

Begging in a Fast Growing City: Trends and Situations in Bahir Dar City, Ethiopia

Dessalegn Mekuriaw Hailu¹

Abstract

Though begging is both global and age-old phenomena, it is more pervasive in developing countries like Ethiopia. To contribute its part in understanding the subject, this study examined trends of begging and situations of beggars in Bahir Dar city by collecting data from 98 participants drawn, using convenience and purposive sampling, and census, from governmental, non-governmental, community based and religious organizations; the public, beggars, tourists and a tour guide. It employed mixed research methods, cross sectional and approximating cross sectional with longitudinal designs; and an integrated vulnerability model. Descriptive survey and thematic analysis were employed to analyze the collected data. The study found that both the number of beggars and the depth and breadth of begging have been increasing overtime. Moreover, despite, virtually all beggars actively participate in different income generating activities in addition to begging, they live in degrading social life; marginal levels of economic activities and poor access to many of basic services of the urban life. As human labor and land resources are officially recognized as the two key development sources of Ethiopia, an increasing trend of begging and its multifaceted impacts needs to be adequately and timely responded pursuant to individual and national needs.

Keywords: Begging, almsgiving, vulnerability, human resource development, Bahir Dar city, Ethiopia

1. Background of the study

Despite tremendous developments and innovations the world has been witnessing, recurring local and global changes and transformations have brought immense poverty and income inequality that pushed many to the edges of life and development. The rate and impacts of these changes for developing countries has been immense.

Being a developing country, Ethiopia has suffered from recurring droughts, floods and extreme poverty; population growth that surpassed from 53.1 million in 1994 to 73.9 million in 2007 (CSA, 2007; MoFED, 2012); high and continuing growth of orphans and only 13.89% (500, 000 out of 3.6 million) of elderly having regular public sector pension (MOLSA, 2012).

Partly because of this, begging has become ubiquitous feature of the Ethiopian society in general. ERDA (2007), for example, estimates the number of beggars in Ethiopia to range from 180,000 - 200,000 indicating Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) to accommodate the largest regional share (44, 843) though it is suggested to be 11,900 (ANRS Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs (BoLSA) 2014). ANRS has also declining agricultural productivity and has been affected for a long period by natural and man-made disasters which create fertile grounds for mass rural-urban migration (MOLSA, 1992) that potentially contributed for growing number of beggars. On top of being one of the top centers of tourist attraction in the country, Bahir city, its capital, has a rapidly increasing population trend that jumped from 54,766 in 1984, to 96,140 in 1994, and 221,991 in 2007 (CSA, 2007).

2. Statement of the Problem

In Ethiopia, studies have been conducted on begging as a survival strategy (Woubishet, 2003; Tatek, 2008), prevalence, causes and socioeconomic conditions of beggars (MOLSA, 1992; ERDA, 2007; Teweldebrhan, 2011); beggars experiences (Fireyihun, 2011) and measures of begging and responsibilities of different stakeholders (Demelash, 2010) in general. Dejectedly, however, many failed to include other diverse group of beggars and non-beggars as research participants; to analyze the interactional effects of failure in system and individual character and to be comprehensive by employing diverse methods and adequate respondents. All these studies have also basically focused to study beggars of Addis Ababa and have not covered trends, and situations of begging. Methodologically, most of these studies have only employed qualitative methods, and, hence lacked triangulation.

The only studies conducted on the subject in Bahir Dar city were by Dube (2014) and Kerebih, Tizita and Alemtsehay (2014). While the most recent, these studies, too, failed to comprehensively address beggars' situations and trends in light of tourism development, the situations of diverse groups of beggars and the beauty and safety of the city; hence, unable to comprehensively capture current realities and future developmental impacts of begging in the city.

¹ The author is lecture in the department of Sociology, Debremarkos University, Ethiopia.

3. Materials and Methods

Cross-sectional and approximating longitudinal design with cross sectional designs were employed in this research. Moreover, quantitative method (survey) and qualitative methods (focus group discussion, in-depth and key informant interviews and observation) were employed to collect data pertinent to the objectives of the study. Survey method was employed to assess quantitative data while focus group discussions, key informant and in depth interviews and personal observation were employed to collect qualitative data. Out of 98 research participants of this study, 50 beggars were participated in survey. Out of these, 6, 2 and 42, were respectively sampled using purposive and convenience sampling and census from beggars who reside along road sides, verandas and religious centers; those who were provided houses in the eve of the celebration of the seventh Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and People's Day (ENNPD) in Bahir Dar in December 2012; and those who were evacuated to the city's periphery during *Dergue*¹ regime but who are now resident of their built houses in *kebele* 14.

Survey data were collected using pre-tested closed and open ended questionnaire items which were prepared in English and translated into Amharic (national and regional working language) in order to make it easy for communication during data collection. The researcher and one trained female facilitator have collected survey data from all respondents owing to failure to get respondents who provide self-administered survey.

The remaining 48 samples were employed to collect qualitative data. A total of 33 participants were recruited for an in-depth interview from beggars (6), residents (6), tourists (6), a tour guide, community policing officers (4) and health extension workers (3); officers from ANRS Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA) (1), Bahir Dar city Culture, Tourism and Parks Development Bureau (CTPDB) (1) and Public Sphere Charity and Development Organization (PSCDO) (1), the only non-governmental organization working on begging in Bahir Dar city; and three religious institutions (Mosque (1), Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church (EOTC) (2) and Protestant church (1)). Two FGDs, one with officers from different organizations (BoLSA, PSCDO, regional CTPDB and Bahir Dar city association of the elderly), and the other with members of the public, each consisting of six discussants, were also conducted. Furthermore, the study involved key-informant interviews with three individuals recruited from regional BoLSA, Bahir Dar city CTPDB, and PSCDO.

Participants of survey were sampled with due consideration of their age (above 18 years), sex, and residential (rural or urban) categories. Based on the consent of research participants, qualitative data were also collected through video and audio recording as well as having field notes without any recording. Accordingly, data from both FGDs; interviews with a tour guide, 4 community policing officers, 3 health extension workers, two religious leaders from Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church (EOTC) and one from Muslim, an officer of regional BoLSA, director of PSCDO, 5 beggars and two residents were video-recorded, transcribed and translated. Three interviews with tourists were audio recorded while interview with the remaining three; a pastor and five residents were collected by taking field notes. Secondary data has also been collected on the subject from books, journal articles, theses and statistical abstracts and reports of national and international governmental and non-governmental organizations from libraries and websites.

The collected data were analyzed using appropriate methods of data analysis. The research used triangulation where data collected through survey, interviews and FGDs were used to complement one another. Generally, non-sequential mixed approach was used in the discussion of the analyzed data collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Furthermore, the results of survey were analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) version 20. More specifically, descriptive survey, thematic and content analysis were employed by complementing one another.

4. Results

4.1. Trends of Begging

In an attempt to understand trends of begging, the collected data were analyzed under five themes discussed below as follows.

4.1.1 Trends in the Number of Begging Population

Regardless of their differential outlook on the rate, generally, all the participants of the study explained a general increase in the number of beggars. More specifically, while interviewed public and religious leaders, and focus group discussants have revealed that begging, which is now rampant, has been practiced by few handicapped people; four of community policing officers have indicated growing trend of beggars particularly after the provision of 'houses'², for some of the preexisting one, by city government of Bahir Dar in the eve of the celebration of Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Day in December 2012.

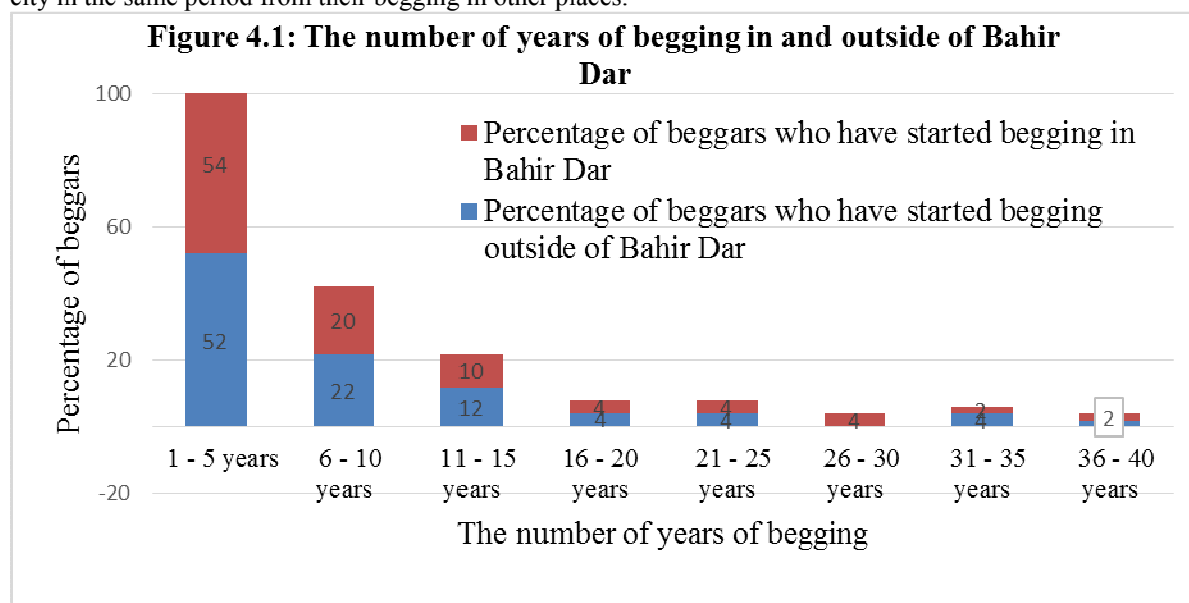
¹ *Dergue* is another name given for military regime which ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991.

² Some beggars in Bahir Dar city live in a hall like house whose roof and walls are constructed from tin. It was partitioned into 22 classes which do not protect the observation of other adjacent class members; each class to be housed by 4-5 beggars that can reach up to 12 households when children are included. It is full of bed bugs, fleas and over crowdedness.

Similarly, a Shaikh and a pastor; and a deacon and Chairman of Sunday schools of EOTC in Saint Gorge church, who lived in the city for the last 10, 20, 6 and 11 years respectively, have strong view on the increase of beggars in their respective years of stay. Six of the residents and a tour guide have also similar views though some of them have mentioned the rate of increase to be less as compared to the situation in Gondar town. Underscoring the growing trend of begging in the city, one of the tourists, too, portrayed begging as “a culture of society”. His abridged insights on trends of begging were quoted as follows:

...There is a general increases in the number of begging population over the last five years. ... It may be less bothersome if beggars concentrate around EOTC... What annoys me is when they come and ask for alms in café's and juice houses of my preference even without extending greetings.

Survey data shown below in the stacked bar chart, figure 4.1, also depicts that 74% of beggars are those who have started begging in Bahir Dar in the last ten years as compared to 26% of them who started begging in the past 11 to 40 years. It also shows that out of 50 respondents, only 10% have arrived to the city in the last 21-40 years while 16% and 72% have arrived in the last 11-20 and 1-10 years respectively. Taken together, while 84% of beggar respondents have started begging in Bahir Dar in the last fifteen years; 86% have arrived to the city in the same period from their begging in other places.



Therefore, being complemented by the above qualitative data, this survey data shows that Bahir Dar city has been experiencing an ever increasing number of new beggars who join begging life for the first time as well as those who migrate from other places of begging. In other words, the city has increasingly become preferred place of begging. The above data are consistent with different studies conducted in Ethiopia (MOLSA 1992; Woubishet 2005; Tatek 2009; and Kerebih *et al.* 2014) that indicated continual growth of the size of begging population.

Notwithstanding the limitations of small sample size employed in current study, an attempt was also made to understand trends in the number of begging population along different variables such as age, sex, marital status; place of birth and educational level of beggars.

In regards to age, except in the age group, 50-59, which showed 6.62% decrease, the current study found 8.37%, 11.76% and 10.65% increase in the number of beggars in the age categories of 19-29, 30-49 and 60 and above respectively reflecting wide inconsistency as compared to data obtained from ANRS BoLSA (2014). Similarly, there is also wide inconsistency of the current study with the study made by Kerebih *et al.* (2007) as the former showed 4.7% and 17.3% increase in the age categories of 34-44 and 45 and above though a significant decrease, 16.3% and 4.3%, of beggars in the age categories of 15-24 and 25-34 were shown respectively. Therefore, as compared to the results of the above two studies, the current study found a significant increase in the number of aged beggars.

This was also revealed by two of the focus group discussants recruited from Bahir Dar city BoLSA and three of the interviewed community policing officers justifying weakening of traditional support systems, elders' low lower demand for work, training and placement by the government.

With respect to sex, this study found that the number of female and male beggars are 44% and 56% respectively. To understand trends in the sex categories of beggars, the results of this study were also compared with the study made by Dube (2014) and data obtained from regional BoLSA. Accordingly, while the current

study found significant inconsistency with the study conducted by Dube (2014), it has also found 7.21% increase of female beggars as compared to the data obtained from BoLSA. Though slightly higher than the study conducted by Dube and data from regional BoLSA in showing the increase in the size of female beggars in the study area, the most recent data from Bahir Dar city BoLSA is also inconsistent with the current study as it indicated 275 (61.94%) male and 169 (38.06%) female beggars out of 444 (Bahir Dar city BoLSA 2015).

Furthermore, an increasing trend of female beggars was also indicated by both public and religious interviewees. While responding to interview, a tour guide, for example, has stated *“if one goes now along the roads, s/he will find many female beggars, mainly from Sekota, with three to four children”*. Interview with one of the members of the public has also revealed the growing trend of female beggars being pregnant or having children. However, all the data from review of literature and the data obtained in this study showed a consistent increase in the size of females joining begging.

In regards to marital status, the study found that 30% of respondents have never been married while 16%, 32%, 20% and 2% are married, divorced, widowed and separated respectively. A focus group discussant from Bahir Dar city BoLSA has indicated her close knowledge of 8 beggars who have married one another despite their unrelated prior places of residence. All of the discussants have also revealed a growing trend of married beggars though begging was viewed to be shameless for a long. This has the potential effect on others marital status and the increasing trend of begging population in general. Therefore, from being a practice of few handicapped people, begging has shamelessly emerged to be a practice of married people.

This study, too, discovered consistent results to the previous studies in its effort made to understand residence categories of beggars prior to their start of begging. Generally, except one who have reasoned to have migrated from Addis Ababa, none of migrant beggars are from urban areas. Yet, 90% of the respondent beggars are migrants from different rural areas of the region while the remaining 10% are from the city of Bahir Dar. Results from interviews with majority of residents, a tour guide, three of health extension workers and three of community policing officers, and FGDs revealed the growing trend of beggars coming from rural areas of the country. A tour guide has, for example, stated, *“Without practically solving income and geographical vulnerabilities and poor family planning systems of the rural people, it is impossible to solve their continual migration and involvement in begging. And that posting and advertising different slogans of family planning strategies for rural people living in poverty seems meaningless”*.

While studies conducted by Kerebih *et al.* (2014), and ANRS BoLSA (2014) respectively indicated 70.3 % and 74.45% of beggars to be illiterate¹, inter alia, this study, even without considering those who can read and write from their knowledge of religious education, discovered this to be 68%. This data represents, however, only those who have never enrolled into secular education. Another indicative of improving trends in educational status of beggars was learnt from interview results and survey responses where many mother beggars are found entangling with economic and administrative difficulties to enroll and teach their children.

Yet, as a tour guide stated, *“without providing job opportunities, let alone the rural poor people but also graduates of higher institutions may prefer to beg than have their diplomas with them in the absence of bread”*. This, however, is not absolutely conclusive as people with higher educational achievement can also join it. This was, for example, indicated by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation which publicized in its news on March 15, 2015 (1:00 PM) stating that more than four thousand beggars and street people, including many university graduates, in Afar were summoned by urban development and construction minister, officials from Addis Ababa city Administration and representatives from ERDA to engage in different activities arranged by the government (EBC, 2015).

4.1.2 Trends in Places of Begging

Trends in places of begging is found to have significantly varied along the types of beggars. As indicated in Table 4.1, out of 42 surveyed beggars who reside in houses provided in the eve of ENNPD, significant majority (88.1%) have explained areas surrounding different denominations of EOTC to be places where they have started begging. However, only 32.43% were exclusively remained to beg in religious centers where they have originally started begging. All of them have also responded of their primary preference to beg near EOTCs in which they are accustomed with. Yet, all of them have explained of not being restricted in a single religious center; they frequently move from one center to another through rational calculation of better alms they may receive.

The remaining 67.57% have reported to use road sides, hotels, cafés and restaurants to be additional places for their begging. From these, while 56.76 % of them have reported to beg along road sides in addition to religious centers in which they have started begging, 8.11% have extended their begging to road sides, hotels, cafés and restaurants to be their additional places of begging. The remaining 2.7% has further extended begging place to road sides, hotels, and cafés, restaurants, and taxi stops.

Furthermore, all of the beggar respondents who have started begging along the road sides (11.9%)

¹ The term illiterate in this study was used to mean beggars who do not know reading and writing

have also explained of expanding their additional places of begging to taxi stops and religious centers. Two of the beggars who reside in their own homes constructed after they were forcibly transported to the forested outskirts of the city during the *Dergue* regime have reported of their start of begging along road sides. Currently, they have, however, reported of low involvement in begging by moving here and there because of retirement. As a result, they continue to beg in nearby road sides to earn meager income. They have also reported that their significant amount of income was obtained from making and selling rope.

Table 3.5: Trends in places of begging

Types of beggars	Places where beggars have first started begging	Number of respondents	Places where beggars have expanded begging	Number of respondents
Beggars to whom city administration of Bahir Dar has provided houses during the eve of ENNPD, December 12, 2012 (N=42)	Religious centers	37 (88.1%)	Religious centers	12 (32.43%)
			Road sides	21 (56.76%)
			Road sides, hotels, cafés and restaurants	3 (8.11%)
			Road sides, hotels, cafés, restaurants, and taxi stops	1(2.7%)
	Road sides	5 (11.9%)	Road sides	5 (100%)
			Religious centers	5 (100%)
Taxi and bus stops			5 (100%)	
Beggars whom the <i>Dergue</i> regime has forcibly expelled to the forest outskirts of the city (N=2)	Road sides	2 (100%)	Road sides	2 (100%)
Beggars who do not have any temporarily fixed place of settlement (N=6)	Near religious centers, and along road sides	6 (100%)	No preferred place, all places	3(50 %)
			major roads	2 (33.33%)
			religious centers, major roads, taxi stops, and café's	1(16.67 %)

All of those who do not have any temporarily fixed place of settlement have reported to have started begging both near to religious centers and road sides. Out of these, 50% have no preferred place of begging at all (they have reported to beg in all places they believe they can obtain better alms) while 33.33% beg exclusively along major road sides. The other 16.67% has reported of begging in multiple places such as religious centers, major roads, taxi stops, and café's.

None of the surveyed beggars has directly mentioned tourist centers as preferred places of begging. However, three of the beggars who do not have preferred place(s) of begging and the other one who has reported of begging in multiple places have expressed, in open ended questions, of their active involvement in begging in tourist centers in addition to other places. Furthermore, it is logical to suggest that as far as beggars are involved in almost all places tourists could be found, tourists cannot be free from being begged.

This survey data is consistent with the data obtained from interviews and FGDs. In both of focus group discussions, discussants have agreed that begging, which was used to be limited near religious centers few decades ago, has expanded to all corners of the city. All the interviewed research participants have also similar view on the expansion of begging places.

4.1.3 Trends in Techniques of Begging

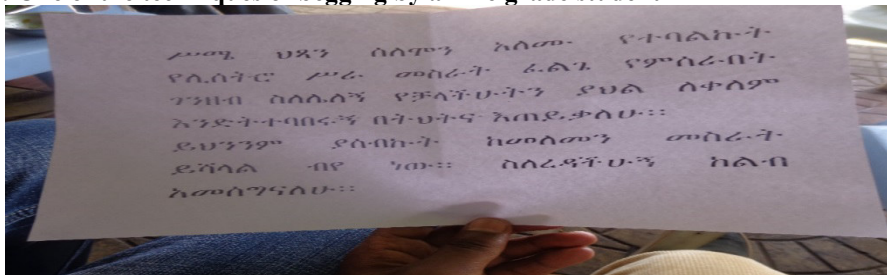
Contradicting data were found in regards to trends in techniques of begging between beggar and non-beggar participants of this study. On the one side, interviewees and focus group discussants from the public and officers from different organizations and religious leaders revealed many and complex array of actions and signs beggars employ while begging such as mimicking as physically challenged; using infants and children for begging; begging in all places (near to religious centers, bus stations, hotels, cafés, restaurants, taxi stops and shops); following the footprints of tourist; showing wounded body parts and hurting their body parts for begging.

Public interviewees have also indicated group begging where two or more beggars warmly sing religious songs helpful for their begging. A tour guide has mentioned the growth of begging in the name of establishing football club in Bezawit¹. The researcher, too, found a ninth grade student who is found begging in the name of starting a shoe shining business stating, for I (Kelemu, pseudo name), don't have money, *I request you to provide it so that I can buy shoe polish. I ask you believing that working is better than begging.*" Yet, it is

¹ According to a tour guide, Bezawit is one of the tourist centers found near to palace in Bahir Dar.

found that the boy used this as a strategy to get money than to start business as has explained of begging for the past six months.

Figure 4.2: One of the techniques of begging by a nine grade student



Interviewed religious leaders from different religious institutions have also explained plethora of techniques used by beggars. The following are few of these: painting parts of their body with different things (such as benzene); yelling as if they are robbed; inserting tube on their undamaged sex organs; explaining as if the bus has left them and they lacked money to support a woman/ wife to deliver a child or to fulfil requirements for job application. A community policing officer has also mentioned one of the youths who piteously but deceptively cried, during monthly ceremonial day of *Kidanemihiret*, as if his family members in Gondar are in critical challenge, and amassed 17, 000 birr within 4 to 5 hours though imprisoned for further investigation.

On the other hand, despite all the above techniques, virtually all interviewed and surveyed beggars have explained of their begging by simply availing themselves in their respective preferred places of begging without showing any verbal or physical signs and actions. Most of them have also mentioned their involvement in daily labour as source of income.

4.1.4 Trends in Almsgiving Practice of the Population

In Ethiopia in general and in the city of Bahir Dar in particular, religious teachings have strong bearing in the alms giving practice of the public. In consistent with what Victor (2011) has elaborated two types of almsgiving in Quran, *Zakat*¹ and *sadaqa*², from the point of view of Islamic religion in Nigeria, the interviewed Shaikh has confirmed the practice of both in the Ethiopian context. Interviewees from EOTC and protestant religions have also quoted a number of statements that re-enforce alms giving practice. For instance, while the former has mentioned biblical sources indicating the possibility of religious students and physically challenged people to ask for alms (Act 3:3), the latter also stated another Bible quote which reads as,

If there is among you a poor man of your brethren..., you shall not harden your heart nor shut your hand from your poor brother, but you shall open your hand wide to him and willingly lend him sufficient for his need, whatever he needs. ... For the poor will never cease from the land; therefore I command you, saying, you shall open your hand wide to your brother, to your poor and your needy, in your land.

(Deuteronomy 15:7-11)

Being guided by these and many other religious teachings, the public have long been providing alms for all people who were found begging; and this has become the tradition and culture which has partly contributed for the proliferation of capable and healthy beggars in particular. However, contradicting results were obtained from beggars and non- beggars in an attempt made to understand trends in almsgiving practice. On the one side, virtually all the respondents have explained its dwindling trend with the growing size of begging population and the soaring cost of living for the general public. Indications of this by some of the beggar respondents was quoted as follows:

Some years back, the public has been providing clothes, in addition to food and money, for beggars who sit along the streets. But now there are virtually no such kinds of assistance; instead they exchange their clothes for other household assets.

Only four respondents who strongly indicated their diverse source of income were not in any position to indicate their views regarding trends in almsgiving practice of the population. On the contrary, interviews with the public, tourists and FGD with officers not only explained persistent almsgiving practices of the public but also blamed this practice as one of the key attractors for begging. The following statement taken from interview with one of community policing officers' working in bus station area of the city strengthens the above as follows:

In one of the monthly ceremonial days of St. Kidanemihiret, one of the young male has been begging, piteously and continuously crying, explaining his lack of money to go to Gondar for whom his family have faced urgent problem. The public have really provided what they have; until their return from the church resulting in the collection of 17 thousand birr. Being informed by the community, the police

¹ *Zakat* is a moral obligation which is required of every adult Muslim who possesses wealth of certain minimum to offer 2.5% of one's income (Weiss, 2007, cited in Victor, 2011).

² *Sadaqa* is the voluntary almsgiving used in the Quran to cover all kinds of charity (Victor, 2011).

have been cautiously following the beggar and found that not only his family lives in Bahir Dar but he has not also left to the city of Gondar. It is also found that nothing has happened to his family. As a result, the individual is currently found under police investigation for deceiving citizens.

One of the tourists also stated Ethiopians as the fastest to provide alms but poorly cognizant of the bad effects of their actions both for reducing beggars as well as solving their problems. Literature also supports these views as explained by Tume Lisan Kassa (1911) who stated:

Almsgiving only supports those in or near religious institutions, road sides and other places of begging. There is no way that those who are in their houses being ashamed of begging or out of inability to go to begging areas can be helped. The solution is establishment of houses for all and developing regulations as to how to provide comprehensive support.

Much of the above discussion can be embraced under the “*Success Proposition*”, a variant of Homans exchange theory, which states that “for all actions taken by persons, the more often a particular action of a person is rewarded, the more likely the person is to perform that action” (Homans, 1974:16, cited in Ritzer, 2008). It can also be explained from functionalist theory as it indicates members of the society striving to support others maintain the system to work.

4.1.5 Trends in Income of Beggars

Contradicting results were obtained in an attempt made to better understand trends in economic situations of beggars. Accordingly, virtually all beggars explained generally low and decreasing amount of income they obtain over time on the one hand and data from interviews with the public and FGDs with officers of different organizations revealed a greater income on the other.

While strong evidences were not found from beggars to substantiate their arguments; diverse and tangible insights were raised from focus group discussants and non-beggar interviewees. A focus group discussant from PSCDO, for example, stated that “beggars’ are business people who continue to beg even if they are adequately supported and told not to beg or have adequate income”. Despite the researcher has observed quite comfortable places of sleeping, sanitation kept and food provided for in the organization, the discussant mentioned that 8 beggars left the organization at once explaining their dissatisfaction of its services. Though unlisted here for ethical reasons, the discussant further listed the names of three beggars who run businesses worth up to 300, 000 birr in Bahir Dar city. Two of the discussants from BoLSA have confirmed their knowledge of the enlisted beggars. Continuing his evidence, he also mentioned his frequent observation of begging by those his organization provides support and his counting, while supervising, of 28,000 birr dropped below his beg by one of the beggars in his organization who returned few days ago from visit to his family in Merawi¹.

Furthermore, beggars who responded to open ended questions described large sum of money being stolen from them and their inability to save in Banks in order not to lose government support. Specifically, three respondents have replied their being stolen of 400, 1500, and 4000 birr. While the one who was being stolen of 1500 has mentioned his source of money to be from sale of his horse cart and during his early entry into begging life, there are three different periods in which the third beggar was being stolen 1000, 800 and 1200 birr.

4.2. Situations of Beggars

4.2.1 Social Situations of Beggars

To understand the social situations of beggars, data were collected under three major themes: beggars’ social interaction with their respective families and residents; the types of their social organization and knowledge of family members on their begging.

In regards to beggars social interaction with their respective families, results from survey indicates that while only 28% of beggars have replied of having social interaction with their respective families, the remaining 72% of them have reported of having not at all. Some of the interviewed beggars have also explained absence of interaction with their respective families reasoning their fear of being ignored from government support. Moreover, to reflect, the bad social consequences of begging, one of the female beggars stated, “*Don’t raise. There is nothing bad than begging. Money cannot be accumulated from it; it is disgrace when relatives observe us nor is easy to freely visit our families*”.

Data collected to understand beggars’ social interaction amongst themselves and with Bahir Dar city residents revealed that they are at the edge of social life. In the first place, virtually all of the respondents and interviewees expressed their view of themselves, and viewed by the community, as they are below all non-beggars and above only from the deceased. One of them explained this, during interview sessions, in a number of statements:

I die when those who offer even five cents stare at me. ... Begging should not be given even for the

¹ Merawi is one of the nearest towns to Bahir Dar which is found along the way from Addis Ababa to Bahir Dar through Debremarkos

devil; yet, powerless people like me live within such kinds of thought and situations, there is unprecedented migration of able-bodied farmers to begging. Understanding the situation where stronger and healthy beggars steal and rob from the weak and unhealthy ones, it is easy to understand the complexity of beggars' current social interaction and the severity it may become in the future.

In addition to this, complex, conflicting and socially embarrassing issues reflecting unsafe social life of beggars was explained both by beggars themselves and community policing officers. One of the beggars, for example, stated; *"For being found eating food with Muslims upon feeling hungry, I live in continuous nagging and isolation from all orthodox Christians. There are many who face such kinds of grave challenges being in intolerable problems"*.

Many mother respondents have also explained that for they are involved in "ugly tasks" which are shameful to tell to anyone, they beg even without the knowledge of their own children. The description by one of the community policing officers has also strong similarity with what they have described themselves as shown below:

--- For beggars under my supervision, for example, 16 and 19 are monthly dates where we discuss about iddir and security issues respectively. Beyond this, I visit them from one up to four times per day. My experience during these periods revealed that beggars participate in many activities whose impacts not only affect their life but also transcend to the wider community. Theft amongst themselves, accuse cases related to sexual matters and issues where the strong and healthy beat the weak and unhealthy but also evacuate him/her from the residence to settle for oneself are few of the instances. Beyond this, potentially growing difficulty is the coming of adolescent siblings of beggars with their girl and boy friend's to their parents houses which can have pernicious impact to the weak, poor and retired parents.

Two HIV positive people who provided data for interview aggressively expressed their stress to live in one room with HIV negative people amidst their low level of awareness and absence of health professional guidance and supervision. Furthermore, they have also mentioned of being stigmatized by their fellow beggars with whom they live. Though it was unethical, HIV positive people revealed their reporting to the concerned bodies to access separate classes so as to reduce stigma and the possibility of contaminating others who may share their utensils.

4.2.1.1 Beggars social organization

Participation of people in different forms of social organizations is vital to lead meaningful life and psychosocial development at large. Yet, despite all beggars came from different forms of social organizations, this study found that the only social organization they have is iddir. This social organization is also limited only within beggars. In this organization, too, it is found that only half (50%) of the respondents have reported of their participation. Others (50%) either do not know its existence or do not want to participate.

This situation has created difficulty for social integration of beggars with non-begging resident neighbors and to have access to basic social services of the urban life (such as water and electricity). Surveyed beggars, for example, have explained the stoppage of water service they have long been using first because of breakdown of pipeline followed by lack of beggars' financial capacity to contribute for material and repairman expenses.

4.2.1.2 Knowledge of family members on begging

Exploring whether beggars' family members have knowledge of their begging is an important element to understand their outlooks on begging and for further intervention programs to be commenced. Data collected on the subject revealed that 40% of respondents have replied absence of knowledge of their family members on their begging while the remaining 60% replied that their respective know about their begging.

4.2.2 Livelihood of Beggars

To examine livelihood of beggars, present and retrospective data have been collected to know: whether beggars have been working prior to begging; the type of their activities and assets and whether they are involved in other activities in addition to begging.

A. Beggars work experience prior to their start of begging

With respect to the question of whether beggars have been working before they started begging, the result indicates that except 2% who reported to be unhealthy from the early stages of life, all the rest of surveyed beggars 98% have been involved in different activities. Results from open ended questionnaires and in-depth interviews have also indicated that current beggars have had worked from being poor domestic servants, daily labourers and cattle herders to middle income government servants (such as soldiers and factory workers) to rich agriculturalists and businessmen.

A. Beggar assets before they start begging

Data collected to understand whether beggars had asset before they started begging also revealed that 68% beggars had no asset while 32% had at least one of it (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Beggars assets before they start begging

Beggars assets before they start begging	Frequency	Percent
Land	5	10.0
House	2	4.0
Domestic animals	4	8.0
Land and house	2	4.0
Land, house and domestic animals	3	6.0
Total	16	32.0

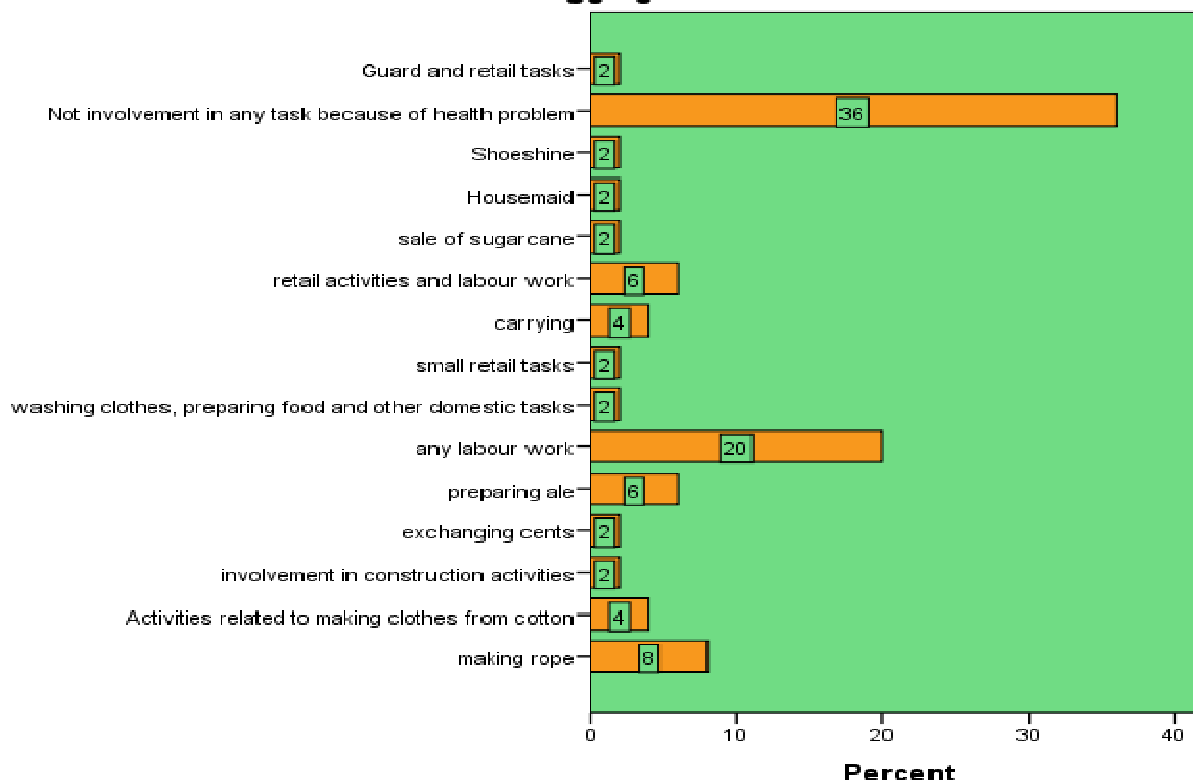
A further investigation was made to those who had responded of having assets to understand the types of assets they had. The result showed that 10 %, 4 %, and 8 % had only land, house, and domestic animals respectively. The remaining 6 % of the beggars had land, house and domestic animals in combination while 4 % of them had only land and house. From the data, it is possible to say that 32% of beggars had had assets which some of the Ethiopian farmers who have never engaged in begging may not have at present.

Relatedly, data were also collected to understand whether beggars have had involved in different activities ahead of their start of begging. The result showed that except only one respondent who have reasoned of being sick from childhood, all the rest (98%) have reported their participation in different income generating activities. However, they have mentioned that such conditions as being out of defense force upon service termination, poverty, displacement as a result of conflict (including ethnic conflict) and illness (including HIV) have deteriorated income generating potentials of people and led them to join begging life. This shows the importance of utilizing integrated vulnerability model (IVM) in this study.

B. Beggars participation in other activities in addition to begging

Survey data also indicates that while 32 (64 %) of the beggars have been involved in different activities¹ in addition to begging, the remaining 18 (36 %) depend solely on income generated from begging.

Figure 4.1: The types of activities beggars have been engaging in addition to begging



¹ There are a number of activities beggars are engaged with. Daily labour work, making rope, retail activities and labour work, work related to ale preparation, carrying and activities related to making clothes from cotton constitute six top categories of activities beggars have been engaging in addition to begging (see figure 4.1).

Results from in-depth interviews with beggars also indicated active participation of many of them in daily labour activities such as washing and cooking, carrying, fetching water, working in different sites of construction and many more to win the challenges of their daily life. The effects of old age, physical disability and morale forces, however, have made others not to participate in other additional activities. It is also found that those beggars who have children with different disabilities (such as being deaf, blind, mentally retarded) do not participate in other activities other than begging for they obtain some amount of money, though sometimes irregular, from the governmental and non-governmental organizations in the name of their children with different disabilities.

From the above survey data and interview results, one can understand that considerable number of beggars are involved in diverse income generating activities of all kinds they are capable of within their limits of age, sex and physical conditions which contributes for changes in the income of beggars. This tells the potential of significant size of begging population to be involved in different income generating activities. Therefore, it is illogical to explain that people who have been involved in different activities in addition to begging cannot become productive if they are provided with other better jobs without participating in begging. This partly tells the existence of low levels of support which was unable to take majority of beggars out of begging life.

Survey data were also collected to understand economic situations of beggars and their views to deal with it. With respect to their economic situations, the result shows that 47 (94%) beggars obtain daily income of 30 birr and below it while only 3 (6%) of them have reported of collecting average daily income greater than 30 (Table 5.1). All the interviewed beggars have also indicated their extremely poor situations where “they eat when they get and will not eat if they don’t get” regardless of the amount and quality of food.

They have explained their low income, indicated in the table 4.3, to be the driving force of this. However, as compared to the finding by Kerebih *et al.* (2014) which indicated that 100 (49.5%), 41(20.3%) and 61(30.2%) beggars obtain average monthly income of less than 100, between 100 and 200 and above 200 birr respectively, the current study found a significant increase in average income of beggars as 34 (68%) of the respondents have reported to collect at least 11 birr per day which amount to at least 330 birr per month. Furthermore, it also found a significant decrease in the number of beggars who earn income less than 100 and between 100 and 200. As indicated in table 4.3, this finding shows that 43 (86%) of beggars obtain at least 6 birr per day (180 per month). And only 7(14%) of beggars have reported to obtain monthly income of less than 180.

Table 4.3: Average daily income of beggars (in birr)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0-5	7	14.0	14.0	14.0
6-10	9	18.0	18.0	32.0
11-15	10	20.0	20.0	52.0
16-20	8	16.0	16.0	68.0
21-25	4	8.0	8.0	76.0
26-30	9	18.0	18.0	94.0
31-35	2	4.0	4.0	98.0
46-50	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Yet, in line to international standards, 34 (68%) of beggars obtain daily income of 20 birr or less while current market exchange value of one dollar is 20.46 birr (EBC, 23/5/2015). Therefore, they can be accurately said to be in absolute poverty. Given the current low purchasing power of money in Ethiopia, even those who obtain more than 20 birr (at least one US dollar) can hardly survive.

The amount of income indicated in the table 4.3, however, may not be reliable as some of the interviewees indicated the amount to be higher. A tour guide, who explained of closer knowledge of some beggars in Bahir Dar, described the minimum amount to be birr 30 per day; director of PSCDO has also described his collection of 180 birr per day, being participant observer, while conducting research in Bahir Dar, Dessie, Gondar and Addis Ababa from 2002 to 2003 for his organization. Relatedly, some of the beggar and other non-beggar participants in this research have criticized the involvement of some people in begging while having financial and/or non-financial assets. They have also mentioned some beggars who beg to teach their children; the researcher has also found different beggars (mothers) teaching their children (up to four children) who live with them. This implicitly implies the larger amount of income obtained from begging or the existence of other sources of income that contribute people lead their life.

Survey responses on whether they believe to make better life out of begging or working also indicates that virtually all of the respondents not only preferred to work than to beg but they are involved in different activities in addition to begging. The results of data collected through open ended questions and in-depth interviews also show strong commonality to participate in some kind of work. The following is direct translation

from an interview with chairman of village committee of beggars:

Let alone gangsters and thieves, everyone, including the retired and unhealthy, should work. We are asked many times by different government bodies; however, no one has shown strong concern to solve our issue. There are many beggars whom we closely know that they are wealthy and have adequate assets; when we present the case to concerned government bodies, they replied “we can do nothing for those who personally preferred begging”. Should the government keep quiet while growing size of economically and physically well-off people join the life the poor hate? We are collectively going to extinct. Does it not have national effect? Why should the government do something?

Similarly, the income sources of one of the beggars responded for open ended questions shows the way how they deal with economic problems. The following is a collection of his quote for different questions indicating his gradual vulnerability and, involvement in begging and additional sources of income:

Leaving my rural agricultural life from around Debremarkos as a result of death of 4 oxen, thereby retirement and infection by Podoconosis, to Birshleko¹ as a mechanic and Dangila and Bahir Dar as a mill operator, I have finally opted to beg. I have three children and started begging after health professionals have advised to have rest for the disease. My major job is chopping wood and carrying different things (such as wood, lees and many more); when I am tired of these tasks, I change my task to begging to have rest. ... My life is getting better; but I cannot keep money in banks since this may expose me to be ignored from government support. Partly because of this, thieves have stolen 1500 birr last year.

4.2.3 Health Situations of Beggars

To understand health situations of beggars, quantitative and qualitative data were collected focusing on whether the health situations of beggars has improved after they have joined begging or not; diseases and health problems they are facing and their level of access to services like water, health, house, food and toilet that have critical health impact.

4.2.3.1 Beggars health status

Virtually all beggars attribute their start of begging to one or more types of health problems. Data were collected to understand whether their health situations have improved after they joined begging showed that 8 (16%), 25 (50%) and 17 (34%) of beggars have responded to have their health situations improved, not improved and become severe respectively.

This is not surprising as all the interviewed health extension workers have explained of absence of government direction and health extension packages aimed to deal with health issues and problems of beggars in particular. They have added that only those beggars who have rented houses can be addressed by health extension packages as Ethiopias HEP primarily targets to address health problems at household level, as it stipulates that the right knowledge and skill is transferred to households who can take responsibility for producing and maintaining their own health. Beggar respondents and interviewees who live in houses provided in the eve of Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples day in 2012 revealed their inability to destroy bed bugs, lice and fleas for the concerned bodies and health extension workers were ignorant to provide insecticides.

4.2.3.2 Dominant types of diseases beggars are living with

Data were also collected on specific health problems of beggars. They described plethora of health problems they encounter. This was shown in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Dominant types of diseases beggars are living with

	Frequency	Percent
HIV/AIDS	4	8.0
Diseases related to physical challenges ²	18	36.0
Stomach	4	8.0
Headache	2	4.0
Malaria	1	2.0
Scabies	1	2.0
Tuberculosis	2	4.0
Cancer	1	2.0
Epilepsy	2	4.0
Unknown diseases	10	20.0
Total	45	90.0

¹ Birshleko is one of the places in West Gojjam which has been serving for military training.

² Included under this are old age, sight problem, broken legs/hands or both, swelling of legs and Podoconosis

As shown from data in Table 4.5, 45 (90 %) have replied of having various diseases, from some unknown diseases reported by 10 (20%) respondents to simple diseases such as headache reported by 2 (4%) and scabies reported by 1(2%) to deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS reported by 4 (8%) and cancer by 1(2%). Only 5 (10%) of the respondents have reported of having no diseases or physical impairment. The rest 5 (10%) however have reported of having no disease.

As indicated in table 4.5 and described during their interviews, beggars pay strong credit to explain their health problems as a pretext for their begging. In this regard, they apply the notion of medicalization¹ for their involvement in begging. Despite this data, visual observation of a significant size of beggar population reveals their strong physical conditions.

4.2.3.3 Beggars experiences of abuse and other illness causing situations

Data were also collected to understand whether beggars' experience abuse cases and other health threatening situations. With respect to the number and types of abuses beggars experience, the result shows that only 2 (4%) respondents have reported as they have experienced different types of abuses at least once in their begging life while 30 (60%) have reported of no abuse cases. It was also found that respondents have experienced only two types of abuses, sexual abuse and labour exploitation, each constituting the same percentage (2%).

Furthermore, while only females have reported of being sexually abused, two of the respondents who have reported of labour exploitation indicated underpayment. The remaining 36% respondents have expressed other stressful situations such as being stolen or robbed of their money and/ or properties (14%); being beaten by other beggars (8%); experiencing other stressful situations such as insults and the various ways used to evacuate beggars by non-beggars (14%). Notwithstanding the effects of small sample size, it can be said that abuse is not the major health problem of beggars. However, other stressful situations play greater role in creating unhealthy situations of beggars.

4.2.3.4 Access to food, water, housing, toilet and health services and training

Understanding the levels of access to different services is also vital in understanding the situations of beggars in general and health situations in particular. With regards to their access to food, 20%, 46%, 32% and 2% of beggar have respectively reported of no access, very poor, poor and very good access. For open ended questions meant to get the reasons for their responses, some of those who stated having no access revealed their provision of food only to their children while hungry for themselves in most cases unless they get adequate food. Similar outlooks were reflected by others who rated, in their perspective, their access to food at various levels. However data on the types of food items used by beggars were not collected. Interviews with beggars also revealed similar results as virtually all of them have stated that *they eat when they get and do not eat otherwise*.

The poor economic situations of beggars are also reflected in the quality and quantity of food item they consume. Notwithstanding the scarcity of food (Bullie) Bahir Dar University provides, this is again dried in unclean environment which may complicate their health situations. Some of the pictures shown below reflect the food items donated by Bahir Dar University and the drying process in unclean environment. In addition to poor feeding lifestyles, the poor housing conditions of beggars built fully (both roof and wall) with tin and the potential future challenge of this with growing children of beggars were included in the picture.

Figure 4.2: Food (bullie) of beggars donated from Bahir Dar University put outside to dry



¹ Medicalization is a process whereby a social problem gets redefined as a “medical problem” to be treated by doctors and other health professionals.



Figure 4.3: Beggars' food items, their children and houses (this house was provided during the eve of the celebration of Ethiopian Nations, nationalities and peoples day in December, 2012).

Notwithstanding the poor economic situations of beggars, much of the findings from non-beggar participants of this research indicate their poorest eating habits. All of the health extension workers and the public have seriously suggested beggars' poor habit of eating, mentioning their acute undernourishment even if they are found with much money upon their death. A pastor interviewee in East Bahir Dar Meserete Kiristos Church who expressed his knowledge of saving by beggars from a bank clerk also shows not financial problem but poor habits of eating as follows:

When I arrived at the bank, a clerk told me to look at a person leaving the bank. From the outset, he was poorly dressed but the clerk angrily explained stating "why beggars do not eat and wear while saving large sum of money?"

Data also revealed poor access of beggars to water in general and pure water in particular. Survey result shows that 35 (70%) of beggars have reported of no access, while 2 (4%) and 13 (26%) have replied very poor and poor access respectively. Data from visual observation and interview with beggars has substantiated this. While personal observation witnessed failure of water source, interviewees explained that it was stopped as a result of their inability to pay huge sum of money requested for maintenance and repairman.

Data were also collected to understand beggars' access to decent residential or sleeping places. The result below showed that while 11(22%) have reported of their access, the remaining 39 (78%) reported of their inability to access it. However, it was indicated in sampling technique section of this thesis that 42 of respondents for this study live in houses provided by Bahir Dar city administration in December 2012. Despite these 33 have replied as if they have no access to house. Being astonished by this, the researcher's search for reasons during interview found that most of the residents equated the houses with the road sides and verandas in their safety. They have indicated congestion accompanied by proliferation of lice, bed bugs and fleas as one of the reasons. They have added that though members of one house commonly range from 4 to 5, in most of the houses where beggars have children, their size increases from 9 to 12 per house. Personal observation also revealed that 64 beggars live in one hall like "house" fully constructed from tin (i.e. the roof and walls are made from tin) and poorly partitioned into 22 blocks of the smallest size (approximately 2 by 3 meters).

Access to health training is also an important ingredients for leading a healthy lifestyle. In regards to this, however, the study found that 31 (62%) beggars have no access to any form of health training while 19 (38%) have reported of their access to at least one training. To triangulate this, the collected data from health extension workers focusing on whether they know how beggars are addressed by HEP and what seems their experience of working with them revealed that none of them have ever worked with beggars, except one which explained of providing health training and advise for a beggar who is found in rented house. With respect to HEP, all of them do not know any direction of HEP to enhance health situations of beggars and other mobile people. It is viable to mention the statement one of them has stated that "Bahir Dar city health bureau cannot achieve its objective of creating open defecation free city without creating health extension packages specific to beggars." Respondents' access to toilet services is also low as 13 (26%), 21 (42%), 15 (30%) and 1 (2%) have replied to be of no, very poor, poor, and good access respectively.

Visually witnessing the presence of toilet, researcher's search of beggars' reasons for responding no, very poor, and poor access of toilet revealed that beggars frequently went for open defecation out of limited toilet rooms and toilet sanitation problems emanated from misuse of many children. More specifically, interviewed beggars reasoned that for 64 households which goes beyond a twofold of this when children were counted, only four dry toilets are not enough. There is also sanitation problem as children have no separate

toilets and there is no check for their large size. This has forced many to recreate in the field than pass their begging time by waiting for queues.

4.2.3.5 Beggars treatment for and status of HIV/AIDS

Begging is one of the practices which places participants at a greater risk of being contracted by different diseases including HIV/AIDS. While interview results with chairman and secretary of beggars committee indicated the presence of 8 HIV positive beggars out of 64, results from survey also revealed that 4 beggars have reported of being HIV positive. Under this situation, it is passionate to know whether beggars have tested for HIV. Survey result shows that only 24 (48%) have tested their status while the remaining 26 (52%) have never tested.

HIV positive beggar interviewees also indicated that they are living with HIV positive people under poor professional supervision, critical congestion and limited knowledge. They have also reported that their attempts to live only with other HIV positive people to reduce both their stigma and the potential contamination of HIV negative people who take for granted to take care of themselves was failed out of ignorance by the concerned bodies. Though this seems morally good as HIV positive people do not want to contaminate HIV negative people, it is ethically wrong to do so as they can be further stigmatized. This should have been replaced protection of other by creating optimal awareness.

Data were also collected to understand the breadth and depth of health related training and awareness provided for beggars. The result indicates that only 19 (38%) have reported of taking a minimum of one health related training while the rest 31 (62%) have replied for not taking any health related awareness/ training though they have explained of their regular environmental sanitation program. Interview results also revealed their general low knowledge to lead healthy life styles and absence of responsible health extension workers to assist them.

5 Conclusions

Partly because of its growing trend, begging in Bahir Dar city has been increasingly normalize as a kind of “profession”, as survival strategy and additional source of income for participants. The “professional” nature of begging was reflected in every day communication among beggars and between beggars and non- beggars as beggars, for example, prefer to state, “it is time to go to work or *kebede* has gone to work” instead of saying “it is time to go to begging” or *kebede* has gone to begging”.

Though all beggar participants of this study possess strong desire to work than to beg and express many instances in which they hate begging, a significant portion (68%) of them have no assets prior to their begging, face multiple vulnerabilities and out of option 98% of them have had worked from being daily labourers and house maids to employees in factories and military force. Furthermore, Ethiopia’s different development plans and programmes that have hitherto been implemented seems to have made insignificant changes for the lives and livelihoods of vulnerable people both in rural and urban areas. This is evidenced by an ever growing number of beggars. Undifferentiated almsgiving practice by the public and poorly systematized coordination among all concerned governmental and non-governmental organizations are at the epicenter of re-enforcing begging and holding back to deal with it.

6 Recommendations

Adequate human labour and land resources are officially recognized as the two key development sources Ethiopia is endowed with. Rural areas of the country possess a significant amount of these resources though an interplay of pull and push factors have left many at greater vulnerability and migration leading them to join the urban poor in general and the life of begging in particular.

The growing trend of begging population and all the ramifications they face are, more than anything, a contribution of our culturally and religiously based persistent and undifferentiated but unsystematic and unorganized almsgiving practice having little long term positive impact. It has also to do with the existing incomprehensive and weak social protection systems in the country.

To this effect, not only government concern and public consciousness should be enhanced, comprehensive social protection policies and legal frameworks should also be developed and implemented to systematize alms giving practice with etiquette. More specifically, adequate and continuous media coverage; evaluation of practical effectiveness of family planning program for beggars and other street people; and establishment of its branch offices and well staffing it at least at all district levels of the region and the country at large is of paramount importance to effectively identify and provide appropriate support to actual beggars and the potential ones at the grass root levels.

REFERENCES

- , 2005. “Begging As a Means of Livelihood: Conferring With the Poor at the Orthodox Religious Ceremonial Days in Addis Ababa.” African Study Monographs, Suppl. 29: 185-191. Retrieved May 08,

- MoLSA. 1992. A study on begging in Addis Ababa: An action oriented. Addis Ababa, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
- Namwata, Baltazar M.L., Maseke R. Mgabo and Provident Dimoso. 2012a. "Categories of Street Beggars and Factors Influencing Street Begging in Central Tanzania." *African Study Monographs* 33(2): 133-143. Retrieved May 10, 2014 (https://www.google.com.et/?gws_rd=cr&ei=onN3U9m3H67q4qTurICIAq#q=categories+of+street+beggars+and+factors).
- Ord, Cynthia. N.d. "Begging the question: The Dilemma of Tourism and Street Children." *The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) Research Corner*. Retrieved February 08, 2015 (http://cynthiaord.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Ord_University-of-the-Balearic-Islands_Begging-the-Question.pdf).
- Reddy, C. Subba. 2013. "Begging and its mosaic dimensions: some preliminary Observations in Kadapa district of Andhra Pradesh." *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(4.1 quarter I): 1-31. Retrieved May 08, 2014 (<http://www.onlineresearchjournals.Com/aajoss/art/106.pdf>).
- Ritzer, George. 2008. *Sociological theory*. 8th ed. The McGraw-Hill Companies: USA.
- Salami, Kabiru K. and Aishat O. Olugbayo. 2013. Health-seeking behavior of migrant beggars in Ibadan, Southwestern Nigeria. *Health* 5(4):792-804. Retrieved May 5, 2015 (<http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/health.2013.54105>).
- Tatek Abebe. 2008. "Earning a living on the margins: Begging, street work and the socio-spatial experience of children in Addis Ababa." *GeografiskaAnnaler: Series B, Human Geography*. 90(3), 271–284. Retrieved May 08, 2014 (<http://onlinelibrary.Wiley.Com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0467.2008.292.x/epdf>).
- Teweldebrhan Abraha. 2011. "The causes, prevalence and psychosocial consequences of begging in Addis Ababa among beggars coming from Tigray regional state." M.A. thesis, Institute of Psychology, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia.
- Victor D., Ogunkan. 2011. "Begging and almsgiving in Nigeria: The Islamic perspective." *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 3(4): 127-131. Retrieved September 20, 2014 (<http://www.academicjournals.org/ijasa>).
- Wamisho, B.L. and Menore L.H. 2009. "Begging on the streets of Addis Ababa: an impact of musculoskeletal disability." *East and Central African Journal of Surgery*, 14(1): 103-108. Retrieved September 20, 2014 (<http://www.bioline.org.br/request?js09018>).
- Wisner, B., piers Blaikie, Terry Cannon and Ian Davis. 2003. 2nd ed. *At Risk: natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. Retrieved September 20, 2014 (http://www.Preventionweb.Net/files/670_72351.pdf).
- Woubishet Demewozu. 2003. "Begging as a Survival Strategy: Conferring with the Poor at the Orthodox Religious Ceremonial Days in Addis Ababa." M.A. thesis, Department of sociology and social anthropology, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Wudu Tafete. 2002. ልመና እንዲቀር መጠሪያ ቤት ይዘጋጅ። በኢትዮጵያ አ/ተ/ቤ/ክ በሰንበት ትምህርት ቤቶች ማደራጃ መምሪያ የማህበረ ቅዱሳን ጥናትና ምርምር ማዕከል የኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ጥናት መጽሔት ቁጥር 1።
- Yeraswork Admassie. 2004. የአደባባይ ልመና ምጽዋት። ባህልና ልማት በኢትዮጵያ በሚል ርዕስ በፎረም ፎር ሶሻል ስተዲስ ከገጽ 159-179 የቀረበ ጥናታዊ ጽሑፍ።