcasiis, since he was 10 years old. His younger brother also works at the same place because he wanted to copy Liibaan. Liibaan bought him shampoo and got him a cloth with which to start.

The two boys, twelve and nine years of age, live with their mother and three sisters in one room of a 'baraako' in the *obbosibo* area of Cabdulcasiis. The house is shared with three other households, and is shabby, made of bits of wood collected from the streets. They have only a bed and a table for furniture, the rest having been sold over time for money to live on. The neighbourhood in which they live in Cabdulcasiis is a poor but cohesive community. The family moved to their present house when their father was first put in prison.

He was originally jailed for dealing in 'hashish' and then later he was bailed out by relatives for 50,000/-, but he is back in prison now. Liibaan is obviously very unhappy about his father's situation, and he would frequently say that "after two days my father will be out of prison".

The family is dependent on the mother's income from selling cigarettes at the same location where

her two sons work. The 250/- to 300/- a day earned by her two sons is a considerable sum in this situation. But they are still dependent on loans to make ends meet. Last month the mother got a loan from relatives to meet expenses, and this is still owing. Liibaan's mother also belongs to a *hagbad* of three women, paying 200/- a month from her profit on cigarettes. This allows her to have a slightly larger sum after three months to buy things for the household.

Liibaan's mother is thirty four years of age. Although born in Mogadishu her family come originally from Bari region. Liibaan's father is an orphan from Hiraan region. As a child Liibaan's father worked, in an American Missionary Hospital, as a dish washer. He came to Mogadishu when he was Liibaan's age, and moved around for some time looking for work. Eventually he went to work in a tea shop close to the house in which Liibaan's mother lived, which was how they met. When asked why she married him she said she was in love. Her father had arranged a marriage for her to a wealthy man, but she refused to marry him in order to marry her present husband.

It is clear that Liibaan's mother has had a hard time, trying to bring up five children. The only support she receives now is from her sister who occasionally comes to look after the three youngest daughters. They are otherwise left alone in the house while every one else is out trying to earn money. As she says:

"We are very poor. The father does not support us. What can I do? I am only female. I do my share, but he is often in prison for selling things on the black market".

Despite the difficulties the family faces, the relationships in the household are caring. Liibaan obviously likes to feel that they all get on well. When at home he often takes the four year old child and plays with her, bathes her, and sometimes brings sweets home for her.

Nevertheless Liibaan is no better behaved than any of the other children on the street. Working children are not usually popular because they can be a nuisance to passers by, pestering them to buy things, let them watch the cars, or give money. As a group they can be a considerable annoyance. Sometimes they also play tricks on people for their own amusement. One day Liibaan was with a group of children who hid the trousers of a man on the beach, and he had to return home without them. The trousers were of little interest to the children and they were left lying in a tree for some time. Another time they collected urine and threw it over a woman's car. A shopkeeper caught the youngest child involved in this and beat him. However, they claim there is only one thief among them and as far as we know few of them smoke, and none sniff glue. For Liibaan these tricks are part of the fun of being on the streets.

The main problem Liibaan faces on the streets is beatings by older children who are competing for work. Liibaan is a fast runner but this puts him in the front line of competition. When his mother is working she protects him, but when she has to go to the house he has to protect himself. Liibaan likes working on the street. As the oldest child he feels responsible for the family, and gives this as the main reason why he left school at Grade 5. However, it is clear that school now has no great appeal for Liibaan. As the mother seems to depend on money from the children, it is not surprising that she turned down an offer by an aunt to pay for Cabdi to go to school.

3.1.3 Bilan: a 12 year old girl working at the Lido

Bilan was the only girl working at Lido at the time we made contact with working children there. She is the second child in a family with three children. Although twelve years old she is very small for her age.

Bilan was two years old when her father died. Her stepfather is both elderly and handicapped. He earns money by begging on the streets in Xamar Weyne. Her mother stays at home most of the time to cook and clean, although she sometimes begs for money as well, when the household is in serious financial circumstances. Sometimes the family gets support from the oldest daughter who is a housemaid with an Indian family. They also get charity when religious ceremonies take place and assistance is given out to the poor. Such events are memorable for Bilan. Almost all her new clothes were obtained when they went to Biyoole a year ago, at the time when the anniversary of Sheikh Aweyis's death was celebrated. She talks of how she travelled there on a bus, meeting new people and a lot of children her own age.

The house (a *baraako*) in which the family lives was inherited from Bilan's father when he died. It is a narrow room, the only contents of which are two beds, a box, a pot for water, and utensils for cooking. Her mother and sister sleep in one bed and her stepfather in the other. She sleeps on a mat on the ground.

The family try to cook three meals a day, but when times are hard they eat only two meals, with little sauce or meat. Bilan does not like maize, their staple food along with beans, and so she never eats the 'canjeero' pancake that her mother prepares for breakfast every day. This was the reason she gave for starting to work: that she did not like the food at home and so started to earn her own living. Now, regardless of whether she earns money she never eats at home, but when she can she eats in bars.

Bilan has never been to school because her family could not afford it. But Bilan is not like most girls her age. She wears shorts and a T-Shirt, and refuses to stay at home and do domestic work. She prefers being on the streets playing with the boys her age and running after cars. As she is small she does not get much work, but when she does earn money she gives part of it to her mother.

Bilan is proud of supporting herself.

3.2. A profile of 27 working children

In addition to getting to know Rooba, Liibaan and Bilan, we also interviewed 27 other working children. Twelve were working in the Lido area and 15 were working in the Xamar Weyne area. The purpose of these interviews was to get a broader picture of the children who were working in those areas. A profile of the children from the two areas is presented below from two points of view:

1. The children and their household backgrounds
2. Their work, their attitudes to their work and to their future

3.2.1. The children and their households

1 Where the children came from

The two groups of working children came from different areas of the city. Those working in Xamar Weyne came mainly from Kaaraan and Yaqshiid (6 and 4 respectively), the two poorest districts of Mogadishu. The children at the Lido all come from Cabdulcassiis, the district immediately adjacent to the Lido area. This district is one of the most economically polarised in the city. On the coastal periphery of the district are many large *sarro* and *laba dhabaqyo* either rented out as residences or

offices for foreigners (mainly embassies and aid agencies) or lived in by their obviously wealthy owners. Inside this area is an *obbosibo* on a sand hill and an older part of the district mainly consisting of *baraakooyin* and *small sarro*, which was built before the Second World War. We completed a household survey of this part of the district in November 1986. While the area as a whole was better off than either areas in Yaqshiid or Kaaraan within the area there were substantial variations in standards of living. One of the poorest groups within this area were the female-headed households.⁷⁴

2 The children

In Xamar Weyne the 15 children we interviewed were earning money by doing the following work: car watching/washing (6), plastic bag selling (4), casual labouring work (3), peanut selling (1), and painting (sic) (1). In Lido all 12 said they were earning money by car watching and washing. These occupations do not reflect the full range of ways in which children earn money in these areas but they do reflect the greater diversity of options open to children working in the Xamar Weyne area.

In both areas the children had, on average, been working on the street for around two years. In Xamar Weyne the children were older than those working in the Lido area (the median age was 14 compared to 12 at the Lido).

In the Xamar Weyne group 5 of the 15 were girls whereas in the Lido group there was only one girl. This reflects the situation as a whole in those two areas; there are many more working girls in the Xamar Weyne area than there are in the Lido area.

3 Household backgrounds

In both areas most (80%) of the children were living with their parents. All those who were not, were living with their relatives. While the proportion of children from female-headed households in Xamar Weyne was normal (20%), in Lido 7 of the 12 children (58%) were living in female-headed households, a proportion well above average.

The families of most of the children in both areas lived in poor quality housing. Only 3 of the 29 children lived in *sarro* (10%). Both groups of households lived in more crowded conditions than we found in Waaberi, particularly the households of the Xamar Weyne working children (an average of 4.1 people per room).

In Xamar Weyne only two of the 15 heads of households of the working children could be classed as skilled workers (they were drivers). The other occupations were: labourers (3), watchmen (2), donkey cart operator, cigarette seller, farmer, second hand clothes seller and basket maker. In the Lido group the situation was similar. There was one carpenter. The occupations of the other heads of households were: cigarette sellers (4), sweepers (3), watchman, fisherman, beggar and prostitute.

In both areas only 11% of all the school age children (5/44) in the families of the children that we interviewed were going to school. In *none* of the poor areas that we surveyed did we find rates of

74 Female-headed were defined as such by asking the respondent in the household surveys who is the head of the household, and ensuring that person was indeed living with the rest of the household at the time.

attendance as low as this.

In the Xamar Weyne group none of the working children was going to school at the time we met them. Eight had been to school in the past but all had since left. Only four of those said they could read and write Somali. When we asked the eight who had left school why they had left only 2 specifically mentioned economic reasons.

In the Lido only one of the children was going to school, and even then on an irregular basis. Seven had been to school in the past but had since left. Only four of those could read and write Somali. Two had left, they said, because their parents could not afford the costs. Less than a third (8/27) of the two groups as a whole could read and write.

3.2.2. Their work

Most of the children, in both areas, said they were working on the street seven days a week (24 of 27), although to an outside observer it seems that both areas have fewer working children on Fridays. The children in Xamar Weyne said they were on the street 8 to 10 hours a day, whereas the Lido children, living next to the Lido area itself, reported 10 to 12 hours a day. The Lido area, with its bars, and restaurants is also more active at night than the Xamar Weyne area and so there are more opportunities to earn money there in the evening.

Compared to the earnings available from apprentice work and labouring, the daily earnings the children reported were reasonable and could make a significant contribution to their family's overall daily budget.

The earnings reported are tabulated in 16.4. The slightly lower incomes of the children in the Lido area are probably a reflection of the differences in children's occupations in the two areas. Plastic bag sellers and peanut sellers would be making more than car washers who work in an area like the Lido where there was intense competition for available work.

Table 16.4: Daily earnings of working children in Xamar Weyne and Lido

Earnings per day	Xamar Weyne	Lido	Combined
70 /-		1	1
90/-	1	-	1
100/-	2	3	5
110/-	1	-	1
150/-	5	5	10
160/-	1	2	3
180/-	-	1	1
200/-	5	-	5
N =	15	12	27
	mean = 154	mean = 135	

2.1 How the money was used

Unlike many of the beggars on the street and the street children most of the children in both areas (19 of 27) said they were eating three meals a day. However in the Lido area there were a greater number (5 of 12) who were only eating two meals a day.

Few of the children interviewed said they kept all that they earned for themselves. In both areas the majority (20) gave support to their parents, and a few others (6) gave support to friends and relatives.

2.2 Why they started work

There were some differences in the reasons the children gave for starting work, in the two areas. In Xamar Weyne 12 of the 15 said they started in order to support their family whereas in the Lido only 2 of the 12 gave this answer. In the Lido more of the children said they had started in order to support themselves (5) and because others they knew were doing it (4).

2.3 Problems that they experience

There were also differences between the two groups in how they perceived the problems they face in their work and elsewhere. When we asked "*What are the problems you have with your work?*" the following answers were given:

Xamar Weyne Children	Lido Children
lack of money (5)	working for bigger children (4)
weather and work conditions (4)	interference by others (2)
interference by others (2)	lack of parental support outside work (2)
competition (2)	lack of money (1)
fights (1)	competition (1)
paying protection money (1)	parents pressure to work (1)
	None (1)

For the children at Xamar Weyne the work itself and the money earned seemed to be the main concerns whereas at the Lido it seemed that problems concerning relationships were more significant.

We also asked the following questions:

"What other problems do you have besides the work ones?"

The problems reported were as follows:

Xamar Weyne Children	Lido Children
living in poor circumstances (9)	family problems (2)
risk of being imprisoned* (2)	fighting (2)
family problems (1)	no problem (8)
inadequate place to sleep (2)**	

* because of selling things on the street.

** One child was living in a very crowded house and the other was staying with his uncle, who was a watchman who slept at his place of work.

Again problems concerning income and work seemed far more important for the children at Xamar Weyne.

3.2.3 Their aspirations

We asked children in both areas *"What would you like to do in the future?"* Not surprisingly, many of them chose occupations involving more skilled work or capital than their parent's present occupations. See table 16.5 below.

Entry to some of these occupations which are better paid are usually dependent on contacts as well as education or skill levels. Since the children of these families are already working and their families are poorer than average, the families concerned are unlikely to be able to help mobilise many useful contacts. In this situation their children's lack of education becomes an even more important influence on their future employment chances.

The occupations chosen were:

Table 16.5: Future occupations aspired to by working children in Xamar Weyne and Lido

Occupation	Xamar Weyne	Lido
Driver	3	2
Mechanic/electrician	3	1
Trader/merchant	1	2
Marriage and family	3	-
Office worker	1	1
Store owner	2	-
Sailor/pilot	-	2
Learn english	1	-
Soldier/militia	-	1
Doctor	-	1
Teacher	-	1
Fisherman	-	1
No answer given	1	-

3.2.4 Summary

The children we interviewed were clearly coming from families which by Mogadishu standards are very disadvantaged. Their housing conditions were much poorer than average. Almost all their parents had low-income earning occupations. Over two thirds of the children were growing up illiterate in their own language. By comparison, in the workforce they are entering over two thirds are literate. Their own future occupations are thus very likely to be similar to those of their parents unless they can find access to apprentice-like positions where they can learn marketable job skills.

Even compared to households that we interviewed in the poorest *obbosibo* areas we would consider these children and their households disadvantaged because, unlike many children in those areas, these children are both not receiving any education and at the same time having to shoulder responsibility for the support of their families.

In addition all of the children face the risks associated with earning a living on the streets.

With such small samples it is difficult to generalise about the differences in the situation of children working in the two areas. However there are some noticeable differences. The children at the Lido have, as a group, started work at a younger age, and much more for their own reasons rather than for reasons concerning their family. They seem less tied into their families in an economic sense. Also many more children at the Lido came from female-headed households.

Two of the children we interviewed were children of women who are or were prostitutes. Popular opinion has it that there are a significant number of prostitutes living in Cabdulcassiis who work in the Lido area. We would suggest that the children of those women would be additionally disadvantaged in a number of ways. Firstly to have a mother who is or was a prostitute is a major social stigma for a child to bear. Secondly prostitution, because it has been made illegal, is often associated with other criminal activities such as drug selling and violent crime. This can become part

of the immediate culture in which a child of a prostitute could grow up. Thirdly, prostitution is, more now than ever, an occupation with many health risks, many of which can be passed on to new-born children.

3.2.5 Recommendations

1. It appears from the two groups we surveyed that households with working children are not only poorer than average, but even poorer than the average household in some of the poor *obbosibo* areas. On this basis the presence of working children in a household should be taken as an indicator of household poverty when participants are being selected for development programmes in Mogadishu.
2. Assistance to working children must deal with both the immediate needs of their households for income, and the children's longer term needs for appropriate education. One without the other will not be sufficient to enable both the children and their families to overcome their present problems.
3. While it is not possible to say from our small sample that the Lido children came from poorer households than those in Xamar Weyne it does seem that they are, in terms of their family situation and links, more at risk, and therefore should be considered in programmes concerned with children at risk in Mogadishu.
4. Special attention should be given to the situation of children of prostitutes in Mogadishu. They would seem to be a specially disadvantaged group of children. Although reaching this group can be difficult, our experience is that it is possible.

4. STREET CHILDREN IN XAMAR WEYNE

We have already distinguished two groups of children on the streets in Mogadishu. Firstly there are those we have called working children who, although they may be working or otherwise looking for money on the street, do have a home where they can and do sleep each night. Secondly, there are those we have called street children, who are different from the rest in that they sleep out on the streets, in cinemas or in other public places and have only fragile links, at best, with their families or kin.

4.1 The number of street children in Mogadishu

Estimating the number of street children in Mogadishu is fraught with difficulties. Our "guesstimate" was made with the help of street children and adults in Xamar Weyne who took the researcher⁷⁵ to some of the locations in Mogadishu where they knew street children slept at night. They introduced her to leaders of the groups who in turn gave estimates of the numbers who slept out there. The estimate is "rough and ready". There are bound to be many other locations these informants did not know about, and others they chose not to tell about. One conspicuous omission we are aware of is those sleeping in the minor markets that exist in every district.

We estimated that in December 1986 there were at least 190 children sleeping out in the areas we visited. The largest number was in the centre of Mogadishu, where we estimated that there were at least 107 children sleeping out at night. Another 22 were identified as sleeping in three other main

⁷⁵ Almost all the research done on street children for this report was done by Fowsiya Maxammed Muusa (BOCD). Assistance in the planning and analysis was given by Sue Reading and Rick Davies.

market areas of the city. The remainder slept out near various main intersections/bus stops and other public places.

4.2 Common Characteristics of Street Children in Mogadishu

We found the following common characteristics among groups of street children whom we contacted in Mogadishu.

1. A wide age range, 6-14 years of age, (those 15 and over we have defined as adults and have not included in the study).
2. Groupings of children, roughly according to age, and associated with a territory which forms part of the group's identity.
3. Sleeping out on the street most or all nights of the week at different locations i.e. wherever they feel safest.
4. A shared sub-culture with some of its own values. Associated with this sub-culture is a vocabulary of words and phrases that only members know the meaning of. Also, street nicknames are common, giving the child a separate street identity.
5. Frequent involvement in petty theft, solvent abuse and/or drug use.
6. Damaged relationships between relatives (who often live in the city) and children are frequent.
7. Limited or no adult supervision.
8. Involved in a precarious and hazardous lifestyle. Children survive but cannot meet their basic needs easily.

4.3 Observations and perceptions of Street Children

General observations of the group we worked with suggested the street children were exposed to more risks than other children, but also to more excitement. Constantly using their wits to survive, but poorly nourished, the children appear quick-thinking, but seem to concentrate less easily than other children might, and are quickly taken by the mood of the moment. Loyalty and friendship are as frequent as fighting and argument; street life is physically and emotionally exacting, but most children did not want to return to their former lives. Street children are partly, but by no means entirely, victims of circumstance. There is an element of choice in living on the streets, and although determining factors, such as family breakdown, appear to be a recurrent feature in child backgrounds, street life is not without fun:

One child in the group we were involved with was seriously ill, but after 2 days away from the street he ran back again, still sick. His reason was "Xaraarad ayaa i qabatey" ("I was craving for the street").

We had little time to establish what local perceptions of street children were. Some people found them a nuisance, others were sympathetic. However, the words that refer to these children in Somali are indicative of opinion. The generic term for children who support themselves is *iskoris*. This is not perjorative, and can refer to children who work, as well as children without parents who are supporting themselves. These children 'eat their own sweat', that is they earn their own livelihood.

Street (and market) children may be seen more scathingly. These children are often referred to as *ciyaal suuqyo*, or market kids, and the term is much more perjorative, suggestive of petty thieving,

dropping out of school etc.⁷⁶ These children are those who get their livelihood where they can, from 'qaraabasho' ('searching' for food and money).

4.4 A group case study: Libaax's group

Xamar Weyne is one of the oldest parts of Mogadishu, at the centre of the city. Much of the area is occupied by government offices and shops, but on the coast side there is a dense and very old residential area, beyond which is a fish market. In the centre of Xamar Weyne is a major retail market, and near this market is a busy trading street. A variety of retail stores and tailors' shops line the main streets, in front of which street traders sell clothes, food, drinks etc. The streets are crowded every morning and evening, and much of the black market and brokering activity that takes place in the city begins here. The busy informal sector, the daily bottleneck of traffic that builds up, and the large number of people using the area for business and buying goods and services, allow a level of anonymity, and hence safety to street children. They also provide sources of income and means of survival.

There are a considerable number of both working and street children in Xamar Weyne, competing for work as shoe cleaners, car watchers, labourers, bag sellers etc. This case study is about one group of these children, who live on the street in one very small area of this district.⁷⁷

Libaax is the oldest in a group of about 17-20 children, most of whom have been on the street for a number of years. Most of these children are boys, but there is one girl on the street full time with them, another girl has just been released from the Militia Centre and returned to the group, whilst a third is a prostitute in a house, but hangs around on the streets with them during the day. Ages of the children range from 10-15. There are younger children on the street as well as older youth.

Although the children make a group, with a shared identity, sealed by a nickname and a common code of behaviour, they are most often found in smaller groups of four or five, but they all meet at various times of the day. The group shares all resources, and members are evidently very fond of one another, despite their arguments.

Part of the group's identity is related to territory, as the children all live and earn their living in the same small area. Other street and working children are not allowed to compete in this area. Equally, if members of this group go in to another area, they can expect to have to fight [see Case Study: Cilmi].

These street children choose a much lower profile than working children, and are proud of their knowledge of street life. They call newcomers to the street *ciyaal baraf* or *ciyaal maama*, meaning not warmed to the street, an ice child or a mummy's boy.

Leadership and Group Membership

76 The children themselves accept being called *ciyaal suuq* by each other, but not by others outside the group.

77 Many of the 107 children whom we estimated were sleeping out in the centre of Mogadishu belong to some type of group. We have identified at least 7 groups. The group we have described here is one of the largest.

Although the group is led by Libaax, there are other leaders in the group as well. Membership after the initial period of getting to know the group is really decided by the willingness of a newcomer to steal alongside other members. However, leaders are selected according to their strength, or for their intelligence, initiative, and ability to make decisions and organise. The children rely on these qualities to survive. Newcomers can move in to leadership if they resist initial 'testing out' efforts by existing group members to lead them, and they show the required qualities.

Leaders also need to know where to sell stolen goods for a fair price, and be able to stop fights amongst themselves. There is a lot of responsibility to leadership, but leaders are paid in obedience. A leader would never order someone to steal. They simply tell someone to bring something, and the person should find it regardless of the means. Older and bigger children also require protection money from younger ones, although it may take the form of routine obligation described.

The leadership structure in Libaax's group is as follows:

Libaax
Tuke
Suufi
Qaboobe
Cilmi Garaad Koonbe

The remaining 10 (and sometimes more) members of the group are the followers.

As our contact with this group tailed off the group was in disarray. The leader was hiding after a razor fight with an older boy. The two leaders below him had been arrested by the Militia. Of the three sub-leaders Cilmi was spending more time away from the street, at his grandparents' home, and Garaad who was left to make decisions, was obviously feeling the strain. Usually, the three sub-leaders would make decisions and organise by discussion, but Garaad was now mostly alone. Those remaining were clearly anxious to get their friends back on the street.

Daily Life

Daily life for these children is mostly involved with 'garabaasho' ('searching' for food and money), and glue sniffing.

They get up early, as people begin to move around, about 5.30-6.00 a.m., and buy some water from a restaurant to wash their faces, and then go to a local bar where they eat. Those who have money will buy food and share it with friends, others go to a bar which gives them free soup with bones. The bar owner has done this for street children since 1974. He does it partly for charity and partly out of mutual interest. He said "If you don't give it to them, they only steal, and harass you". Sometimes the children do jobs for him as well, and they do not generally steal from him unless circumstances force them to.

At this time of day the children usually make contact with someone they call 'G'. They say he is a child molester. He buys food for the children, and some he favours with gifts, others he rejects. Some children have nothing to do with him, but they say they are frightened he will beat them if they stop their friends having anything to do with him.

After eating they meet up at a regular meeting point and go to the sea to wash. They say 'G' always gets there before them, and it is at this time that he makes demands on those children he has given things to. The children say child molesters (whom they cannot see) also come at night, and they have to protect themselves. 'G' is the only one with whom they have any kind of relationship. When we asked further questions about 'G', the children were guarded and wanted to know why we were interested.

The children usually stay at the sea until 10 a.m., when they return to their territory and start 'searching' for money. They say the sea makes them hungry, and no one has money at this time of day. Children do not usually work every day, and when they do work it is not normally for long hours as their territory is small and there is a lot of competition from working children nearby for jobs. Most reported working between 4-6 hours a day. Average earnings on the days they do work were 120/-. This does not go far, once they have paid for food, glue, and the cinema, the last two items usually taking priority over food. They have many jobs: sweeping, car watching, shoe cleaning, collecting rubbish, or stealing and sometimes begging (usually this involves making up stories to get people's sympathy and their money). The children all appear small and thin for their age, and sometimes they say they do not have the energy to work, and so they go to someone's house and ask to clear rubbish for food, or they slip something in to the rubbish that they can later sell. We do not know how often the children steal. Most of it is petty theft, although they have been seen with gold on them. Once something is stolen, a child may 'disappear' from the streets for a while. They say the most important thing is to get out of the area quickly. Leaders know where to sell the things, and then they must be careful to get rid of the money quickly. "Spend it, hide it, give it to your friends but don't let the police catch you with it on you". However, the police are said to use the children for getting information, and some say they can bribe the police with part of the money from the goods. Perhaps these are just stories, but once arrested the children do not seem to stay locked up for long.

Around 12.30-1.00 p.m. the children go for 'tiknik', a mixture of leftovers they get for 10/- a plate from restaurants. The children also take great delight in telling how they distracted someone in a restaurant from his meal, and then grabbed the food from his plate. In many restaurants, children will run in and grab leftovers, though it is not only street children who do this.

On one day, the children tried to cook for themselves. Using old cans and a tin used by a working child for washing cars, they tried to cook spaghetti and sauce on three stones by the market, under the girl's supervision. Harassment from passers by inevitably caused problems, and eventually a Militia man came along and threatened to arrest them for trying to burn down the market. The children were angry, and argued back rudely, inciting the situation. Eventually, the situation was calmed by the researcher's intervention and the children were allowed to go. These types of incidents are commonplace for them.

Other sources of food are leftover fruit and vegetables in the market, remains of melon on skins at the stall etc. The average amount of money spent on food by the group was 27.4/- a day. This compares to 33/- per head per day in the poorest *obbosibo* we surveyed. While this does not of course account for food the children get free, neither does the figure from the household surveys. The difference is accentuated by the fact that paying for leftovers means

that the children are likely actually to get much lower quality food for their money than those buying their own food to cook at home.

Only two of the 17 children were eating three meals a day, and two other children did not know how many meals they ate a day as it depended on what they found.

The children in this group preferred to spend their money on glue rather than food, and in the afternoon glue sniffing is their main activity. They can get glue from 3 people in the area: 2 are teenagers, and one an old man. One of the glue sellers operates from near to the bus station. He was cynical about the children: "You can't do anything for these kids; even their mothers can't get them off glue so what can *you* do woman?". Glue costs 20/- a spoonful, plus 5/- for the can. Children have glue with them all the time if they have the money. They hide it in their arm pits, beneath their shirts, so that it can be sniffed anywhere without attracting attention. Other afternoon activities may include football or just playing around.

About 6.00 p.m., as the sun goes down, the children start looking for ways to make money again. They are always looking for 'the Golden Chance' and the dark makes it easier. They sit with their cans, waiting for a job or a chance to grab something.

On most evenings the children then go to a cinema, a place which has a reputation for being used particularly by thieves and street children. Seats cost 30/-, but sometimes they slip in, or wheedle their way in to watch the films, which are mainly of the Kung Fu or Rambo variety. Unless tired they will stay there until about midnight, as people are still moving around in the town until then. But if they are tired they go to their sleeping place for that night at about 10-11 p.m. The first to arrive can usually find some cardboard to sleep on if they are lucky.

The children have a disturbed night. Other children come back high on glue, and there are many disagreements and sometimes fights over sleeping places and so on. Sometimes the Militia come round and those unwise enough to be caught with glue or razors, which they all carry, may be arrested. Some nights the Militia go round simply picking up everyone. Children also say they have to protect themselves from child molesters. One girl says she sleeps with the beggars, because people then think she is one of their children and she does not get disturbed.

4.5 Two case studies:

4.5.1 Kaaho: a 14 year old girl living on the street

Kaaho is a street child in Libaax's group. She was born in December 1972 in Mogadishu. She was a part-time street child before but came to the streets full-time in October 1986.

Kaaho has a brother, and three stepbrothers and sisters. Her mother has had three broken marriages, and she had children with each of them. Her mother has supported all the children herself, receiving no money from any of the fathers, with the little money she gets from her government job. Kaaho's grandmother has supported the family, but arguments between the mother and grandmother continued until finally Kaaho's mother moved away in October 1986, to two rented rooms in Boondheere. At that time Kaaho started living full time on the streets. Since Kaaho left the house her mother has looked for her several times trying to get her to come home, but the children in her group hide her.

Kaaho first started coming to the street when she was in grade six at school. Until then she had been an excellent pupil. Kaaho met a street girl who was begging at her school. Kaaho shared her school allowance with her and asked why she was begging. The girl told her a grief-stricken story about her parents and Kaaho felt sorry for her. From that day Kaaho started supporting the girl, and they developed a close friendship. Kaaho began to tell the girl about her own life with her grandmother, whom she hated. She says there were always arguments in the house between her mother and her grandmother about supporting the children, and that her grandmother told her mother to give the children back to their father's relatives. It was at that point that Kaaho always went out and onto the streets. She says her grandmother is a fierce and petty woman. One story she tells, confirmed by her mother, was about a time that Kaaho lost a fork, and so her grandmother had her arrested by the police for stealing. So Kaaho took her friend's advice about learning to make a living on the street. She started to miss school and spend the time on the street with her friend to learn about street life. After school hours she went home, regularly taking her brothers and sisters to school, going to the street, and picking them up after school before going home. But her absenteeism was noticed, as up to that point she had been the best pupil in the class. Her mother was told and she began beating her, and chaining her feet. At this stage Kaaho began to escape and spent one or two nights sleeping on the street each time she was punished.

Although new to the street full-time she knows how to make a living, and is happy to live that way sharing with the others. She says she never wants to go back home.

She dresses and cuts her hair like a boy and rarely goes around on her own unless she has something personal to do. She does all the things the boys do to earn money, including stealing, carrying a razor and fighting with it if she needs to, and sniffing glue. But because she is female the boys will protect her more. The group leader and another boy are always particularly protective towards her. Like the boys she is rarely arrested for long even if she is caught stealing. But she is scared of being arrested for a long time or going to the Militia Centre as her friends have told her what it is like in jail. In all other respects her life is the same as the street boys, except that she is more vulnerable. When she is not there the boys make insinuating remarks about her, implying she is involved in prostitution, as her friend now is, and that the two boys who protect her most do not do it for free. They say no street girl gets anything for free. Although it is implied that she is a prostitute, Kaaho denies it, but does tell stories about being nearly molested by men, but fighting them off, to boast of her toughness to the boys. Although it is possible it seems unlikely that she is making money in this way since at night she often sleeps with the beggars to avoid being molested, as

people think she is one of the beggars' children. But whether she is a prostitute or not, it is clear she has at least a friendly relationship with the child molester who hangs around the group, as he gives her more than the others. It is hard to tell truth from fantasy in these stories though.

The second husband of Kaaho's grandmother was Italian. He is dead now, but through this marriage Kaaho's mother has some Italian friends whom Kaaho occasionally visits. They help her because of Kaaho's mother, but apart from this, Kaaho has no help from anyone except the street children.

Kaaho is not a strong child. She easily gets bronchitis, and has a chronic liver complaint which is exacerbated by the 'tiknik' food that she eats. Life on the street is not good for her health, but she is happy there and that is more important to her.

4.5.2 Cilmi: a thirteen year old boy living on the streets

Cilmi is 13, and one of the smartest street children in the group. He has an open mind, and knows immediately what is good and bad. He comes from a wealthy family and knows very well what kind of life he could lead if he lived with his grandparents, but he has no wish to do so.

He is tough on the streets, knows a lot of the street children, and a lot about street life. He acts like an adult and has no interest in anyone who treats him like a child, or tries to direct him.

Cilmi is the only son of a middle class family; his father was a captain in the army and his mother was an air hostess. Before Cilmi came to the streets he lived with them in a villa in Cabdulcasiis. Some years ago his father went to America for a seminar, sponsored by the government. He did not return, but instead went to Saudi Arabia to work. Cilmi was well cared for all this time, but his mother died of a throat disease, and his father, fearful of arrest, sent money to support the children but never came back for them. Cilmi was placed in the home of a cousin of his grandparents, and his sister went to live with the grandparents.

Cilmi was the only child in that new household, and so he received a lot of attention. In return they expected him to do some household work, like going to buy things etc. He detested the work, and missed his parents. Although he knew his mother was dead he wanted to live with his father. After a while he began to go to the market in Xamar Weyne, with poorer children from his area who went to earn money for their families. Cilmi imitated them although his household did not need the money, and so he used it for himself. At that time he was in Grade 5 at school. He started missing school to spend the hours at the market. He made friends with some of the street children and started learning things from them. They taught him how to swim and to steal. After school hours he would return home, pretending he had been at school, but his relatives soon found out and started beating him and refusing him food. Cilmi's behaviour got worse, and he started stealing from the house. The punishment increased, and so he started sleeping with his friends on the street for a night or two. He was caught and brought home, but he would only stay in the house for a while and then would run off again.

After long periods of uncontrollable behaviour, Cilmi was placed with his grandparents. But he only stayed there a couple of weeks; Cilmi had adopted street life and was missing his friends. His grandparents brought him back off the streets several times, trying to do what he wanted to please him, but nothing worked. Now Cilmi visits them occasionally, often going back when he is worn down from the streets, but most of that time he spends sleeping, and he soon goes back to the street again.

Cilmi says he is happy on the street, and would not give it up for anything. He knows things the other children do not know, like how to use video recorders, whereas the others are amazed when they see one. But he feels life is right for him there.

Cilmi does lots of things to get money, like washing cars, cleaning, sweeping pavements, collecting rubbish etc. He works only 2 or 3 days a week, and earns about 60/- a day, but he does not rush to get work. The territory they live and work in is small, and there is a lot of competition, but he knows he will share with whoever is working. When he is not working he looks for an opportunity to steal something. He says if he is caught he knows the police will release him, because of the relationship he has built up with them. But when he steals big things they keep him for 24 hours so that the plaintiff will think he has been arrested. Like all street children, Cilmi shares what money he gets, and so illegal earnings are quickly spent.

Cilmi is one of the sub-leaders in the group. He is shrewd and wants a world of his own, so he is often punished for being greedy. When he acts for himself the leaders beat him and take his money away, but he takes advantage when he can.

Cilmi has a problem getting enough food. He always buys 'tiknik' food, which has little nourishment. Also, after a long day searching for food, he cannot get enough sleep, because he sniffs glue like the other children. The children fight for the glue and a place to sleep, and so no one gets to sleep until very late.

Fights are a way of life, but it is only if children go out of their territory that they risk a serious fight. Once Cilmi did this, and got into serious trouble. He was beaten, his money was taken away, and his face, stomach and chest were cut with a razor. Cilmi also fights with the working children, because they are slowly taking over their territory, which leaves only a small area in which the group can earn money. But fights among group members and with working children, are not as serious as the fights with other street children outside his territory.

4.6 A profile of 17 street children

We interviewed all 17 children in Libaax's group, asking them both about themselves and the last household that they had lived in. The researcher also visited the last households of 8 of the children, to check the truth of the answers. As a result of those visits we are confident about the accuracy of the data we have collected. However, one boy was arrested by the Militia before he had finished answering all questions on the schedule, and another was in an institution prior to the street so some questions were not answered by all 17 of the children. (For more details of the methodology see Appendix 16.1.)

4.6.1 Family backgrounds

There are two features which distinguish the street children we interviewed from working children. One is that very few of their parents were still both alive and living together. The other was that only in a minority of cases was the last household the children had lived in that of their parents. Most had lived elsewhere since then, and before coming to live on the street.

The situation of the parents of the street children was as follows:

Table 16.6: Present status of parents of street children in Xamar Weyne

Parents divorced	7
One or both parents dead	5
One parent absent from household (not divorced)	2
Parents both alive and living together	3
N = 17	

Table 16.7: Relationship between child and head of last household s/he lived in, for street children in Xamar Weyne

Step parent	3
Sister/brother	2
Grandparent	2
Uncle	1
Cousin	1
Institution	1
Abandoned *	1
Parents	4
N = 15 (2 observations missing)	

* This boy's mother had come to Mogadishu, with her five children, following a drought in the area they had been living in. She left the two boys with a woman from the same area (but not a relative) and never returned. Both boys later left this woman's house and have since lost contact with each other.

By comparison, amongst the working children that we interviewed 80% (22 of 27) were living with their parents at the time of the interview.

When we asked "*Why did you leave the last household you lived in ?*" the following answers were given:

Table 16.8: Reasons for leaving the last household: street children in Xamar Weyne

Violence (child or wife beating, fighting, quarrelling)	8
Lack of care and support	4
Dislike of household chores	2
Employment (no jobs in the area/went to find work)*	1
Refused to attend school	1
Influence of friends	1
N = 17	

* previously living outside Mogadishu

Although it is likely that the answers given in some cases may have been those which might elicit sympathy, the knowledge we have of individual members of the group does suggest that the first two reasons given (violence, lack of support) were real experiences for many of the street children.

There is no substantial evidence that poverty itself was a factor influencing the decision of most street children to leave their last household. Unlike those of the working children, the households the street children had last lived in were not significantly poorer than average.

The type of houses that the children had last lived in were a representative cross-section of what is available in Mogadishu⁷⁸. Five of 12 had lived in *sarro* while the rest had lived in *carshaan*, *jingado* and *baraakooyin*. The number living in multiple-household houses was less than in Waaberi and the number of people per room was only slightly above average (3.1 compared to 2.5).

When the occupations of the heads of their last household are examined it appears that in comparison to the working children's households there were more who had skilled or semi-skilled occupations. Six of the 15 were working as drivers (2), mason (1), bank worker (1), carpenter (1) and painter (1).

However, the rates of primary school attendance of all children in the last households were, at 30% (N = 33), well below average for Mogadishu and closer to that which we found in the poorest areas (Xaafadda Heegan, Yaqshiid - 33%). This may well be, in these particular circumstances, a reflection of a low degree of child-centredness in those households. Normally school attendance is correlated positively with indicators of economic status.

4.6.2 The children themselves

1 Their relationships

The average age of the children we interviewed was 13. Some said they had been on the streets since they were 6 or 7, but the most common age at which they said they had come to the street was 11. In most cases it is likely that they were initially on the streets on a part time-basis and then later on a full-time basis, as was the case with Cilmi and Kaaho.

It is quite evident that relationships with the households they used to live with are now tentative, and the prime relationships for the children are with each other. The level of support that they now receive from their previous households is quite low. The children may go back for short periods, but most often they eat and sleep on the streets. An indication of their present sources of support was given when we asked the following question:

"Where did you get the last new clothes you had?"

The answers were as follows:

78 On other indicators the street children seem to come from a diversity of backgrounds as well. When we asked the 17 children which regions their last head of household had come from 13 different regions were mentioned.

Table 16.9: Sources of last item of new clothing, for street children in Xamar Weyne

Stolen	6
Friends	4
Bought/earnt	3
Relatives	2
Parents	1
Household *	1
N = 17	

* This child was very new to the street

Most of the children were clearly providing for themselves and for each other.

4.6.2.2. Their work

When we asked "*What type of work do you do now?*" the occupations which were given were as follows:

Car watchman	15
Rubbish collector	6
Thief	5
Casual labourer	4
Shoe shiner	2
Sweeper	2
<i>Sambuusi</i> seller	1

(Some children gave more than one occupation)

When we asked "*In a normal day, how much do you earn?*" the earnings reported (mean of 122/-) were lower than those of the working children in the same area (154/-) and at the Lido (135/-). Earnings ranged from 40/- to 300/- a day. However, whereas much of the earnings of the working children were going towards their families, in the case of the street children it was going on their own needs and that of their friends (glue and cinema included).

4.6.2.3 Their view of their problems

While glue sniffing is one of the main things that arouses concern when street children are discussed by outsiders, it certainly is not high on their list of problems, as far as they are concerned.

We asked two questions relating to problems they experience. The first concerned their work:

"*What are the problems you have with your work?*"

The answers were as follows:

Insufficient money	6
Fights with others	2
Punishment for theft	1
Working for bigger children	1
Falling rubbish (a rubbish collector!)	1
No problem	6

It needs to be remembered here that for most of the street children working is not their main daily activity. The average number of hours the children reported working was only 4.7. What happens during the rest of the day is equally, if not more, important. The second question we asked concerning their other problems was:

"What other problems do you have besides the work ones?"

The answers were as follows:

Lack of a safe place to sleep	16
Beatings/fights	12
Living in poor circumstances	11
No adult protection	2
Giving protection money	1
No family	1

Physical security is obviously a major concern of the children we interviewed. Poverty is important but is not their sole concern.

Although "giving protection money" was only reported by one child, our case studies (see case study at the end of this section: Yusuf) showed clearly that leaders profit from their group members by both asking and demanding money or other items from the other children in the group. The group is in fact an informal economic entity offering security but requiring payment in return, sometimes in the form of money or goods, though not necessarily explicitly. Some of the fighting mentioned above is over the control of money held by the members.

Health problems were not reported during the survey interviews but a number of children with serious health problems were encountered in the course of the research. These included a child with a bad tropical ulcer (from a wound by a broken bottle), a child with hepatitis, a child with an inappropriately managed colostomy, and a child who had unsuccessfully tried to circumcise himself.

4.6.2.4. Their view of their future

We asked each child: *"What would you like to do in the future?"*

The answers were as follows:

Mechanic/electrician	6
Become wealthy	3
Work in/own a garage	3
Motorcycle driver	2
Mason	2
Policeman	2
Driver	1
Artist	1
Go overseas for education	1
Vegetable store worker	1
Factory worker	1
Return home	1

Most of these occupations are beyond the reach of the street children we interviewed. Only 5 of 15 said they were literate, less than half the literacy rate of the working male population in Mogadishu and even less still when compared with other young people of around their age who are coming onto the labour market. Only one (a part time street child) of the 17 children said he was still attending school.

The literacy rate of these children was the same as that of the working children whom we also interviewed in Xamar Weyne. However the street children are even less likely than the working children to have access to contacts who could find them employment that might not be dependent on educational qualifications. The contacts that could possibly provide them with work are more likely those leading to criminal activities than to significant work opportunities.

4.7 Recommendations

1. Living on the street is a way of live with its own values and outlook. Any of the proposals we have made below need to be discussed with the children concerned before any steps were taken to implement them. Otherwise they may well be a waste of time and resources, confidence and trust.

In order for this to be possible the first step is to develop good personal relationships between the children and the outside agent intending to help them. Fortunately a good basic relationship has already been established between some of the street children and Fowsiya, the BOCD staff member who carried out the research we have reported here. This existing relationship should be used and built upon.

2. The street children we contacted are not without their own sources of adult support. There are adults in the areas where they spend their time who do give food, clothing, shelter and small jobs to the children at different times. These people need to be identified and consulted in the process of developing assistance to street children.
3. Safe shelter is a major immediate need facing these children. An alternative to arresting them and isolating them in an official institution would be to find one or more places within the areas they are already working where they could sleep safely at night. Ideally these places would be existing premises which could either be rented or given rent-free by local business people for such purposes. Building new premises would be totally inappropriate. Location and use of such

shelters would have to take into account existing animosities between different groups of street children.

Such shelters should contain only basic amenities: water, light, mats for sleeping, and security for any possessions. It should not be such that those not already living on the streets see it as a strong attraction in comparison to their own homes.

4. From such a base other assistance could be developed. These could be for two groups of children. Firstly to those already living on the street full-time, secondly to those living part-time and who may be becoming full-time. This latter group could be dealt with by an outreach service that would involve liaison and mediation with their families and other kin. Ideally solutions or part solutions should be found which involved the immediate and extended kin of the children. They are the most important welfare system in Somalia. What would be needed in this situation is the Somali equivalent of a social worker to do the mediation and liaison.
5. For those children already living full time on the street other assistance which could be given would include:
 - Facilitated access to health care, at least to the level accessible by normal children in Mogadishu, living with families. This would include help with access to public clinics such as Martini and Digfer Hospitals when they are in need of treatment, especially for wounds and injuries, as well as payment of associated prescription and other medical costs.
 - Security for their possessions. Most of the children are already working and supporting themselves. Not all of their money is spent on food. There is some surplus which they can use as they like. However they have no opportunity to save any of this money. Their own personal security is often at risk and there are frequent demands made on each other for what money there is. Secure storage could enable them to make some savings from day to day, and plan for their needs on a longer term basis.
 - Access to appropriate education. This could include both koranic education, primary education and training in specific skills useful for employment.
 - Access to better employment opportunities. This could happen in two ways. A centre for street children could act as a place through which street children could find additional casual work to what they are already finding by themselves. It could also seek out apprentice positions for those street children who are ready for such opportunities but without the means of finding them.
6. Overall, a programme of assistance in the immediate term should function as a substitute source of support for children whose problems have arisen because of the absence of normal support networks. In the longer term, it should aim at linking the children into new and better networks than they are presently linked into: those of other people on the street, including criminal networks.

4.8 Postscript: What Happens to Street Children When They Grow Up?

Some children do continue to sleep out as they grow older. Very early in the mornings youths can be seen sleeping on the streets in different parts of the city. Of course there are also those adults who

beg for a living, some of whom sleep on the streets as well.

In some cases, as they grow up they get other jobs which take them away from the streets, for example the militia and military services, and others which do not require literacy. Most of these jobs are inevitably low paying.

Others may simply move from *garabaasho* (searching), to *shaxaad* (asking people to give money or buy meals for whatever reasons the seeker can put forward). This is a slightly more socially acceptable form of begging. The following case study is an example of where this has happened.

Other forces may push or pull children away from street life. Certainly as children grow older they appear sometimes to 'grow out' of a group, and move to another where members are closer to their own age or interests. Chance contacts, marriage and other life events may also be the stimulus. In this case study the support of an unrelated family, and the government youth organisation took Yusuf off the streets. Although his life has changed in terms of the location at which he sleeps his means of earning income has not changed substantially.

We have as yet not come across ex-street children who are now in occupations where they are earning substantially higher incomes than average, although there are some cases where children from the Afgooye orphanage have achieved this.

Yusuf; a 20 year old ex-street child

Yusuf is a former street child. He lived for many years on the streets at various locations around the city.

Yusuf was born in Luuq, Gedo region. When he was two months old his mother deserted him and his step-mother raised him. During that time he was well cared for, and attended koranic school, but later his father divorced his step-mother and brought Yusuf and his step-brother to attend school in Mogadishu.

They arrived in Mogadishu half way through the school year and so Yusuf had to stay at home until the next year. At that time his sister-in-law needed some help in the house, and so he went to stay with her, expecting to enrol in school in the next academic year. He says he waited for two years, helping in the house all the time, for the promise to send him to school to be fulfilled. But it was not, so at the age of thirteen he started to refuse to do the household work, which he hated. In response, he says, his sister-in-law started to beat him, and refused to feed him when his step-brother was not there. So one day he just left and started to live at a place in Hodon where a young boy helped him to start work.

When he first moved out of the house, he was with a group of 10 children between the ages of 10-15. There were few in the group who stole he says: most were earning a living. There were plenty of places to work but only two jobs were open to them: car cleaning and shoe polishing. Since there were few cars in Mogadishu in those days, shoe cleaning was a competitive business amongst children; there was a long line of shoe cleaners outside the Croce del Sud hotel in those days.

Yusuf started shoe cleaning. He bought the equipment, a box with several brushes and waxes of different colours, for 10/-. Part of this money was a gift from his friend. He says that at that time there were no working children, only street children in that area, but competition for work was still considerable and so he worked only a few days a week, and shared money with his friends when not working. Like today, the street children were in groups with a leader, and sub-leaders.

Yusuf was earning less than 1/- a day at that time, and 'tiknik' food used to cost 1/-. But he and his friends used to buy 5/- worth of bread and bananas, which was more than enough for them all. So although he earned little, by sharing, and because food was so cheap, he could buy 'tiknik' food most days. Sometimes when he had no money he would get free food from two restaurants, and at one restaurant the waiter would give him free *canjeero* and sauce if he really needed it. In return he did small jobs, like getting rid of rubbish etc. Later, he used to get his clothes from a shop keeper in the town centre, whose car he used to watch.

But because of the low income he was getting, Yusuf later swapped to car cleaning. He did not mind it at the time, but later he regretted it. Once a customer said he had stolen goods from the car and he was arrested. Sometimes customers came back and said they had no money. After these problems, Yusuf found himself regular customers, who were traders in the areas, and had to leave their cars unattended for many hours.

Yusuf liked living on the streets, and it never crossed his mind to go home. However he says it was not all fun: for example, when it rained, or there was no work, or there were fights. Also Yusuf paid protection money for two years, until he became a group leader, which changed things around. The children also used to fight with bottles and stones, although no one used razors in those days. The children did not sniff glue, but sniffed petrol and drank alcohol. He says child molesters used to come to the children as well. Sleep was difficult, as many of the children were drunk or high on petrol, and so they got in to problems with passers by. Sometimes the streets would be cleared, and the children sent to different regions. Sometimes he was arrested because he would not give the police enough information. Life on the streets has left scars on Yusuf's body. When he was ill, like other children, he would go to the sea to bathe, because he believed this was the best remedy for pain and inflammation, and he was afraid to go anywhere else in case the police made enquiries. At that time Yusuf believed he was tough and could be someone on the street. His dream for the future was to be a driver and a mechanic.

Life changed for Yusuf when his group met a young girl on her way home from school. The group started demanding protection money from her, but Yusuf admired the way she stood up for herself, and so he told them to leave her alone, and he took her home. The mother, whose husband had left her, said she needed someone to protect her children from street gangs on the way to school. She let Yusuf live with them and share their home in return for taking the girl to and from school. As their house was near the district office, Yusuf began to attend meetings there, as a representative of the family and later became a member of the youth organisation.

After a few years working with the youth organisation, Yusuf got married to another girl and moved away from this family. They now have one son. However, although he spends a lot of time with them, he does not often sleep at his wife's family home where she lives.

Yusuf's life now differs from that of a street child in two respects:

- firstly, he now sleeps at various people's houses, instead of various different street locations;
- secondly, he now has a wife and a child to support, and has some respect in the local community. Now many Xamar Weyne business people trust him because they have got to know him over a long period of time.

However like street children Yusuf still makes his money by searching for work. Sometimes he

carries goods, working as a labourer, or helps shop owners protect their goods at Ciid when there are a lot of customers. But mostly he supports his family by "shaxaad". Yusuf shares all the money he gets, except the cost of his food, with his wife each morning.

When not working Yusuf kills time playing cards at a bar with his friends. Since he has no education, he expects his future to be much the same as his life now. He says he no longer has the dreams he had when a child, and regrets the time he spent living on the street, although he would still like to be a driver, or a business adviser. He thinks that since Somali businessmen have no written information about marketing, and he knows a lot about what goods are in demand and what are over-supplied, he could do that. But he depends a lot on his wife's family, and does not know how things will work out, or if they will prepare some kind of investment for him.

5. CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

5.1 Introduction

There are at least five institutions in which children are living, in or near Mogadishu. They are as follows:

- Xarrunta Dhalinta Kacaanka (Camp of the Children of the Revolution)
 - Afgooye
 - Lafoole
- Dugsiga Dhaqan Roggidda (School for Cultural Change)
- Families for Children Orphanage
- SOS Children's Village

We would regard any children who have to live for extended parts of their childhood in institutions as potentially very disadvantaged. In both developed and under-developed countries such places should be regarded as the option of *last resort*.

The reasons why they should be regarded as such are:

1. The quality of personal care available to children, emotionally and physically, is rarely as good as in a family. Even in a physically poor family the quality of the parent-child relationship can outweigh the impact of physical deprivation.
2. In an institution children are frequently subject to control and direction from a number of authority figures, none of whom has any final responsibility for any individual child. As a result children learn, more than anything else, how to manipulate their way with adults.
3. At the same time, in such institutions there is typically a high turnover of staff who are employed to care for the children. Few stay for as long as the children themselves. In these circumstances children have little possibility of developing long-standing and significant relationships with adults.
4. Frequently the environment which prevails in such institutions is very different from that in a normal community. At the worst, boys and girls are totally isolated from each other. In that situation children grow up without the experience of normal relationships between the sexes.
5. Because such institutions often are home to large numbers of children and require a significant

amount of staffing and resources, the prime concern of those adults running them is control. It is thus very easy for an orphanage to take on military characteristics. In this situation it is very easy for children's basic rights to be ignored.

In the following section we have described the situation of children in the above institutions on the basis of the information we were given in September and December 1986.

5.2 Xarrunta Dhalinta Kacaanka (Camp of the Children of the Revolution):

This organisation provides facilities for children who are abandoned or orphaned, and those whose families cannot afford to support them. Children in such circumstances in Mogadishu are provided for by two orphanages: the Lafoole orphanage for boys, and the Afgooye orphanage for girls, and children under 5. We were told that 1,100 children were living at Lafoole and 626 at Afgooye. In these two institutions, we were told, 70% of children were orphans, 20% were abandoned children, and 10% came from poor families.

Both institutions are run by Ciidanka Asluubta (the Custodial Corps), a military body who are also responsible for the prisons. The governing structure of the two institutions is made up of the Principal of each school, who appoints a governing committee, with representatives from the administration, employees, and the youth organisation. The Custodial Corps provides 80% of the staff of both institutions and the remaining 20% are provided by the Ministry of Education.

5.2.1 Afgooye orphanage:

The Afgooye orphanage had, prior to the Revolution, been staffed by the Sisters of the Catholic Church in Mogadishu. After the Revolution, when the Orphanage was taken over by the government the Catholic Church, through Caritas, maintained its commitment to the centre until the end of 1986. At the moment the majority of staff working at the orphanage are women.

As we stated this institution houses the girls and children under 5. Residents are divided into 3 groups: Young children (0-4 years), Intermediate (Primary School age), and Secondary (Secondary School age)

In the under-5 group there are four children for every 'mother'. This ratio increases with the children's age.

The young children's section is remarkably well resourced thanks to the efforts of the Sisters and Italian Aid. The resources available to these infants would be envied by most mothers and children in the city, with specially designed bathrooms and furniture, quality cots, and a large selection of toys, including a playground with climbing frames etc. The Sisters have monitored the children's food and health care, administering nursing and medicine to children who do not need to be admitted to hospital, and ensuring daily health care procedures for all the infants. The Principal at the school was very concerned about the Sisters' imminent withdrawal from the institution (December 1986).

The resources for older children were much more sparse. Dormitories were crowded, and although older girls were in smaller dormitories, they still had little space. Crowding has led to the use of corridors in the main building as dormitories. The most remarkable feature of these dormitories was their spartan appearance. There were no personal belongings visible at all. This is apparently because of the regulations governing the lives of children in the orphanage. The personal

appearance of the children varied: the older girls were well-dressed in uniform cotton frocks, but the younger girls were dressed in old and sometimes dirty clothes.

5.2.2 Lafoole orphanage:

The Lafoole orphanage started in May 1970. The first children to live there were street children who had been collected off the streets of Mogadishu the same year. Since then other boys have come there from Afgooye orphanage, as they grew older, and from families who cannot support their children. The boys living there range from 5 to 18 years of age. Almost all the staff are male. This centre is larger, much more military in its approach to discipline and organisation, and the living facilities are in poor repair. The dormitory ceilings often leak, and again there was little evidence of the fact that people lived in the institution. For a place that accommodates 1,100 children the Somali term *Xarrunta* meaning camp is far more appropriate a description than orphanage. It is a huge institution.

The children who have relatives in Mogadishu do have some rights to visit those relatives during school vacations. Those that go out of the camp and do not return are apparently not pursued or brought back.

The hospital at the Lafoole site is the main health resource for both institutions, with 70 beds, 3 doctors, 14 nurses, and a regular dental surgery. When we visited the hospital we were told that the main diseases were tropical (malaria etc.), and caused by malnutrition. Skin diseases were common. By our calculations the meat budget for the whole camp was 20/- per day per child, not counting any consumption by staff at the camp. Tomatoes and onions as well as meat and rice or maize were the main part of the diet but not in large amounts. The World Food Programme has in the past provided food aid to both centres. A bakery at Afgooye provides rolls for all the children at both sites. The Afgooye orphanage has the additional advantage of having a large garden where staff are able to grow fruit and vegetables, some of which are consumed by the children. The Afgooye orphanage buys meat by the whole animal whereas at Lafoole the meat is bought already cut.

Children at both institutions attend Primary, Secondary and Koranic classes. At 16, when they complete secondary school, they complete their National Service for 2 years (some do this in other regions). Some children receive full time vocational training but all attend skills training classes in the afternoons. Each afternoon girls are taught, sewing and secretarial skills, and to use knitting machines. In each workshop, a display of products was in view, but some had obviously been produced many years ago. We know nothing about the standard and use of the training the girls are receiving. Boys at Lafoole have the advantage of a large Vocational Training Workshop funded by German Aid and staffed by both Somali and foreign teachers.

In both institutions staff were becoming increasingly aware of the problems of institutionalisation. There is, we were told, an effort being made to recruit more staff with better educational backgrounds than those of the present staff working for the custodial corps. Some former trainees are also being taken on as staff, especially in Afgooye. Efforts have been made to get the children out of the Afgooye orphanage both through home stays for children with relatives during school holidays, and camping visits to other regions during the holidays. School leavers are helped where possible, and in the past some school leavers have lived at the institutions whilst they find accommodation. Some graduates from Lafoole and Afgooye have been successful, and now occupy positions of influence in the government and the private sector.

Looking at both institutions it seems clear that the children at the Lafoole orphanage are the more

disadvantaged, in terms of both physical resources available to them and the type of residential environment that exists there.

5.3 Dugsiga Dhaqan Roggida (The School For Cultural Correction):

The School For Cultural Correction, more often known as "the Militia Centre", is run by the Guul Wade, a military organisation which grew out of the Revolution. The school was first established in January 1986 as a result of a Presidential directive. At that stage 270 women prostitutes (age 14-40), and 120 boys (age 8-18) were collected from the streets of Mogadishu and detained in the school for "cultural correction". Previously prostitutes who had been arrested by the Municipal police had been detained elsewhere, for 2 to 4 days, in much worse conditions than at present.

The ideas behind the training the people receive are mixed. The school seems to have two functions. One is containment. The other is indoctrination, ostensibly with the mainstream values of Somali culture, through both revolutionary education (Kacaan) and Islamic instruction. At the end of this period of instruction, the detainees are to be placed in jobs. This measure is supposed to prevent a lapse back in to former ways of life.

In September 1986 when we visited the school there were still 120 to 160 women and 80 to 100 children remaining in the centre from this original group. Some of those originally detained had been released shortly after their detention but on what criteria we do not know. Those boys who remain there will do so until they are 18 years of age, at which time they will be released, and presumably will be "rehabilitated". The women, it seems, are released when the authorities decide that they have been "rehabilitated".

At the time of our visit to the school in September we individually interviewed 30 boys, in the presence of a member of the school staff.

Not all the children saw themselves as street children. Several insisted they were wrongly detained. Four said they had been living with a household before being detained and another five said they were part-time street children, sometimes living out and sometimes not. For the rest the most common places they slept were the street (13), the cinema (4), the market (3) and (1) did not specify where he slept.

As with the street children in Xamar Weyne, only a minority (7) said they had been living with their parents (or parent) in the last household that they had lived in prior to living on the streets. Most had been staying with brothers or sisters (10) or uncles or aunts (9) .

The ways they had been earning a living were also essentially the same. The activities they reported were: car washing (15), rubbish collection (6), theft (5), labouring (4), shoe shining (3), sweeping (1), and selling *sambuusi* (1).

Like the street children we interviewed on the street, these children came from a range of backgrounds. Not all came from poor households; almost 45% had come from households living in *sarro*. Of the 30 previous household heads, 7 could be described as skilled workers (carpenter, teacher, driver). The interviewers themselves described more than half (53%) of the previous households the children had been living in as normal or wealthy.

The one conspicuous difference between the two groups of street children was that in the school one third of the previous household heads had come from Galgaduud region whereas those of the

street children in Xamar Weyne came from a wide range of regions (11).

Of all the children we interviewed in the school, 16 said they had never been to school. All those who had been to school had since left but all claimed they could read and write in Somali. From what we understood there was a basic literacy programme for the children at the school but no attempt to give normal primary and secondary school education.

The existence of this centre marks a change of attitude towards the problem of street children. In 1972, children were collected into a home as a means of providing for them. In 1987, they are detained, with the same provision for their basic needs, and with less freedom. Some children are permitted leave outside to visit family or kin but, unlike Lafoole, if they do not return they will be pursued and brought back.

While there obviously seems a need to improve the educational and other opportunities for the children in this centre, there is a risk that any such assistance will encourage the view that an institution such as this is the best way to deal with or help street children. Unless they have been found guilty of crimes adults would normally be gaoled for, we can see little reason for confining children against their will in any institution.

5.3 SOS Children's Village:

This institution is run by SOS in cooperation with the Somali government, through the Somali Women's Democratic Organisation. SOS is a non-governmental secular organisation operating in 85 countries of the world, of which 21 are African. It is funded by charity, mainly from Western Europe and Canada.

SOS's charter is to provide 'family based' care until independence to children in need (i.e. they are orphaned or in need for other reasons).

The Village in Mogadishu was opened in December 1985 on a beautifully landscaped site with all modern requirements on the edge of Kaaraan District. It houses 67 children and has an attached day nursery. The family backgrounds of the resident children were given as follows:

10 orphans previously resident at the Afgooye Orphanage.

50 abandoned children.

7 children from broken-down fostering arrangements.

Children are accepted into the Village through a committee. Membership of this committee includes the President of SWDO, the Mayor of Mogadishu, and the doctor responsible for the Banaadir Children's Hospital.

There are 13 houses on the site, 11 of which are currently filled. Once full, no new children will be accepted until the present children are of an age to go to transitional or independent accommodation. Once children reach adolescence a student and apprentices' house will be built to give them the interim care and attention they will need between life in the Village and full independence.

Each house is formed as a family with a 'mother' and an 'auntie'. 'Family' staff are recruited locally and receive training in child care twice a week. Attention is paid to all aspects of child care and

development.

The Village has a kindergarten, open to children who are not resident in the Village:

"a kindergarten is open at the Village in Mogadishu with future plans of building a primary school. The kindergarten accepts children from outside the Village as well. Presently 63 children attend the SOS kindergarten, 35 of whom come every morning from various parts of Mogadishu. The children in the kindergarten are between the ages of three and a half to six years, but 7 year olds are accepted if they think the child is not ready for primary school. The fee charged to non-SOS families is 500/- a month and due to the transportation involved only children from wealthy families can attend." (Goddard and Shirwa, 1986).

It is clear that no criticism could be made of the commitment and intentions of the SOS Children's Village organisation, or their staff. Every possible means of ensuring the current development and future welfare of the child has been catered for in the plans and activities of the Village. However, the intention of SOS is to integrate their system with local culture, and this hardly seems possible using the approach they currently adopt. Although all caring staff are recruited locally, and efforts are made to buy some items locally (many wooden toys have been imported for example, but attention is given to making toys from locally available materials), the standard of material care and resources with which these children will grow up far exceeds anything which all but the most privileged Somali children, or even many European children, could ever expect to have. Because of this difference, we suspect that many children growing up in this environment will face major problem adjusting to normal Somali society when they are old enough to leave the village.

Perhaps the most dangerous thing about the Village may be that ill-advised planners in Mogadishu might feel that the standard set by SOS is the only acceptable one, whereas in fact it is a standard that is impossible to sustain without enormous foreign aid inputs. It is only possible to be pleased that children who might otherwise have had a very hard life, or may even have died, as we were told, have been given such an opportunity for care and a happy childhood. Otherwise it must be recognised that the level of resources invested in these relatively few children is high, and the Village is not a sustainable model for a developing country.

5.4 Families for Children Orphanage:

Families for Children (FFC) is a Canadian Organisation, which has an agreement to work in Somalia with UNHCR, and the National Refugee Commission. The UNHCR provides a budget, and some food (also provided by WFP), the Somali Government provides the site, with electricity and water and security staff to guard it, and FFC provides a foreign staff input. Other agencies such as CBM have also helped at times by providing needed resources.

The orphanage takes, on referral from the NRC, unaccompanied and physically handicapped refugee children. It opened in 1981, on the site of a former physically handicapped training centre. There are currently 208 children (36 female) living in the Orphanage, though it has a capacity of 230. The age range is from two to nineteen but 45% are over 16 years. There are 41 handicapped children.

Until recently⁷⁹ this institution had suffered from two major problems. One is that it has constantly been under-financed (both for recurrent and capital expenditure). The buildings are in disrepair, and frequently staff have had to call on the assistance of other organisations and private individuals to

79 BOCD staff visited the orphanage in late 1986

provide equipment as basic as taps for washing and beds for the children. Still at this stage there are no doors on the boys' living quarters. In addition the food is inappropriate and many of the illnesses are related to poor diet.

The second problem in the past has been the FFC staffing policy. Somali house staff are poorly trained, and cannot maintain standards of care unless monitored by those in management positions. Volunteers who normally fill most of the management roles, pay their own fares and receive only board and lodging whilst in country. As a result most can afford to stay only for three to six months. At times there have been no handovers between staff who are leaving and those who are coming, so what gains that have been made are lost and people have to start from scratch again. At times over the past two years, there has been only one FFC volunteer at the institution fulfilling, as far as possible, a work load intended for several.

Apart from the management problems this staffing arrangement causes, it also leads inevitably to very institutionalised behaviour by the children in the orphanage. Theft by children has been common and FFC workers have shared the opinion that few children show signs of attachment and loyalty.

Efforts were being made to redress the situation when we visited the Orphanage in 1986. Plans to augment the budget for 1987, the essential first step, were being discussed. With an augmented budget, it is hoped that repair and development of the facilities will be possible.⁸⁰ A current FFC volunteer is proposing to FFC that future volunteers should at least have a small salary to encourage them to stay longer. It is hoped that the low key vocational training, that is already available to children, will be developed to help those children old enough to leave the orphanage and live independently. A feasibility study is proposed to look at possibilities of linking up the younger children with any relatives they might have in the camps as well as the possible integration of children into the local community and/or into an independent life in the community.

In many ways the FFC orphanage is the antithesis of the SOS Village. FFC problems all appear to stem from long term under-resourcing, whereas the only problems SOS children may come across will stem from over-resourcing. Although it is easy to criticise the FFC institution, if the proposed changes happen and consistent staff training programmes were introduced, in many ways the institution could still provide a more sustainable model for institutional child care than that which is offered by SOS . At present however, it is essential for the welfare of children currently at the orphanage that the proposed changes take place.

5.5 The alternatives

5.5.1 District based fostering and adoption

The least recognised, but perhaps the most successful and sustainable government intervention to support abandoned and orphaned children is the action taken by some Social Affairs officers at the district level in Mogadishu. (We were unable to interview Social Affairs officers in all districts but we did contact officers in Kaaraan, Cabdulcasiis, and Wadajir.)

Abandoned and orphaned children are normally brought to the District Commissioner's office by a concerned person. The Social Affairs officers in those offices have the child taken to Banaadir Hospital for a medical check up and then proceed to look for families within the district who will take

⁸⁰ We have since been informed that the budget, which was previously 6.1 million shillings a year has now been increased to 12 million

the child in as a foster child. Where this is not possible they will then try to have the child placed in an orphanage.

This district-based system has many merits. The children remain within the area they first came from. They are given family, not institutional, care and attention. They lead a normal life style, and are well integrated into the society. Most important, as they grow older they are part of the private support systems and contacts that operate for the household in which they live. Although according to tradition, orphans cannot inherit in the same manner as blood line heirs there are positive cultural beliefs that work in the child's favour. Within Islam it is believed that giving help to orphans is an act of virtue and will bring reward to the family. It is also a belief that each child has his/her own luck, and will bring this to the household in which they come to live. This system is far more sustainable than any other operating at present in Mogadishu. Its potential as an appropriate support system for children in need of care may not have yet been fully developed.

It is not known how many children are abandoned in the city each year. We know that SOS children's village received 50 abandoned children between December 1985 and December 1986. In Kaaraan District the District Officer believed they received about 45 such children each year. In 1986, five of these were taken to SOS, and many of the others went to households in the districts. In Wadajir the Social Affairs officer said they received requests to place 10 to 15 children a year. For a district of possibly 15,600 families this is a very small number (0.01% of households at the very most). It seems very likely that before this step is taken many more orphaned and abandoned children are taken care of from within their own kin networks and without the assistance of government at all.

5.5.2 Private institutional provision

In principal there would seem to be a role for indigenous non-government welfare organisations in Mogadishu. The government's own expenditure on social and educational components of government services has declined drastically in this decade (See Chapter 10). Associated with this change has been the increased privatisation of health and education services. While this will mean improved services for those who can afford them, it will also very likely mean that only the worst services will be available to those who cannot afford otherwise. At the same time it is clear from the continued growth of Mogadishu that there are certain sectors of society which do have the money available to support indigenous non-government welfare organisations. If those welfare organisations are able to target their health and education resources to those most in need then that may be the best which can be expected for the most disadvantaged in Mogadishu in the foreseeable future.

A potentially constructive step in this direction has been taken by the establishment of the National Council Of Social Welfare in 1985. That body has now been established with representatives on its executive committee from government, private business and non-government bodies. Its aims include the following:

1. Coordination activities relating to welfare, including relations between local welfare organisations and their counterparts abroad.
2. Collection and analysis of information relating to social welfare.
3. To "organise, assist, establish and encourage welfare organisations".
4. To support welfare organisations in obtaining the necessary legal status.
5. To design projects and programmes.
6. To publicise the value of social welfare organisations and to encourage public participation in

such organisations.

7. To attract funds and other assistance for social welfare activities.

In 1986 three sub-committees were set up to take specific responsibility for the above activities as they related to children, the aged and the disabled. The childrens committee (Samafalka Caruurta) was actively assessing the state of children's services in the city in late 1986.

5.6 Recommendations

1. An immediate step that the NCSW could take would be to work out alternatives to the placement of more children in orphanages. It is highly likely that there is latent demand by many families in Mogadishu to adopt a child. This is certainly the case in many other parts of the world. The NCSW could set up a small office which would act as a coordinating body for adoption and fostering of children in the city. With sufficient advertising it could soon have a list of families wanting to adopt a child. The Social Affairs officers in each district could liaise with this office when they have children in need of care. If this system proceeded satisfactorily, the next step could be taken. This would be to try to have children (the youngest first) taken out of the present orphanages and adopted or fostered into families prepared to care for them.
2. After these essentially preventative measures have been taken it would be appropriate for the NCSW to act as an advocate for the interests of children in these institutions. It could, with its current mandate, mobilise the resources needed to improve the conditions in orphanages, both from within Somalia and outside.

However we expect that the NCSW will face one major problem. That is of public trust by both people within Somalia and outside Somalia. The question in people's minds in Mogadishu will be "whose interests are they looking after". Non-government welfare organisations are a new phenomenon in Somalia. People have experience of individuals being charitable but not of organisations (in an equitable way). Only a professional approach to their task will convince people of their sincerity, and even then only after some time. Similarly foreign organisations will be asking 'is this simply another means of catching foreign aid funds or is this organisation showing evidence that it is able to do some important work on its own using Somali resources?'

3. We would suggest that the institutions be attended to in the following order of priority:

1. Dugsiga Dhaqan Roggida
2. Families for Children orphanage
3. Dhalinta Kacaanka
 - Lafoole
 - Afgooye
4. SOS Village

It is usually much easier to mobilise resources for institutions looking after infants and young children than it is for those caring for adolescents. This is one of the reasons why we have listed the institutions in the above order. The first three all have substantial number of teenage children in their care.

4. If foreign agencies are willing to provide aid for the institutions we have described they should give priority to projects improving the children's education rather than those relating to the recurrent costs of the institution itself. Wherever possible those costs should be met by either the

Somali government or indigenous non-government organisations. Furthermore such assistance should be given only in association with an active plan to move children from the institution to more normal settings.

We make the above recommendations with some caution. Ideally the educational facilities used by children should be those already located in the nearby community. If this is not possible then educational facilities in institutions should be open to use by those in the surrounding community. The overall aim should be to minimise the isolation of children from the rest of normal society. Aid given by foreign donors to meet the educational needs of the children in institutions should ideally try to incorporate social education goals in their planning.

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Chapter 17: BEGGARS

*Dadka waxuu kugu naaca su'aasha Ilaaheynta wuxuu kuugu naaca su'aal
la'aanta.*

(People dislike you for asking and God dislikes you for not asking)

The most visibly poor in Mogadishu are those people who beg on the streets in the centre of the city. Understanding the real circumstances of these people poses more of a challenge than any other group in Mogadishu. Their livelihood is begging and an essential part of that occupation is public relations. Therefore any of the data we⁸¹ have gathered can be fairly regarded with some scepticism. However since no one else, to our knowledge, has attempted systematically to gather any information on this group they should nevertheless be given some attention.

The area on which we focused was the District of Xamar Weyne and part of the District of Xamar Jab Jab (See Fig 1.1). This area was chosen because it is the commercial centre of Mogadishu and is generally thought to be the place where the greatest number of beggars is concentrated. Three methods were used to gather information. One was to count the number of people begging on the street at different times of the day. The second was to carry out a brief interview of 34 of those people. The third was to do a more extended interview of three beggars. Because of lack of time no interviews were made of other people in the area who could be expected to be knowledgeable about beggars, such as shop owners, policemen or street children.

17.1: THE INCIDENCE OF BEGGING

Poverty has seasonal elements in cities as well as in the rural areas of Somalia. It is generally thought that the largest number of beggars can be seen on the streets of Mogadishu in the *Jilaal*, the long dry season before the *Gu* rains, when there is little work to be done in the nearby agricultural areas. Episodic administrative action to remove beggars from the streets also leads to fluctuations in the numbers of beggars on the streets. Because of these two influences any estimates of numbers of people begging on the streets are likely to be accurate only for a short period of time.

In the first and second weeks of December 1986⁸² we made three separate counts, from a vehicle, of the numbers of beggars on 5 streets in the Xamar Weyne area (See Appendix 17.1 for details). We estimated that the streets surveyed represented approximately 55% of the total street length in the area. Both major and minor streets were selected. The count was done at three different times of the day 8.00 to 9.00 a.m., 11.00 to 12.p.m. and 5.00 to 6.00 p.m.

81 The field research for this study was carried out by Cabdi Ibraahim Faarax, with assistance in planning and analysis by Rick Davies.

82 An earlier count was made of beggars in September 1986, prior to the survey of 30 beggars. A recount was made in December because the September survey had been carried out at only one time of the day.

The numbers we found varied from 34 to 63, with the largest number found between 8.00 to 9.00 a.m. On the basis of these figures and our knowledge of the area we have estimated that there may have been up to 120 beggars on the streets of Xamar Weyne and the adjacent part of Xamar Jab Jab at the time of our count in December 1986.

The beggars we counted were distributed as follows:

Table 17.1: The distribution of beggars by sex, in Xamar Weyne

Men	65 %
Women	35 %
N = 135*	100 %

* figures from the three counts were aggregated, so some individuals are likely to have been double counted.

Table 17.2: The distribution of beggars by other characteristics, in Xamar Weyne

Characteristic	N	Proportion	Comment
Aged (50** years or more)	60	44 %	(7 women)
Disabled	34	25 %	(1 woman)
Women with children	21	16 %	
Women without children	18	13 %	
Other men	14	10 %	
Men with children	4	3 %	
N = 135	Note: 16 beggars were both aged and disabled		

**This is very approximate, based on visual impressions only

17.2: CASE STUDIES OF THREE BEGGARS

17.2.1 Aliyow

(Aged 70 (sic)) Caliyow was born in Bur Hakaba, a major town in Bay Region, not far from Mogadishu. As an adult he earned his living through dry land farming as well as keeping animals. In 1961 at the age of 44 he married his first wife and shortly thereafter they had a son. Two years later, after divorcing his first wife he married his second wife. They have since had three children, one of whom has died. He now has two sons and a daughter, aged 25, 13 and 17 respectively.

In 1977 he became paralysed in the left arm and leg. Later he also lost his left eye as a result of measles (sic). Five years later, in 1982 he and his wife were divorced, because of his disability.

Caliyow first came to Mogadishu eight years ago, after he was disabled and no longer able to do any farming. Normally he stays in Mogadishu for a month and then returns to his village for two months, unless it is very dry in which case he may stay in Mogadishu for two or three months.

Because he is paralysed he cannot move around by himself so when he is in Mogadishu he hires a *gari gacanle* (handcart operator) to move him from place to place, usually for about 10/- a trip. Most of the day he stays at Afar Irdood, where there are a lot of people passing through to buy or sell things in the surrounding streets, shops and market. At night time he sleeps under the arcade of the shops in the same area. His daily income varies from 50/- to 60/-. Usually he eats twice a day. Once a day, if he earns enough, he eats rice or *muufo* in a restaurant. At other times he buys drinks and snacks from the women who move around the area selling tea. When he does not get enough money he does not go to any special place to beg for it but stays instead without food until he gets enough money.

Caliyow has no relatives in Mogadishu but his eldest son and other relatives support him when he returns to his home village. Caliyow himself gives some support to his youngest children who are looking after the family's small herd of animals and farming the land when there is enough rain.

Caliyow's youngest son is going to both koranic school and government primary school at the moment. Caliyow wants this son to complete both primary and secondary school so he can support the rest of the family in the future. Caliyow himself has never been to school and cannot read and write Somali but he did learn some arabic when he went to Koranic school in his childhood.

Caliyow says his main needs are for some form of transport to make it easier for him to get around (a motorised tricycle), and some help to ensure that his son learns enough to be able to get a good job and support the rest of the family. However he was very sceptical that any good would come out of the interview. To him it was just *dabayl* (wind)

17.2.2 Maadey

(Aged 67) Maadey was born in Berdaale village, Bakool Region. There his family had some animals and a small plot of rainfed land which they farmed. At the age of 32 he married and he now has one son and two daughters. His wife and children are still living in his home village in Bakool region. Maadey left there over a year ago after the rains had been very poor for three years. He needed to find another way of supporting his family, especially one which provided a more regular source of income.

Maadey normally stays in the Afar Irdood area of Xamar Weyne during the day time. He says he earns from 100/- to 150/- a day from begging. He visits his family in Bakool very often. The last time was only seven days prior to the interview. With his income from begging he is able to give regular support to his family. He does not look for paid work because he is too old for labouring jobs and also he is illiterate.

At night time Maadey sleeps in a one room *cariish* in Buulo Eelay, in Waaberi District. He shares the room and the rent with three others.

The day before the interview Maadey had eaten two meals, of rice, *muufo* and coffee. He says he usually gets enough money for food. He cooks for himself, in his house.

His hopes are that his children will get good jobs in the future and thus be able to support the rest of the family. He would like his wife to run a small business like selling milk or vegetables, if she could get the capital needed.

17.2.3 Maano

(Aged 30) Maano was born in Aw Dinle village, Bay region in 1956. At the age of 15 she was married to her present husband. They used to farm the land but left a year ago because of poor rains. They do not own any animals. Now both her and her husband are earning a living by begging on the streets in the Ceel Gaab area of Mogadishu.

Maano says they each earn about 20/- a day. Despite this low reported income they manage to eat twice daily. Their meals usually consist of bread, *muufo* with sauce and tea. Occasionally they also eat in the streets (fruit, tea and bread). She says their income from begging does not always cover their food needs so they sometimes go to restaurants and ask for some food.

At night they both live in a single room *baraako* in Buulo Eelay. This costs them 200/- in rent per month.

When they go back to their village they receive some support from their relatives there, in both cash and kind, but especially in kind after the harvests. They have no children.

Maano cannot read or write since she has never been to school. Her main need is for medical treatment. She says that she has been suffering from a nervous disease which causes her to lose consciousness.

17.3: PROFILES OF 34 BEGGARS IN XAMAR WEYNE

In September 1986 we interviewed 30 beggars while they were begging on the streets in Xamar Weyne and the edge of Xamar Jab Jab. If the estimates of the numbers of beggars in the area made for December were also approximately correct for September this would represent a sample of possibly 25% of the population who were begging in the area. The interviews were carried out by Somali interviewers. Agreement was reached before the interview that a fixed amount of *baqshiish* would be given at the end of the interview. This was an attempt to control the influence of expectations of reward on the content of the answers. It was also in recognition that these people were "working" and were trying to make money at the same time that the interviewer was wanting to ask questions.

17.3.1: Comparison with the larger group counted in December

The following points should be noted about the sample in relation to the larger population of people begging on the street, as counted in December:

1. The sample contained substantially more disabled people (66% compared to 47% in the December count)
2. The sample contained fewer women (23% compared to 35% in the December count).
3. The sample contained the same proportion of aged people as were counted on the streets in December.

17.3.2: Origins

All the beggars interviewed had migrated to Mogadishu. None had been born there. By comparison, even in the most recently settled and poorest residential areas of the city 9% or more of the household heads had been born in Mogadishu.

The regions from where they had migrated were as follows:

Table 17.3: Regions of origin of beggars interviewed in Xamar Weyne

Region	Number of Beggars	% of beggars	% of the City pop
Shabelle Hoose	9	30.0 %	14.8 %
Bay	4	13.3 %	5.8 %
Bakool	4	13.3 %	1.4 %
Hiran	3	10.0 %	7.5 %
Shabelle Dhexe	3	10.0 %	14.8 %
Jubba Hoose	3	10.0 %	2.7 %
Mudug	2	6.7 %	15.1 %
Sanaag	1	3.35%	0.9 %
Bari	1	3.35%	2.5 %
Other regions	0	-	34.5 %
	N = 30	100.0 %	100.0%

While popular opinion is that the largest number of beggars in Mogadishu come from Bay Region, in this sample those beggars who came from Shabelle Hoose were the most numerous. However in proportion to their numbers in the city as a whole a large number evidently are coming from Bay, Bakool and Jubba Hoose regions.

More than half (57%) said they had been living in Mogadishu for 10 years or more. When we asked when was the last time they had returned to their village, 73% (22) said they had not returned to their village at all. This is somewhat contrary to the prevailing opinion which is that almost all the beggars on the street periodically return to their villages. Of the remainder, 5 of the 7 had returned in the previous month and all 7 in the previous year.

Information was also gathered about the occupations people had before they came to Mogadishu, as well as that of their relatives who are still living in their home village/area. The occupations reported were as follows:

Table 17.4: Occupations of beggars in Xamar Weyne before coming to Mogadishu

Occupation	Of Respondent	Of his/her relatives now
Livestock	10	10
Farming	5	8
Farming and livestock	4	8
Business and farming	1	-
Fishing	-	2
Livestock and fishing	1	-
Tea shop	1	-
Begging	1	-
None reported	7	2
N = 30		

When asked the reasons why they had not since returned to live in their village/area the following answers were given:

Table 17.5: Reasons given by beggars in Xamar Weyne for not returning (permanently) to their villages

Reasons	Incidence	
Lack of land or animals from which to earn a living there	17	52 %
The situation is better here	5	16 %
Too old	4	13 %
Disabled	4	13 %
The cost of returning	2	6 %
N = 30 (two gave multiple answers)		

17.3.3: Family Context

1. The people we interviewed did not have normal family backgrounds. Only a small proportion of those sampled were married (17%). This is very small in comparison to the norm for the adult population in Mogadishu, which is 55% (MNP 1985b:31). Almost half those interviewed were divorced, widowed or separated (47%), compared to 9% of the adult population of Mogadishu. All but one of the women were in this latter category. Of the remainder who had never been married (36%), 9 of the 11 were disabled.

When asked, 60% said they had no children, which is quite plausible given the marital status of those interviewed. Since children are a major source of support for people as they get older this is a very significant disadvantage that this group faces in comparison to others in Mogadishu.

Of those that did have children (12) the family size was surprisingly small given their ages (mean age = 53). The average number of children, amongst those with children, was 2.75 compared to 4.2 average for Mogadishu (MOH 1985:33). There are two possible reasons. One is higher infant mortality rates and the other is the high rates of divorce and separation already described, both of which are often associated with households in poverty.

Of those who had children, 5 (of 12) said their children were working. Three said their children were working outside Mogadishu as farmers and livestock herders. Those working in Mogadishu were working as labourers and domestic workers.

2. A little more than half (57%) of the people interviewed said they had relatives in Mogadishu. Most of those said they received some support from those relatives (12 of 17). The most common forms of support received were:

money	- 12 of 12
clothing	- 10 of 12
food	- 6 of 12
accommodation	- 1 of 12

The survey omitted, unintentionally, a question on what sort of support people had received from their neighbours. For the poorest households this can be a major source of support.

17.3.4: Housing

When we asked what type of house people were living in, a third of those interviewed said they were not living in houses. Of those, 8 of the 10 were sleeping in mosques and 2 were sleeping on the street. Of those living in houses an additional 5 (men) reported sleeping in the mosques on some occasions (usually daytime).

Those living in houses were almost all living in the poorest type of houses. The numbers were as follows:

<i>Sar</i>	1
<i>Jiingad</i>	2
<i>Cariish</i>	6
<i>Waab</i>	11

All but two lived in single rooms.

As expected from the above information, a significant number were living in Xamar Weyne. However the remainder came from a wide range of districts, with the largest number coming from Wadajir (6), Hawl Wadag (5) and Kaaraan (4).

There are a few areas in Mogadishu which have a reputation as places where beggars live. One is the area of Waaberi, known as Buulo Eelay. In our sample we interviewed one 70 year old man who lived in this area. He had originally been a farmer in Janaale in Shabelle Hoose but had left there 24 years ago to work in Mogadishu. His previous source of income had been from selling chewing tobacco. (Information on 91 households in this area was collected as part of the survey of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab, See Chapter 8).

The other area is the *obbosibo* area behind Digfer Hospital, in Hodon District. In our sample we interviewed one divorced woman with children who lived in that area. She also came from Janaale, where she had worked as a farmer. She lived now with her three children in a *waab* of one room. Her previous work in Mogadishu was as a house servant: now she earns money by begging in

Wadajir, Bakaaraha and Xamar Weyne. Because of the small size of this *obbosibo* we did not include it in our household surveys. This settlement is one of the more vulnerable in Mogadishu. There have been occasions in the past when large numbers of people have settled there and then later been given notice by the authorities to move elsewhere. The land on which the people have settled is official government land. Popular beliefs about the people in this settlement are that many are from Bay Region and that the men earn a living as slaughterers (a low status occupation) and the women from begging on the streets.

17.3.5: Most recent occupation

Only 12 of the 30 said their most recent occupation had been looking after livestock, farming or fishing, indicating that the majority had found some type of work after they had come to Mogadishu. The urban occupations reported were:

Watchman	8
House servant	4
Business (sic)	1
Donkey cart worker	1
Tobacco seller	1
Not reported	3

None of the 30 beggars interviewed could read or write Somali. Only 4 of the 30 had attended Koranic school in their childhood.

17.3.6: Sources of income

One of the beggars interviewed was still earning money as a watchman. All the others reported that begging was their only income earning activity. Not all the beggars stayed in one area day after day. Over half (16) reported begging in other locations of the city. The areas mentioned were:

Wadajir	7	(Suuq)
Bakaaraha	6	(Suuq)
K.4	1	(Major intersection)
Banaadir	1	(Hospital)
Waxara Cade	1	(possibly the suuq)
Waaberi	1	(precise location not clear)

N = 16 (one mentioned more than one other location)

17.3.7: Current Income

No questions were asked about the amount of cash income earned each day. Instead, questions were asked about food consumption. When we asked the number of meals eaten per day the following distribution was found:

Table 17.6: Number of meals eaten per day by beggars, in Xamar Weyne

Times per day	Beggars	Beesha Shukri	Waaberi
Four per day	6.6 %	1 %	1 %
Three per day	23.4 %	45 %	82 %
Two per day	63.4 %	42 %	16 %
One per day	6.6 %	12 %	<1 %
	N = 30	N = 218	N = 218

Data from the Waaberi control area and Beesha Shukri have been included for comparison. However, it should be noted that in those areas the question asked was "How many meals did your household cook yesterday" rather than "How many meals did you eat yesterday", which was asked of the beggars. It is very likely the number of meals *eaten* in Waaberi and Beesha Shukri will be greater than the number of meals actually cooked.

The differences between the beggars and households in these two areas is also accentuated when the nature of the diets of the beggars is examined.

The foods consumed were as follows:

Food item	Number of beggars eating	Food item	Number of beggars eating
Tea	27	Bread	25
Rice	14	Coffee	5
<i>Bur</i>	5 (fried flour cakes)	Milk	5
<i>Soor</i>	4 (maize porridge)	<i>Canjeero</i>	3 (pancakes of wheat and maize flour)
Beans	3	Maize	2
Spaghetti	2		

N = 30 people, 95 items (most people mentioned three or more items)

The main sources of carbohydrate amongst the beggars whom we surveyed were obviously bread and rice (and sugar in the tea). Spaghetti, which is the most expensive form of carbohydrate that is commonly available in Mogadishu, was consumed the least. By comparison, in Waaberi 82% of the households interviewed were consuming spaghetti.

Understandably, all the beggars interviewed reported that they do not normally get enough money from begging for their food needs. When asked where they went for food in those circumstances, 2 said they begged for food and 13 said they got it from relatives. The remaining 15 gave no answer. This could suggest the proportion of beggars interviewed who were in fact able to meet more than their own most basic food needs.

17.4 Recommendations

Attitudes towards begging and beggars in Somalia are both sympathetic and harsh. The Quraan teaches that it is a basic responsibility of all Muslims to give support to those who are poor. To give alms to the poor is one of the five pillars of Islam. Nevertheless, those who beg on the streets are seen by most people in Mogadishu to fall into two distinct categories: those who are definitely poor and in need and those who are not so poor but are simply lazy and exploiting the good will of people

passing by. In European terms they are the "deserving poor" and the "undeserving poor". Those who are seen as the "undeserving poor" are judged harshly. However, most people do not consider it shameful for a disabled person to beg on the street, if no other support is available to them. They are more frequently seen as the "deserving poor". It is shameful, though, for the family or relatives of such a person not to provide support if they have the capacity to do so instead of letting them beg for a living.

Attitudes towards the shamefulness of begging are not necessarily the same throughout Somalia. One of the more significant popular beliefs in Mogadishu is that the people from Bay Region, unlike people from other regions, see no special shame in begging. Such beliefs may be accurate in the sense that there are differences in attitude to begging in different parts of Somalia, but they are also potentially very misleading if they then imply that all those who beg have no real need to do so. Such beliefs can then become an excuse for lack of concern, or at worst, condemnation of those who do have to beg for a living.

The first step towards seeing past the popular beliefs that surround beggars is to disaggregate them as a group and to understand the differences that exist between people who are surviving this way. The most useful differences to focus on are those concerning the support networks that people have available to them. If people who beg are differentiated on this basis, then it becomes possible to identify some ways in which they can be assisted in the long term.

On the basis of the survey of 30 beggars we can identify at least four sub-groups:

1. Those with children in Mogadishu:

A significant number of people begging on the streets have children (40% of the sample). These are the most important long term sources of support for those people. Of those we surveyed, 7 of the 12 who had children had them in Mogadishu. This group had not returned to their home village either to give support or to be given support. The best assistance to this group of beggars would be to assist with their children's education so that in the future they would be able to give significant support to their parents. Normally those children, would in themselves, be considered to be "children at risk" and thus a group that should be given priority in their own right. Given the level of illiteracy amongst the parents as well as their poverty, a major risk that they face is that they will receive no education at all as they grow up. (For an example see the case of Bilaan, a working child, described in Chapter 16: Children in Mogadishu.)

2. Those with children outside Mogadishu:

For those who have children who are living outside Mogadishu (3 of 12) it can be assumed they still have some links into the support networks where their children are living (their children included). Another 4 who said they had no children also reported that they had visited their home village in the last year (in most cases in the last month). In these circumstances the most appropriate strategy would seem to be to identify the villages most frequently involved and to consider programmes that could be developed in those villages to meet the needs, not only of the families of those begging in Mogadishu but, equally importantly, others in the village who might be faced with the same option. (A list of villages from which the people interviewed came from is included in Appendix 17.1.) It is the beggars from this group, many of whom do periodically return to their villages, upon which much local opinion about beggars in Mogadishu is founded. Instead of continued cynicism about the entrepreneurial motives of the people coming to Mogadishu from those villages to beg, it would be more appropriate to investigate the conditions whereby income from begging is seen as competitive with traditional sources of income. When a person needs to beg to be able to give support to their

children and kin, as in the case of Aliyow, it is as much a reflection on the poverty of their situation as it is a reflection of the supposed "wealth" of the beggar who is giving.

3. Those without children, living in houses.

Those who are begging in Mogadishu and are without children can be categorised further, on the basis of the other support networks they are likely to be using. One basis of doing this is whether those beggars have access to support from relatives in Mogadishu. The other basis would be the place where they live, in a residential neighbourhood or in a city centre or market location. From a practical point of view the latter basis of classification is more useful. It is easier to verify.

In our sample, 11 of the 18 who had no children were living in some form of housing, in the residential areas of Mogadishu. Although we did not ask about support from neighbours, we would expect from general knowledge of Mogadishu, that many of these would receive some form of support from this source. Some of these will also be getting support from relatives in Mogadishu. In our sample 6 of the 11 were getting some support from relatives. Targeting assistance to this group could best be done effectively through a locality-based programme with broader goals in mind.

4. Those without children, living in mosques or on the streets.

The second group are those who sleep in the mosques and on the streets. Of those in this group whom we interviewed, 7 of the 10 reported having no children. Six of these were disabled, all of whom had never been married. We would consider this latter group to be the most isolated and to this extent the most disadvantaged of all those earning a living by begging, and probably the most disadvantaged in the city as a whole. This group of disabled should therefore be given priority rights of participation in programmes designed for disabled people, over those disabled people who still are linked to neighbourhood and kinship networks, either in Mogadishu or their home villages.

17.5 The problem of access to reliable information:

Critical to any programme aimed at identifying and helping the above groups is the ability to identify the people concerned, through information that is reliable. Some of this information could come from further surveys if care was taken to ask the right questions. For example, asking for those who do not have children could lead to gross exaggerations since those begging would see not having children as a possible basis on which to claim sympathy. Asking an indirect question like "What do you think your children will do when they grow up?" may give a more accurate estimate of those who do and do not have children.

For those with children outside Mogadishu, asking the name of their village is more problematic. People begging on the streets have been deported back to their home villages by city authorities on previous occasions, and this request for information could be understandably misinterpreted. There could well be problems of under-reporting: eight of the beggars interviewed did not name the village or area they came from, they simply said "the countryside". Asking why they came to Mogadishu first, and then eliciting the location, might be feasible.

Similarly asking where people live could lead to an overestimate of the number living on the streets and in the mosques. (However this can be partially checked by contacting the guards of the mosques in the area.) Asking what type of house they are living in may give a more accurate response.

An alternative approach, and preferable to further survey activity, would be to establish a presence in the area where the beggars are located and thus develop some longer term relationships with those begging on the streets. We would suggest that this could best be done in association with a programme aimed at street and working children in the same area. The street children themselves are likely to be significant sources of useful information about those begging on the street.

17.6 Objections:

Objections could easily be raised against any proposal to work with beggars on the basis that there always will be beggars no matter how effective a programme aimed at such a group became. However such an objection misses the point. Begging is simply one of the activities that can sort out the very disadvantaged from the rest of the population. If there are programmes ready to respond, then that group of disadvantaged people can be identified and assisted. Eradication of the need for people to beg will never be achieved solely by a programme working with beggars since the various forces that make people destitute are continuously creating that need. Those forces should, ideally, be dealt with by other policies and programmes. By working with beggars, not only would some of the most disadvantaged in the city be assisted, but the agency involved might then be in a position to inform those macro-level policies and programmes about their impact, or lack thereof, on the lowest strata of society.

Barya badaan iyo buqta badaan waa laysku naca

Lots of begging and lots of sickness are both disliked

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Chapter 18. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. MOGADISHU IN 1987

Discussions about development are usually concerned with two basic issues: growth and equity. This study of Mogadishu has specifically focused on the issue of equity. However, where we have had access to the data we have tried to put the discussion of equity in the overall context of the city's growth. In the section below we have summarised our view of how the city as a whole has coped with its growth since Independence.

On some measures, the city seems to have coped well with its rapid rate of population growth. Despite population increases which may have been between 7% and 11% per annum since 1960, there has been a steady improvement in the standard of housing available to people in the city. Although there have been a number of squatter settlements established since Independence, the number of people living in these settlements at present is a relatively small proportion of the city's population when compared to other African cities. In fact, compared to the situation before Independence it seems as though the proportion of households living in such settlements may have declined. In addition, the quality of water available to households in Mogadishu improved dramatically in the early 1970's and now good quality water is available to the vast majority of households in the city. In particular the proportion of households with direct access to piped water within the house or compounds in which people live has increased significantly in the last decade. As far as employment is concerned, the urban economy has become more diversified. There has been a substantial decline in the proportion of the workforce employed by government and a corresponding expansion of employment in the private sector.

When average household expenditures are examined the trend over the last twenty years is not as positive. The proportion of expenditure devoted to food, water and rent has remained relatively static throughout the whole period. This contrasts with the situation in developed countries such as Britain and USA where the percentage spent on food has dropped dramatically. Employment levels have also shown little change. While the number of people in employment has grown substantially in the last twenty years it has not exceeded the population growth rate. The proportion of the adult population employed in the early 1980's was no greater than in the mid-1960's.

In the area of government services there are greater grounds for concern. In the period following Independence and in the period up to the end of the 1970's there were substantial improvements in both the educational and health services available to the people of Mogadishu. However since then there has been a serious decline in government expenditure (in real terms) on both health and education services. Inevitably this has led to a decline in the quality of the health and educational services available in the city. This is particularly noticeable in the statistics on literacy, primary school enrolment and attendance which indicate an increasingly ill-educated workforce. Although hard data are not available, the deterioration in health services is likely, at the least, to have prevented any improvement in the already very high infant mortality rates. At the worst, the infant mortality rates could well have increased amongst the poorest sections of Mogadishu's population.

2. RESPONSES

The point of this study was to go beyond statements about the average situation of households and individuals in Mogadishu and to identify those households and individuals who have benefited the least from the growth of the economy and the activities of the government in the last twenty years or so.

As a result, the recommendations we have made throughout this report have in most cases not concerned major changes in the shape of macro-level policies for the economy or for the delivery of health, education or other social services. It would not have been appropriate for any small organisation to take on such a task. Our focus has been on the identification of appropriate action that can be taken to help particular disadvantaged groups and areas. In many cases the action involved requires a specific response to those groups in terms of time and resources. One consequence of this approach is that the recommendations are not in the form of a coherent body of policy but more a collection of related recommendations for research and action. The recommendations made throughout the report have been summarised below. (For details of the individual recommendations see the chapters concerned.)

3. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 4: THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

1. For planning purposes it is essential that the government authorities and agencies assisting them have an *approximately accurate* estimate of the city's population. The most useful means of estimating the city's population in the immediate future will be to project from the numbers of births recorded at Banaadir Hospital each year. (See Appendix 4.1)
2. Similarly, information on the share of the city's population resident in each district is needed if there is to be any attempt to allocate government and foreign aid resources equitably within the city. The population percentages calculated for each district which have been provided in this report can be used until the (presumably more accurate) data can be obtained from the 1986 census results for the city. It should be borne in mind of course that, since it is the outermost districts which are growing the most rapidly, the information on the population shares of these districts will soon become underestimates, relative to the rest of the city.
3. Using these data on district population shares, we have identified in particular the two districts of Kaaraan and Yaqshiid as areas which have not received an equitable share of some of the city's resources. These districts should be regarded as priority districts for the receipt of new development assistance. It should be in these districts that improvements in education and health services should be made first of all. If other government factories, offices or facilities are to be established then consideration should be given to locating them in these districts. In particular, plans need to be made as soon as possible for the extension of the city's water supply to the whole of Kaaraan District, including provision for Beesha Shukri.
4. While we can see little need for further investigation into reasons why all migrants in general have come to the city, it would be appropriate to investigate the reasons behind the migration of two groups: those who have migrated from Galagaduud (because of the disproportionately large numbers in Beesha Shukri) and those who are begging on the streets, both during the *jilaa* and during harvest time. Particularly with the latter group, this might help guide the location of appropriate rural development activities.
5. When individuals or households are being selected for possible inclusion in projects aimed at increasing household incomes we would recommend that, amongst those who are poor, those who have been born in the city or lived in the city for longer than average be given priority. These people can be considered to belong to the endemically poor in the city. Despite having been in the city for many years, relatively speaking, they have been powerless to improve their own circumstances.

Chapter 5: LAND OWNERSHIP

6. The most useful measure the Municipality could take to limit the establishment of new *obbosibo* areas would be to publicise and implement the existing law requiring that any piece of land bought from the Municipality must have a building constructed on it within six months of purchase. This should apply to all land regardless of size. A wall around the perimeter should not be taken as sufficient evidence of intent to use the land. This measure will help ensure that there is an adequate stock of cheap rentable (or free for relatives) accommodation in the city. This in turn will influence the decision of households to remain in their rented accommodation rather than settle in *obbosibo* areas.
7. It would not seem necessary to take immediate action on the legalisation of some of the older *obbosibo* areas in the city. These areas can be regarded as useful areas of the city providing cheap housing for poorer sections of the population within reach of the centre of the town. To the extent that richer households choose to live elsewhere, the existence of these areas enables the targeting of assistance to the lowest income groups through the location of such services on a geographical basis. Physical upgrading of these areas without increasing the incomes of people living in the areas will simply lead to their displacement to other, probably more distant parts of the city.

Chapter 6: HOUSING CONDITIONS

8. Production of materials used in housing construction is a significant source of employment in Mogadishu. Replacement of imported roofing iron by locally made roofing material would be a useful step both in the improvement in the standard of housing and in terms of its employment generating affect. Since corrugated iron walled houses (*jingado*) are replacing *carshaan* the production of this material should ideally involve those traditionally involved as *cariish* builders, rather than a few highly capitalised firms. Steps being taken to develop new roofing materials by Habitat and the Ministry of Housing and Public Works should be publicised and the new materials should be used on new development projects wherever possible, as a demonstration of their effectiveness.
9. There is sufficient justification for regarding households living in *carshaan*, *jingado*, and *baraako* as being, on average, poorer than those in *sarro*. On this basis, and on the basis of our own research in particular *obbosibo* areas, we would suggest that all *obbosibooyin* be regarded as areas where households are poorer than average for the city. These areas should therefore be given priority attention for improvements in health, education and income.
10. Within legal areas of settlement it is the households that are living in the most crowded conditions that are the most likely to be the poorest. That can be defined both in terms of the number of households per house and the number of people per room. Where those conditions are identical it is those who are tenants rather than owners, and those in *carshaan* rather than *sarro* who are then likely to be the poorer.

Chapter 7: PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT

11. With the exception of the 6% to 14% of households with no working members, it is the type of employment rather than the absolute availability of employment which has the greater effect on household incomes in Mogadishu.

Amongst those who are wage earners, those with the following characteristics are more likely to be earning low incomes:

- casually employed workers rather than regular employees
- unskilled rather than skilled workers
- private sector workers rather than government workers.

In this group would be labourers, domestic servants, watchmen/women, garbage collectors, sweepers and cleaners.

Amongst those who are self-employed, those with the following characteristics are more likely to be earning low incomes:

- those not employing any other adults
- those employing their own children
- traders without premises (rented or owned), operating on the streets and market fringes and with stock of small value and volume
- small scale artisans
- home based food producers.

In this group would be mat, basket, fan and broom makers, *bajiya* and *muufo* makers, small-scale vegetable and grain sellers.

12. Although price changes of all basic commodities and services have been monitored in Mogadishu for some years no attempt has been made to monitor private sector wage levels. We would strongly recommend that a regular survey be carried out of wage levels of different classes of labourers so that the impact of inflation on the lowest levels of wage earners can be monitored.

13. The lime kilns are a significant source of employment for unskilled workers in Mogadishu, particularly those in outer districts. The lime kilns are one of the few privately owned industries utilising a local resource. The main need of this industry at present is to prevent further decline in demand for lime in Mogadishu. There should be consultation with those in the industry to see if technical assistance aimed at improving the quality of the lime produced and diversifying its end uses could be of benefit.

14. A significant number of people in the city are employed in the processing of agricultural, livestock and fish products produced in Somalia, both for consumption within the city and export. As the city grows in size (and consumer demand increases and diversifies), the potential exists for increasing the diversity of ways in which food is processed and value added to these products. An investigation should be made into new forms of food processing that may now be viable but have not been initiated because of lack of knowledge.

Chapter 8: WOMEN IN THE MOGADISHU ECONOMY

15. Our survey data showed that a third of all households had some degree of dependence on income earned by women. In addition, in almost all areas there were as many women as men reported to be looking for work. Any programmes aimed at increasing the incomes of poor households should give at least equal attention to women (both those doing and those seeking paid work). Since within almost all households it is the women who are responsible for the purchasing as well as the preparation of food, programmes concerned with improving children's

nutritional status could justifiably be *especially* biased towards helping women earn additional income for their household.

16. A large proportion of working women are earning income through trading activity. Some of these activities require little capital and consequently have very small profit margins because of the intense competition. There seems to be little justification for outside organisations actively to encourage *additional* women to earn income in this way. Women's involvement in the most marginal trading activities should be seen instead as an indicator of their degree of need to earn extra income for their household and therefore those women should be seen as possible candidates for programmes developing alternative means of earning income for women from poor households.
17. Despite very low official salaries, government employment is a significant source of employment for many women, bringing in more income than many private sector activities that women are commonly employed in. At the same time women are clearly under-represented in the middle and upper echelons of government compared to men. For this reason, and despite the difficulties the government already has in paying adequate wages to its staff, we would still recommend that women be assisted to obtain government employment. One immediate step that could be taken would be to ensure that on any government projects funded by foreign aid that as near as possible to 50% of the staff be women.
18. Few women are employed or self-employed as skilled workers outside the sphere of traditional crafts yet these are areas where more substantial incomes can be earned (electricians, plumbers etc.). Entry into these occupations is very difficult because apprenticeships are the normal channel and these are rarely available to young girls. We would recommend that programmes aimed at increasing women's incomes should include the option of skills training in areas traditionally in the male domain. (See Recommendation No 41.)
19. At the same time, because of the appropriateness of home-based income earning activities for many women, we would still recommend that ways be explored of diversifying the range of products women produce at home, specifically foodstuffs and mats, baskets and the like.
20. For the majority of women it does not seem that lack of access to capital is the main factor limiting their opportunities to earn income, or to increase their present incomes. Therefore we would not recommend that credit extension be the main means of increasing women's incomes. We would only recommend that credit be extended in the context of training programmes aimed at giving women new or improved means of earning income. If credit is extended it should be on a group basis, using the *hagbad* as a model (access by rotation of turns, using group guarantees of repayment).
21. Because it is an area of the economy that operates largely outside formal structures, we would also recommend that further research be done on how credit is obtained and given within communities in Mogadishu. This might shed more light on which people or households in general are most likely to have the most limited access to credit in Mogadishu. This is an area we have not adequately investigated, yet it clearly is important if the most disadvantaged groups are to be identified.

Chapter 9: HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE

22. Fuel costs are rising faster than any other major component of household expenditure in

Mogadishu. For the poorest families these represent a significant fraction of daily food costs and are an area where savings are often made by reducing the numbers of meals cooked and by changing the type of fuel used. Promotion of the more efficient wood burning stoves developed by VITA would enable the poorest families in Mogadishu to switch more of their expenditure on fuel to food. This can be best be done in liaison with the National Woodstoves Programme, which is now responsible for the promotion.

23. We would recommend that a survey of children's nutritional status be carried out in the poorest areas of the city, specifically Beesha Shukri, Damme Yassin *obbosibo* and Heegan *obbosibo* during the time of the year when maize prices are normally the highest, i.e. May, June and July. This would indicate what the worst case situation was likely to be in Mogadishu, and indicate how seriously the poverty estimates made by this study should be treated.
24. One means of enabling low income households to cope with the period of high maize prices would be to establish in the above areas, on a small group basis, a series of maize banks that would make cheap maize available during this period. (See Appendix 9.1 for details.) Ideally the first candidates for such assistance should be those households with malnourished children, identified through nutritional status surveys.

Chapter 10: SUPPORT NETWORKS

25. Informal organisations known as *hagbad*, *ayuuto* or *shalongo* stand out as functional grassroot organisations of women that any women's development programme should seriously consider working with. Where they do not exist, (women not earning any income do not normally belong), they could still offer a useful known model for structuring development activities.
26. Receipt of support from neighbours and from overseas are two important but different forms of assistance (*kaalmo*) that are indicative of a household's standard of living. Receipt of support from overseas is an indication of likely affluence whereas support from neighbours suggests the opposite. Any assessment of community or household standards of living should take into account the type of *kaalmo* received by the household.
27. Foreign development organisations concerned with assisting indigenous non-government development organisations should, where possible, make that assistance conditional on it being matched in some ratio by funds obtained from local sources. Through doing this local NGO's will be faced with the task of conducting a dialogue with Somali donors about what their role should be in Somalia. That dialogue is essential if local NGO's are to become truly indigenous institutions.
28. More effort should be made by foreign development agencies to identify and to understand the social practices promoted by Islam which promote community welfare and to seek out ways in which these positive values can be promoted through their own project activities. UNICEF's publication of "Child Care in Islam" is a positive step in this direction.
29. More attention needs to be given to identifying groups of households who are, more than average, isolated from kinship and neighbourhood support networks. It is isolation from these networks which is often the *key determinant* of how much other disadvantages - lack of employment, lack of education, ill health etc. affect a household.

Chapter 11: WATER, SANITATION AND HEALTH IN MOGADISHU

Section 1: Water

30. There is an urgent need for adequate plans to be made concerning the extension of a piped water supply to the outlying areas of Kaaraan District. Even if plans are made immediately it will be possibly five years or so until the actual development takes place, by which time many more people in Kaaraan will be depending on trucked water or wells, both of which are more likely to provide water of substandard quality compared to the rest of the city.
31. Immediate steps need to be taken to improve the quality of water available in Beesha Shukri. Sufficient wells need to be established so that the use of water from *berkado* is dramatically reduced.
32. Mogadishu could benefit from an erosion control programme aimed at reducing the serious erosion of side streets uncovered by tarmac and the flooding of major roads by the sand carried away from these streets. If plans were made now, during times of serious economic downturn large scale labour intensive erosion control work could be carried out in the affected areas as part of a food for work programme.

Section 2: Sanitation

33. Goats and chickens in particular are an important part of the city's waste disposal system, disposing of many tonnes of wet waste each day and converting it into food which is consumed within the city. The Municipality should resist pressure to ban or reduce the numbers of goats in the city either because some people wealthy enough to own cars see them as a nuisance or because others see goats in the city as inconsistent with the image of what a modern capital city should look like. Any measures which could promote the health of the city's livestock should be investigated.
34. As the city grows in size and complexity there will be increasing opportunities for employment and income generation through the recycling of the city's wastes. We would strongly recommend that the Municipality seek a consultant to research the potential of recycling the following wastes:
 - offal and bone wastes from the Municipal slaughterhouse,
 - plastic, glass, metal and other wastes taken to the city garbage dumps,
 - animal manure produced by cows kept in the city.The potential income available from recycling should not only be discussed with interested business people but also those already involved in the business at the lowest wage levels: sweepers, garbage collectors and scavengers.

Section 3: Health

35. If any attempts are made to measure infant or child mortality in the city as a whole, measures should be taken at the same time of female literacy and school attendance to establish if the relationship between the two found elsewhere in the world is also present in Mogadishu.
36. In the interim any surveys of specific areas of Mogadishu should include measures of women's educational status, so that an approximate estimate of the relative rates of infant and child mortality can be made for that area.

37. In the immediate future, on the basis of female literacy rates, we would suggest that Beesha Shukri and Heegan *obbosibo* should be regarded as the highest priority areas for the delivery of any health services aimed at reducing child and infant mortality rates.
38. From the limited data available it seems that the educational level of the father is likely to be the best indicator of likely immunisation coverage amongst children. Any future household surveys of specific areas of Mogadishu should gather these data, along with those of female literacy levels.
39. School attendance rates for disabled children are amongst the lowest of all groups in the city. Few are likely to marry or have children and be supported in turn by them. Most are dependent on their family and are likely to be for the rest of their lives unless they can find employment which brings in some income of their own. In the worst cases they may have to beg on the streets to support themselves in their old age. Educational assistance, including preparation for employment, could make a major difference to the future quality of life of disabled children.
40. Upgrading the MCH services in the districts which are furthest from the major maternity hospital in the city would be the most effective way to reach the largest number of women from poor households in the city. The two MCH's in Kaaraan and Yaqshiid should be given the first priority and the MCH in Wardhigley the second priority.

Chapter 12: ACCESS TO EDUCATION

41. Primary school enrolment is lowest, per head of population, in Kaaraan, Yaqshiid and Wardhigley Districts. Any additional resources being made available for the upgrading of schools in Mogadishu should be directed to those Districts.
42. There is a strong correlation between the economic status of households and the number of their children going to primary school. With the introduction of monthly school fees in 1987 there is the potential that even fewer children from the poorest households will go to primary school. As a result the educational gap between the poor and the "middle class" may well grow substantially. We strongly suggest that enrolment data for schools adjacent to the poorest areas we surveyed (Fanoole, Heegan and Damme Yassin *obbosibo* areas) should be monitored during 1987 and 1988 to see if a decline occurs and if so, if it is proportionally greater than in a middle ranking area such as Waaberi. A more accurate measure would be to resurvey school attendance levels, in the same areas that we surveyed. It is critical that the impact on the poorest of such major changes in education policy be monitored.
43. At the moment access to technical training is mainly through informal apprenticeship. Access to such apprenticeships is usually through family connections and is almost always limited to boys. Apprenticeships facilitated by outside subsidies and supervision could improve the quality of training provided and extend access to people who are normally without access. A model for this approach is the work done by Partnership For Productivity in Hargeysa in 1985/86. Such an approach would be much cheaper and as effective as the setting up of expensive specially designed technical training schools. We would recommend that a trial of this approach be carried out in Mogadishu.

Chapter 13: IDENTIFYING DISADVANTAGED AREAS AND GROUPS IN MOGADISHU.

44. Data have been presented on the relative incidence of poor households in each district. These should be used to plan the location of district level programmes that are specifically intended to reach poor households.
45. Based on our household surveys and later experience we have refined a questionnaire (see Appendix 13.1) which is intended to help with the identification of the poorest and most disadvantaged households in any area. We would recommend that the questionnaire, or variations of it, be used in the selection of people to be included in development programmes aimed at helping those most in need.

Chapter 14: BEESHA SHUKRI: A SQUATTER RESETTLEMENT AREA

46. Immediate improvement needs to be made to the quality of water available to people living in the area. (See Recommendation No 30.)
47. Support should be given to the initiative taken by Al Muntadhar to establish a clinic and school in Beesha Shukri. Both services are in great need. Support could be in the form of providing matching funds for specific purposes: also in the form of consultation with Al Muntadhar prior to the initiation of any other development activities in Beesha Shukri.
48. A survey of the nutritional status of children in the area should be carried out in the May, June, July period to establish what the net effect of low household incomes has been on children in this area. (See Recommendation No 23.) Ideally this would be done by or in co-operation with the staff of the Al Muntadhar clinic.
49. Following this, consideration should be given to the development of maize banks. (See recommendation No 24.)
50. Labouring in the stone quarries nearby is a major source of employment for people in the area. Associated with this work are substantial health risks. A consultation should be initiated with quarry labourers regarding their health needs and possible assistance that could be given, along primary health care lines.
51. Test trials and then promotion of the fuel efficient wood burning stoves developed by VITA /NWP should be initiated. (See Recommendation No 22.)
52. A broad initiative needs to be taken to help people increase their incomes in Beesha Shukri. This should begin with a process of consultation aimed at identifying groups with common economic interests (such as stone labourers, mat makers, those keeping chickens). Initial emphasis should be on providing opportunities for education and training relevant to the activity people are or want to be engaged in. Credit extension should only be considered as a later addition to such a programme, to be used selectively (for instance, where households clearly have little access to normal sources of such assistance). The training methods used by Partnership For Productivity in Hargeysa would seem to be an appropriate model to follow (See Recommendation No 43.)
53. Mat making is one way many women in Beesha Shukri earn some extra income for their families. Consultation should be initiated with women earning income by making mats and

baskets about means of increasing incomes from that source, or alternatives that they see as preferable. For example, a greater range of dyes and designs might increase the profit margins that could be made on the mats that are made.

54. Chickens provide a small amount of food and income to many households in the area. Improving the survival rate of the breeds in use there would help households in the area gain more benefit from the ownership of chickens.

Chapter 15: XAAFADDA HEEGAN: A TWENTY FIVE YEAR OLD SQUATTER SETTLEMENT

55. Many households in this area have been resident in Mogadishu for many years, but are still poor by Mogadishu standards. On the basis of Recommendation 5, we would recommend that this area be considered as the site for an area based development programme aimed at increasing both the income and welfare of the people there.

56. A nutritional status survey should be carried out in the area, if possible involving the staff of the MCH which is adjacent to the area.

57. As with Beesha Shukri, consideration should be given to the establishment of maize banks to help the poorest families in the area cope with the months when maize prices are at their highest.

58. As with Beesha Shukri, it would be appropriate to establish a programme aimed at increasing household incomes through technical training appropriate to specific occupations chosen by the people in the area.

59. Survey data on *kaalmo* and loans received by households in this area suggest that credit extension might be a more appropriate form of assistance in this area in comparison to any of the other areas that we surveyed.

Chapter 16: DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN IN MOGADISHU

60. Children working on the streets, but living with their families, are doubly disadvantaged when compared to many other children in the city: they come from some of the poorest households and their school attendance rates are amongst the lowest in the city. These groups of children should be given priority attention in the planning of educational programmes and income generating programmes for groups within Mogadishu.

61. Children living on the streets of Mogadishu are disadvantaged not just by their poverty but more significantly by their isolation from kinship support networks that are available to the majority of the population. The first stage of assistance to this group should provide some of the assistance normally available through such networks: shelter, access to health services, education and employment. The longer term goal should be also to link these children to networks of support which are better than those available to them on the street.

62. The National Council Of Social Welfare or one of its member bodies could establish a co-ordinating body for the adoption and fostering of children in the city. It could establish, through adequate publicity, a listing of families who are wanting to/are ready to adopt or foster a child. The District Social Affairs officers who are normally responsible for the placement of orphaned or

abandoned infants and children within their district could contact this body whenever they had children in need of fostering or adoption . This would be one means of reducing the numbers of children having to be cared for in orphanages, institutions which should be regarded as the solution of last resort.

63. In respect of the children who are already in institutions we would recommend that any foreign aid assistance that is given should have as its *primary aim* the intergration of such children back into normal communities. This could be done incrementally, for example, by providing daily or weekly access to education and other activities that take place *outside the institution*, in a normal environment.

Chapter 17: BEGGARS

64. Specific responses to the situation of beggars in Mogadishu should be determined by the nature of the support networks available to them.
65. Where beggars still have links with the countryside one step that should be taken is to identify the most common areas and villages which beggars are coming from and returning to. This could be the basis on which some appropriate rural development initiatives could be taken. (See Appendix 17.1 for some preliminary information.)
66. In the case of beggars who have children living in Mogadishu, assistance would be best given to those children, both to compensate for their immediately disadvantaged circumstances and as a long term strategy for helping the parents who are begging. This could practicably be done in the context of a programme aimed at helping street and working children in the centre of the city, since information about the background of those begging on the street would take time to gather.
67. Disabled beggars sleeping on the streets and in the mosques, and not returning periodically to the rural areas, should be considered as amongst the most disadvantaged people in the city. In any programmes designed to assist the adult disabled they should be the first to be considered for assistance. It should not be expected that they will hear about such programmes by themselves. Contact would have to be initiated by the programme staff.
68. One form of immediate assistance could be the provision of a shelter for homeless disabled people living on the streets and in the mosques. Consultation with the *imaano* of the mosques in the centre of the city especially, would suggest on what scale it would need to be developed and how appropriate such a measure might be.
69. Assistance to those beggars who have no children and who are living in residential areas of the city would be carried most practicably in the context of an area-based development programme.

4. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

All the above proposals for action or research require an institutional structure through which they can be implemented. Since many require additional funds and resources, foreign donor assistance is likely to be necessary in many cases. The range of possible relationships between implementing and other organisations is described below:

1. The government implements without any foreign assistance; for example: minor road

construction.

2. The government implements with assistance of foreign aid money but without direct involvement of foreign aid staff; for example: some UNDP assisted programmes.
3. The government implements with assistance of foreign aid money and staff directly involved; for example: all Primary Health Care Programmes.
4. The government and foreign aid organisation jointly provide staff and resources and jointly control implementation; for example: the Municipality and Concern Ireland in Damme Yassin.
5. A foreign aid organisation implements with assistance of government staff; for example: the CBM eye clinic in Afgoooye.
6. A foreign aid organisation implements without assistance of government staff; for example: Caritas health clinic carried out every Friday in Beesha Shukri.
7. A Somali non-government organisation implements with assistance of foreign aid money but no foreign aid staff; for example: Haqabtir.
8. A Somali non-government organisation implements with assistance of foreign aid money and staff; for example: Somali Red Crescent.
9. A Somali non-government organisation implements without assistance from either government or foreign aid; for example: the National Council for Social Welfare's assistance to Forlanini Hospital.

5. SUSTAINABILITY

In each of the above situations there is the issue of the sustainability of projects that are initiated.

For the past five years the Government has not been able to sustain its own spending on existing health and education services within the country, in real terms. If the Government's spending priorities remain the same in the future then it is unrealistic to expect that the Government can take over the additional recurring costs of any newly initiated programmes. However it could be realistic to assume that, with the right preparation, Somali programme staff would be able to take over responsibility from foreign staff for the finding of further foreign aid money to enable the programmes to continue on into the future, under their own management. In Somalia's current economic circumstances this degree of sustainability might be as much as can possibly be expected.

There is a related and equally serious problem that is less frequently recognised by foreign donors. That is the scarcity of capable administrative and technical staff within the government (largely because of the combined effect of low government salaries and inflation) who are available to run development programmes. Existing programmes are constantly facing the prospect of losing their key staff to other programmes, especially those which are new and involve substantial foreign funding. Often the initial achievements of programmes cannot be sustained not because of funding difficulties but because of the loss of key administrative staff who were responsible for those achievements in the first place.

One implication of this situation is that any new programmes involving additional government staff should not be initiated without very good reason. Where possible, goals should be worked towards through existing government structures and staff.

6. PUTTING THE LAST FIRST

There are two possible arguments against the targeting of services (health, education and others) to particular groups and areas in Somalia. One is that the level of need throughout the whole country is so great that, considering the greater economies of scale involved in nation-wide programmes, it is not appropriate to focus on particular groups and areas. The other is that it is politically more difficult to target services than it is to give (ostensibly) an identical level of coverage across the country.

Two points need to be made in reply. Firstly, it needs to be remembered that disadvantages compound each other. For example, lack of education compounds the impact of exposure to disease, and poverty compounds the impact of isolation from health services that might treat such diseases. In communities which are isolated, vulnerable, weak, poor and powerless, to achieve any significant change, more than one cause has to be addressed and therefore a more than average allocation of resources to those communities is necessary to do this.

Secondly, the reality is that most services which are intended to be equitably distributed across the country rarely are so. Frequently it is the poorest and the most isolated who are receiving the least equitable share. Certainly in Mogadishu for example, the wealthiest districts have more and better schools than the poorest districts. In many cases targeting of the most disadvantaged is necessary simply to ensure that they receive an equitable share of resources, let alone the additional share necessary really to affect the causes of their problems in a significant way.

The only way in which this situation can be redressed is by making an *explicit and conscious effort* to ensure that the last are considered first when any services are being planned, at national, regional, district and lower levels.

7. OVERALL STRATEGY: SOME FINAL SUGGESTIONS

There are at least four ways in which the needs of the poorest could be addressed:

1. ENSURE THAT THE EXISTING SECTORAL SERVICES REACH THE POOREST HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS.

This would require at least three types of action:

Firstly, the present distribution of services (for instance schools and MCH's) needs to be rationalised so that there is an even distribution of services throughout the city's population. At present, the older more central areas are over-served and the newer outer areas are under-served, relatively speaking.

Secondly, a *positive bias towards the poor* should be built into the delivery of services. Additional attention and resources should be directed to those schools and health centres which are in the poorest areas. In practice this means those which are in the districts of Kaaraan, Yaqshiid and Wadajir, and those which are immediately adjacent to the *obbosibo* areas, throughout the city.

Thirdly, the extent to which the schools and health services are reaching the poorest should be monitored. This can be done by periodic surveys (at the point of service) of those using schools and health centres. There are measures which can be used without substantial risk of mis-reporting.

2. DEVOLVE RESOURCES AND CONTROL OVER THOSE RESOURCES TO THE LOCAL LEVEL

The needs of many of the poorest households will not be met solely by action taken at a central Ministerial level, even if the above strategy is followed. Administrators in central offices inevitably lack all the necessary information to do so, even where there is the will to take action.

In selected areas of special need, it could be appropriate for a foreign donor to allocate to a local representative body a block grant of funds to be used according to local priorities. Measures to ensure accountability for the use of such funds could include specification of categories of end use, a requirement for some degree of matching of funds and the requirement that all details of projects (both proposed and implemented) were open to the public. If necessary, donor participation could also be structured into the administration of the block grant.

3. PROVIDE ADDITIONAL SERVICES FOR SPECIFIC GROUPS

There are some disadvantaged groups who are unlikely to be reached either by services provided centrally by Ministries or by action initiated locally by local development committees. These are groups such as street children, children in institutions, children of beggars, prostitutes and other stigmatised groups, who normally have the least representation at any level. In the case of these groups it can be argued that it is justifiable to develop additional programmes specifically to meet their needs.

4. MONITOR CRITICAL TRENDS IN THE ECONOMY AND GOVERNMENT POLICY THAT AFFECT THE POOREST HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS

This should at least include:

1. Measurement of the nutritional status of households in the poorest areas identified by BOCD in 1986. This would present a worst-case picture for the city. It would suggest how urgent present needs are and allow monitoring of trends over time.
2. Measurement of changes in wages levels for casual labourers in relation to changes in the consumer price index. This will indicate how over time the poorest households are coping with inflation.
3. Measurement (in 1988) of primary school attendance levels in the poorest areas and control area surveyed by BOCD in 1986. This would indicate to what extent primary school attendance levels of children from the poorest households have been affected by increases in the cost of living, including the introduction of school fees in 1987.

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APPENDICES

1.1 Sampling procedure used in the area surveys

At the time the sampling procedure was decided upon, it was not possible to find adequate population estimates for all the areas to be surveyed. For this reason it was decided to use the same sampling method as used by the Extended Programme of Immunisation (EPI) in Somalia. The EPI programme used a standard cluster sampling method to estimate immunisation coverage rates in areas where the population is unknown. That method involves taking a sample of 210 households, from 30 randomly located clusters of 7 households.

Cluster sampling in *obbosibo* areas of Mogadishu has distinct advantages. In areas such as Beesha Shukri and Heegan *obbosibo* there is no regular street pattern and thus it is not feasible to ask enumerators, for example, to sample every 10th household along a street. However, even in *obbosibo* areas, it is feasible to ask enumerators to survey a small number of adjacent houses, in which ever direction they lie (as is required in a cluster sample).

Another practical consideration led to modification of the cluster sampling method, in a way that improved its representativeness. It was decided to limit interviews to between the hours of 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. because it was thought that this would be the time of day when women in the households would have the most time to spare to be interviewed. Because we did not want to encourage interviewers to hasten their interviews we limited each interviewer to 4 interviews per day. Using the original cluster size of 7 would have meant that the interviewer would have had to return to the same area on the second day to resume interviewing neighbours of those they interviewed the previous day. This would involve considerable risk of the households on the second day being influenced by contact with those interviewed on the first day. In order to minimise this risk enumerators were told to move 50 metres further on the second day from where they had been on the first day (in any direction). This still maintained the logistical advantages of the cluster sampling method, but avoided some of the risk of the data being "contaminated". In the process, through increasing the number of clusters to 60, the representativeness of the sample was improved. For the purpose of calculating confidence intervals we feel, on the basis of our experience of these areas, that an assumption can be made that households within these clusters of 3 to 4 were heterogeneous.

In six areas which were surveyed - Fanoole and Heegan *obbosiboyin*, Cabdulcasiis, Waaberi (control area and womens employment survey), Xamar Jab Jab and Xamar Weyne - aerial photographs were used to locate the clusters. In the case of the two *obbosibo* areas in Wadajir and Beesha Shukri there were no aerial photographs available for those areas. In these areas clusters were located on the basis of knowledge gained by driving in and around the areas.

1.2 Sampling procedure used in other surveys

1.2.1 Education and working women surveys:

The same sampling procedure as above was used in the education survey (Fanoole *obbosibo*) and the survey of working women in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab.

In the case of the survey of working women an additional step was taken:

- Once enumerators had identified the first household in their cluster, they were told to find out if there were any females in the household (age 10 or over) who worked for pay/profit, maintenance, or the family business.
- If no one in the household fitted this description they then moved to the next household in the cluster and repeated the same question. A total of 441 households were contacted. A total of 38 households in which there were women who fitted the description refused to be interviewed. Interview schedules were completed with 211 women.

In 7 of the 211 households two rather than one working women were found. In these cases enumerators were instructed to interview the eldest of the two. We think that given the small number of cases this is unlikely to have had a major biasing effect on the age distribution or other attributes that we measured.

1.2.2 Beggars survey:

Two to three beggars were interviewed on each of the streets going through the business area of Xamar Weyne. Interviews took place in the morning and afternoon. The interviewer was a Somali man, aged approximately 35. The sample of 30 who were interviewed was equivalent to approximately 25%, or more, of the total number who were begging in the area of Xamar Weyne at that time.

1.2.3 Working children survey

Initially an attempt was made to sample working children in the Xamar Weyne area by identifying locations in the area strictly by random selection and then interviewing the first working child seen at that location. That method soon proved to be impractical. Crowds gathered to see what was going on and some of the children were understandably not keen to cooperate with interviewers they had never seen before.

This approach was abandoned and instead the interviewer made contact with a cinema owner in the area whom she knew. He introduced her to some part-time street children who slept in the cinema and they in turn introduced her to working children in the area (15 altogether). At each stage the purpose of the research was explained. When each of the children was interviewed they were accompanied by an elder person from the market who knew the child as a relative or neighbour or friend. This was at the interviewer's request and provided no obstacle to the development of a good relationship between the child and the interviewer. In many instances it helped ensure the accuracy of the information that was being collected.

In the Lido the children interviewed were contacted through the owners of a small handicraft shop in the area. These children were normally seen together during the day time and were essentially a group of their own. There were a few other children working in the area but they did not come so regularly as these children, and often were from outside of Cabdulcasiiis. We contacted a total of 12 children, entirely on the basis of introduction and their agreeing to be interviewed. Although not a large number, it was a considerable proportion of the children working there. All but one in the group were male - only one girl works in this area. Contact was made with almost all the parents of the children interviewed, in an attempt to verify the information the children had given.

1.2.4 Street children survey

Initial contact was made with street children in the process of attempting to estimate the number of children sleeping in the Xamar Weyne area at night time. During that time contact was made with one child sleeping in the market area whose relatives were known to the interviewer. Through that child contact was made with other street children sleeping in the same area who were all part of one group.

We interviewed all 17 children in the group, asking them about themselves and the last household that they had lived in. The researcher was able to contact 8 of these households, and as a result was able to check the truth of the answers given by 8 of the children (almost all the information given was correct). However, one boy was arrested by the Militia before he had finished answering all questions on the schedule, and another was in an institution prior to the street, and so some questions were not answered by all 17 of the children.

1.2.5 Hagbad members

This was a completely non-random survey. All *hagbad* members were contacted through the personal networks of the enumerators who had been working for the research project. (See Appendix 10.1 for a socio-economic profile of the *hagbad* members.)

1.3 Population estimates for the areas surveyed:

By the end of 1986 household counts had been made of many parts of Mogadishu, in preparation for the national census. Using those figures we have since come up with the following population estimates for the areas we surveyed:

Areas	Households	Household size	Estimated population	Sample Size	sample as %
1.Yaqshiid (Heegan)	3,548	6.2	22,000	210	5.9 %
2.Beesha Shukri	3,700	5.4	20,000	218	5.9 %
3.Wadajir (Damme Yassin)	500	5.16	2,600	101	20.2 %
4." " (Halane)	1,000	5.64	5,600	152	15.2 %
5.Kaaraan (Fanoole)	2,445	5.98	14,600	211	8.6 %
6.Xamar Jab Jab (Xaafadda 3,Waaxda 3) Waaberi (Xaafadda Waaxyo 3,4)1	213 719	5.45	5,100	211	22.6 %
7.Waaberi (Xaafadda 2, 3)	3,120	6.7	21,000	218	7.0 %
8.Cabdulcasiis	1,000	5.3	5,300	211	21.1 %
Total / Mean	16,245	5.9	96,200	1,532	9.4 %

Explanatory notes:

1. Areas 5 and 6 were the areas in which the education survey and women's employment survey were carried out.

2. The estimates for the two areas (3, 4) in Wadajir were based on conversations with local officials in those areas. Results from the household counts were not available for these areas.

3. All estimates should be treated with some caution.

1.4 Questionnaires

An English translation of the text of the household questionnaire used in six area surveys (Waaberi, Yaqshiid (Heegan), Cabdul Cassiis, Wadajir (Halane and Damme Yassin obbosiboyin) and Beesha Shukri) is given below. Translations of the other questionnaires used are available on request. Because their combined length would add greatly to the bulk of this report they have not been included here.

1.5 Access to survey data

Raw data from all of the surveys have been entered onto computer discs. The data were stored on floppy discs (2-sided, double density, soft sector), using a Wang PC (with MS DOS operating system). The statistical package used was "Trajectories" produced by DBI Software Products. The English translation of each questionnaire includes details of how the data are coded on the computer discs

Not all raw data recorded on the questionnaires were put onto disc. Details of data on the household tables used in all surveys, except the surveys of beggars and *hagbad* members, were summarised and then inputted. A lot of useful raw data remain on these tables which could still be inputted. Also details of disabilities and the age and sex of disabled people recorded on the area surveys have not been inputted.

4.1 Estimates of the population of Mogadishu

The following estimates were made of the population of Mogadishu (for December 1985):

- A. 605,000 Source: Household counts in 8.8% of all *tabeelooyin* in Mogadishu, carried out on June, 1984 (total = 7671) used to calculate total number of households in Mogadishu (87,170). Total number of households multiplied by 6.2 people per household to get the population estimate for that time. That estimate then adjusted forwards on the basis of 8% growth per annum (non-compounding rate) to the end of 1985.
- B. 601,000 Source: Banaadir Hospital births in 1983 were 12,395. According to EPI survey data from 13 separate districts of Mogadishu in September 1985, 54.4% of all births occurred in Banaadir Hospital. Assuming a crude birth rate of 44 per 1,000 in Mogadishu*, an estimate was made for the city's population at the end of 1983 and then adjusted on the basis of an 8%* annual growth rate (non-compounding) until the end of 1985.
- C. 518,000 Source: Household counts made of all *tabeelooyin* in all districts of Mogadishu in mid to late 1986 (86,933). Number of households multiplied by 6.2 people per household*. Adjusted from June 1986 back to December 1985 on basis of annual growth rate of 8%.

* Household size, crude birth rate and growth rate for the city all taken from the 1982 Labour Force Survey.

Addendum

It has been reported that approximately 17,000 children were born in Banaadir Hospital in 1987. Assuming a crude birth rate of 44 per 1,000 and that 54.4% of all births in the city occurred in Banaadir Hospital this would give a population for the city at the end of 1987 of approximately 710,000. On the basis of the above 1983 Banaadir Hospital birth data this suggests a population growth rate of approximately 9.25% per annum (non-compounding) over the last 4 years.

In December 1987 the Municipality reorganised the lowest level administrative units in the city. *Tabeelooyin* of approximately 100 households were converted into 2 or more *darisyo* of approximately 50 households each. As part of this process a substantial amount of information was collected about the city, including the population of each *deris* in the city. The total population found for Mogadishu through this process was 760,000. Compared to estimate A this gives an annual growth rate of 8.2%. Compared to estimate C this gives an annual growth rate of 15%, a rate that we do not think is plausible.

5.1 District markets

Kaaraan Hore	
Kaaraan Cusub	
Juungala	(Kaaraan - Waxara Cade)
M. Babuurta	(Charcoal market, Yaqshiid)
Bacaad	(Yaqshiid)
Tawfiiq	(Yaqshiid)
Beexaani	(Shibis)
Shibis	(Monopoliyo)
Cabdulcasiis	(Cabdulcasiis)
Boondheere	(Boondheere)
Xamar Weyne	(Xamar Weyne)
Ansolotti	(Xamar Jab Jab)
B/Xuubay	
Siinay	(Wardhigley)
Xamar Jadiid	(Wardhigley)
Hodon	
Bakaaraha	(Hawl Wadag)
C. Gar Weyne	(Hawl Wadag - Miijis)
Ceel Ibrahim	(Hawl Wadag)
Warta	
Hargaha	(Leather market)
Medina	(Wadajir)
Damme Yassin	(Wadajir)
F. Xalane	(Wadajir)
B. Wanaag	
Cali Boolay	(Waaberi)
Xoolaha	(Animal market, previously in Wardhigley now in Waxara Cade, Kaaraan)

8.1 Age distribution of working women interviewed in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

Age	Working Women Survey	Labour Force Survey	All Women (LFS1982)
10 - 14	1.4 %	1.4 %	18.4 %
15 - 19	9.4 %	13.1 %	20.0 %
20 - 24	20.9 %	25.1 %	16.0 %
25 - 29	17.6 %	17.2 %	11.0 %
30 - 34	10.9 %	17.6 %	10.4 %
35 - 39	10.9 %	7.5 %	6.2 %
40 - 44	8.5 %	8.5 %	5.6 %
45 - 49	7.2 %	4.1 %	2.8 %
50 - 54	7.2 %	2.2 %	2.9 %
55 - 59	1.9 %	0.9 %	0.9 %
60 - 64	1.4 %	1.7 %	2.7 %
65+	2.7 %	0.7 %	3.1 %
	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
N =	211	412	4,020

8.2: Household characteristics of working women interviewed in Waaberi and Xamar Jab Jab

The Waaberi control survey data is included for comparison

	Working Women Sample	Waaberi Control
Living in <i>sarro</i>	32 %	49 %
Living in single occupant houses	33 %	29 %
People per room	3.3	2.5
Employment (all adults)		
- government	47 %	39 %
- private	53 %	61 %
Literacy (adult women)	51 %	48 %
Only using wood for cooking	14 %	5 %
Purchasing all food daily	67 %	68 %
Food expenditure per head per day	50 /-	50 /-

Note: It should be remembered that the working women survey sampled a *group* where as the Waaberi control survey sampled an *area*. No statements can be made about the *area* the working women were working in except concerning the incidence of working women

9.1 Maize bank proposal

Aim: To help poorer families in Mogadishu get access to cheap maize during the times of the year when the prices are the highest.

Means:

1. Households would form themselves into groups, approximately 20 households per group, on their own initiative. They would then select their own leader or committee who would represent the group. Those people would then give a list of the names of all member households to the assisting organisation, who would then meet each member household individually. As well as gathering general information about each household that organisation would also ask each household what their normal daily consumption of maize is during the times of the year when the maize prices are the lowest.
2. On the basis of these calculations and consultations, the organisation would then buy 3 months supply of maize for those households in September-October, when the price of maize is at the lowest (for example, in 1986, at 40/- a suus).
3. Later when the price rises, as it always does, members of the group would then be eligible to buy maize from this supply at a fixed price of 50/-, even when the price has gone much higher. (The highest price in 1986 was 70/- a suus.) The members could buy the maize every day in the same way as they do from the market. This could be done until all the maize is sold.
4. From the 50/-, 40/- would be used to repay the assisting organisation for the cost of the maize in the first place. The 10/- remaining would be used for two purposes. Firstly, storage costs would be paid for. Secondly, any money left over would be credited as a saving belonging to the group as a whole. This would be on the condition however that all this saving be held and used the next year to pay for part of the cost of the next year's 3 months' supply of maize. The assisting organisation would pay for the balance of the cost.

The cheaper the cost of storage the bigger the proportion of the 10/- per suus which would be credited as savings for the group.

5. The safekeeping of the food could be in the hands of a person who also distributes the food each day. Women selling maize in the market normally operate on margins of approximately 2.5/- per suus of maize, so a person distributing the maize each day could be paid at a similar rate out of the 10/- profit per suus.

There would be two requirements. The person would come from a household that was a member of the group, and the person would be able to write legibly in Somali, to keep a simple record of the maize sold to each household and the maize remaining for each household.

6. The exact price at which the maize was resold to the members (50/- in the above example) would be determined by three factors:

- how much it would cost to store and distribute the food, possibly 2.5/- per suus;
- how much the cost of maize in the cheapest month is likely to increase by each year. For the last 5 years it has gone up, on average, by 5/- per year, when the cheapest price of

each year is compared;

- how much saving the group wants to make per suus, after the above two costs have been taken into account. A savings of 2.5/- per suus when added to the above two costs would mean that the reselling price would have to be $(40/- + 2.5/- + 5/-) + 2.5/- = 50/-$.

The consequence of the above arrangement for an annual savings component would mean that each year the group's contribution to the cost of the three month supply would increase, and that of the assisting organisation would decrease. Ultimately, after some years the total three month supply would be bought outright by the members and any more savings would be surplus and available for other purposes the group may see useful for its members.

Retail and wholesale price data on a monthly basis are available for the past seven years. For recent years they are available on a weekly basis.

Nominal retail prices for maize sold in Mogadishu
(So. Sh. Per Suus)

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1979	5.0	5.0	5.2	6.2	4.7	5.0	5.4	5.5	5.1	5.8	6.0	6.8
1980	5.8	12.0	12.8	13.3	14.6	15.6	17.8	18.0	10.0	12.0	13.8	14.4
1981	14.9	16.3	16.9	19.2	19.2	12.9	11.9	8.3	8.2	7.5	8.2	8.4
1982	9.7	9.9	10.2	10.4	10.4	11.0	12.6	10.7	9.5	10.8	9.7	11.9
1983	10.0	10.7	13.1	15.9	18.5	20.7	22.0	20.9	16.7	16.0	20.3	23.1
1984	28.5	50.8	64.7	81.0	91.0	92.5	88.7	71.6	63.9	63.0	63.8	66.3
1985	67.5	67.6	67.0	70.1	74.4	73.3	69.1	40.6	39.0	43.2	42.0	50.2
1986	53.0	54.0	56.0	65.0	70.0	58.0	59.0	47.2	42.0	41.0	51.0	48.0

Source: Central Statistics Department (Ministry of National Planning)

10.1 Profile of *hagbad* members who were interviewed in November 1986

Indicators	Status according to Indicators	
Living in <i>sarro</i>	= 65 %	above average
Owning their accommodation	= 61 %	average
Living in single occupant houses	= 65 %	above average
People per room	= 1.75	above average
Purchasing all food daily	= 52 %	above average
Food expenditure per head per day	= 43 /-	below average

Note: The sample was not random. It was taken from the networks of the enumerators who had carried out the area surveys. Many of these came from Hodon and Hawl Wadag, two of the wealthier districts of Mogadishu

17.1: Streets on which beggars were counted, December 1986

	Number counted		
	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3
1. Jidka Makka, from the SYL statue to the ex-Parliament Building.	10	18	26
2. The ex-Parliament Building to the main branch of the Somali Commercial and Savings Bank	7	3	5
3. From that same bank to the Ceel Gaab well.	10	4	10
4. From the Xawo Tako statue to the Xamar Weyne petrol station	3	9	10
5. From the Ministry of Finance, along Via Roma to the road dividing Xamar Jab Jab from Xamar Weyne.	4	4	12
Total =	34	38	63
Day 1: 11 to 12 pm 6/12/1986			
Day 2: 5 to 6 pm 10/12/1986			
Day 3: 8 to 9 am 16/12/1986			

17.2: Villages from which beggars came from

Galoley (2)	Shabelle Hoose
Yaaq Bariweyne	Shabelle Hoose
Ceel Axmed	Shabelle Hoose
Afgooye Yare	Shabelle Hoose
Afgooye	Shabelle Hoose
Janaale (2)	Shabelle Hoose
Ceel Biyoole	Shabelle Hoose
Bur Haybe	Bay
Garasle	
Qansax Dheere	Bay
Kulmis	
Aliyale	
Jowhar	
Qoqani	
Afmadow	Jubba Hoose
Bosasso	Bari
Luq Jeelow	Hiran
Mareer-Guur	Mudug

The remaining 8 came from *baadiye* (the countryside)

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