



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**Begging around Yekechene Debre Selam
Medhanialelem Churchyard, Addis Ababa:
Coping Mechanism or Livelihood Option**

By Tewodros Yoseph



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Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Prepared by: Tewodros Yoseph

Advisor: Mekete Bekele (Asst. Prof.)

A Thesis Submitted to the Addis Ababa University in
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Food Security

APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS:

SIGNATURE

Dr. Ali Hassen

CENTER HEAD

Ato Mekete Bekele

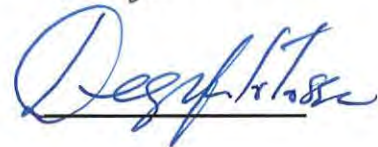
ADVISOR

Dr. Degefa Tolossa

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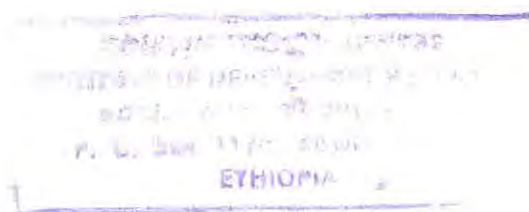




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Acronyms

AACA	Addis Ababa City Administration
Br	Ethiopian Currency Birr
DRMFSS	Disaster Risk Management and Food Security Sector
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERDA	Elshadai Relief and Development Agency
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GTP	Growth and Transformational Plan
KDSMC	Yekeechene Debre Selam Medhanialalem Church
MOLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
NGOs	Non- Government Organization
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SERA	Strengthening Emergency Response Abilities
WFP	World Food Program
BOLSA	Bureau of Labour and Social Affair



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Abstract

Begging is a very distressing problem in urban areas of Ethiopia, among which Addis Ababa is the most affected. In development studies, though much has not been done and generalized, there is a conventional view that begging is used as coping strategy and it is one forms of social capital that the poor turn in their desperation until good times back. Hence, this paper attempts to show whether there exists a different scenario, a livelihood option, being critical of the prevailed view. To this end, a case of one Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church vicinity in Addis Ababa was selected, Yekechene Debre Selam Medanialem Church.. Though this study took the churchyard as a research site, it was as well done on another spatial arena, Dera, Oromia Regional state where large number of migrant beggars (78%) originated, to crosscheck source based cause of beggary. In the course of securing primary data, a master list of beggars living around the selected churchyard are collected, by which it was realized that there are more than 400 migrant beggars. Afterwards, largely qualitative, along with quantitative methods of data generation such as in depth personal interview, focus group discussion, quantitative case study and observation among the beggars, the hosting and the origin community, and almsgivers and various concerned institutions are conducted in such a way that capture the diverse realities of beggary, addressing the major objective of the study.

It is found that begging is virtually the problem of rural in dress of urban problem. Taking a case of Dera, it is revealed that, source based causes are multifaceted, overlapping, leaving one destitute and life threatened. These include landlessness, land fragmentation and degradation, rainfall variability, labour deficit (due to physical and mental defectiveness, old age and poor health), long-standing blood feud tradition, social disorganization, land slide with poor institutional context, making a given individual to have poor asset mix and to follow the tracks of urban beggars. However, it is also realized that non-destitute (who have land, labour and oxen etc) is also joining the life of beggary. At destination around the churchyard, it is seen that with long-standing tradition almsgiving, unexpanded and uncoordinated intervention from government and non-government organizations, beggary find a breeding pool in the city, particularly around churchyard. On the other hand, using this larger context, some beggars seems do not will to quit from begging evidenced by such as comparable non-beggar migrants working in other productive activities etc. In the course of historical view of beggary in Dera, it is realized that beggary, as migration, is perpetuated by feedback mechanism and information exchange, that through time it become patterned, stagnant, normal etc. Therefore, it is concluded that, with its shame and evil, beggary is not only used as coping mechanism but also as a livelihood option to some groups. To tackle beggary, short-term and long term, preventive and curative interventions are recommended.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background



Begging is one of the oldest practices on earth and it is a universal phenomenon. Even the richest countries like United States, United Kingdom, and Australia etc have beggars in one form or another (Goyal, 2005; Lynch, 2005). However, the magnitude and severity is in stark difference and poignant in developing countries such as India, Ecuador, Afghanistan, Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia etc (Cama, 1995 (1); Swanson, 2007; Schütte, 2006; Weiss, 2007; Bamable, 2008; Osagbemi & Adepetu, 1999; MOLSA [Ministry of labour and Social Affair], 1992).

In Ethiopia, begging has historical roots in the medieval and ancient times (Ilfie, 1987) and now it is one of the most salient and deep rooted problems of urban areas, among which Addis Ababa is the most affected. Conceiving as one of 'social evil' of the city, the government of Ethiopia through MOLSA and its hierarchical offices, with the support of some voluntary organizations (such as Elshadai), is attempting to 'eradicate' the problem for the past few years using various forced and consented measures. However, there is still remaining a significant gap in bringing satisfactory remedies. Currently, there is a revival attention to 'eradication' of begging in Addis Ababa from the city Administration and other concerned bodies, coincidentally along with this paper.

Like the limitation of intervention, studies on beggars are also very handful, with many gaps and drawbacks and mostly linking it strongly with poverty. Narrowing the issues to development and food security studies, it is appropriate to argue there are only limited materials that discuss the issues at margin. Hence, this paper is interested in drawing the issue of begging in livelihood and food security studies in the form of dilemma whether it is a coping mechanism or an adapting strategy i.e. a livelihood option. At the same time, it is also an endeavor to look into the causes of beggary, situation of beggars, outcome of begging, step by step, in light of the two strands. In the course of the study, one locality of Ethiopian Orthodox church called Debre Selam Medhanielem Church (KDSMC) in Addis Ababa is selected as case study.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

One can easily observe the problem of begging affect quite a large number of people in urban areas of the country. Beggars are found in the churchyards, mosque yards, streets, market areas, traffic lights, tourist attraction areas etc. From time to time, it is ascertained that their number is also increasing, mainly through rural urban migration (MOLSA, 1992; Fistum, 2009; Zerihun, 2010). Before 20 years, it is estimated that there were around 20,000 beggars in Addis Ababa (Minas, 2010). However, according to recent report of a local non-governmental organization, Elshadai Relief & Development Association (ERDA) which works on 'eradicating' begging, estimated that there are 180,000-200,000 beggars countrywide of which over 143,000 of them make Addis Ababa their final begging destinations from the various areas of the country (2010). From above statements, it is understood that their number increased more than seven folds within those twenty years. Moreover, it demonstrates the rate by far proportional to the total population growth of the city which is not normally expected to double to the minimum of more than 20 years.

The beggarm population includes physically or mentally defective people, elderly and children. Paradoxically, there are also substantial number of not only able-bodied and capable of working, but also who own land and other possessions in the countryside (ERDA, 2010). The number of able-bodied beggars is also steadily increasing (Tafere, 2007). In a nutshell, begging in Addis Ababa is a rampant, grave and complex problem involving various sorts of people.

However, it can be argued that, generally, little attention is paid to the issue of begging in Ethiopia though it lived with us more than centuries (Iliffe, 1987). The only solution throughout these times was religious induced alms giving. This lack of interest mainly manifested through inadequate academic attention, passive intervention from both the government and voluntary organizations and lack of appropriate policy and laws that directly deal with the issue.

Academically, absence of adequate literature to the problem of begging is evident not only in Ethiopia case but also in the world. As a result, there is a serious gap in conceptual, methodological and theoretical understanding to the topic (Woubishet, 2003). Bounding ourselves to Ethiopia case, though beggary lived with us for centuries, study concerning begging problem is a recent phenomena of not more than 20 years. Before that, most studies treated the issues marginally. The earliest study that can be said directly deal with the challenges of begging was MOLSA action oriented snapshot survey study, with the joint effort of Italian Cooperation, conducted in Addis Ababa in 1992.

Since then, handful studies followed. However, most of them are limited to the issues of anthropological, psychological, sociological importance and to its certain aspect (Ababaw, 2003; Fistum, 2009; Zerihun, 2010; Woubishet, 2003). These studies documented well the social interaction, techniques of begging, psychological confrontations, child abuse, to some extent the causes of begging etc that beggars are facing in their daily life. There are also some studies that deal with the migration aspect of begging (Mohammed, 2006; Tafere, 2007). In general, these studies highly emphasized poverty as cause, feature and consequence of beggary. Yet, as beggary is a complex phenomenon, there are issues not well addressed by these previous studies. Gaps such as whether it is right to link in all context the life of begging to poverty, revealing why the problem persists, the practical role and response of various institutions in aggravating or alleviating and proposing viable, comprehensive, humane and group-specific solutions etc, could be mentioned as instances.

Above all, in these studies, beggars problem are not well conceptualized in essence of development studies in general and food security perspectives in particular. From this stand point, for instance, whether begging is a coping mechanism or an adapting strategy is not well addressed. In limited literature of food security, it is found that begging is conceptualized in the form of coping mechanism and social capital. But this stand is questionable for good number of grounds: sizeable number of urban beggars are reported to be able-bodied and own farming land and other important resources in the countryside; some beggars are found to be satisfied with their 'jobs' and appear to be stubborn to quit it; the tolerance level of a given society to live with the situation have impact of attenuation or blooming of beggary; highly developed countries e.g. America, UK etc, where there seem to be adequate opportunity, are not able to eradicate begging altogether etc (ERDA, 2010; Mukerjee, 1995; Weiss, 2007; Ababaw, 2003; Goyal, 2005; Gilmore, 1932).

Hence, this study in brief statement attempts to give insight to the attributes of beggary- whether it is a coping mechanism or livelihood strategy. In conjunction, causes of beggary, beggars' situation and the consequences of beggary are explored in light of above major question. Throughout the discussion, attempts are also made to forward viable and holistic analytical framework to understand beggary, derived from previous literatures and this case study, which can be refined by more by the coming researches. To this end, a case of one churchyard, KDSMC, in Addis Ababa is selected.

1.3. Research Questions

Derived from statement of the problem, this thesis is expected to answer the following interrelated research questions:

- 1) Who are really these beggars? What are the different types of beggars around the church?
- 2) What are the causes of begging at place of origin and destination of beggars? Are these causes really potent at individual level, making them destitute and vulnerable and pushing them to follow beggary as a coping mechanism? Are the causes related to food insecurity?
- 3) At destination of beggars, are not there other forms of livelihood alternative, employment that can be exploited within their limited capability? Are there any attractive elements (better income, access to food etc) that facilitate entrance and perpetuation of beggary?
- 4) What is the impact of begging? Why mass beggary became persistent and sustained?

1.4. Objective of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study is to explore whether begging is used as a coping mechanism or livelihood option by beggars, focusing a case of Ethiopian Orthodox church locality which is called KDSMC, Addis Ababa.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

Following the general objective, there are a number of interlinked specific objectives that were addressed in conducting the research. These are:

1. To depict the general socio-economic characteristics and types of beggars that reside around the churchyard;
2. To explore whether the causes of beggary was really pushing enough to hold begging for survival strategy both at the place of origin (taking a case of beggars' origin) and destination ;
3. To dig into whether the pushing causes are related with food insecurity and
4. To assess the outcome of beggary on the beggars, his/her households, his/her community in light of the major objective.

1.5. Significance of the study

This paper is expected to have the following importance: (1) enriches the knowledge base for current actions of government as well as some NGOs that are contributing to 'eradicate' begging and improve the plight of the beggars and the public in general, (2) ignites interest and creates awareness for policymakers and academicians that there is a need of further study and intervention to the subject, (3) reveals the real nature of begging that are assumed to be helpful in building viable analytical framework which the issue is in deficit and (4) since the study is limited to a churchyard, the findings are expected to serve as a reference for further broad and detailed investigation.

1.6. Limitation, Deviation and Opportunity of the Study

It is important to note that this study is not without limitation and deviation from the initial intention. Firstly, through advice and recurrent visit, the number of research site is reduced to one churchyard. This is because increasing the number of case site makes the research bulky, expensive, time consuming and blurs its major objective by tampering an in-depth insight into the problem. Similarly, some of the objectives that are not relevant to the major objectives also became left (e.g. looking at the impact of beggary on different actors unrestrictedly).

Secondly, though it was the initial intent to measure the food security status of the beggars by food consumption score, it is left at the end due to partly the problematic nature of measuring food security at individual level. Moreover, these was partly because of, with major aim of the study, what matter most is not what their actual food security status is, rather what they perceive. Hence, perception of beggars with regard to access and quality of food are captured in evaluating their overall food security status.

Thirdly, some of the quantitative data such as income are also found untrustworthy. This is evidenced by the some of the questionnaires' contradictory response and beggar key informant input. As a result, with other merit, the use of a key informant from the beggars' themselves in the study came into being. Using beggar key informant has also other merits by illuminating some sensitive issues such as criminality, income, saving, wealthy of the beggars etc.

Finally, it is also important to note the inclusion of Dera, Oromia regional state, a case within case study- to uncover the root cause of beggars as well as the impact on the community. In this sense, though churchyard is selected as research site, the study is also actually done on other spatial place.

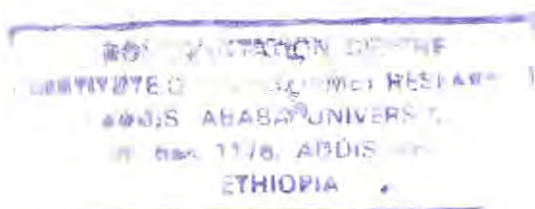
Going to Dera is not initially conceived but eventually came when it was found that 78% of the beggars around the church are from there. This was a good opportunity due to finding the place of origin of beggary in clustered manner obviously easing the methodological challenge one face at the field to find out the root causes and associated larger context.

1.7. Methodology

1.7.1. Case Selection

Though this study takes a vicinity of Ethiopian Orthodox church, called KDSMC, Addis Ababa as a research site, it is as well done on another spatial sphere, Dera, Oromia Regional state where large number of migrant beggars (78%) come from around the churchyard, to check source based cause of beggary. Generally, the major reasons for the choice of Addis Ababa as research site are the existence of pervasive and severe problem of begging (MOLSA, 1992; ERDA, 2010) and the researcher's well acquaintance to the area. For the specific selection of a case of churchyard in general and the mentioned one in particular is based on the following justifications:

- The prevalence of beggars on those areas as compared to any other sites is very high (MOLSA, 1992). In this regard, there are estimated more than 400 beggars in the selected churchyard, among which 346 are willingly recorded in a list.
- Large proportions of the beggars that we see roaming the streets of the city usually sleep in churchyard and consider it as their 'home'. In this sense, more than one third of the beggars of this churchyard estimated to roam the city in search of alms.
- Related to the above reasoning, focusing on churchyard reduces the methodological problem that is created due to the mobility and scatteredness of beggars, since beggars are found around churchyard in group, more or less with least unstable composition across different time.
- Moreover, their patterned social interaction with this specific geographical area and community, even among them enables a researcher to observe and study beggars' context with better ease than anywhere else. In other terms, it is the arena of where sustained social interaction takes place related to begging (MOLSA, 1992; Woubishet, 2003; Fasil, 2005; Girmachew, 2009).



In addition to the above specific justifications, it is important here to mention one of the common oversight towards case study among most scholars in social science, especially in the stage of site and subject selection, which Bent Flyvbjerg (2006), who have ample experience in case study, identified as one of the five major misunderstanding of case study. This view is taking case study as a 'bias towards verification' and a claim that case study has a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions, so that the study therefore becomes of doubtful scientific value. In this sense, selecting a churchyard may seem in this position. But to the contrary, case study has the power of refuting previously preconceived views, assumptions, concepts, and hypotheses (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this regard, I argue that selecting a churchyard is methodologically sound and in agreement with my objective which aspires to falsify the nearly generalized mainstream view towards begging as coping mechanism in development and food security studies. Likewise, Flyvbjerg (2006) argue that:

When the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, a representative case or a random sample may not be the most appropriate strategy. This is because the typical or average case is often not the richest in information. Atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied. In addition, from both an understanding oriented and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur. Random samples emphasizing representativeness will seldom be able to produce this kind of insight; it is more appropriate to select some few cases chosen for their validity (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 229)

Moreover, based on the finding that large number of beggars is coming from specific area, I headed to Dera, Northern Shewa, Oromia regional state to cross check what the beggars put as a compulsive cause to begging and associated issues. There, interview among officials, elders, religious leaders and focus group discussion (FGD) among the community were conducted and important secondary data are also gathered.

1.7.2. Data sources and Methods of Data Collection

The study on begging problem is methodologically problematic due to beggars' frequent mobility (social as well as spatial) and heterogeneous composition in term of the types, causes, situation, and scattered nature of their location etc. As a result, conducting survey study with adequate sample size and hence, that is going to be representative to the whole Addis Ababa is very difficult and expensive, if not impossible. However, given the current research question, the answers call an intensive, focused investigation implying the appropriateness of case study. Congruent with major

objective of the study, scholars (Popper, 2003) has also showed that case study with particular observation has the power of logical possibility that an assertion could be shown to be false or refuted. Similarly, Flyvbjerg (2006) uphold various merit and scientific values of case study, claiming that 'social science may be strengthened by the execution of a greater number of good case studies'.

Case study should not also be confused with qualitative research and they can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence, which is instance of this study. In this regard, scholars who also previously studied beggary, suggest that qualitative approach such as in-depth interview, ethnography, etc with beggars as well as the public can be a viable and very fertile source of ideas (Dean & Keir, 1999; Adler, 1999), but also convinced that other quantitative methodological approaches can also provide valuable insights on certain situation of beggars and public response to it despite the fact that the generalizability is in question (Adler, 1999).

It is also important to note that a preliminary study is made so that to get insight into methodological approach to the problem to meet the objectives. This was done along with when I prepared a term paper with my colleagues in title '*begging in Addis Ababa: the failure of the right to food and manifestation of food insecurity?*' in right to food and food policy course of the 1st semester of the 2nd year, 2010/11 academic calendar.

Based on the above arguments and preliminary study, a case of one churchyard is taken and the study goes after for largely qualitative research methods and analysis. Yet, there is quantitative data collection methods and analysis in part so that to grasp the facts in measurable ways. Needless to say, combining the two research methods is very useful and based on the advice of many experts who studied poverty, food insecurity etc, yielding more than the sum of two approaches used independently (Chambers, 1995; White, 2002). The quantitative data was particularly concerned grasping socio-economic characteristics of beggars, migration pattern, food consumption etc. Since multiple sub-unit of analysis are discussed and both qualitative and quantitative methods are integrated in the study, this case study fits to be called 'embedded case study' which is particularly relevant to examination of an environment where the boundaries between the phenomenon of interest and context are not clearly evident (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2003).

The research around the churchyard was mainly based on firsthand data and in doing so, it is conducted into two separate phases. In general, the major data collection period of the research was from 24 February 2011 up to 23 April 2011, though there was a recurrent visit and observation up to the ends of the study. The first phase was mainly concerned with preparation of lists of beggar to the most exhaustive level in the research site i.e. **mini census** of beggars were recorded that hold their name, sex, age, place of origin, their main reason to become beggar and used as a base to the second phase, which was the major data collection stage. After collection, it was recorded it in excel and sorted it based on sex, age, place of origin, disability etc and used as a base for subsequent purposive sampling in the second phase. A maximum of three days was taken as a gap between the two phases of data collection so that composition of beggars was at best controlled to the minimum.

In the second phase, data is collected mainly from beggars, the hosting community including the almsgivers, official and Dera community and officials etc. The major method of data collection is in-depth personal interview, focus group interview, observation and quantitative data collection through questionnaires. No overlapping of personality among the respondents of the questionnaire, the participants of in-depth interview and FGD was made to increase the diversity of the data.

(1) In-depth interview was considered the main instrument of the study and unstructured interview checklist was instruments to collect the data. The checklist was used while interviewing beggars, the hosting community, officials, elders, experts etc.

The participants of the interview were selected based on careful judgment of the researcher in such a way that being inclusive of all varieties of participants (age, sex, place of origin, disability etc) so that it became comprehensive and capture most realities. As a base for the judgment, the lists of beggars at churchyard that had been collected at first phase were employed in selecting beggar participants. The sample size was 18 beggars. Concerning the participants of hosting community, their numbers were being determined by proportion of beggar participants, taking the ratio of 1: 2 (public: beggars) i.e 9 community members consisting of a pensioner, a university student, a shop owner, a church guard, a local mason, etc who all reside around the church. However, saturation principle was considered whether there is a need of increasing the sample size. Based on the will of the participants, tape record was used in documenting what they were saying. Moreover, interview made among 5 Dera community members regarding the root causes of beggary.

In general, in-depth interview was conducted to collect data in the aim of capturing genuineness of causes of begging, relative social and economic well being of beggars, and the impact of begging both place of origin and destination. In this regard, the method takes into account the views of the beggars as well as the different actors, ensuring the data quality.

(2) **Focus group discussion** was held to complement the findings that are found through the in-depth interview. Two sessions of FGD were held which consist of 10 and 8 members with target groups of beggars around the churchyard and the Dera local community at place of origin, respectively. The focus group discussion in Dera is conducted at market place, in the local market, Saturday. The FGDs are basically meant to grasp diverse ideas and to determine the causes, situation and outcome of begging.

(3) In addition, **recurrent visit and informal talk**, accompanied with photographs was made in the course of the study starting from phase one, with adequate field note on the selected churchyard. In all courses, unobtrusive observation with the consent of their knowledge was made. The observation was in order to grasp the situation of beggars with regard to food, clothing, housing, and access to basic amenities etc and their interaction to the local community.

(4) There was also a quantitative case study in which **questionnaires** were distributed to beggars to capture the overall socio-economic characteristic, migration pattern, access to food etc. The questionnaire was administered by the researcher himself and other data collectors since most of beggars are illiterate to respond and to avoid non-response rate to the minimum. The respondents were selected based on the systematic sampling based the lists collected on the first phase. The sample size was 15% (52 respondents) of the total sample population (based on the list). At the beginning, the research aimed to use a quantitative measurement of food security namely food consumption score, but it is proved difficult as the research went on.

(5) As it was gone through the data collection with the collaboration of some of the beggars themselves, I became very friendly with them and they become free to talk to me. Especially, I found one of them very essential in giving me very important information. He has stayed around the churchyard for long time, migrating on seasonal basis and was from Dera. As a result, he is familiar with most of the beggars around the churchyard and the Dera migrants in particular. He also accompanied me when I went to Dera and guided me how to get my data. As a result, I eventually tended to use him as **key informant** as one means of data collection. This is based on the rationale of capturing very critical but sensitive data such as beggar's wealth at their place of

origin, how much income they earn or how far they save, their negative impact to the locality, their criminal background etc, which the beggars are not generally want to disclose. This approach was found very rich in grasping the thorough realities of beggars and helped to critically check the data which were gathered by other instruments. In addition, key informants interview were also conducted with the KDSMC leader, religious leaders, Assistant to the Mayor of Addis Ababa City officials, District officials and Experts of Dera and Gullele Subcity, *Wereda* 04 and 05 and heads of NGOs etc to keep the richness of the data.

(6) Secondary data are also collected from various governmental offices, churches, NGOs etc published and unpublished books, pamphlets, research works, websites etc.

1.7.3. Data Analysis

To analyze the data both qualitative descriptions and quantitative approach were used, though qualitative data and analysis are more relied. The qualitative data, after transcribed in paper, was coded, categorized and interpreted in organized manner.

Moreover, direct narration of the first person (about himself or herself) and third person (about other person) concerning various issues is cited to make the situation more revealing in the appropriate places. It is also important to note that the narration is somehow made to be presentable by arranging its flow and coherence. Pertaining to quantitative data, excel and SPSS software was employed. But the output is largely limited to descriptive statistics. Generally, the analysis was done along with data collection to look into whether there is a need for additional data based on saturation principle.

1.7.4. Ethical Considerations

In all the research stage, especially in data collection period, ethical concerns are emphasized. In this respect, all the participants and the respondents are allowed to use either a false name or their own name as they would like to respect their confidentiality. Whenever a third person is referred, letters are used as their consent is not sought.

At the beginning of the study, coincidental to this paper, the government was detaining street beggars. As a result, there was a general suspect among beggars towards my work. But, eventually with the support of some of the beggars, I was able to convince most of them that the purpose of my data is for academic work. They were always reassured that they can decline to answer any question

if they are uncomfortable. All the interviews and the FGD with beggars were conducted within the church compound, with the permission of the church personnel. Photos are also taken with prior knowledge of the beggars.

1.8. Organization of the Paper

This paper is organized into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction part which includes background, statement of the problem, the objective of the research, significance of the study, limitation and deviation from the original intent and methodology. The second chapter is literature review that comprises the history and literature of begging, begging vis-à-vis with other essential concepts such as coping mechanism, livelihood option and migration. In the final section of this chapter, analytical framework of the study is also presented. In the third chapter, the general characteristics, types and research locality of the beggars of the churchyard are discussed. In the fourth chapter, general source based causes of beggary are expounded, taking Dera, beggars' place of origin as a case. In this chapter, various types of causes are explained with larger context of the place as well as at individual level and the potency to make migration and follow the life of beggary in the city are examined. In chapter five, destination based causes of beggary are explained in light of larger context and beggars' role with respect to employment, income and access to food. Finally, the impact of beggary on beggars and beggars' place of origin is discussed in such a way that answers major question of this research. The final chapter is synopsis of what is discussed in the last two chapters along the lines of the major research question i.e. whether beggary is a coping mechanism or a livelihood strategy, and the ultimate conclusion. Recommendation and further research are also forwarded at closing part of this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, definition of begging, begging vis-à-vis with other essential concepts, two strands of perspective on begging whether it is a coping mechanism or a livelihood option and history of begging that overview at international and nation level are presented step-by-step. In final section, based on the previous literature and fed by the finding of this research, an analytical framework for the purpose of this study is proposed.

2.1. Begging and Other Essential Concepts

2.1.1. Definition of Begging

Begging defined in various ways in different literatures. However, most definitions are founded on flawed premises and exhibit some form of inclination (Woubishet, 2003; Cama, 1995 (1)). This is partly due to the diversity of the beggars, context etc but in large part due to the predisposition of the proponents. For instance, some associate begging with criminality and antisocial behaviours. For the purpose of this study, however, the concept of begging or beggary can be conceptualized as an act of soliciting alms- in kind or money- in public places - be it for coping strategy or adapting strategy.

2.1.2. Begging and Migration

Beggary is virtually the problem of rural people that masks in the urban context in many developing countries. This is because of the prevalence of great number of migrant beggars in urban areas which are found to be supported empirically in many literatures around the globe, especially in developing countries.

For instance, in China, a study reveals that in a specific rural area in Gansu province, 30% of the population are said to be migrated to beg in the cities and hence popularly known as “begging village (Henery, 2009)”. In the 1990s, rural indigenous women and children started migrating to beg from the Andes to Ecuador’s largest cities for survival needs (Swanson, 2005). Another study

in Nigeria also revealed in one of Nigeria's urban area, called Ogbomoso, more than 83 % are found to come out of the city (Fawole, 2009). In Ghana, similar finding also revealed (Weiss, 2007).

In case of Ethiopia, MOLSA (1992), after conducting a snapshot survey study on beggars of Addis Ababa, came up with that 77.4% beggars are migrants outside the city, being the highest from northern part of the country followed by the central Ethiopia. Fistum (2009), in studying street beggary problem of Shashemene town also noted that from the total sample, 91.1 % of them were migrants, being the leading group from Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR).

The begging-migration link shows that rural and urban not only integrated in development but also share the evils of each other without space restriction. Hence, some researchers wrongly put migration as cause to begging (MOLSA, 1992; Zerihun, 2010). It is rather, in most cases, a parallel phenomena and largely an integral concept to begging. In the context of beggary, migration is, in most cases, a hidden concept. Moreover, even within a given city, it is common that beggars go to far away areas where they are unknown due to its social stigma, implicating at least the existence of some form of movement (Schütte, 2006).

Therefore, what explains the factors of migration also explains the causes of beggary. Lee (1966), an influential writer on migration, argued in his article of '*A Theory of Migration*' 'push and pull factors' with 'intervening obstacles' and 'personal factors' are able to explain a variety of spatial movements. 'Push factors' are things that are unfavourable about the area that one lives in (place of origin), and 'pull factors' are things that attract one to another area (place of destination).

Hence, as it is claimed that migration is explained by 'push and pull factors' approach is tantamount, especially, in this research case, where nearly all numbers of the beggars come from rural area, arguing that beggary can be explained in the same way. However, it is necessary that to make some amendment to the concept of 'pushing and pulling factors' of the Lee's '*A Theory of Migration*' to fit to the context of working definition in this study. In Lee's theoretical underpinning, 'push and pull factors' basically associated to place of origin and destination respectively. In other words, they are basically anchored to spatial notion. In this paper, however, they are rather to be associated to pulling and pushing phenomena of beggary itself, not with locations. The negative aspect that deters to be involved in begging is the pushing features while the positive rewards that gained by being beggar is the pulling aspect. The realities of pushing and pulling factors of beggary, unlike Lee's

concept, exist across the place of origin and destination. Therefore, source based causes (factors) and destination based causes (factors) came into picture, which is also used in these studies.

The emergence of these two concepts is essential since, nearly in all cases, beggary is associated with some form of spatial movement and a subset of migration, implying the existence of two sites that should be investigated. Moreover, all migrant beggars do not instantaneously engage into urban beggary coming from their origin, but influenced by the pushing and pulling aspects of destination to be engaged in beggary.

2.1.3. Begging and Sustainable Livelihood Framework

In addition to the above amendment, further comment has to be made concerning on 'push and pull factors'. This is putting pushing and pulling phenomena as factors does not allow capturing the richness and the complication of the causes of migration. So does for beggary. This is because the causes of migration in general and beggary in particular are linked to a multifaceted and interdependent larger context and it is rather a process of a long period of time. Even for a single individual, the reality of the causes that push one to migration, in this case, begging is very difficult to attribute to one factor. In this sense, previous study done on this begging argued:

...an individual or group of beggars might be affected by a number of causal agents at a time or through a long period of time. Therefore, it is difficult to attribute one single reason for an individuals or groups resortment to begging. Even with an individual's life time, it is not a single factor or cause, rather a multitude of but interrelated factors or causal agents which lead people to resort to begging as their last resort and means of survival(Woubishet,2003:100).

To tackle the deficit of pushing and pulling factors, borrowing concept from sustainable livelihood framework is essential. The approach naturally gives insight in the conceptualization of migration, in this case beggary, as livelihood degradation. In this regard, the advice of prominent scholars such as Frank Ellis (2003) who studied migration and livelihood are well taken, as similar as Lee' theory can be extended to study beggary. In this regard, he argued that:

... migration is an integral part of the livelihoods of the poor (and the not-so-poor) in low income countries. A more accurate understanding of the roles of migration can be achieved by taking a livelihoods approach with its emphasis on assets, activities and outcomes within vulnerability and institutional context (Ellis, 2003:9).

In the same study, Frank Ellis (2003) further illustrated what livelihood assets, activities, outcomes, vulnerability and institutional context as follows, which are also taken in this study with similar concepts:

...resources are referred to as 'assets' or 'capitals' and are often categorised between five or more different asset types owned or accessed by family members: human capital (skills, education, health), physical capital (produced investment goods), financial capital (money, savings, loan access), natural capital (land, water, trees etc.), and social capital (networks and associations)...The risk factors that surround making a living are summarised as the 'vulnerability context', and the structures associated with government (national and local), authority, laws and rights, democracy and participation are summarised as the 'policy and institutional context'. People's livelihood efforts, conducted within these contexts, result in outcomes: higher or lower material welfare, reduced or raised vulnerability to food insecurity, improving or degrading environmental resources, and so on (Frank Eliss, 2003: 4-5).

In that line, source based causes and destination based causes are defined in this study. Source based causes are pushing /pulling causal factors that paved way to beggary through migration determined by the one's asset mix which is also further determined by the larger context such as draught, famine, conflict, information exchange etc at the place of origin while destination based causes are pulling / pushing causal factors that facilitate entrance and continuity of beggary at the place of destination, determined by asset mix of a given individual, which is further determined by larger contexts such as availability of employment, almsgiving tradition etc at place of destination . Livelihood asset mix is a set of livelihood assets that a given household or individual have at certain time in period. If one has no or little livelihood capital, it is said that they have poor asset mix or in other words, destitute, improvised, poverty stricken etc.

2.1.4. Coping Mechanism and Livelihood Option

Many obscure the words between coping and adapting strategy. But their concepts are quite distinct in disaster and famine studies. Davies (cited in Simon Maxwell, 1997:29) spelled out the difference clearly by stating while the coping strategy is a short-term response to an immediate and inhabitual decline in access to food; adapting, in contrast, involves a permanent change in the mix of ways in which food is acquired, irrespective the year in question, which is in other words changing one's livelihood strategy.

The concept of coping mechanism is extended to other areas of discipline such as disaster management, climate variability, and even in psychology. Blaikie among other defined coping strategies as the vulnerable group employs to handle hazard situations by mobilizing all available resources to survive until good times back (Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, & Wisner, 1994), showing clearly that the concept can extend even outside food security studies.

However, narrowing down to food security literature, coping is mainly associated with food shortage. As Dan Maxwell (2003) among others keenly described it is 'what people have to do when they do not have enough' food, implying 'the more people have to cope, the less food secure they are'.

However, it is important to admittedly note that coping strategy and adapting or livelihood strategy are abstract and slippery concepts that mean different things at different time at different locale. Similarly, Dan Maxwell et al, (2003) indicated that coping strategies has to do with location and culture while he used it as food security indicator. For instance, depending on maize in the highland of Ethiopia might be a coping mechanism while it might be livelihood strategy in the Southern. This conceptual difficulty in putting a clear practical demarcation between coping and livelihood (adapting) strategy also echoed in this study. With this limitation, however, it is at best tried to capture the reality of begging at various spatial setting.

2.2. Perspectives on Begging: Coping mechanism or Livelihood Option?

Generally, though very little was done on the relation of begging and food security, in limited food security researches which are done across many places identified begging as one of a coping mechanism, even as the severe form of coping mechanism, which a household or the individual devise to strategically tackle critical food deficit. In this regard, though not directly, Corbett (1988) implicitly categorized not only as coping mechanism but also as severe form of coping mechanism. To make clear, looking, Frankenberger (1997) summarized classification of coping mechanism is very indispensable.

In earliest stage of crises (stage one) household employ the types of risk-minimizing and loss-management strategies...These typically involves a low commitment of domestic resources, enabling speedy recovery once the crisis has eased. As the crisis persists, households are increasingly forced into a greater commitment of

resources just to meet a subsistence needs (stage two). There may be a gradual disposal of key productive assets, making it harder to return to a pre-crisis state. At this stage, a household's vulnerability to food insecurity crises is extremely high. Stage three strategies are signs of failure to cope with the food crisis and usually involve destitution and distress migration. (Frankenberger, 1997:91-92).

Since begging is commonly understood as distressed migration, it is most probably in the third stage. Similarly, most studies also directly put beggary as coping mechanism and severe form of survival strategy. In a south-eastern Mexican city, for example, begging was characterized as “deviant behaviour” and an action of last resort (Fabrega, 1971). In studies in Ethiopia, begging is also conceptualized as cop out and social capital that the destitute can draw when they lack basic needs and desperate situation (Shumete, 2009; Adhana, 1991; Alula P. , 1988; 1991; Degefa, 2009). Similar to the three classifications of coping strategies, beggary tended to be one of the severe forms of coping strategy. In this sense, begging is seen as last and critical stage found at lowest ladder of survival option. As a result, it is mainly associated with dominantly shortage of food or rarely other life threatening cases.

Founded on studies which are done on beggary in Ethiopia or elsewhere and practical observation of the current mass beggars practice in Addis Ababa, these position can be disputed on a number of grounds. For instance, findings of previous researches that stir up this debate are: sizeable number of urban beggars are reported to be able-bodied and own farming land and other important resources in the countryside; some beggars are found to be satisfied with their ‘jobs’ and appear to be stubborn to quit it; the tolerance level of a given society to live with the situation have impact of attenuation or blooming of beggary; highly developed countries e.g. America, English etc, where there seem adequate opportunity, do not able to eradicate begging altogether etc (ERDA, 2010; Mukerjee, 1995; Weiss, 2007; Ababaw, 2003; Goyal, 2005; Gilmore, 1932). Generally, this finding spark that beggary could also taken as an adapting strategy and livelihood option that the poor not only turn in their desperation but take as asset building mechanism.

These situations generate arguably the existence two visible strands of thinking, not only in the literature of food security and development studies but also distantly on any literatures of begging at various level of continuum. In this sense, the first thought argues people beg because they have limited opportunities and resources with which to achieve income and well being and lack other option in survival strategy and basically associating poverty as cause, feature and consequence of begging. This view attributed beggary to physical and mental disability and destitution of the

individual etc as major factors. In other words, begging is a manifestation and the consequences of economic, political, and social distortions or discrimination at large that can be traced to historical trajectories as well as to current larger milieu. In agreement with this idea, Woubshet(2003) in his own words argues emphatically as follows:

...,it seems significant that the contemporary socio-economic position of the impoverished beggars, their multidimensional deprivations, result from conditions and circumstances beyond their control, but not from the beggars' internal deficiencies. In this regard, the socioeconomic history of the country overwhelmingly would certainly have to share a good part of the current problem of beggary.

On the other hand, this view argues that begging exists due to deficient psycho-social make up of the individual as well as the society at large that hosts the beggars. Beggary is perpetuated by the individual beggars being caught by 'dependency syndrome' and alms-givers who believes it is right. The view leads us that blaming that individual for poor merit and the society for its poor culture. These two thoughts have clearly different connotation of public policy that Goyal (2005) classified them as sympathetic and unsympathetic view towards begging.

But the question is, whether beggary is the propagated due to larger structural problem or individual, neither well clearly articulated nor strictly addressed in most literatures, especially here in Ethiopia. Similarly, confining to food security, the question also remained whether beggary can be conceptualized as cope out invariably in all contexts. Therefore, this paper aspires to identify whether begging is, as it is thought in the mainstream of development and food security studies, really always a coping mechanism, if coping, whether these response occur due to severe food shortage.

2.3. Overview of Begging in the World

2.3.1. Begging at international level

Begging did not exist in communal primitive society which is characterized by strong cohesion. It is believed to have emerged with the phenomena of private property (MOLSA, 1992). However, it is true that everywhere before any state intervention began, religion was a protector of the poor beggars by providing alms in different forms. With this regard, the contributions of major religion of the world such as Christianity in the west and East, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism etc in the Middle

East and Asia were well known. The doctrines of these religions put almsgiving at core of the faith by considering it as holy deed and a means to attain 'goodness' in their own respective.

However, their approach seems to overlook one truth by overly focusing on almsgiving as good deed without considering the negative impacts of the extreme scenario. In this sense, many scholars argue that each of these religion have perpetuated the problem by putting a moral obligation in their context (Baker, 2009; Fistum, 2009). In addition, in most of these religions, voluntary begging was also taken as ideal moral model to be obedient, humble, and the setting aside of shame and reaching to 'goodness' (Munzer, 1997). The rise of monasticism in Christianity is a good example in this respect (MOLSA, 1992). The disintegration of earlier social system and support system due to industrialization, urbanization and modernization also contributed to widespread begging practice in alarming rate.

With this reality, begging became eventually contested especially in Western society. Scholars, in a review of history of begging internationally, reflect on the cultural context of these countries (Jordon, 1999; Stanley, 1992). Begging is at odd with capitalism. Though begging was associated with alms-giving and was the dominant form of relief before the introduction of the Poor Law in countries such as England, (Jordon, 1999), with the advent of the Poor Law came the concept of the "undeserving" poor. Vagrants and beggars numbered among them (Vorspan 1977; Slack 1995 as cited in Massey et al, 2010). This perception continues to permeate views on people who beg, perhaps because begging is identified with the attributes of criminality, and beggars are perceived to be threatening. Since then, the view that begging is associated with undesirable behavior is found in many parts of the world. For instance, some of the countries which legally ban begging completely or disallow certain forms of begging are Canada, United States, United Kingdom, Britain, Australia, and Japan. Similar rejection and dejection also exhibited in developing countries. For example, India and Afghanistan criminalized certain forms of panhandling. However, there are a lot of literatures that argue criminalizing beggars is not only right but it is also against the right of human being (Walsh, 2004; Hendrickx, 2011; Baker, 2009; Swanson, 2007; Arthur, 2007; Lynch, 2005).

The magnitude and severity of begging in developing countries is in stark contrast to developed countries in 20th century (Swanson, 2007; Cama, 1995 (1)). This is mainly attributed socioeconomic conditions of developing countries which are characterized by low income

unemployment and underemployment rate, fast rising cost of living, high rate of population growth and continued rural-urban migration (MOLSA, 1992). Many of these countries are doubling their population as short as two decades. This in turn resulted in deterioration of social cohesion and capital through the collapse of the previously strong traditional social structures of extended families and socially considerate neighbors contributing to the number of urban destitute, including beggars having no one to turn to (MOLSA, 1992). The situation is worse in Africa and the growth of food production has fallen behind the increase in population, making begging the most prevalent activity in the urban areas and cities.

For instance, in northern Nigeria, children as young as five years migrate from rural areas to the cities to attend Koranic schools and acquire Islamic learning (Winters 1987 as cited in Massey et al, 2010). These students attend school for 14 hours a day; during breaks and at mealtimes, they engage in begging at the homes of local Muslims. On Thursdays and Fridays, when they do not attend school, they beg all day to get enough to live on (Winters 1987: 9 as cited in Massey et al, 2010).

In addition, Bamisaiye (1974) noted that begging among Hausa migrants as a cultural pattern resulting from the social organization and the Islamic doctrine on giving alms. Hausa beggars migrating from northern Nigeria are a common sight in the city of Ibadan. A majority of these migrant beggars are disabled and solicit alms by displaying a visible deformity (Bamisaiye, 1974). The beggars appear around big stores and banks most days. On Fridays, they congregate outside the mosque, or occasionally on Sundays around major churches. They thus maximize their earnings by generosity sanctioned by religion (Bamisaiye, 1974).

In Accra, Ghana, Weiss (2007: 8) noted that zakat was a “private act of piety” among Muslims. Begging increased on Fridays, with voluntary alms given open-handedly; mosques were flooded with beggars in Muslim communities (Weiss, 2007: 78).

The period soon after independence saw many African governments becoming concerned with the image that their urban areas were projecting to the outside world. In this respect, certain colonial policies against the urban poor, including beggars, were introduced that include rounding up and repatriating to rural areas (Kironde, 1995). Furthermore, some African countries criminalized all begging activities. For instance, the Lagos, Kano and Kaduna State governments have officially banned begging on the streets of their towns (Daily Sketch, 1993 cited in Osagbemi & Adepetu, 1999). And to enforce this action, relevant agencies in these states have periodically embarked on

the exercise of physically removing the destitute and the beggars away from the streets for rehabilitation purposes. But generally, according to the same source, the law has proved difficult to enforce.

2.3.2. Begging in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, historically, begging can be traced back to ancient and medieval period though there is no written document that indicates the exact time and place of the emergence of the practice of begging. Giving alms to the needy is a customary practice in Orthodox Christianity as well as in Muslim in the form of *zakat*, one of the five pillars of Islam. As a result, there is long standing tradition-based almsgiving to the poor.

We found two types of begging in the history of this land; religious mendicancy and lay begging (Teshale, 1995). Among the religious mendicant, '*yekolo temari*¹', '*Bahitawayi*²' and '*Haminas*' or '*Lalibela*'³ are the most known (Teshale, 1995; MOLSA, 1992). The first two categories associated with Ethiopian Orthodox ecclesiastical establishment. *Yekolo temari* is typically related to the system of schooling in Ethiopian Orthodox Church through which students go to certain church leaving faraway their village depending on begging there for their survival. This is based on the spiritual wisdom that if students go far away from their families, they become polite, obedient and easily absorb the teaching without idleness. Similar schooling system is also observed in Islam of Ghana and Nigeria (Weiss, 2007; Bamable, 2008). Hermits are occasionally mendicants since they spend most of their hideouts of monastic life procuring their own means of livelihood, almost exclusively vegetarian (Teshale, 1995). The third type of mendicants whose remnants are still with us is '*hamina*'. These types of beggars usually move in groups, consisting mostly of married couples and children and usually beg at early in the morning with symphony of praise. The reason why they beg is related to the belief they have that begging is ancestral restriction without it they got leprous (Mesele, 2010). In addition to the third types of beggars, there were also '*yaegziabher engeda*'⁴, people who spend the night in someone's home in their long journey to some faraway destination (Teshale, 1995). The generosity of people receiving guests and giving away to

¹ Religious students of Ethiopian Orthodox Church

² Hermit in Amharic language, used in Ethiopian Orthodox Church

³ *Lalibela* or *Hamina* used interchangeably and refers to certain tribal beggars who came from Amhara regional state,

⁴ It means God's guest in Amharic

mendicants was a universal phenomenon in Ethiopia prior to the dominance of capitalism and individualism (Teshale, 1995). In addition, other type of begging which is related to ritual services of churches such *silet*, begging for construction of a church practiced by priests, nuns and even layman are also prevalent, till to these days. However, what is common in these sort of begging, belief and culture is the major predetermined factors to get involved in begging and hence, relating to poverty and other structural problem of the country by far to be true. In this regard Teshale (1995) warns us:

Beggars and religious mendicants are not the same. People became beggars for all kinds of reasons, including arson, loss of court case, famine, war, etc. the qolo temari was also a different. For him, begging is a medieval form of financial assistance, not from church school, but the parishes around the church school (Teshale, 1995:101).

However, to make a black and white strike in such a way, however, two questions seem unresolved. The first one is the difficulty of distinguishing mendicants from the rest of beggars as seen from outside. This is due to the deceptive involvement of other beggars called 'bogus mendicant' looking almsgiver willingness to give these groups. The second one is that mendicancy, though it can manifestly different from begging, can be argued that it is a fertile ground for prevalence of begging for lay man. As religious figures are influential to the general society, they can shape the choice they depend on for their livelihood strategy and the way the society interact each other. They have a power to command influence on both beggars and almsgivers as a role model.

With the mentioned problems, however, it is important to emphasize these types of mendicants are out of this particular study. Here, what the researcher wants to focus on is begging that is related to mainly to poverty and livelihood issues. So which types are commonly linked to the overall magnitude of country's poverty?

This type includes various sorts of beggars such children, the physically defective (the blind, the deaf-mute, and the crippled, deformed and chronically undernourished), the mentally defective and mentally ill, the diseased who suffer from acute stages of venereal diseases, leprosy, epilepsy, tuberculosis and skin diseases and the able-bodied (poor farmers, hired in marginalized jobs, temporarily unemployed, etc).

This type also seems to exist in Ethiopia in ancient times. According to Iliffe (1987:384) referring Francisco Alvares, the Portuguese priest who wrote the first European account of Ethiopia, described the existence of ‘more than 3,000 cripples, blind men, and lepers’ at a miraculous shrine close to the ancient capital at Axum in 1520’s.

Nowadays, begging is more prevalent in Ethiopian urban areas. Rural- urban migration is the major injection to high numbers of beggars (MOLSA, 1992; Fistum, 2009; Zerihun, 2010). Historical documents witnessed that rural-urban migration from drought-prone areas of northern regions to Addis Ababa has experienced for many years (Kebede, 1994; Lalem 2002, cited Tafere ,2007). As most migrants lack formal education, they end up in joining unskilled and odd jobs including begging (MOLSA, 1992; Tafere, 2007). It is unquestionable that prevalence and severity of begging is higher in capital city, Addis Ababa than anywhere. This is mainly seems related with high level of urbanization and modernization.

Nowadays, the number of beggars in the city is escalating year to year. For instance, Minas (2010) estimated that the number of beggars before 20 years to be 20,000. In 2007, there were 93,000 beggars. A current research from concerned NGOs estimated that there are 180,000 – 200,000 people engaged in begging in country from which over 143,000 of them make Addis Ababa their final begging destination (ERDA, 2010).

The increase in numbers of beggars also witnessed one truth: the proportion of able bodied people involvement in beggar’s mass also rising. Strengthening this idea, a study done in collaboration with Addis Ababa Chamber of commerce, indicated that 20-25 years ago there are no able-bodied beggars in Addis Ababa (Desalegn, 2000) and the same research further illustrates that out of 500 sample beggars taken 15 years ago, 53% of them had jobs. ERDA (2010) further indicated that out of the total current beggars 50,000 of them are not only able-bodied and capable of working, but own land and other possessions in the countryside, yet choose to migrate to cities because they view begging as a supplementary source of income.

State level intervention to deal with begging is recent phenomenon which is characterized by passive, little and less fruitful. The mandate to tackle the problem is given to MOLSA with its hierarchical offices. Before that, tackling begging has been considered as cross cutting issues that can be solved as various sectors meet their objectives. The growing trend of beggar’s population

emerged as particularly alarming as it became apparent that rural based farmers and their families have been flooding to cities with a premeditated plan to engage in begging (Tafere, 2007; ERDA, 2010).

Some NGOs also work to fight begging in one form or another. Religious based organizations that deal with beggars are so many. But they are not meant to fight the root causes of the problem since they are limited to provide consumption such as food, clothing and sometimes shelter etc. There are also non religious NGOs that assist particular types of beggars such as street boys and girls, elderly, disables etc. A very direct intervention on begging comes from ERDA that fight to eradicate begging from the urban areas of Ethiopia. Currently with accidental coincidence with this paper, there is a growing interest of 'eradicating' begging from Addis Ababa City Administration which is evidenced by increasing media coverage.

To tackle begging legally, there is one proclamation that that might be related to begging: *Proclamation to provide for controlling vagrancy, No. 384/2004*. However, this law is very inadequate to address the problem since it is problematic to directly link to the beggars situation and it entails inhumane solution by criminalizing all beggars.

Policy wise, as Minas (2010) commented despite the achievements of successive poverty and development strategy of Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction (SDPRP) and Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) to address the problem of the poor, there is a serious gap in addressing the poorest of the poor, whom Frank Ellis, Stephen Deveraux and Philip White call the ultra poor, who having little or no income, have to depend on others to survive which includes indisputably the beggars, though not all beggars.

Academically, absence of sufficient literature to the problem of begging is evident not only in Ethiopia case but also in the world. As a result, there is a serious gap in conceptual, methodological and theoretical endeavors to the topic (Woubishet, 2003). Confining ourselves to Ethiopia case, though beggary lived with us for centuries, study concerning begging problem is a recent phenomena of not more than 20 years. Before that, most studies treated the issues at margin and also continue so. The earliest study that can be said directly related to the challenges of begging was MOLSA action oriented snapshot survey study conducted in Addis Ababa which was accomplished accompanied by Italian Cooperation in November, 1992. Reflecting on this matter, the report also

indicated 'the problem of begging, which is affecting quite a large number of people, has never been studied previously' (1992:1). In this regard, the study can be credited as 'pioneer' and showed important facts of begging in the city. Nevertheless, as it was largely limited to quantitative analyses, it lacks in-depth insight into the problem. For instance, it does not reveal why begging persists, does not address the role and response of agencies that played in begging etc.

Until then, handful studies followed. However, most of them are limited to the issues of anthropological, psychological, sociological importance and to its certain aspect (Ababaw, 2003; Fistum, 2009; Zerihun, 2010; Woubishet, 2003). These studies documented well the social interaction, techniques of begging, psychological confrontations, child abuse, to some extent the causes of begging etc that beggars are facing in their daily life. However, in overall, there is a gap of understanding the current prevailed problem of begging in compressive and holistic manners starting from the causes to its effect on different actors of the society.

Among this one, Woubishet (2003) thesis was insightful and more or less touches range of issues related to begging. In his purely qualitative study, he showed us that (1) beggary problem has a lot to do with the country's socio-economic and historical aspects characterized by low incomes, high unemployment rates, fast rising cost of living, and high rates of population growth, inappropriate public policies and continued rural- urban migration and displacement of mass human beings to the city. (2)The beggars, as impoverished underclass are found in multifaceted and extreme impoverishment which can generally be characterized by chronic food shortage and insecurity, illiteracy, homelessness or poor housing often on unsuitable land, disease, in sanitary living conditions, death and above all marginalization and exclusion. (3)The actions and reactions of the destitute beggars is largely restricted to their own habitat; in the social milieu in which they are surviving by themselves within the limits of the larger society by which they are surrounded, from which they are, in large part an outcast.

However, his study is largely found disconnected to specific contextual situation as to where and to whom we can relate to begging problem and as a result difficult to find out a solution as to how to take action. In other words, he just depicted the problem aloof of the real context. Moreover, the study becoming largely 'sympathetic' and from the eyes of begging biased to the beggar's 'point of

view' and lacks diversity that can crosscheck the quality of the data and does not includes role, effect on and response of different actors that are in one or another associated to begging.

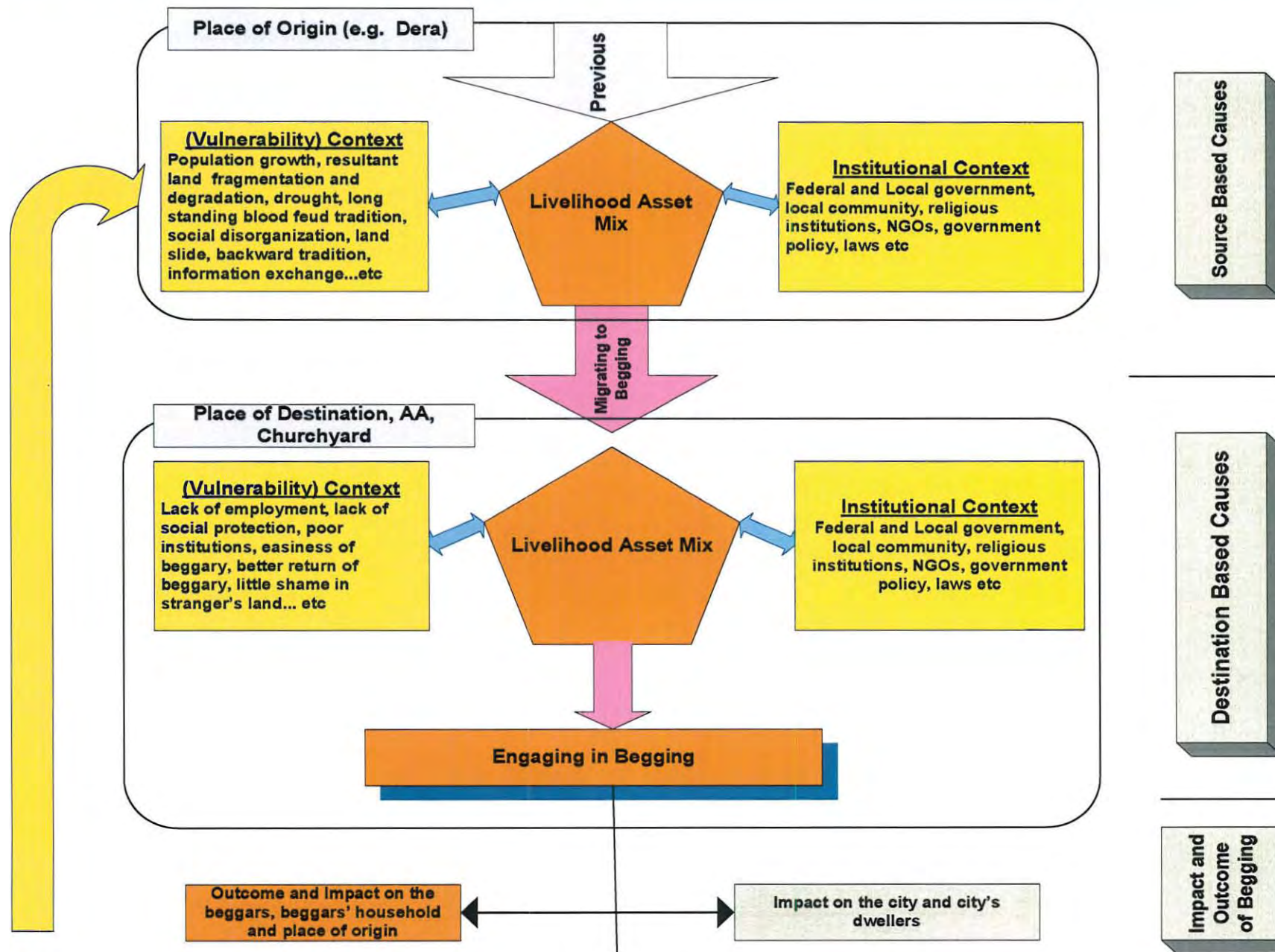
Some studies are also made on migration aspect of begging. These studies concluded that farmers join into the world of begging due to poverty (Tafere, 2007; Mohammed, 2006). Hence, push and pull factors with facilitating dynamics such as land fragmentation and depletion of natural resource and consequent food insecurity, inability to repay debt to microcredit and fear of subsequent legal action, simplicity of the work and idleness at dry seasons, information exchanges and easy transportation, confidence due to the availability of fellow person at place of destination etc among others are pointed out as cause to begging. The existence of begging also seen as negatively affecting the place of origin by propagating dependency syndrome, deteriorating economic status and impairing education to the children, threatening the community group solidarity maintained by religion for so long time. Though the studies provide important insight in understanding the problem of begging with its associated migration, they were generally not clear out whether compulsiveness of farmers' poverty or their choice made them to follow beggary as survival strategy.

In overall, there is a gap of understanding the current problem of begging in the causes of begging, situation of beggars, and effect of begging in light its tendency towards a coping mechanism or adapting strategy.

2.4. Analytical Framework of the Study

Based on the above discussion and the finding of this study, analytical framework is developed that tracks beggary from its place of origin, through place of destination and outcome and impact (see figure 1). The framework is expected to be refined and improved by the coming researches in the area. It can also be extended on other migration linked livelihood problems. However, as beggary is conceptualized in schematic representation as figure 1, having a lot of variables and elements (e.g. the impacts of beggary on various number of actors), only some are discussed in this study, which are being relevant to the major objective (the brown and yellow colored one).

Figure 1: Analytical Framework that Helps to Understand Beggary



CHAPTER THREE

BEGGARS' LOCALITY, GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPES

In this chapter, the localities of KDSMC, overall beggars' characteristics and types are discussed.

2.5. Beggars' locality within Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa is the federal capital of Ethiopia which has three layers of Government: city government at the top, 10 sub city administrations in the Middle, and a number of *Weredas* at the bottom (Addis Ababa City Administration (AACAA), 2010). The 10 sub cities are *Arada, Kirkos, Kolife keranyo, Lideta, Akaki-kaliti, Nifas Silk-lafto, Bole, Addis Ketema, Yeka and Gullele*. The site of Addis Ababa was chosen by Empress *Taytu* and the city was founded in 1886 by her husband, Emperor *Menelik II*. The city lies at the foot of Mount *Entoto*. According to 2007 census, the city is the largest in Ethiopia, with a population of 2,738,248 (CSA[Central Statistical Agency], 2010).

The KDSMC is located in *Kechene* area which is found within new administrative classification of *wereda* 04, but on the verge of *wereda* 05, *Gullele* Sub city which has in general 10 *weredas* (See the figure 2 below). According to 2007 census data, the sub city has the population size of 267,381 with an area of 32.73 sq. km (CSA, 2010).

Kechene and its neighborhood is one of the oldest part of the city, stretching from the so called *Shola* area in which Ethiopian News Agency in far west southern and *Afnicho Ber* in southern west located to far northern area of Addis Ababa where weavers and potters are popularly known to live. It is one taxi drive from the center of city: *Piazza*. However, it is somehow being far away from the active life of city and the sense of rural is tended to be strong.

According to the pamphlets of the two *weredas*, the total population size is 37,747 as of 2003 E.C with sex ratio of approximately 100:112 (*Wereda* 04 with population size 13,263 and *Wereda* 05 with 24,484 population size). The place has quite similarity with other poverty stricken slum areas

of the city. Most houses are owned by the government. As the same report indicated, among the total 4818 houses, 3,363 of them (69.8%) are owned by the state. The place is occupied with various sorts of ethnic groups despite the fact that Northern *Shewa* population such as *Marabete*, *Ankober*, *Dera* are slightly higher.

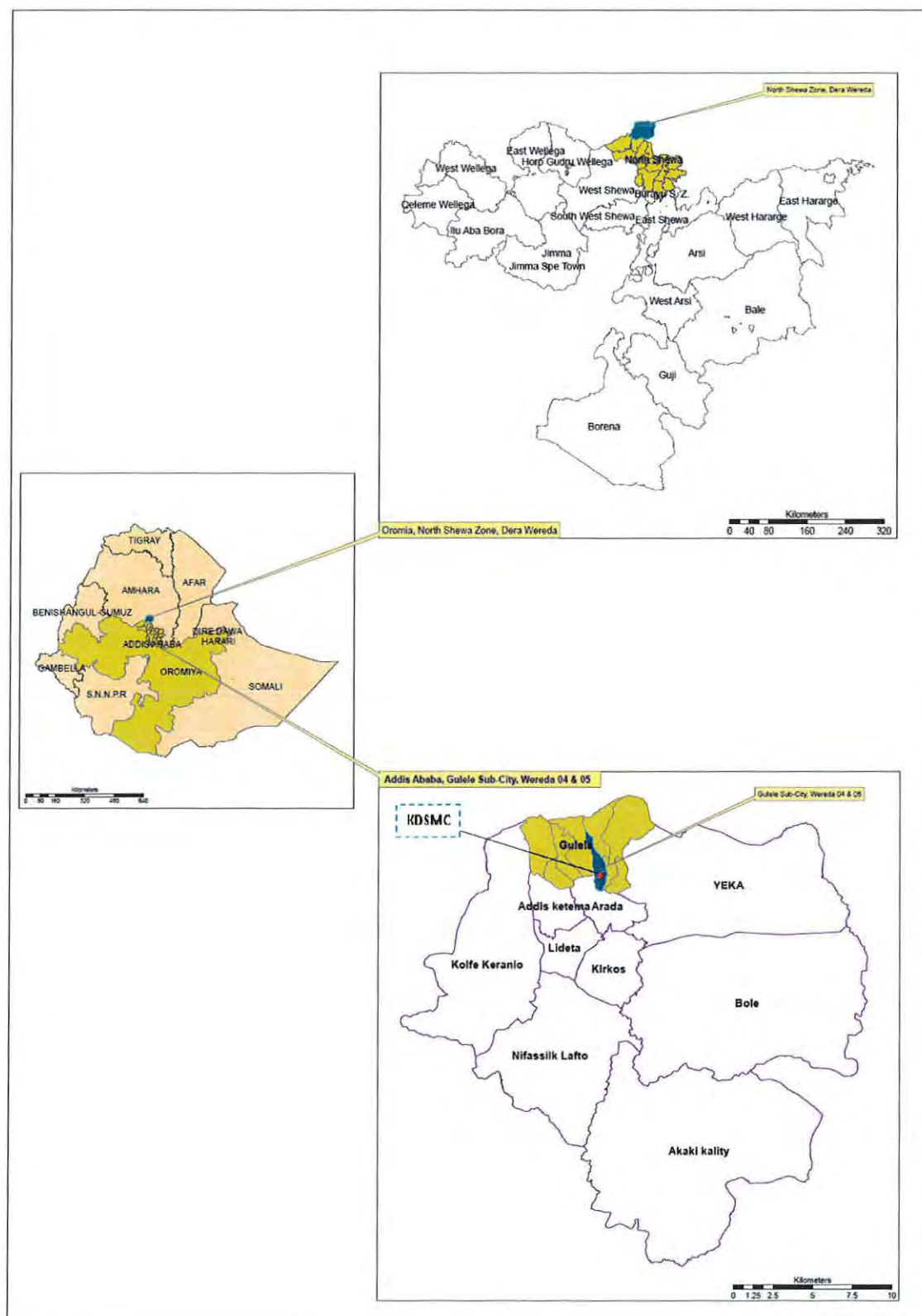
The poverty level of the community is easily observed as one go along the main roads looking at the substandard houses, which are shanty, very old, and poorly constructed, mostly made from wood plastered with mud. Moreover, they are to the most imagined informal, patternless, squalor and crowded. Most of the infrastructure is very poor and the same problem of sanitation that is rampant in the city is also observed here. Half of the *Gullele* sub city population is found in abject poverty line (Addisu, 2008).

The income of most of the resident is very low. Unemployment is a very serious problem. Most people around the church itself are very poor even to sustain their daily life. The surrounding is devoid of fairly large manufacturing that can absorb the unemployed youth found in the locality except Ethio-Ceramic Factory. The area is only dotted with small shops and roadside kiosks selling only the most basic items.

Consequently, it can be said that daily life mainly revolves around the church of KDSCMC which found at the geographical centre of the district. Local market, which is practiced in front of the church, becomes active corresponding with the celebration of saint days. Every Sunday is a market day, following Sabbath *kidasie* is completed. Moreover, whenever there is monthly and annual saint day, the market becomes very energetic. The church-goers are the main customers of the vendors in the market.

The church has one of the oldest Christian places of worship in the city, celebrating its 100 anniversary this year. The first establishment was begun by *Lij Eyasu*, *Minilik's* grandson and designated Emperor, but later, Empress *Zewditu* accomplished it (Merse-Hazen, 1942). Currently, within the compound, there is also Archangel Gabriel Church. The church is situated in the verge of *Wereda* 05 and 04, but within the administrative boundaries of *Wereda* 05 (look at figure 2). As a result, beggars that surround the church are found scattered in both *Weredas*.

Figure 2: Major Research Site (Churchyard, Weredas 04 & 05) and a Case of Beggars' Origin, Dera, Oromia Regional State



The number of beggars which is hosted by the community is increasing from year to year as witnessed by participants of the community in this research. Most of beggars rise early in the morning before any activities begin in the surrounding. The prevalence of beggars around the church becomes particularly greater at dawn and evening. At dawn, most stand around the church seeking alms and labours, whatever is available. But in the Church's ceremonial day and Sunday, their number remains very high, since money, food etc is relatively abundant at this time. Beggars are not generally allowed to beg within the church compound. But, it is a regular incidence they do to the contrary. If they make it while there are lot worshippers in the compound, they surely get better income. This is the common sources of conflict between the beggars and the church guards.

However, to any observant surprise, they far outnumbered at evening, approximately at 4 pm- 6 pm. At this time, their social interaction becomes full of life and attractive to any interested social scientists. This is the time when every beggar takes rest; meet each other for various reason and exchange ideas and resources. One of the most interesting markets of '*bulle*' becomes active at this time. '*bulle*' is a leftover food that is collected from different houses and hotel. After gathering in socially affiliated groups, their zealous talks begun. Their discussion revolves around what they went through in the day, their past memories, future aspiration, jokes, and advices etc. It is also a time where message is sent to their family and relatives if somebody be informed he or she is going to their respective countryside. During the year, higher number of beggars is also observed after post-harvest season. This is mainly due to the inclusion of seasonal beggars.



Figure 3: Life revolving around the church on normal day



Figure 4: Evening talk among beggars

2.6. Churchyard Beggars at glance

To start with plain socio-demographic features of churchyard beggars, almost all of them are first line generation migrants. Among the mini census registered 346 beggars, only one is born in Addis Ababa. All sorts of beggars who joined the world of beggary from a week to more than 40 years are found around the churchyard. Among them, however, the recent ones tend to be high, showing 60% of them turn to begging in the last five years. But, some of them have stayed for extended period in the area, even own government house, able to marry and have children here, and possess well founded social integration into the local community.

Table 1: Distribution of Beggars by Region of Origin

Regional States/ <i>Wereda</i>	Total	
	Count	%
Addis Ababa	1	0.29
Amhara	67	19.31
Oromia	272	78.39
Tigray	3	0.86
SNNPR	4	1.15
Total	347	100%
Dera <i>Wereda</i>	269	77.52

Source: Own mini census, 2011

As the general facts of the livelihood of countryside, nearly all of them are farmers or are very much associated with this activity at past or present. In this regard, their overall characteristics such as their dress, dialect, overall culture and body reveal typical Northern farmers for any passerby. In addition to their farming, some are reported to acquire less sophisticated skills such as local food and drink processing such as *areke* and *tela* (traditional alcohol drinks) preparation, petty trade, handicraft etc. 99.71% of them followed Orthodox Christianity.

More than 97% came from both northern and north central Ethiopia. Among these migrant, 78% of them come from Oromia Regional State, North Shewa, nevertheless ethnically; these people are dominantly belonged to Amhara ethnic group, who came from Dera *Wereda*, restricted to handful *Kebeles* (See Figure 2).

Sex wise, 70% of the total population is male while the remaining is female. Illiteracy and less achievement in school is the notorious characteristics of the beggars being 80% are unable to read

and write at all. Concerning age, surprisingly, most population (80%) is found between the ages of 18 and 65 which are generally regarded as productive age.

Table 2: Sex and Age Distribution of Beggars

		Age Category					Total	% of Total
		8-17 yrs	18-30 yrs	31-45 yrs	46-65 yrs	>65 yrs		
Sex	Male	3	12	9	5	8	37	71.15
	Female	0	4	5	2	4	15	28.85
Total		3	16	14	7	12	52	100.00
% of Total		6	32	28	14	20	100	

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

The 38.5% of the beggars are married followed by widowhood (28.8%), never married (17.3%) and divorced (15.4%). Hence of the substantial number of them (60%) are household heads having from 2 up to more than 7 dependent household members, including themselves. This obviously makes their life miserable. However, assuming all members is dependent on them for their livelihood is not right. Some of family members are also involved in begging around the churchyard while other are stayed at home, which is either around the churchyard or at countryside. For instance, in world of beggary, children are more 'productive' rather than dependent since the people are drawn with sympathy to help them more than others. There are also cases that part of the family members are still involved in productive activities and beneficial, even supporting them. Some of beggars are found to be mobilized with their whole family while others migrate alone or parts of family.

To anyone surprise, as most of them are farmers who have access to land in the rural area with different land holding size (42.3%). More than 20% of them also claim to have one or more farming oxen in the countryside. Very few also own government houses here in Addis Ababa.

Paradoxically, 40.38% of the beggars are healthy to work any labor jobs, few with slight and temporary health problems such as headache, leg coldness, cough etc. The remaining is either diseased, or physically and rarely mentally defective or elders and children.

All in all, based on the demographic data collection, it is explicit that most beggars around the church are migrant, farmers, came from northern area, Amhara, illiterate, male dominated and able-bodied and turn into begging in the last 5 years (See from the Table 1 and 2).

2.7. Categorization of Beggars

In general, if one keenly and deeply observe, he or she can discriminate two visible groups of beggars around the selected research site area. The first one is a group of beggars who dwell around the churchyard, and took it as 'home'; I call them '*churchyard beggars*'. They reside around the churchyard though most of them roam around most of the day time. During the night, they sleep either in close proximity of neighboring poor houses or open fields of the churchyard. This group is the main interest of this study and the mini census is all about to capture their lists into hand.

The other one is temporary beggars, who neither reside around the church, nor live around the vicinity but appear with the celebration saint days of the church. As the dogma of Orthodox Christianity, every church is constructed in the name of saintly figures: supernatural, divine beings, religious heroes and saints, and angelic personalities. The veneration, worship, and performance of ceremonials and rituals in the name of those saintly personages are the principal constituents of that specific church, though there are many ceremonies that every church shares. According to the DSKC church leader, the saint days and holidays that celebrated by this specific church includes every Ethiopian months of 27 (the day of holy Savior of the World) and 19 (Archangel Gabriel) among which *Tikimit* 27 (November 5)⁵, *Megabit* 27 (April 5), *Hamle* 19 (July 26), *Tahisas* 19 (December 28) is the most celebrated ones. The yearly festivals, which are the most prominent, happen at the month of *Megabit* 27 in commemoration with the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ and *Tahisas* 19 and *Hamle* 19 in commemorations with Arch Angel Saint Gabriel. *Meskerem* 17 (September 27), *Megabit* 10 (March 19) and *Tikimit* 14 (October 24) are also celebrated in commemoration with the Christ Cross and Abune Aregawi, one of the nine saints who came to Ethiopia in 4th century, fleeing from the then prosecution.

In those mentioned days, especially on yearly ones, the number of beggars reaches to highest level. These is obviously due inclusion of other beggars, other than the churchyard beggars. These

⁵ All calendar conversion from Ethiopian into Gregorian is made based on 2003 Ethiopian Year. However, these may vary as the year changes.

beggars are either religious mendicants such as who have made *silet* (vow), priests, hermits etc or other churchyards' beggars. Since they appear with the occurrence of saint days of the church, they are called '*holiday beggars*'. These groups of people are out of the concerns of the current study.

This is because:

- 1) They are not geographically related to these specific churchyards. As the beggars of other churchyard visit the selected site at saint days of the KDSMC, the beggars of this churchyard move to other churchyard whenever saint days celebrated elsewhere. Therefore, including these types of beggars is including other churchyard beggars, expanding this research site area, which beyond the capabilities of this research resources.
- 2) Among these holiday beggars, religious mendicants also appear in these days, who acquire more or less special features compared to the study concerned beggars.

The 'churchyard beggars' are also further divided into two: full-time beggars and part-time beggars. Full time beggars are the one who entirely reliant on begging and the only livelihood to them is beggary, at least, whenever they reside around the church. The part time beggars, on the other hand, are the one who beg irregularly and have usually employed a mix of survival strategy with wage labour. Based on this sorting, it is tried to capture both groups, forwarding a question of 'do you always beg?' in the questionnaire of quantitative case study. In the response, 57.7% of them claimed that they are full-time beggars while the remaining are part-time beggars.

4.1. Migration Pattern of Churchyard Beggars

Apart from above classification, we can identify four types of migrant beggars based on their migration pattern: (1) seasonal migrant beggars, (2) temporary migrant beggars, (3) permanent resident beggars and (4) step migrant beggars.

Table 3: Patterns of Migration among Beggars

Pattern of migration	Freq.	%
Temporary migrant Beggars	19	36.54
Seasonal Migrant Beggars	14	26.92
Permanent Migrant Beggars	15	28.85
Step Migrant Beggars	2	3.85
Undecided	2	3.85
Total	52	100

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

The seasonal beggars are the one that will come at the season of *Tseday* (after October)and go to his or her home before *Kiremit*⁶ begun. They do this for good reason. In *Kiremit*, Addis Ababa become uncongenial to them in sense that the daily labour become unstable, sleeping area also become uncomfortable, alms also dwindle. On the other hand, at countryside, it is time where farming becomes active if they have the land, they either till themselves or supervise the land hiring or sharecropping to somebody else. If they have not the land but have oxen, they will work as sharecropper. If they have not both, there is still a large probability that they could work either only by their labour in other farm or as daily labours especially to do weeding.

Temporary beggars are the one who planned to beg for sometimes and go to their homeland, at least do not come back again to beg in Addis Ababa. They are characteristically come on the rationale of buying some assets such farm oxen, seed, etc, to pay their debt, strengthening their overall economy etc. Others also come based on the aim of getting some medical services for themselves or accompanying one of sickly family members. Hence, they have largely a well organized family in their homeland. However, since this categorization is based on their future aspiration, parts of them can turn be seasonal migrant beggars.

The other one the one who planned and stay here in Addis Ababa are permanent beggars. However, while parts of them are completely detached, others make occasional visit to their homeland. The reason for their complete detachment includes death of the whole family, being marginalized, blood feud, destitution etc. However, they are naturally the ones who are largely settled in the surrounding and long-lived. There are different types of these migrants such as a bachelor, a couple beggars, abandoned elderly and children etc. Others have a well organized family in the surrounding and

⁶ It is one of one of four seasons in Ethiopia which includes June, July and August in which heavy rain fall.

access government houses and hence these groups are also own *idir* and *iqub*. Very few are also able to teach their children in school. They can be either part time beggars or permanent beggars.

The other one is step migrant beggars though there are not as such great in number. These groups are mostly youth and active. These migrants are the one who are trapped on the way to reach somewhere and lacking money for transportation and accommodation. Some are heading to their home while others are heading to places where they can work. The places they want to go includes Humera to pick cotton, Sudan, Djibouti, Benshangul, or other parts of southern Ethiopia to work by their labour. Some are found to be undecided on their future location, reasoning they would go and stay wherever they get better life.

In general, looking all the migrants, most of them have still strong attachment to their home land in one form or another. In this regard, we can see from the above table that temporary migrant beggars and seasonal migrant beggars tend to be higher in number (in sum, 63.46 %).

CHAPTER FOUR

SOURCE BASED CAUSES OF BEGGARY

In this chapter, source based causes are discussed from the perspective of overall churchyard beggars. These are also crosschecked by taking one case of place of origin, Dera, Oromia Regional State, from which larger numbers of migrant beggars around the church come from. In this sense, livelihood asset mix (level of destitution) of the individual within the larger context is explored at place of origin, largely focusing on Dera District, whether the causes are compelling ones, and then forwarding insight whether beggary is a coping mechanism or livelihood option.

4.2. Begging and Migration

Beggary is virtually the problem of rural people that masks in the urban context in many developing countries (Awachat, 1974; Fabrega, 1971; Massey et al, 2010; Fistum, 2009; Fasil, 2005; Tatek, 2008; Mohammed, 2006; MOLSA, 1992). This is because of the prevalence of great number of migrant beggars in urban areas which are found to be supported empirically in many literatures around the globe, especially in developing countries. Accordingly, this study confirms that almost all of the total census beggardom population around church came from rural areas. Only one individual is reported to be born here in Addis Ababa.

Table 4: Duration of Involvement in Begging

Duration	Freq.	Percentage
≥ 1 year	22	42.31
2-5 years	10	19.23
6-10 years	13	25
11-20 years	1	1.92
21-30 years	2	3.85
>30	4	7.69
Total	52	100

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

The duration of their involvement in begging can be as recent as a week and as long as 40 years and more. But the dominant groups of the beggars (61.54 %, 32) of the total sample size arrived within the past five years, even among them, around 68.75% of them destined last year.

Region wise, around the church, the beggars came from Oromia, Amhara, Tigray and Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) in sequence of their number (look at Table 1). Some of the specific location are from Oromia Region, Dera, Oromia Region, Northern Shewa, parts of Gojjam such as Bichena, Debre Markos, Bilo, Mota, parts of Gonder such as Ebinet, parts of Wollo such as Borena, Amara sayint, Lasta, Woldia, Sekota, parts of Tigray such as Raya, parts of Northern Shewa such as Ensaro, Merabete etc. Other areas such as Sendafa, Chench, Omo, Arbaminich etc are also mentioned.

Based on the mini census data of this study, beggars around the churchyard identified both source based causes as well as origin based causes as a major reason for the involvement in begging. Some of the source based causes are land related problem, labour deficit due poor health, rainfall variability, blood feud etc while some of the destination based causes are lack of employment, attractive tradition of almsgiving in the city etc. But the source based causes seem higher in number and intensity. Mind you that these are a major (number one) reason as perceived by the beggars but the causes can be multifaceted and can be traced to a number of factors on a given individual. The major causes exhibit both at pace of origin as well as destination makes indispensable to investigate the causes of across these spatial places.

Table 5: Major Reasons for involvement in begging as perceived by beggars themselves

Major Causes for Begging	Frequency	Percent
Land related Problem, coupled with lack of jobs	158	45.66
Disability/Disease/Old age	73	21.10
Children who come with their Parent	33	9.54
Rainfall Variability coupled with lack of jobs	19	5.49
Social such as divorce/death of parent/ conflict with the family coupled with lack of jobs	17	4.91
Blood feud, coupled with lack of jobs	16	4.62
Land slide, coupled with lack of jobs	8	2.31
Lack of employment	7	2.02
To buy capital assets such cattle, seed etc	6	1.73
Others	9	2.6
Total	346	100

Source: Own mini census, 2011

4.3. Rationale for Selecting Dera District, Oromia Regional State : A Case within Case Study

Before we just jump to the discussion of the root causes of begging at place of origin, it is important to make clear that Dera *Wereda* is taken as case of place origin of beggars, to reveal the root causes of begging with larger context. The *wereda* is located in Northern Shewa, Oromia Regional State. The aim of taking a case, within case study is to cross check the genuineness and quality of the data and keep the richness of the general case study with divergence and similarity of various actors. Actually, selecting a case of beggars' place of origin to cross check the genuineness and compelling of causes of beggary was not conceived as this paper begun but arise as data reveals that large number of them are found at a certain place.

As it is explained earlier, based on the mini census as well as the quantitative case study, 78 % of beggars around the churchyard are found to be from Dera *wereda*, Oromia region. Due to this reason, Dera is apparently selected as a case, within a case study. Moreover, finding the place of origin of beggary in clustered manner obviously eases the methodological challenge one face at the field. The places of origin of urban beggars, in most cases, are multiple and found across scattered spatial location of the country. Even within Dera, the dominant number of beggars came from six *Kebeles*: Homa Bonoya, Gebro, Keraba, Abu Godo and Bahit, together they are called by countryman Tuti, including one *kebele*, Menelego, which are found bordered together.

Moreover, the existence of higher number of Dera migrant beggars makes impression that the issue has crossed the threshold of becoming a personal problem to social level. Furthermore, nearly all of the precipitating causes which are identified by other participant are similar to that of the Dera migrant beggars. This makes it that Dera is a good representative model to look into the root causes with the full vulnerability and institutional context, within the given case. However, one may ask the external generalizability of taking Dera to be extended to the city other beggars' place of origin or even to larger context. The simple answer is the issue is not to generalize here but to gives insight to the root causes of beggary in country problematizing the characteristics of beggary in light of coping and adapting strategy. But still, with the support of previous literature, the case of Dera can be a typical example that can show most of the source based causes of mass beggary in the country.

Based on the above mentioned logic, most of my discussion is related to the causes of beggary is in light of Dera area, though exceptions from other areas are also captured. As it is explained in methodology section, hence, went to Dera, Oromia Region which is found 220 km far from Addis Ababa. Qualitative data through interview and FGDs are collected from the local community, various experts and officials and gather secondary materials from the local administration of various offices that are deemed relevant to the study. Hence, bear in mind that what beggars are experiencing and saying around the churchyard are crosschecked with what Dera officials, the community etc are put as cause and used in the construction of the following discussion.

Before going to the discussion, looking briefly at the general social, economical and geo-physical information about Dera is important to understand the problem. The data is mainly generated from the secondary information of Dera *Wereda* Administration.

4.4. Dera Wereda, North Shewa Zone, Oromia Regional State

Dera is one of the 180 *weredas* of the Oromia Region of Ethiopia. It is located in the extreme northern part of Semein Shewa zone, between the geographic gridline of $10^{\circ}02'$ North to $10^{\circ}24'$ North latitude and $38^{\circ}25'$ East to $38^{\circ}55'$ East longitudes. It is bordered on the south by the Jemma River which separates it from Hidabu Abote and Wara Jarso, on the west, north and east by the Amhara Region; the Abay River defines the western boundary, and its tributary the Walaqa on the northern. This means that low-lying low lands and river valleys encircle the central highland parts. The administrative center of Dera is Gundo Meskel.

The three main landscape units in Dera are the highland (plateau), the lowland and the river valleys. The highland areas are between 2300 and 2500 meters above mean sea level (SERA [Strengthening Emergency Response Abilities], 2000). Rising above the plateaus the highest elevation reaches about 2575 meter and the lowest elevation is about 700 meters above mean sea level. The highland of the district is being dissected low-lying valleys of Abay and its tributary, Jemma river basins to the North and North East as well as South and South East. Most of *wereda* is lowland which occupies around 50 percent of the total land while the mid-land and the highland is 20% and 30% respectively (SERA, 2000).

According to the *wereda's* report, the pattern of mean annual rainfall (800 - 1500 mm) in Dera closely reflects the main relief units; with high rainfall associated with the highland areas, and lower rainfall with the lowlands. The district experiences one main rainfall regime. A uni - modal pattern prevails with a single rainy season varying in length from 3 to 7 months between March and September with highest amount in July and August, and with increasing amounts from June to August and decreasing from September to October (SERA, 2000). Based on the *wereda's* report, almost all of the original vegetation or land cover of the district has been altered or destroyed and only bush, shrubland and grasslands are remained with covers of 9.25 percent of the total area of the *Wereda*, which dwindle year to year.

Based on figures published 2007 census by the CSA (2010), this *wereda* has an estimated total population of 193,214, of whom 99,085 are men and 94,129 are women; 5,719 or 2.96% of its population are urban dwellers, which is less than the Zone average of 9.5%. With an estimated area of 1,550.47 square kilometers, Dera has an estimated population density of 124.6 people per square kilometer.

The 1994 national census reported a total population for this *wereda* of 139,661, of whom 68,474 were men and 71,187 women; 3,210 or 2.3% of its population were urban dwellers at the time. Dera is almost evenly divided between the two largest ethnic groups reported in this *wereda*: the Oromo (50.18%), and the Amhara (49.76%). Further, Amharic was spoken as a first language by 50.69%, and 49.28% spoke Oromiffa. The majority of the inhabitants professed Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, with 64.49% of the population reporting they practiced that belief, while 35.45% of the population said they were Moslem. With high growth rate of population, current data on the total population estimated the existence of 202,808 people in the district (See Annex 10).

According to SERA (2000), long-term growth rate of the population in the district is rapid particularly after the 1990s than in the 1980s. Consequently, as CSA data illustrates, the district is characterized by high proportion of young age population (2010; 1996). About 46.3 percent of the population are below 15 years of age and the rest 50.4 percent are within the age group of economically active (15-64) and 2.3 percent above the age of 65. Accordingly, the overall dependency ratio is about 0.98. The proportion of children under five on the other hand is about 35 percent of the economically inactive population. Their proportion is the highest in rural areas (35

percent) and low in urban areas (31 percent). With regard to migration about 5.6 percent of the district population had been migrants by the year 1994 (CSA, 1996). Of these migrants about 89 percent were originated from rural areas and the remaining 11 percent from the urban areas. According to the community, increasing number of migrants is observed from day to day. Larger parts of migrants move within the country while some cross border to other countries such as Arab, Sudan, Kenya etc

Due to high population growth, current land holding size is 1.61 hectare per household (see Annex 10) and most of the land is degraded and cultivation is dominating the high slopes, escarpments and rugged areas. On the other hand the demand for basic necessities, infrastructure in terms of health, education, and etc is remain high.

Because of its agro-ecological diversity and existence of various climatic regimes various crops are widely growing in the area (SERA, 2000). The dominant crops are teff and pulses on the highlands; and maize, teff and sorghum in the lowland agro-ecological zone. Sorghum, being a major staple crop in the area, constitutes about 48 percent of the area under crop and 55 percent of the total production followed by teff. Thus two crops occupy 97 percent of the cultivated area and total production in the district. In addition to the dominant agricultural products, the *Wereda* has special potential resources of honey, incense and marble stone.

The productivity of major crops in the area is only 700 kilograms per hectare and most of the incremental production is obtained through expansion of cultivated land increasing annually by over 1000 hectare at an annual rate of 1.7 percent (SERA, 2000).

Household vulnerability and food insecurity is still a stagnant problem in the district. Declining landholding sizes, fluctuation of rainfall, increased proportion of landlessness and oxlessness have contributed to low agricultural productivity and declining food security situation in the area (SERA, 2000). Besides, shortage of oxen, credit and agricultural inputs, shortage of labor and farm implements were other groups of constraints that contribute to household vulnerability and food insecurity (SERA, 2000).

Beggars around the churchyards do not come from all over the district but to limited *kebeles*. These *kebeles* are Homa bonoya, Gebero Bersa, Abu Godo, Bahit and Kereba which are geographically clustered together and have more or less similar environmental and social realities. The *kebeles* are found at the border of Amhara region, divided by Abay and Weleqa Rivers. Similar to the bordered neighborhood, the population is also almost Amhara, Orthodox Christian and more or less with similar tradition. Large parts of these *kebeles* are lowland and hence affected by rainfall shortage and subsequent misery. Finally, it is necessary to inform that all types of beggar with different pattern of migration are existed in Dera

4.5. Source Based Causes of Beggary: the Case of Dera, Oromia Region

In general, the following are the identified larger contexts that push factors and pave way to beggary in Addis Ababa, largely taking the case of Dera: landlessness, land shortage and degradation, climate variability, conflict, disability, poor health, old age, disaster, social disorganization etc. In the following section, each vulnerability context is discussed with their related institutional context, assets and outcomes.

4.5.1. Landlessness, Land Fragmentation and Land Degradation

As a matter of the rural areas of Ethiopia, the dominant livelihood strategy of Dera is agriculture. Hence, land is a critical resource for these rural farmers and one of the most important natural capitals since access to it means subsequent well-being and food availability of a given household. However, in the district, due to rapid population growth, the land holding size of household sharply declined. Land becomes more and more fragmented. The proportion of landless increased over time.

Accordingly, this problem is identified as the number one precipitating cause for beggary as reported from the churchyard beggars in general and the Dera migrant beggars in particular (See Table 5). Hence at churchyard, both types of beggar with shortage of land as well as who do not have land at all are found. More than 40% of them own different size of land ranging from 1 *Timad*⁷ (1/4 hectar) to more than 9 *Timad* (more than 2 ha). Most of the landless are the youth who are below the ages of 30.

⁷ A *timad* is approximately ¼ of a hectare land

Table 6: Land Ownership with land holding Size

Land ownership with land holding Size	Freq.	Percent
Landless	30	57.7
1 <i>timad</i>	1	1.9
1-2 <i>timad</i>	10	19.2
3-4 <i>timad</i>	4	7.7
5-6 <i>timad</i>	3	5.8
>7 <i>timad</i>	4	7.7
Total	52	100

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

The differential pattern of access to land and landlessness is basically explained by current government's land redistribution conducted in early 1990s. An exact scenario elucidated by Yared (2003) while studying Wag and South Wollo, from which also beggars are migrated to the study site:

The EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) land redistributions, which far-in nature, divided all the land in one kebele into categories of fertility and proximity to residences and allocated land individually to all males above the age of 24 and females above 18. While this led to relatively equal access to land in the community and made land available to the marginalized, such as female household heads and the youth, household which fared less well in the lotteries and who were not favored by corrupt officials, young people who were not old enough to be eligible for land allocations during the redistribution...enhanced to destitution...Some young people were able to receive land from their parents as marriage endowments or inheritance, but variations in parental landholdings meant they received variable amounts of land in such a manner. Many young households were therefore dependent on land market for access to land, but limited access to oxen and seed meant they were at disadvantage in competition to get land on the market (Yared, 2003:4-5).

Similarly, most youth beggars, who have originated from Dera district, blame landlessness as their major reason for their engagement in urban begging while substantial number of aged ones blame continuous land fragmentation and degradation in the area for their resort to begging. Most of landless youth are part-time beggars and seasonal who went to their origin in *kiremet* to work as sharecropper. The good numbers of the aged ones also move seasonally to work and supervise on their differential land holdings, which are subjected to fragmentation due to continuous population growth.

The following two consecutive narrations are good representative of the overall landlessness among the youth and land fragmentation among the aged that pushed both groups to migrate and join the world of beggary.

Abu Yimer, from the Gebro *Kebele*, is an able-bodied youth of 26 years, landless who work as daily laborer and involved in beggary around the churchyard whenever peoples are in a good position to give him alms:

When my family pushed me to marry, they did not give me any land. My elder brothers had taken their largest share. The same was true from wife's side. Hence, I and my wife only had a very small land where our straw-made household located and two oxen. No farming land. Therefore, the only option to support ourselves is working as sharecropper with those oxen. The amount of food that we found from this production, however, was very meager. We consumed all grains what would be shared at the end of harvest period before farming period was finished on credit from the land owner. Hence, due to our destitution, we cannot stay together more than half a year with my newly bride. We departed and I came here to survive by daily labor. I also beg food whenever things are convenient and when people seem willing to give me.

Regarding the land shortage, Kassaw Getachew, 47 years old beggar with six children, who came for the second time to this area, from one of the land fragmented *kebele*, Homa Boneya recounted the following:

I had 5 timad lands after the land redistribution. I have six children. Four of them are male. I have given 1.5 timad to the elder and 1.5 timad to the second one when they marry as endowment. Hence I only remained with 2 timad which is inadequate to my livelihood with my current household size. We long lost production that can subsist us throughout the year. We have to augment our food deficit in another way. That is why I came here to beg. Now, one of my children is fully grown and works in the field. I came here to beg leaving him on the land since he is better in strength than me.

Quantitative analysis of the average total available arable land over the total household also confirms the above truth based the data of Dera District Administration.

Landlessness, small landholding size and land with low soil fertility are the general feature characterizing the district in general but disparity between the *kebeles* are clearly observed, being the average landholding ranging across *kebele* from 0.34 ha to 3.64 ha per household in Were Meneyo and Godima Worka respectively. Only three of *Kebeles* is above the mean land holding size of the total district. Moreover, the problem of access to land is severe in handful *Kebeles*, which are

also the places where most beggars come from. As a result, that inequitable demarcation of land that thought to have occurred sometimes in the past is one of barriers that reduce access to land in certain *kebeles* since no one is legally allowed to access the land of other *kebeles*. Similar comment is made in the study of Northern –Eastern Highlands of Ethiopia destitution (Yared, 2003).

To be specific, among the most severely small land size holding *kebeles* are Homa Bonoya and Gebro Beresa *kebele*, where average land holding size is 0.5 ha and 0.52 ha respectively (See Annex 10). Beggars also that come from these *kebeles* are the largest around the churchyard. Comparing with the total rural *kebeles* of the *Wereda*, these *kebeles* are the second and the third *Kebeles* with smaller land holding size which is much lower than the average the *Wereda* land holding size, 1.61 ha.

In addition, Keraba, Abu Godo and Bahit are also low landholding size, being the place of origin with high churchyard beggars. Generally, all the five *kebeles* are found in the top thirteen of the rural *kebeles* of the *wereda*, based on the rank of landholding size. In general, none of the mentioned *kebeles* have more than the average 1 ha of arable land per household.

This clearly has serious repercussion on degradation of the land and a consequent outcome of food insecurity. Despite the fact that landlessness and small landholding size is increasing, the local government seem least recognize and respond to these problem. Unoccupied land distribution is unthinkable since most land is already under cultivation. No resettlement program was carried out in the area notwithstanding large mass of landless youth have earnest will to participate in the program. Diversification is not adequately done in the area. The local micro and small enterprise that take responsibility in this regard came into place in 2009 recently. At the time of data collection of this study, among the 11,559 registered landless youth in the enterprise, only 2,153 are engaged in actual works. The diversification is also limited to farming in organized way, small ruminant rearing, fattening, and incense collection from the wild forest. The type of activities such as trade oriented is not well practiced in the area. This is partly attributable to the district isolation and partly the poor institutional context.

Bribery is also another problem that hampers access to land in many cases for the poorest ones. In group discussion with the Dera migrant beggars in the church compound, it is raised that if one is able to slaughter a goat or sheep or provide *biriz* (drink made from honey) to the officials, one will

relatively have a better access to land. These peoples who are capable to do so are usually the better-off. As a result, inequality regarding access to land is increasingly a reality. Consequently, the poor remain poorer and poorer while the already haves become better and better.

Coupled with land shortage and rugged nature of the landscape, there is serious problem of land degradation that confirmed by beggars as well as the Dera community who put as reason for overall poverty and food insecurity of most of rural people that pressure them to lead a life of begging in urban areas. In congruent with this idea, SERA estimated that 36.4 % of the total area of the district comprises degraded land in 2000.

According to local agriculture office and SERA, the average land productivity of the Dera *wereda* per hectare is from 700-800 kg. The average household family size is 5. As I discussed above, all of landholding size of the mentioned *kebeles*, where beggars originated, are between 0.5-1 hectare. Based on the assumption of 2100 kcal as the minimum daily requirement per person, approximately 3 qt per annum is required. This estimate is on the assumption that all energy requirement comes from grain (cereals, pulses and oil crops) which largely reflects the reality of most developing countries. On the above major data, it is deduced that there is a critical food gap per household in the area, which range from a deficit of 46 % to the severe case of 76% compared to the ideal food requirement of a given household (See table 7).

Table 7: Estimated Household Food Production Gap in *kebeles* of Beggars' Origin

land holding Size in ha (a)	0.5 – 1
Productivity per ha in kg (b)	700 – 800
Estimated production per household in kg (c =a x b)	350 – 800
Average food grain requirement per head in kg (d)	300

(Based on the 2100 kca per head per day requirement)

Household Size (e)	5
Total grain needed (f=d x e)	1500
Deficit of food production (g = c-f)	1150-700
% of food deficit (h =g/d%)	76-46

Source: Dera Administration Office, 2011

Actually to make this data complete, there is a need of what grains is given in the form of support, sale etc to the household and what is procure through purchase or taken in other form etc has to be incorporated. However, it is still a valuable data that shows there is a food production gap which needs to be filled otherwise. While substantial number of migrants beggars explain how they came to the churchyard for begging, they said that they are hungry at home places: as it is put in their original Amharic statement is as '*erbogn new yemetawut*' – 'I came here because I am hungry'.

However, according to the livelihood map of Disaster Risk Management and Food Security Sector (DRMFSS), Dera district is mapped as one of food secure areas and hence excluded from food security intervention program. This has a direct challenge to food security program of the country which assumes lack of moisture as yardstick to categorize food security status of a given part of the country, downplaying other determinants of food security, in this case, land fragmentation and landlessness. This strengthens the critics of other scholars who forward the food security strategy of the country has to consider pocket areas, within a zone or a district (Workineh, 2008).

But it is misleading to discuss on average level and assume that all beggars who claim they have not land and very small land is telling the truth. Some are even better than the average. They usually lie about this reality. A landless Dera youth, in FGDs, expressed his resentment saying in this case as follows:

I have neither land nor parent. After I grew in one of my relative house, he makes to me marry a girl. Afterwards, he told me that I should live by my labour. Since I am not his son, he is not obliged to give me a land. Besides, he has a good number of children. But I could not manage my life without land. So, I eventually came here. Here, the landless and who are 'rich' are coming. These people who have land are aged ones, more than at least 35 years old. Coming here, they said to us, the youth, 'why you leave your country while you have a better strength? Why is competing alm with us, the weak, 'dekama''. I came here because I have no land even for my toilet. If they would give me their land, I would leave this place for them so that they can beg freely and without competition. Most people lied during recording saying he or she has no land (he means during mini census of this study). They also reduced the amount they have in their country land. They have lied.

Moreover, among the people, who resort to begging to tackle the food deficit that happens to their household, at least, beggary is not largely as severe form of coping mechanism as popularly conceived. In other words, it is not a mechanism that is found at lowest ladder of survival option for some groups. In this sense, urban beggary merely reduces the number of consumers at household,

assuring the existence abundant amount of grain in the whole year. The following informal talk with 55 years old revealed this position.

Q: Where do come from?

A: I am from Dera, from Gebro Beresa.

Q: Are these your family? (a woman, with small children estimated to 10 years old was around him)

A: Yes they are. I also have two grown up children around there (pointing)

(Later on I have learnt that he has farm land in the country side. He disclosed this after a lot of friendly talk)

Q: Why did you come here?

A: At home, the production of the year is not really enough for the year... I repeatedly have faced grain deficit.... So, after the consultation with my wife, we made a decision to spend the bega in Addis Ababa.... I have buried my last year grain in the ground. ..There, my relatives take care of my house. I will go after this fasting completed (it was Lent time)...I have a lot to do...

Some also clearly said that ‘*yemetawut ehilu yiref biye new*’ which means ‘I came here in order to save my grain’, showing that beggary, at least, is not as severe form of coping mechanism that can be categorized on the ‘third’ level.

It is also seen beggary further reduce the vulnerability of the given household if the migrant sent remittance and go with some money to his or her home. But it also further used as asset accumulating mechanism, being far from a coping mechanism. One participant of FGD from Dera community summarized the following statement, which was the position of most participants.

Some of these people are really poor. Some actually are not, by our standard (rural people).Some have land, and some have not. Some have oxen but some are not. There are all kinds of people. Some of them are saving their life. But some are accumulating wealth. Some are even go purpose of to make the house's roof a corrugated iron sheet.

Furthermore, as the Dera community explained to me there are beggars in their land which are really very destitute. These rural beggars are by far worse than these urban migrant beggars. The community argued that these migrant beggars are in good position and expected here to lead ‘a respected life.’ They have not even a transport cost to go to the city, often repeatedly. In FGD among Dera community, the following argument was raised that support this idea.

There are few beggars in our country. In past, such things were non-existent. They are served food and drinks whenever tezkir, zikir etc are performed in the church. But most of them are very destitute. They have no land, no labour, no oxen, even no family. Most of them are elderly. They could not afford such kinds of cost as transport etc. They have no the strength to walk on barefoot. If they want to do even this, they should have food 'sinik'. Most have land. Most are youth who are reluctant to work on farm land. They come and go again and again. Hence, these migrants are lot money. They are dishonoring Dera among the city.

Similarly, scholars indicated that migration is not the very poor scheme, but the better- poor (Ellis, 2003; Haas, 2009).

4.5.2. Rainfall Variability

In addition to land problem, rainfall variability is a critical problem in the area. Since agricultural production purely depends on rainfall with insignificant use of irrigation, slight variation has a significant impact on the overall mix of livelihood asset of a given household. In the area, a uni - modal pattern prevails with a single rainy season varying in length from 3 to 7 months between March and September with highest amount in July and August, and with increasing amounts from June to August and decreasing from September to October. Opportunities for *belg* production are rare as rainfall in this time is in short supply, erratic and unreliable. Rainfall shortage seems a repeated phenomenon in the recent year; linger before it reaches to the month of September. In this respect, recent available rainfall data and based on the FGDs at place origin as well as around churchyard, it is understood that there is a high fluctuation in rainfall distributions, which resulted in frequent crop failures particularly in the lowlands where the rainfall pattern is erratic and in short supply. In this regard, ten years ago, SERA (2000) informed that the largest proportion of the area of the district enjoys rainfall of less than the minimum requirement necessary for crop production particularly in the lowland agro-ecological zone comprising about 50 percent of the total land mass of the district, which includes largely parts of the major five origin *Kebeles* of beggars in the district.

Shortage of rainfall most often equally affects all households but with high intensity on who have poor mix of assets and who have no or little purchasing power. These households face food shortage immediately after the one season crop failure and characterized by large family, suffer from shortage of land, poor asset holding (livestock and others), and little diversified income sources and consequently produce little. These push them to aspire to migration for alternative.

Similarly, excessive rainfall, hailstorm and frost are rarely mentioned as factors for shortage of food supply.

4.5.3. Labour Shortage due to Physical Defectiveness, Poor Health and Old Age

Another precipitating cause of beggary is deficit in human capital, more specifically shortage or lack of labour due to physical defectiveness, poor health and old age. Labour is known to be one of assets of the poor that can command whenever they face deficits in other livelihood asset. However, this capital is seen tampering the affected rural people to use alternative available livelihood at their place of origin and ultimately throwing to the world of urban beggary in Addis Ababa. Some of the physical defects among the churchyard beggars which are recorded include blindness, deafness, crippled, leprosy etc and the diseases are TB, HIV/AIDs, epilepsy, serious abdominal defect, malnourishment etc. Based on the quantitative case study, among the churchyard beggars, 19.23% are estimated to be physically defective, 11.5% diseased and 23.07% suffer from old age.

The effect of disability, disease and old age put one on dismal situation to an individual if it is happened together with lack of critical assets such as land, ox and the like. The only available alternatives to these poor that seem to be accessible at this time are social capital. However, these problems are usually occurring with social stigma which emanates partly from faulty beliefs of the society and partly economically detrimental position of the sufferer to a given household, eventually eroding the social capital that victim can turn at their desperation at home place. This finally results in migration of the person in question in consented or forced manner to Addis Ababa. They constantly can be nagged to go away from their land implicitly or they can move to Addis Ababa, with arranged manner with the consent both the migrant and the family of the migrant. Physically defective individuals are the most marginalized groups in the countryside and can even, though he or she is destitute, be mere triggers, to urban areas and eventually a cause to beggary. However, marginalization associated with the problem of leprosy is very much pronounced. They are not only marginalized individually by the society but also he or she becomes 'the source of shame' to the family. Moreover, older peoples are not well taken care of by their family as they are more of a consumer rather than a producer. The case in point is forwarded by one, a crippled Gojjam youth, Tariku Desalegn, 27 years old, with complete destitution:

When I was shepherd at childhood in one parts of Gojjam. Once up on a time, I stumble a hill and fell on the ground. I fell ill and could not stand, become lame. My family being worried by my situation, take me to different sorts of traditional healers. But no one could heal me. So, my father frustrated by my situation. Once upon a time, he took me without consulting my mother to a place where vehicle and people are are crowded. Standing one the road, he told me that he is going somewhere and instruct me to wait him. But he never returned. I started to cry, without much help. Since then, my life is on the street. My only source of livelihood is begging.

Old age has also the same stigma and discrimination. Ayalew Amagn'not, from Dera, who has affected by elephantiasis, 64 years elder, narrated the following:

Since the death of my, wife and due increasing illness (elephantiasis), I have distributed to my land to my children and start to live with them. I could not wor anything. I have to depend for everything on them. But yield of the land is not satisfactory. And grain is in deficit, through repeated times. I was living one of my elders son's house. He was a good man. But his wife was very stingy to me. This is actually due to one the reason that I became dependent on them. I tried to go to other son's house, and I observed the same situation and hence finally I decided to come to Addis Ababa.

Another example also come from Abiye Wubetu, a 36 years old, TB victim farmer also strengthen the above idea:

I have two small children. I have four timad of land. Due to increasing poor health, I could not work well at farm field. Though I have children, they are not capable to work in the field since they are girl and small. So, I obliged to give it to sharecropping. But the production is very small and not adequate to all family all through the year. Moreover, the transporation and medical cost is another burden to me to be treated at Addis Ababa. So, my wife and I agreed on my stay in Addis Ababa. But only, I will go whenever I am needed to make some arrangement.

The problem of disability, poor health and old age is in some part can be explained obviously by the erosion of strong social capital that at sometimes in the past was a good social protection mechanism to the community. Influence of capitalism coupled with the prevailed poverty might explain why it is so. In addition, absence of special form of government social protection in the rural area for such kinds of people is one of the vulnerability contexts that exacerbate the situation.

However, even the one who are actually physically defective and elders are coming to beg in the city, looking at the benefits of the previous comers and expecting that they with their visible defect draw sympathy more than other. The case in point is put by a Dera farmer in FGDs who knew crippled beggars:

There is a man who I know well. He has a shop in front of a main road, here in Dera. He had a good business. But, he is, you know, is crippled. Both of his leg is lost. I think people who came from Addis Ababa tell him that if he go there, he will be benefited from 'shikella'. That means begging. Then one day, he closed his hop and fled to beg in Addis Ababa. I heard that he is now around kechene area.

In general, there are still evidences that indicate not all individual are resource-poor or destitute and really 'legitimate' to be involved in beggary. In this regard, qualitative data from my beggar key informant and interview and FGDs among the churchyard beggars and the Dera community are in agreement. On this matter, my key informant explained me:

Some of the beggars are not really poor, especially the older ones. They have land and ox, varying of number of cattle. They are healthy enough to work in the field. Substantial number came here pass 'bega' when there is no work at rural area. Some have mills even in the countryside. Some came to further accumulate asset. I know a guy for instance who has a mill in partnership with another guy. He told me he came here is to accumulate adequate amount of capital so that he owns the mill alone. Another guy also, came here because he wants to relax himself, due to his easy quarrel with his wife. Another guy also came here sharecropping his adequate amount of land to another, though he is able-bodied.

Looking at mix of the composition of beggary with their respective critical livelihood assets such as land and oxen, labour, and others also confirm the existence of this truth. Only 28 % of the church beggars are landless and oxenless while the remaining has at least either have a land, an ox or labour that can be invested to make livelihood within the given context. To the extreme case, there are 5.77% churchyard beggars who have not only land but also ox and labour in rural area to work into farming within at least the given contexts. The size of the land can as large as more 9 timads (2.25 ha) which is more than the average land size of the district, 1.61 ha while the number of ox to two and more. As a result, it can be implied that that all beggars are not destitute, some are even in better position than the average. To increase the data quality, it is also further checked whether these better-off are associated with blood feud, which is another life threatening situation that push to migration using the beggar key informant, but only two men are found in this case: one able-bodied landless youth and crippled man with 2 *timad* of land.

Table 8: Mix of possession of land, Ox and Labour

Non-able bodied	Possession of land		Oxenless	1 Oxen	2-3 oxen	
		Landless	15	1	1	17
		1-2 timads	4	1	3	8
		3-4 timads	2	0	0	2
		5-6 timads	1	0	1	2
		>7	0	2	0	2
Able-bodied	Possession of land	Landless	13	0	0	13
		1-2 timads	1	0	1	2
		3-4 timads	2	1	0	3
		5-6 timads	0	0	1	1
		>7	1	1	0	2

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

4.5.4. Blood Feud

Another prevalent problem that can be risk factor in the area to exacerbate beggary in the churchyard of Addis Ababa is a long standing tradition of blood feud, which is in large part associated with the scarce resource competition such as land. Blood feud is between two families where kinsmen of the victim intended to avenge his or her death by killing either of those responsible for the killing or some of their relatives. Sometimes even two separate branches of the same family could come to blows over some matter. The responsibility to maintain the vendetta usually falls on the closest male relative such as brother to whoever has been killed or wronged, but other members of the family may take the mantle as well. If the culprit had disappeared or was already dead, the vengeance could extend to other relatives.

However, little is captured by quantitative data regarding this situation around the churchyard. However, the data from the beggar key informant confirmed that there is more number of people that seemed to be. They conceal this fact due to the obvious reason of their personal security. In this respect, some came around the churchyard becoming culprit or other came due to mere fear of vengeance from the offended.

These blood feud traditions are not only found in Dera district, but also mostly found to the extended places of Northern Shewa and Amhara regional states especially in Amhara dominated area. Even in the Dera district, this is easily understood. Dera, unofficially, divided into three parts which include a number of *Kebeles* called Becho, Meta and Tuti. In Becho, mostly they are Oromo,

in Tuti, Amhara is dominated while in Meta both ethnic groups are found. In the district, according to the local bureau of justice, such types of blood feud mainly prevalent in part of Tuti where almost all of them are ethnically Amhara. There is also blood feud among the Meta division while no report was found from Becho. But why this is so needs other rigorous investigation and beyond the scope of this study.

Overall in the district, according to the local bureau of justice, in 2008/09, it is reported that 35 people were reported to be killed due to blood feud in the district of which 25 were from Tuti division, while in 2009/10, 20 people lost their lives of which 15 are from Tuti. In 2010/11, until this research data collection was carried out, there were 17 people killed, of whom 14 are from Tuti.

Based on the local tradition of blood feud, one is eligible to be killed by the offended party if he is merely in 7th genealogical ties of the perpetrator. On this fact, we can imagine how many people are going to be at risk if one is killed. As a matter of fact in a traditional society, no one can deny and be hidden as everybody's blood ties are known to all his genealogy concerned. As a result, most families live in perpetual fear of blood vengeance and take many measures to tackle the risk. Some live in continuous guard to expected attackers. But this hampers everyday movement and is not safe measure as someday one can make mistake. Migration to far away areas such as Addis Ababa is relatively better method to this problem. Some of these groups ultimately found in the life of beggary around the churchyard. The case in point here from my beggar key informant who came from this area due to becoming a culprit (I use 'x' for the security of his name):

X is a very brave and aggressive one starting from his childhood.. He was in Homa Bonoya Kebele. He has grown to be told by his family that his grandmother was killed by his neighbor. The story was like this. It was during 1983 when serious famine was plagued the country. As she became hungry, she went hidden with empty sack to the neighbor where there was better grain in gotera(traditional storage). She started to fill the sack thinking that nobody was there. But someone from the family had already spotted her and shoots her with a gun. From childhood onward, as we grow together with x, he always say a word of revenge when he grow up, knowing the story from his family and the local people. As in the custom of Dera, as he become fully grown, he learned to shoot and hold gun. Then killed one of the families of the killer and fled to the nearby Abay berha and became local bandit (shifta). It is common method of the local bandit to live by robbery. As he is involved in this matter, once up on a time, the local ' police ' attempted to seize him. But, he warned them not to come near to him. Then suddenly, gunfire started between them. Finally he became wounded his one leg and but he killed one of them and escaped. He then straightly came to Addis Ababa. His wife, their two children and his mother

also accompanied him. As he is handicap, he does not do any job. His family largely depends on begging. All of them are residing around the churchyard, renting a cheap house. His wife in addition scavenges fruits and vegetables from 'atakilit tera' and sells around the churchyard. However, he is in constant conflict with his wife. His mother died with a great sorrow. He regretted very much assuming that his is responsible for the death of his mother and attempt a suicide on himself and failed.

Coming specific, among the *Kebeles* that found in Tuti, the problem is very serious in Abu Godo. Nearly half of the population is estimated to be migrated. The migration either due to being offender by killing somebody or being a relative of the killer, the fear of revenge from the part of offended relatives. Usually the offender or the one who are determined to get the 'blood' back go to the nearest *berha* such as Jemma, Abay, Weleqa or Wenchit, including Addis Ababa, joining the world of begging as the case above.

The triggers of blood feud in the *Wereda* are varied. However, according to the local the justice office, 40-50% of these blood feud problems are associated with land issues, which is the critical resources of rural places. The local bribery and poor administration also initiate and exacerbate this problem. The case in point is depicted by Dereje Abeye, a youth beggar:

I have a friend, who has accessed farm land with a group of youth after they have formed association. They have tilled the land for a year and get fair return. They have hoped to continue the second year. But, meanwhile, from the kebele administration, there came a letter to leave the land and give to other another group. Being angry, they went to the kebele and hotly debated. With no solution, when they came back to their land, there are other groups of youth, who started to clear the land. Being angry, they fired on them, killed two of them and wounded one. After this, they migrated to somewhere else. Culprit usually goes to berha such Jemma and Abay. There is also instance they came to Addis Ababa.

In addition, homicide, extra marital affair, robbery, theft etc are also other mentioned reasons. In some cases, very silly and petty offences can reach to blood feud such as unknowingly kicking one's feet while dancing in a wedding. Another is also instance of passing one's farming land or if one's cattle are found in another farm area feeding on other crop etc can end up a homicide and cyclic vendetta.

In general, blood feud seems cyclic and no end after it came into existence. This may be further complicated by the existing institutional context. This continual cycle of provocation and retaliation makes it extremely difficult to end the feud peacefully. Feuds frequently involve the original parties' family members and/or associates, can last for generations. The society's concept of honor

and shame, an integral aspect of the social rules that determine accepted practices in the affected communities are one fertile ground to perpetuate the problem. Proliferation of firearms, faulty policy and lack of law enforcement and credible mediators in the conflict-prone areas, and an inefficient justice system further contribute to instances of vengeance in the district. People, become vulnerable, after they involved or relative involved in the blood feud.

People usually do not go to courts to solve their problem; rather they pick their own firearm or their friends or relatives to get justice done. One is not thought as a brother if he does not return back the blood of his killed relatives. Bravery, revenge and gun are very much valued. Children learn to swim and hold firearms as early as possible. The society believes that holding gun is more respectable than to own cattle. The price of the gun ranges from Br. 4000 up to Br. 14,000. However, some prefer selling their one or two cattle and buy gun. Gun is the safety, the honor and beauty of the male. It is common to see lay farmers holding a gun in market places of Tuti. Such person is much revered. Even their song, that heard, wherever there are batteries or electricity available, reflects their strong link with gun, revenge, bravery and banditry.

For instance, as Dera Justice Officer Director explained what he saw around the police station, which later confirmed by beggar key informant, goes like this.

He was really a child. He was around 15. He came being criminal to the police station held by the police. People were following and praising him because he has killed his father killer. His father was killed by the current victim before 15 years ago, cruelly skinning his body by a knife after shooting him with a gun. He did not see it by himself as he was very little at the time. But it was always remembered by the local people in song and the like at the time of various event such wedding, etc. They praised him because he returns the blood of his father. They paste on his forehead a note of money expressing their praise.

No one in the community is willing to give his gun to the local government. Just at the time of local EPRDF holding the authority, tried to snatch their firearms of the rural farmers, but most of them went to the Jemma Berha and become local bandit. Seeing the result, the authority refrains to do so. Illegal firearms circulation is least restricted. Local government has little knowledge where firearms come from and how exchange is going on. Anybody can access a gun whenever he wants. Few became rich in the trade, creating a wide gap between the haves and have-nots. According to the law of Ethiopia, one can possess a firearm with confirmation of the law. Until these data collection period, there were 1,511 legal possessors of firearms according to the report of the police station of

Dera. But, it is estimated that more than 50% of the household, in one way or another possessed firearms.

Study shows that vendetta is the attributes of societies with a weak rule of law where family and kinship ties are the main source of authority (Torres III, 2007). This seems to be true to the Dera context. The local justice offices and police station has to work in protection and resolution of conflict widely But on the other hand, work done by the local government to break this tradition is little. There is no adequate awareness raising and behavioral change teaching work done by the local government

There are perceived and actual injustices, referring that many people who are released from prison before the due time is reached. In most cases, criminal on this kind of cases are expected to be jailed for more than 25 years but most of them released before this time. Though it is known that the mere existence of police by itself preemptively prevent crime to happen, in entire district, there is only 17 police personnel mostly concentrated to the Gundomeskel Town. Community policing also does not work much when it comes to blood feud since the selected individual, being one of the member of the community, fear to endanger leaking a blood feud relationship to his life. The problem of logistics, lack of infrastructure and vehicles, remoteness of most of areas from the town that needs 5 and 6 hrs walk etc are mentioned as the existence of weak prevention and resolution of conflict in the areas. But the elders and the role of religious institutions to reduce blood feud are general downplayed. In past times, resolution of conflict by the local elders using *guma* was relatively the better method to the families involved in this manner. *Guma* is a method of conflict resolution between the two blood feud families by ordering a blood payment from offender and separate the resources and location of these parties such the sources of the water becomes separated and the like. But nowadays, law forbids the elders to hold homicide case. Hence, every blood feud issues are dealt by court. But this seems ineffective due to the pessimistic perception of the rural people towards the government court system.

The topography of the Dera is very much ideal to hide oneself after killing somebody. Dera is surrounded by low lands where mostly local bandits are resided in the lowland of Abay, Jemma, Weleqa and Wenchit. The impact of blood is very harming to the society. By tradition, the wealth of the members of the offended party did not touched by anyone if they migrated fearing the retaliation. As a result, the wealth would be left to be eaten by insect, wild animal and rust. There

are many instances of completely evacuating their houses. Furthermore, it can easily be assumed that it can adversely affect the livelihood of the people. But this is subject to further study to interested party.

Addis Ababa is used, as exhibited from the churchyard, used to hide one who kills someone and runs away due to the legal retribution as well as the one who fear attack from the victim's family. Generally, at individual level, the situation of blood feud whether they are culprit or the relative of the culprit are very life threatens to one's life within the given vulnerability and weak institution context. The issues of life threatening may or may not be associated to food producing resource competition such as land etc and subsequent food security. However, the more through study on issues of blood feud with relation to food security has to be carried out to conclude so, which as should be directly deals the issue. Since the issue is prevalent and not in detail considered in this study, it is also recommendable that it has to be studied from different angles.

Looking at all the above information, one may compelled to ask why the culprit has not been arrested by law and wonder why a criminal live in the center of a city, without any legal charge.

This is basically lack of good coordination among the police of Dera area as well as Addis Ababa. Correspondingly, both chief inspectors, who are found at Dera and around the churchyard, admitted that there is generally weak coordination in these regard. Let alone between the far areas of Dera and Addis Ababa, Dera districts are not adequate coordinated with polices station of the bordered Ahmara regional state.

4.5.5. Land Slide

In the district, there is also a land slide disaster in parts of specific *Kebele* which is called Gebro Beresa. Consequently, most land in the *Kebele* is uncultivable and affected by food insecurity. Recognizing the issues well, the local Emergency and Food security with the cooperation of zonal bureau are doing their best by providing a safety net program until good time back. However, what is the problem of this program is exclusion of previously landless member. The case in point is Naniye Belew, a 27 years old female married youth, and came with her husband, from the mentioned *Kebele*:

My family has no enough land. The same is also true in my husbands' side. Since my husbands' father has distributed his land to his elder brothers, we had no land

to take while we married. We have to work a sharecropping on another land. Our life was very difficult. But as the land slide occur, this altogether hampered our livelihood. The wereda is supporting who hit by the disaster, with safety net program. But only to whom who own land previously. As a result, lacking any support from the government, we, together came here in Addis Ababa.

This also confirmed by the local emergency and food security experts in Dera district.

4.5.6. Social Disorganization

Divorce, death of parents, adultery, childlessness, extravagant festival, and family conflict etc are some of other causes of beggary that have been cited by children, women etc. Divorce is exasperated by clearly impacts of long standing but now reducing tradition of early and arranged marriage in the area (Tilson & Larsen, 2000).

Women's economic status often drops as a result of divorce because they lose the land, income and labour of the husband. In most case, it is the wife who commonly takes the children with her. Moreover, contrary to family code of Ethiopia that stipulates that each partner takes away from the marriage what each brought, in addition to half of what the couple accumulated during the marriage, women often go back to their families with little or nothing, resulting in a drop in social and economic status. This finally pushed her to the world of beggary around the churchyard. A study which was done in Northern Shewa also reveals the same reality (Pankhurst, 1992).

Lacks of access to resources that affect differential across gender, coupled with social marginalization have a clear implication in producing women beggary around the churchyard. In the study site, it is common to see a woman with her child or children.

4.5.7. Negative Impact of Credit Service

Out of Dera case, it is also found a case of one guy who fled to Addis Ababa and joins the world of beggary, fearing the debt of micro-finance from Gonder, Ebinet *Wereda*.

Due recurrent year's drought, the production becomes less since I will deduct the grain I borrowed from neighbors. I have no oxen. However, getting credit from the local Micro-finance, I bought 2 oxen. I came hear fearing that if they know I am unable to return back and they will jail me. I am now trying collect to get some money to pay my debt.

The same finding revealed by Tafere(2007) in studying the South Tigray migrant beggars in Addis Ababa.

4.5.8. Begging to Procure Livelihood Asset

However, what is amazing is that some migrant beggars admit that, though they have a land, cattle etc at countryside, they have come with premeditated plan to engage in begging, accumulate some money and buy something that they considered 'essential'. These groups of beggars are found from Dera as well as from other places of origin. What they consider essential includes different form of capital such as seed, cattle, corrugated iron sheet, paying debt, to support their university joined student etc. This clearly entails that beggary is used as one form of livelihood option, an alternative livelihood strategy, which used to tackle the poverty of the rural poor, comparable to trade and the like.

This indicates that these rural people rather pulled by the benefits of beggary, be it perceived or real, rather than the pushing factors at place of origin. These and some of the above data leave us in to question why beggary is taken by mass of Dera rural people, by both the destitute and the non-destitute, perpetually. Why other places, which are exhibit similar vulnerability context as these *Kebeles*, are not the sources of beggary? Why even, within these limited *Kebeles*, certain household and individual involved in beggary while experiencing more or less the same problem as others? Even more, why some of the rural better-off migrated to begging while other remain facing the problem?

The first question might be whether there is a long standing tradition and culture of beggary in Dera, at least with some genealogy. However, all people strongly disagree with this explanation. Elders, in Dera community and any certain households and individual, very stoutly detest being beggars in Addis Ababa. As a result, cultural explanation of beggary is futile and other source of justification has to be revealed. This is better explained by 'feedback mechanism' of beggary which is discussed at the end of the coming chapter in the 'impact of beggary' section.

CHAPTER FIVE

DESTINATION BASED CAUSES OF BEGGARY

In this chapter, destination based causes within larger context of beggars of the churchyard and impact of begging will be investigated, in light of evaluating whether beggary is a coping mechanism or a livelihood option.

Only looking at the source based causes of beggary does not adequately assure the inevitability of a given individual to fall in life of begging. Rather the destination based causes should be added to get the full picture. This is because, if we assume that there are adequate gainful alternative livelihood options within the capability of a given individual (human capital) at the place of destination, in this case around the locality of the church, how much compelling the cause of migration in the origin, joining the life of beggary is by no means became inevitable and hence it is not a coping mechanism. Moreover, looking at simply the migrant individual that involved in soliciting money and food is not enough to understand the real picture of beggary at the place of destination. Rather the larger structure of the city that affects their asset mix and causes them to resort to beggary has to be considered. In that light, we get the right glass to judge his or her attachment to begging is coping-out or not.

4.1. The larger Context

As matter of fact, some of these rural people come on predetermined plan to involve in beggary while others came in search of jobs. Hence, parts of them are involved in begging by the choice which is made after they have arrived in the destination. As a result, not only the pushing and pulling phenomena to beggary at place of origin, but pushing and pulling phenomena guided by the city's larger context at destination place has to be well investigated. If people are pushed by inescapable misery of the city to be beggars, beggary become a coping mechanism while having a lot of livelihood options, if people turn to begging, it is more of another form of livelihood option that is comparable to other form of employment, e.g. trade.

4.1.1. The Church and the Beggars

The first issue that has to be raised here is religions which for long time supported the tradition of almsgiving. In this respect, both dominant religion of Orthodox Christianity and Islam uphold almsgiving as religious duty. Islam put almsgiving as one the five obligation of muslim: *zekat*. In Islam, every Muslim is expected to give 10% of his yearly income to the poor, *zeka*, and whenever a Muslim feels that he has committed a sin, he/she gives something to the needy, *sedeka*.

The orthodox also put almsgiving as one of the revered expression of virtues and saintly deeds. People are expected to stretch their hands on saintly days. Almost all the days of the months are full the veneration, worship, and performance of ceremonials and rituals in the name of the saintly personages, with differential reverence. Though alms giving practice has been a social protection for the poor when there is no government consideration, it is also often criticized forgetting the other side of the problem: reproducing dependency and aversion for work.

Coupled with this precondition, the problem of urbanization creates one of the readily visible and appalling social problems: large-scale beggary. This situation clearly observed in Addis Ababa. Beggars in city live around on certain quarters such as churchyards, mosque yards, bus stations, streets etc. Still the number of the beggars around the church is higher than the mosque yards and other places. There are 166 Ethiopian Orthodox Churches in the city (Hayimanot, 2008). In this entire churchyard, one can surely get a number of beggars, though their number varies.

Churchyards are selected by these beggars for good reason since they have comparative advantage in social, security and economic dimension. The same is also true in the case of mosque yards. In the research site, beggars are observed to be supported in various ways and live with great tolerance of the community that even tended to sympathy.

The most visible support to the beggars in the churchyard is material and financial support such as money, food, and clothing. People usually forward cents or a piece of bread or *injera* which may or may not be with *wot*, stew. These donation increase as there happen saints days that celebrated by

the church. It is the everyday sight that looking people bring food to the beggars and commonly with drinks such as *tela* on various occasions such as *tezkar*, *nefis yimar*, *zikir*, *senbete*, *tsewa mahiber* etc. On Sunday mornings, it is also a common sight that beggars gather around the 'senbete bet' where food and drink are served for priests and deacons. On Christian holidays such as the birth of Christ, etc beggars are served by Sunday school students with food and drinks. In this regard, the impression of most beggars is positive and generally regarded the people of Addis Ababa as generous one. The case in point, a blind beggar, Bimirew Worku, who is begging for the last 30 years, said:

The people of Addis Ababa tolerate us a lot. It is annoying to see one person always 'help me'. However, they always stretch their hands to us. Addis Ababa people are really 'tsadikan' (generous). Bless be its land and bless be their home. I did not lack anything to eat here. I am not hungry here.

The churchyard is also a shelter of parts of the beggars. It is seen that beggars of the day slept around the fence of the church at night. Sometimes, if the church has found a good reason to support special people among them, shelter also are also provided within the church compound.

Beggars are also socially protected around the church, at least better than other places. The moral support is also very strong. One avoids the shame to beg listening that preaches 'everybody is the keeper of his brother'. Security wise, other harassment from various types of people also lessen around the church, fearing, if no to God, at least the consequence of the public disapproval. It is an arena where the one that needs to support somebody and that want to be helped by somebody meets each other.

Moreover, living together around the churchyard in social networked manner has much repercussion in the overall well-being of the beggars. Some settled beggars have also *idir* and *iqup*. The meeting of *idir* is held in the church, during Sabbath. In the church of Ethiopian orthodox, in general, and specific case of my research site, institutionalized, rehabilitative form of support is minimal, rather face-to face, uni-lateral, day in- day out support with fractions of cents and with consumable stuffs are dominated. No visible coordination is done by the church, even though the *kale awadi* (the church administrative guideline) of the church, on Article 23, obliged to do so.

To any one surprise, the churchyard is one of the beggars populated areas, compared to other churchyards of the city. This leaves us with question why this churchyard is more populated than other similar churchyards? For these, three answers are summarized as follows from the community as well as beggars.

The first one is the existence of cheap and daily based payment house compared to any area in the city. In this respect, most beggars live in one of the surrounding areas, paying from Br 1 up to Br 4, paying mostly on daily basis. A number of beggars can be crowded sleeping in small houses. Sometimes, their number can reach more than 70 and 80. The boarders are not only beggars, but also daily laborers and the like. They sleep on the floor of the house, crowded, usually wearing the day dress. The houses are mostly state owned, shanty, poorly cleaned, full of every types of insect such as flee, tick etc. The renters commonly have either little or no other source of income, depending largely on these beggars. Sometimes, the renters themselves are settled beggar.

Secondly, the similarity of place of origin of hosting community and the beggars, being *yewenzie lij*, are also cited as an attracting factor. This is clearly benefiting the beggars in social and psychological security, if not economical. It is noted earlier that the place exhibit higher number of Northern Shewa previously settled migrants of whom substantial number of them are from Dera. On the other hand, the Dera migrants are also confirmed that Dera beggars are only found around KDSCMC, not anywhere in the city.

Finally, most beggars also believe that such kind of places is safer than most places in the city since it is somehow hidden from the crowdedness of the city and does not attract 'vagabond' who are usually harass, snatch their alms and contend for the resources.

4.1.2. Government Intervention

On the side of the government, for a long time, it can be said that there is passivity towards the problem of beggary. This passiveness is mainly demonstrated in the form of lack of law, policy and legal, intervention that directly deal with the problem of beggary. However, recently, coincidental to this paper, there is a revival attention to the problem from the city administration.

On these regard an interventional project is designed and is being implemented. Ato Feleke Yimer, Assistant to the Mayor of Addis Ababa City explained how this project comes into being and is working as follows:

Before the project is being implemented, large scale survey which covers all sub-cities has conducted. Then, the project of intervention designed with the collaboration of concerned governmental and non-governmental organizations. Afterward, actual work started with the cooperation of street dwellers themselves and nearly 3000 street dwellers were detained to Fiche temporary camp from all over the corner of the city. But after proper screening they remained 2680. Even during the process, some were made to reunify back to their home, some were joined to woman, children and youth affaires, some were sent to various relief organizations (such as elderly, children, physically defective, who have normal life etc), some went to prison due to bad conduct, and escaped etc at various phases of the project. Now, 1288, who are able-bodied, youth are remained. In Fiche, the major aim was to change the attitudes of the street dwellers in order to pave way to involve in productive activities, since they are able-bodied. Then, after coble stone production project is arranged at outskirt of Addis Ababa in the Yeka, Akaki and Bole Sub city, they are taken to be trained there. The participants are provided food, shelter, mattress etc that are considered basic needs till they are able to be independent. However, the project after sometimes have a plan to withdraw all support after sometime. The project in general consumes Br 15 million which is all from government treasury bank.

In general, it is noted that large portion of them are benefited from the project though there is still difficulty as some of the partaker are escaping and returning to their previous life. As a result, the need of further research concerning the project should be done. For this study, however, there are important things that have to be raised here. The project in general focus on people who live in the extreme scenario of street dwellers i.e. who have no home at all. Consequently, these projects do not include large portion of beggars. In this respect, it is known that neither all beggars are street dweller nor all street dweller are beggars, though there is a common ground for both of the two. Similarly, most beggars in the study area were out of the scope of this project. Few are said to be taken to Fiche. Both positive and negative views are found towards this intervention, though as the impact is still immature, their view is largely based on the emotion they have. On the government side, there is a plan that another similar project will follow sometime in the future.

In the local *Wereda*, too, around the churchyard, there is no direct intervention prepared for these beggars. As most beggars are migrant and do not have an ID of the *Wereda*, they are also out of the

scope of *weredas*' consideration. However, it is easy to get an ID if three willing witnesses are provided to confirm that they have lived in the *wereda* for more than three months. Police also intervene little in everyday life of migrant beggars. They only interfere when they are involved in criminal activity. For the settled beggars and who have ID, they said that there some income generating small scale activities such as city cleaning, cooperative works etc are arranged. Some ex-beggars are now involved and benefited from these projects.

4.1.3. Charitable Organizations

Some NGOs are also doing for their best for the 'eradication' of beggary. The most known is Elshadai, which take reunification of the beggars to their home, with their consent and some amount of financial support, as its major tasks. It is, however, criticized that it can end up being a pulling factor for instigation of further large scale beggary in the city unintentionally since the reunified beggars can initiates other rural framers' migration, informing the benefit they get if they would go. Moreover, the organization is extremely ambitious that beggary will be eradicated from the face of the city, within a handful of months. The intervention of the project, though there is some losc relation to the church, is least felt in the research site.

At local level, there are also limited numbers of NGOs and government organizations that are relevance in the life of the beggars. These include schools, feeding program provider, health service provider etc.

One charity organization that help beggars at the research site is 'missionaries of charity- home for the sick and dying' which is popularly known among the beggars as 'sister', located on road to Minilik II Hospital, in front of Yared School. The missionary primarily provide medical treatment. Shelter and meals are also taken care of until they recover from their illness. Beggars in the study area said that whenever someone is in accident, it is common to take the victim to these organizations. The clients are not only beggars but also all sorts of poverty-stricken people who come to visit and seeking help. In the course of observation, it is captured that a woman beggar with a baby becoming victim of some leg disease and could not walk, taken to this organization. After someday, she is found healed and walking properly.

Atse Tekle Ghiorgis primary school (from KG1- grade 8), which are also affiliated to Catholic Church and located at the back of the churchyard, is another philanthropic organization to the beggars. The school currently hosts 802 children of 'the poorest of the poor'. Since these school's eligibility to enter to a school is based on the *Kebele* confirmation letter, much of the non- settled migrant are not benefiting from the service. The school also provides a feeding program to its student. For breakfast, a piece of bread and a cup of milk are given to kindergarten students. At lunch, rice is served to all students. There is also another governmental school, called Bete-Mariam Youth Academy, which also provides educational service to the local 'poorest of the poor' children. The number of the students is 204, of which substantial numbers of them are the children of beggar parents. The school is established last year.

Parent beggars have told me that the support of these schools is very encouraging. But they underline that there is a challenge to buy dress, exercise books etc at the beginning of the year, saying that 'if my children joined school, she or he has to wear decent dress that does not push him or her to feel inferior'. On the other side, both school directors stressed that there are challenges of students drop out and absenteeism. This is mainly, as parts of these students are from beggars' family, they may have to lead their blind parents to the church, especially in the saint days when beggary seems profitable. Moreover, these students are also pressured to beg by the parents since children easily become the subject of public sympathy and assure better income. Besides the above institutions, there are also some charity organizations that provide oil, fafa etc occasionally to few beggars.

Self based association of Dera people is also available which can potentially benefit the beggars. But it proved ineffective, though each of Dera beggars contribute more than Br 40 and more amount of money. The association is established 2 years before with the initiation of certain youth with the promise of opening a self-help program in Dera, by getting land from the district. The members are hundreds of poor Dera people, of which large members of them are also beggars. But, most beggars expressed complaint on this matter, saying that they have been deceived by the youth who are pioneer in formulating this association.

All in all, the interventions of all governmental and NGOs are very minimal and by no means adequate. Moreover, institutionalization of alms through charitable organizations is entirely non-existent. This apparently puts almsgivers in dilemma whether to continue their face-to-face,

unilateral donation, taking the risk of implicitly perpetuating beggary. Some vainly attempt to discriminate the 'eligible' from 'non-eligible' ones while they forward cents. The eligibility is usually based on whether the solicitor is handicapped or not. In this regard, it is common to see conflict when someone refused to give alms to certain types of beggars. But, most people, seeing the difficulty of making discrimination, stretch hands to all beggars.

Hence, the current form donation to beggars which is unilateral, face-to face, incapable to make good screening, unpredictable, uncoordinated, non-fruitful put many people into moral dilemma to continue almsgiving or not. In case, it is important to put Tesfaye Negash, almsgiver, comment:

There will not be beggars unless there are givers. I know that I am perpetuating beggary by giving to beggars. They have no means of living. Government is not supporting them. There is no institution that we can support through... hence still I give them. This is how I carry out my duty of my citizenship as well as fulfill my religious duty. But, to the extent of my knowledge, I tried to give discriminately to the physically defective and old people. It is actually difficult in most times.

Within this context, however, the numbers of beggars which is hosted by the community is increasing from year to year as witnessed by participants of the community in this research. For instance, as one of the guard of the church, Basha Yared Tesema, who employed before 13 years ago told me that:

'When I arrived here for the first time, there were only around 30 beggars who had only serious physically defective. But, nowadays, all sorts of people, including the healthy, youngster etc are involving in it. They are beyond numbers and we always see new faces of beggar'.

Similarly, more than 60% of them are known to join beggary within the last five years of which more than even half of them came within last year.

4.2. The Migrant Beggars around the Church

After these, we have to see closer what role the beggars themselves playing within the larger context.

4.2.1. Beggary and Employment, the Other Alternative Livelihood

In this respect, looking at the availability of other livelihood opportunity, employment is very crucial, which, largely answers 'why people beg or refuse to quit begging'. It is known that employment, especially in urban areas such this study area, is very crucial for the availability of other sorts of livelihood assets and their resultant outcome such as income, food security and overall well-being. In this respect, to judge whether begging is a coping mechanism or livelihood option, we are obliged to answer the following interrelated issues: capability level which is associated with skill and education to join employment, the health condition of most beggars to work, willingness to work, availability of jobs around the vicinity as well as in the city, and its level of income.

4.2.1.1. Able-bodied-ness

As explained before, while parts of them depend completely on beggary for their livelihood as 'hedgehogs', others follow a sort of 'foxes' livelihood strategy. The beggars are notoriously devoid of any sophisticated skills which can be marketable in the city due to basically lack of formal education and training. Very few can write and read, even with great difficulty and drawbacks. Moreover, most of beggars' previous livelihood strategy is farming with insignificant exposure to other experience; hence they have limited skills. As a result, the readily available assets seem to be their labour that can be invested in low skill requiring jobs in the urban context, where there are no farming activities. Generally, it can be said that human capital of beggars is very low because of lack of education and training.

Among the local community, a commonly accepted notion that legitimizes one to enter beggary is his or her physical defectiveness, disease and old age. But to the contrary, there are a number of able-bodied beggars in the churchyard. Based on quantitative data collection, out of 52 beggars, 21 of them are fully grown able-bodied beggars (40.38 %). Parts of them work in other additional jobs for their survival. The prevailed employment among the part time beggars are cemetery work, loading and unloading, mud combination, stone preparation, repairing of old equipment such as metal pan, umbrella etc and some rarely work in Ethio-ceramic industry. Some also involve in petty trades of vegetables largely scavenging from '*atikilit tera*' (vegetable business area) such as tomato, lemon, pepper, mango etc. Sometimes, they can also buy nearly perishing vegetables and fruits and

provide them to the churchyard market. The main clients of these petty traders are the beggars themselves. These traders are mostly woman. Woman also involve in hair dressing business, of which the customers are beggars themselves. Some of the beggars are also previously engaged in guards and gardeners. Some are night time guards of business shops, spending the day time around the churchyard by begging. Furthermore, to anyone surprise, parts of these able bodied (8 of them) beggars also claim they completely depend on begging for survival. In other words, 38% out of the total able-bodied beggars are found completely involved in begging despite the fact that they are full grown able-bodied people (See Table 9).

Table 9: Cross Tabulation of Able-bodied-ness and Level of Dependency on Begging

			Health Condition					Total
			Physically Defective	Diseased	Able-bodied	Elderly	Children	
Do you always beg?	Yes	Count	9	1	8	10	2	30
		% within the column	90.0%	16.7%	38.1%	83.3%	66.7%	57.7%
	No	Count	1	5	13	2	1	22
		% within the column	10.0%	83.3%	61.9%	16.7%	33.3%	42.3%
Total		Count	10	6	21	12	3	52
		% of Total within the column	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4.2.1.2. Availability of Jobs

The reason why both of these beggars – the part time able bodied beggars and full-time able-bodied beggar is not engaged in other productive activity is lack of job in the area. One of the part-time, Habtamu Siyoum, able-bodied beggars argues as follow:

Averagely, I only pass having a job 2 days in a week. The rest of days, I will spend on consumption and boarding that money. Loading and unloading that came through taxi is available. But competition is very tough.

Conversely, most of the people around the churchyard argue that jobs are fairly available if beggars are willing. From this side, Belachew Tesfaye, a pensioner, who spends most of his time around the church, told me that:

There are a lot of jobs if they are willing to work. Here (around church), it can be said that there is a shortage of jobs, since most of the people are poor and are not willing to hire anybody. But, these migrants (beggars) have to move out in center of the city. If they go, for instance around Semen Hotel, they can increase their job opportunity. ... They also request higher amount of return for their job, which deter for the local people to hire them. For instance, they may ask to carry a plastic bag approximately half km Br 5 which is unaffordable by the local people. Moreover, they can invent some job and work hard. I know an ex-beggar who employed at night in guard while spending the day here and finally able to make some progress and stop beggary.

In addition, similarly, one mason who usually employs part-time beggars as an assistant for his contract works told me that they usually request him higher returns. If he does not do that, they may work indolently and ruin his benefit by lengthening the finishing day of the work. Moreover, he said that since they have the option to beggary, the amount he forwards has to be much higher than that of the income of the begging. Similar situation was also observed by the researcher, an individual, coming to the group who were gathered able-bodied beggars, request whether they were willing to work in one of his field and nobody became willing to work. He went blaming them that they are addicted to only beggary.

It is also common to see able-bodied, young women beggars around the churchyard. People said that they can work as home maid and the like. But most of these woman put lack of guarantor as main reason not to do such kind of jobs. However, not lacking one or more of people who acquainted them in the city, in one way or another, this reason seems very challengeable. Moreover, some of them also put the main reason not hired as housemaid is having one or more baby at hand, saying that house heads deter to hire them as housemaid looking this. But, this also challengeable since they demand of housemaid is increasing in the city, people said. Moreover, people mentioned that they can work in temporary housemaid work such as cloth washing, preparing festival foods etc. There is also a possibility that some willing person is there to hire them with their children if they are honest and really diligent. Leaving this controversy, let us look at other justification.

4.2.1.3. The Existence of Comparable Non- Beggar Migrant Workers

Besides people's argument of availability of job, these migrant beggars can be compared with non-migrant beggars who have more or less similar background but involve in productive activities in the locality. In this respect, there are people who came from different parts of the rural area (even from Dera), but not still engage in begging.

In other words, it is argued that the same types of the people with same capital asset mix, in the same context of destination refused to live by begging and involve in other productive activities of the city. A good case in point is Belay Abu, a mason, who came from Dera wereda, 4 year ago, said that:

I came from the same area where most of these migrant came from. My kebele is Homa Boneya. It is a matter of choice to live by begging or not. I have never begged. When I came here I am just like them. I did not know any skill. I learn the work of masonry working with other mason. I was willing even to be hired with small amount of salary. As a result, people are willing to hire me. Through time, even if I do not have much money, I acquire the skill. I am now a mason, myself. I hire people. I have a wife with two kids. I am now living better.

Similarly, Abebech Belay, 26 years old, who came from Bahir Dar, involved in selling of *injera* and *shiro*, under the big tree in front of the church is one of the good evidence:

Begging is really a shame. People restore to begging because they are lazy. See me, I am a woman. Nobody is supporting me here. I have started such kind of business. These labourers and beggars also buy me these foods. I am living with that income. I also learn in night. I always tell the beggars they have to work hard. But they do not listen.

Similar arguments are also made by the Redwan Sulatn, 38 years old, a shop owner and keeper around the locality, come from silte 12 years ago, argues:

Look at the churchyard, so many migrant people are doing business around here. Some are vending lottery. Some are selling religious books. Some are working as waitress and lot more. These people are not willing to work.

As it is noted earlier, the public have implicit consensus that one has legitimate if he or she has affected by disability, old age and disease, that one could be shown to the public on the contrary Tesfaye Negash argues the following:

People are drawn by sympathy to help the blind, the crippled and elderly. These people are selling their defects to the people. The visibly slept on the ground showing the most repulsive affected body, knowing that they people are drawn to their support. Hence, they are getting better income. They are not willing by no means to quit begging as they get better income. But, I do not agree that these disable people could not work. Disability is not inability. There are a lot of people who does amazing things in the world while they are disabled such as Helen Keller. See there are also a lot of blind people and crippled one who are involving in productive work such as vending lottery, shoe-shining, loading and unloading etc in the city. Have you seen that guy who works as carpenter, using only his leg (he is referring a man who lost both of his hands, but managed to make furniture with his leg). He is a rebuke to their life. Older people also can do simple jobs that are appropriate to them such as child keeping etc.

Similarly, some of these beggars do not seem to want to be healed from their defects since it is there 'wealth' that justifies their involvement in begging. A 2-year interventional prospective study, which aimed at determining the frequency and pattern of musculoskeletal disability among beggars of the streets of Addis Ababa, strengthen this idea by revealing that some beggars are refused to undergo a clearly beneficiary surgery and among the healed ones also, some are reported went back to the life of begging (Wamisho & Menore, 2009).

4.2.2. Income, Access to Food and Begging

The community generally forward a number of reasons why these beggars enter and are not willing to refrain from of begging such as the easiness of generating income, easily available food alms, beggary dependency and the opportunity cost of leaving the art of beggary and being strange in other land etc, despite the fact that fair availability of jobs in the city. In this part, the income of the beggars and their food and food access are discussed thoroughly as a pulling factor to begging.

4.2.2.1. Income versus Begging

Income is a known measurement of poverty in many literatures. However, measuring income of the beggars is a difficult task since there is a need of estimating and converting into monetary terms whatever alms they are getting. Hence, this data rely on the finding of monetary saving that the beggars claim to accumulate at the end of the month. On this regard, out of the total 52 respondents, 16 of them (30.37%) claim that they do not accumulate money from begging. Most of these are the able-bodied and rely largely for the income on other jobs that they are doing in part-time. Large

number of beggars claims they are getting between Br 150-300 (40.39%) per month (See Table 10). However, it is better to see these data with suspicion since beggars are known to minimize their overall income while exaggerating their expense. In this regard, the researcher found many responses to questionnaires unreliable their daily expense being greater than their daily income. Hence, it is better to turn to qualitative data analysis.

Table 10: Monthly Monetary Saving of Beggars from Begging

Monthly Saving of the beggars	Frequency	Percent
No Saving from Begging	16	30.77
30 -90	4	7.69
91-120	5	9.62
121-180	9	17.31
181-300	12	23.08
301-600	4	7.69
> 600	2	3.85
Total	52	100.00

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

The income of full time beggars is for obvious reason, the total alms within a given time in point whereas the income of the part-time beggars is the sum of the income that comes from begging and their labour. But most part-time beggars claim that the public mostly are not willing to give them any money seeing their 'full body'. What they get through begging is usually food. In these regard, the income of the physically visible defective and elderly are far more than anyone else.

Looking very careful at the beggars, the income of beggars is not limited to begging or other labour works, but also income from other sources. So, though large parts of beggars are really benefited less from begging, some are unarguably in a better position.

The first reason comes from the direct logic of the absence or existence of little expense among beggars for their basic needs. For instance, they have no or little expense incurred to get clothing and food. Food is rather a freely available from the almsgiver. No expense is also made regarding

clothing since most almsgivers distribute to them at holidays times. The only problem that commonly requires expense is housing. People pay from Br 1- 4 per head per day. But still some are willing to sleep around the churchyard so that they can save the money. Though the quality of these resources and the dignity how it is acquired is clearly rather hurting, the contribution to the accumulation of financial capital is clearly visible.

The other amazing truth is the involvement of large number of beggars in the sale of leftover, 'bulle' to his fellow beggars. *Bulle* is a leftover food that is collected from different houses and hotel. A full plastic bag of 'bulle' is sold from Br 6 -12, which is bought by another group of five or six beggars. If one beggar goes too far away areas, he/she can come with two or five bags of 'bulle'. We can imagine how much a person can make if he is able to get the least case: $2 \times 6 = \text{Br } 12$ per day.

Beggars who have others assets such land, oxen etc in the rural area have also additional source of income. As noted earlier, some migrant beggars have land or and oxen in country side. By giving to their children or someone else, they assured the existence of additional earnings. Some even owned a mill in the countryside which assured a bigger amount of income in addition to beggary. Concerning settled beggars, some also rent their houses to large a number of beggars and other laborers. The housing can range from Br 1 (usually for children, since they do not occupy large area) up to Br 4. These beggars can rent for number of beggars as their space allowed them. But, one people cannot move after he sleeps in whatever way. This assures the better income per day of these beggars.

We have to take into account that the incomes of the saint days and holidays are usually higher. These are usually played down by beggars. But, in one day, a beggar can make more than Br 50 in those days. That will be sustained if he or she moves from church to church in the city, counting the day of saints and knowing which church celebrate which saints. It is easily observed that most beggars are very skillful in identifying which saints' commemoration fall at which date.

In general, beggars who have spent longer time in this practice say that the income from begging is declining. On the other hand, the number of the beggars is rising. People have changed much the

amount of the money that is given to beggars despite the declining power of purchasing power. Hence, competition among beggars is fierce.

There are determinates that assure the level of beggars' income within a given time in point. These are 1) activeness and 2) knowing the art of begging. What activeness is mean here that moving to the largest area, competing while alms are distributed, etc. As a result, surprisingly, the need of strength is important. The art of begging is how sympathy is drawn and knowing well when, where and who, how etc are solicitation be made. These actually developed through time and experience. Not only dependency, the skill that have acquired through time is difficult to leave once one engaged in begging.

Consequently, income disparity between beggars is evident. Some groups are benefited over the other. These groups include the physically defective but who can move, elderly but not the very old, bogus youth beggars etc.

The better position of some beggar in terms of income is evidenced by interview of some beggars. The researcher himself documented one beggar, who is around 45 years old have admitted to accumulate Br 1500 within the last month. One old man also told he accumulated Br 1200 Br after sending Br 2000 within six months. An old beggar who usually slept in front of the church found that in mattress more Br 10,000 while people are trying to change his house within a church.

Concerning some settled beggars, their better income position is evidenced by their food consumption pattern. These beggars, rather than daily consumption have a tendency of buying monthly household budget. Some are also observed while drinking beer, *tej* etc in the local recreational centers after a full day of begging. An *iqub* formed largely with the association of blind and leprous beggars also said to contribute Br 50 per week per head.

In general, MOLSA (1992:106) study also confirms this truth by claiming that 'beggars earn better income than other urban poor or the minimum wage earners in the country'. This is one of the reasons that more number of beggars willingly enters and refuses to stop its practice, despite the existence of other livelihood opportunity.

4.2.2.2. Food and Access to Food Access among Beggars

Beggars are regarded as short-sighted by the people only focusing on short-term benefits. One of the short-term benefits that made beggars to stick to the life of begging is accessibility of food. Food is generally acquired through begging or cheap purchase. Some portion comes from everyday benefactors of the church who support them in special occasion. This occasion include *nefsyimar*, *senbete*, *zikir* etc. The almsgivers come with food in plastic packs, or on tray and distribute to all forms of beggars. This gift is usually provided with drinks, commonly *tela*. Unlike income, the distribution of food is non-discriminatory whether the beggar in question is able bodied or not. Concerning the quality, these foods are normal that large household consume at home. Sometimes, however, nearly spoiling food can also be given to beggars. Based the tolerance level of the individual beggars, these foods can be eaten or thrown away.

Food can also be directly given by the church and Sunday school students on holidays and saint days. On Sunday, early in the morning, beggars wait and stand for generosity of food and drinks at the door of the banquet, inside the church. After the priests and deacon, and the community served, food and drinks be distributed among beggars. There is usually crowding and conflict at these times. The quality of the food is generally good since it is the one that is provided to the spiritual fathers.

Some beggars also involve in collection of left over, '*bulle*' from far away areas, as far as *Kanzanchis*. The left over came either from individual house or a hotel or some organization etc. It is commonly unclean. Some reported me to unearth toothpick, soft paper etc. However, diversified types of food are found in one bag of '*bulle*'.

Some also depend on the purchase of '*bulle*'. The plastic bag of food may cost from Br 6 up to Br 12 based the quantity and quality of the food. Since it is enough for one or more adult, it is usually bought together with one or more friends. The market of '*bulle*' is a dramatic site to any passerby. The price is determined arbitrarily between the buyer and the seller. Noise and complaint are always heard as they conduct these markets. Ironically, most beggars do fasting at time of Lent and the like. But the fasting is simply refraining from consuming animal and animal products.



Figure 5: Part-time beggars eating 'bulle'

Other also prepared meal at home or in the open field under the church fence. The prepared food usually has tomato, pepper, onion, oil and water or '*shiro*' with or without oil and onion etc. Bread and purchased *injera* from the local market is used to catch the prepared stew. Some also eat *injera* with just '*berbere*' (pepper spice). Among some settled beggars, however, there is a habit of consuming highly prepared food.

A sort of food for work is also exhibited in the relationship of hotel and beggars. In these, the hotel waiter agree with the beggars, usually with teen age beggars, to carry out some tasks such as cleaning the hotel, taking away dirt, etc. In return, the beggars are given a leftover food. Some hotel or waiters in the hotel, knowing the value of the left over to beggars, also sell the left over to the beggars with cheap price. These are also sold at higher price in market of '*bulle*' to other fellow beggars around the churchyard.

They have differential perception on the sufficiency of the food they are getting. 10 of them (21.15%) claim that food what they are getting is adequate while 22 of them (42.31) of them said

that the adequacy of food alms is moderate. While 19 of them (36.54%) of them assert that it is rather poor.

Table 11: Beggars Perception on the Sufficiency of Food they are getting

Sufficiency of food	Frequency	Percent
Adequate	11	21.15
Moderate	22	42.31
Poor	19	36.54
Total	52	100.00

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

Unlike the quantity, half of the respondents beggars 27 (51.92%) rather tend to say the quality of the food they are getting is very poor. Only 8 beggars (15.38 %) admitted what they are consuming is high quality and the remaining claims that it is moderate one.

Table 12: Beggars' perception on the quality of the food they are getting

Quality of food	Frequency	Percent
High	8	15.38
Moderate	17	32.69
Poor	27	51.92
Total	52	100

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

Moreover, consumption between beggars is also captured with one day recall data. Among the 52 beggars, 45 (86%) of them claim they have eaten past day a breakfast and 46(87%) of them claim that they have eaten a lunch and 44 (85%) of them said that they have eaten their dinner. Few of them also confirmed that they have added additional food at unconventional time. The food types include wheat bread, *injera*, *shiro*, lentil, vegetables etc. Since the period of my data collection is a fasting time, none have reported me ate meat and higher protein food. Hence, it is better to understand it does not mean that they do not eat such kinds of food at non-fasting period. Conversely, some studies on Addis Ababa shows there is severe form of food insecurity among the residents of the city, more or less equal or sometimes worst than that of the beggars. In Yared (2010), studying the case of Lideta sub-city food status in Addis Ababa, shows that the local community reduced the number of the meal per day to the maximum of two at normal time. Some participants, from both the beggars and the community, comparing the local community and the

migrant beggars, commented that they are a good number of extremely poorer residents among the community than that of the migrant beggars, being afraid of the people to come out too begging. They are poorer than that of the beggars and they are remain only home afraid of the community if they go out to beg.

Similar to income, the differential food consumption pattern of beggars is also exhibited among beggars. Some do not eat at all begged food, unless it is in good quality. Hence, these people rely on monthly budgeted food at home. This reality is clearly perceived as one looks a day expenses of beggars on food.

Table 13: Expense on food per day

A day Expense on food	Frequency	Percent
0	7	13.46
1-5	19	36.54
6-10	12	23.08
21-25	10	19.23
25-30	1	1.92
>30	3	5.77
Total	52	100.00

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

Generally, slightly half (53.85 %) of them are only admitted failed to access food at some time in the past while they are involved in begging. These show that access to food in generally is good. This situation of access to food is always a pulling factor if somebody throws away 'honour'.

Table 14: Are there any days you fail to access food?

Are there any days you fail to access food?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	24	46.15
No	28	53.85
Total	52	100

Source: Own Quantitative Case Study, 2011

One amazing phenomenon among beggars is food preservation method. As the sun shine, it is common to see the non-busy asphalt and quarters of the churchyard's locality to be filled with mass of diversified leftover food open to the sun on certain old carpets, especially just after a day of a holiday. The dried food usually is a combination of food such as *injera*, food, stew of every kind etc.

In other words, it is a dried '*bulle*'. By that process, the food is changed into dried food, which is known as '*dirikosh*' by the beggars. This assures the availability of food throughout the season, especially in *kiremit* and fasting period. This is clearly a coping mechanism of beggars to tackle the seasonality of food shortage. But, one may left to ask, if begging is a coping mechanism, is there a coping mechanism of cop-out?

All in all, income and food is one of the free benefits of involving in beggary which made beggars to enter but make difficult from exist to the life of beggary.

Figure 6: '*Dirkosh*' in the quarter of the churchyard



4.3. The Impact of Beggary: Explanation for Perpetual and Mass Involvement of Beggary

Beggary has impact on a range of actors differently. These actors are beggars themselves, beggars' household, origin community, the hosting community etc. The impact can be in the form of economical, social, cultural etc. From each of these actors' point of view, it can be negative or positive, desirable or undesirable, intended and unintended etc. But confining to our objective, i.e. answering whether it is a coping mechanism or a livelihood option, it is important to discuss its impact of begging on beggars himself/herself and its place of origin.

The impact of begging on beggar himself or herself can be to continue or to quit it. These are actually determined by the choice, perception, experience etc of individuals involved. Based on this, some follow beggary temporarily but some others on more or less permanent basis and frequently.

A good case in point who quit begging is the following M, whose story told by one of my interviewee, Tadesse Gidelew, who is an ex-beggar himself, as follows:

His mother died while he was a kid and his father married another woman. But he could not agree with his step-mother. He went to the street. He was strongman and had a dream. He wanted to change his life. We used to beg together. But, after a time, he started to sell crosses and the like, around church. He expanded his market. Then, he added additional commodity such as religious cassette and books. He is living now a good life, being far from beggary.

However, there are people who are unwilling to quit begging in spite of they have a good capability and situation to stop of begging. These people used begging as an asset accumulation mechanism, such as to make saving, buy cattle and seed, to get everyday consumption of the household etc. As a result, we need to take into consideration that beggary is not only used by the vulnerable as recovery mechanism but who wants to build his asset through acquiring important capital. Worse to that, some are also end up in cyclic prison of begging due to poor saving, alcoholic addiction, etc. In addition, there are also chances that if one passes the threshold of social stigma associated with beggary, it will be a lifelong choice without effort to change it otherwise.

In addition to the impact of beggary on beggars, it is also important to look into the impact of begging in the place of origin of beggars. In this respect, it is important to see the historical progression of beggary in the case of Dera.

There is somehow inconsistent data by whom and when the pioneer Dera beggars appear in Addis Ababa. For instance, a church guard who was employed by the church thirteen years back explains as follows:

Ten years ago, there was a man, called T, who worked as mud combiner for the construction of houses around kechene area. But, through time, he lost his eye vision and strength, and resort to beggary. From time to time, he found the business very interesting. He brought his wife here to lead him while he begs. They usually visit their home land. There they have constructed a corrugated iron sheet covered house, buy ruminants and generally became better off. Looking his situation, Dera people

came flooding to this place. He is the responsible man for such swarm of migrant beggars in this area.

However, an ex-beggar of Dera, Tadesse Gidelew, informed me that people who are responsible to initiate beggary in the area are few individuals, twenty years ago. One of these men is his step-father, who went blind 20 years ago.

My step-father was a blind man in Dera. He came here in search of holy water. Finally, he reached to Addis Ababa. When my mother quarreled with my father she headed to Addis Ababa, together with me. She met my step mother here in Addis Ababa. They got married. Our lone income at that time was his begging. I was his leader whenever he went. He had also home in Dera and repeatedly made a visit. In that way, others also followed him.

Leaving aside the controversy of the personality of the pioneers and the time, however, people generally believe that few are responsible to have instigated migration led beggary in Dera. This is created due to the impact of beggary on the place of origin through various forms: remittance, cultural change etc. Seeing their 'success', then few adopters follow and ultimately ending large numbers of migrant join the world of begging. Though the pioneer's beggars seem to be pushed by the compelling problem of the place of origin, though it is still debatable, the followers largely look at the benefits associated with urban begging. In due course, both the destitute and non-destitute involved in beggary through time. Similarly, the migration literature has identified various feedback mechanisms which explain why, once started, migration processes tend to become partly self perpetuating, leading to the formation of migrant networks and migration systems, independent of their original causes (Haas, 2009).

This is, however, a process that does not naturally happen. The impact, networking and feedback mechanism of beggary on the place of origin has to be clearly seen. Remittance from beggary creates income differentiation and improvement of certain groups. This creates instigation among the community to further migrate and involve in beggary in Addis Ababa. Dagne Zeleke, 71 years old elder in Dera explains the following:

In past, we do not know such kind of migration and begging. Dera is known to be the 'bread basket'. Now things are worsening. Production is not as used to be. Drought is recurrent. People are migrating because they are poor. But, there are also many people who are migrating while they possess land, oxen etc, are better-off. Sometimes they have mill. It is told that most involve in beggary in Addis Ababa. It is hard to tell

who is involved in begging. They all say that we have been doing 'shikela' there. They are coming with new dress; they are sending cloth to their children and wife who are here. Some are also managed to do corrugated iron sheet house (only wealthier farmers have such kinds of home, other straw house). People, looking at the benefit of migrants, are flooding to Addis Ababa. Especially, the youth are evacuating the country.

In the country side, one of the visible improvements of rural household is having a corrugated iron sheet house, which captures the eyes of any passerby, among most farmers' straw houses. Wearing better dress, having large number of cattle, ruminant etc is another symbolic expression that shows he or she is in better-off position.

The role of information exchange is also very indispensable in understanding mass movement of people who ultimately end up in being beggar. Since beggary is socially disapproved, the flow of the information, especially at the pioneers' level seems somehow in restricted and distorted manner. As a result, information usually disseminated secretly across society, only to the loyal friends, neighborhood etc, at least, till larger number of migrant came and realize the reality on the ground.

The impact of beggary is accepted with appall as well as attraction. People may admire the man is becoming wealthier and wealthier, but condemn how he get it. The one who involved in begging say that he or she is doing 'shikella' (daily labour) in Addis Ababa, concealing the truth. One priest from the community of Dera, Merigeta Kibret Shiferaw raises one example that clearly shows this statement:

Beggary is a shame to our place. We are now known to be beggars in the urban areas. In the past, I know a man who was usually visiting Addis Ababa. He said that he is working shiqela (daily labour). But, he actually was a beggar. People did not know what he was doing there. However, once up on a time, when I went to Addis Ababa to finish some church related activities, I have found him begging in one of the street of Addis. I was amazed how he begs. He appears to be physically defective. He covered himself as he recognized me and pleaded with me to pass by and not tell to anyone in our village. I do not think even his family knew about this truth. I remembered that we respected him because he is increasing his wealth from time to time.

Moreover, the nearness of Dera to the city has sustained the interaction of the two places of origin and destination, in the form of migration in general, beggary in particular. Dera is not far from Addis Ababa. By bus, it is a half day transport. The road is recently constructed. The Jemma River

which once cut the district from other *weredas* of Oromia has been constructed a bridge. Even people in past times and some individual still now come and go to Addis Ababa on bare feet. The transportation cost is growing though it is not more than Br. 300 from furthest Keble. However, people usually came from the *Kebeles* to the town of Gundomeskel, with bare feet, partly due to lack of transpiration cost and partly to save money. But, in whatever measurement, it is also important to note that the costs are unaffordable for very destitute rural resident.

Furthermore, the existence of large number of Dera migrants around the churchyard, *Yewenze lij* (fellow man), makes the easiest practice one could fall easily. Besides, this builds the mentality of the people in line of '*sew yehonewun ehonalewu*' in Amharic which means 'nothing will happen to me except what happened to other'. The idea is that once a critical number of migrants have settled at the destination, migration becomes self-perpetuating because it creates the social structures to sustain the process, which has been supported by many literatures (Castles and Miller 2003, Massey 1990, Massey et al. 1998, cited in Haas, 2009).

In this way, the above impact of begging to the place of origin-be it real or perceived, creates an attraction to beggary. Then, the migration led beggary become detached from the original destination based pushing factors, rather tended to work by pulling factors of beggary at destination. Eventually, both destitute and non-destitute involve in beggary.

In addition, the origin community said that there are certain people who migrated from year to year, seasonally, despite the fact they life improved. Similar confirmation is also made by the hosting community. The churchyard guard, Basha Yared Tassew, explains the following:

Year to year, I see that the same number of people coming from Dera. I know them all. Some are known for more than five years in this place. They go and come as if it is their home. New faces of migrant are also seen every year, every month, every day. There number is increasing year to year. It is really frightful.... It is now becoming beggary as culture of Dera.

From this we can understand that beggary is used by the beggars frequently and habitually becoming a comparable livelihood with farming and becoming a choice to livelihood option. In this sense, people are accustomed to say that whenever they face a problem in Dera - '*lemigne bibela yishalegnal*' which means 'I will rather go to Addis Ababa and live by begging'.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. Summary

With the combined evidence of previous literature and this study, it is shown that mass begging is largely the problem of rural population in dress of urban linked through migration. Therefore, the begging-migration link shows that that rural and urban not only integrated in development but also in the evils of each other without spatial restriction. Though this study took a case of one churchyard, DSKMC, in Addis Ababa as a research site, it is, as well, done on another spatial place, Dera, Oromia Regional State, where larger number of beggars migrated to the selected area, in order to check source based causes of beggary.

In that sense, in Dera, the larger contexts that push one to migration and ultimately pave the way to beggary are revealed. These larger contexts include landlessness, land fragmentation and subsequent land degradation, rainfall variability, labour deficit due to physical and mental defectiveness, old age and poor health, long-standing blood feud tradition, land slide, social disorganization etc coupled with poor institutional context that emanated from weak local government structure, destructive tradition, poor policy etc. Therefore, people are negatively affected by this situation, being impoverished and life threatened. Some of these causes have a clear negative implication on food security status of the peoples and cause them to migrate and beg.

On the other hand, though it is obvious that some of these migrant beggars from Dera are affected by this larger context, remaining with poor asset mix and leaving their country to beg, some are not impecunious. It is proved that some of people have land or and oxen or and labour, which are the major essential livelihood assets that help to sustain one in a farming society. Some of these people are more than even the average, having a mill and the like which is considered a thing of the

wealthier. The idea of depicting begging as the last survival option is also challenged since so many people have come to begging while having grains in storage, sometimes with their whole family. These warn us, at least, to take caution in taking begging as last resort mechanism invariably. Furthermore, even if beggary, specifically urban beggary, is a social capital of the poor migrants that they turn in time of their desperation, these it is not hold true to the very destitute rural people. The very destitute are the beggars of their land, not the beggars of strange land such as Addis Ababa. This is because of beggary with migration requires transportation and other capital that they could not be afford.

Similarly at destination, larger institutional context such as long-standing tradition but non-institutionalized, uni-lateral and face to face religious support almsgiving and with less intervention of the government (currently the government are doing encouraging intervention which is limited to street dwellers) and less comprehensive and uncoordinated support of NGOs, the city at large and the churchyard in particular is becoming a breeding pool of beggary.

Some people seem to follow beggary by choice claiming they lack alternative livelihood strategy, often informal jobs, that could be exploited by their limited capability, while the hosting community argues these kinds of jobs are available if they are willing.

Though the community around the churchyard assumes that beggary is to the physically and mentally defective, the older with no retirement and the diseased etc, substantial number of able-bodied people is also involving in it. Some of these able-bodied beggars, at least, are not part-time beggars who work in informal jobs at times of job availability.

Moreover, comparing the beggars with the non-beggar migrant able-bodied people who or more less came from the same context of place of origin and who currently reside in these same context at destination, it is revealed that beggary is largely a matter of choice rather than necessity. These non-beggars migrant, most coming from origin place of the beggars, condemn the life of these beggars. Even contrary to the popular belief that people with physical problems are 'legitimate' to lead the life of beggary, are challenged by the fact that some physically peoples (e.g. blind people who sell lottery) with same context of origin and destination, are involving in productive activities in the city, being far from begging. The community explains that people turn to beggary due to the easiness, lucrative nature and the freely available alms especially food that can sustain the

individual who is engaged in begging to remain so at all times. In addition, the opportunity cost of leaving the well developed art of beggary and the addicted dependency and begging without losing the social capital of the place of origin in secret at place of destination etc sustain them to continue begging. There are also chances that if one passes the threshold of social stigma associated with beggary, it will be a lifelong choice without effort to change it otherwise.

Income from begging is with competition and can be increased if one have the activeness and know the art of beggary. However, most of the beggars supplement their source of income by broadening income base such as selling of '*bulle*', renting houses to fellow beggars, etc. Moreover, food is cheaply and freely accessed, which increase the monetary saving probability of the beggars. Half of the beggars also perceived that they are getting adequate amount of food, implying their satisfaction with the status quo.

However, some made a determined decision to go out of begging, in some case, getting a seed capital from it. But still large beggars are found also unwilling to quit begging in the face of getting a good amount of capital and situation. There are a lot of individuals that involved in begging who have an aim of buying some important capital after begging. This shows that beggary is also used as a form of capital accumulating mechanism.

Beggary, just as migration, is found to sustain by its impact on destination. Migrant beggars, usually lying that they are working in '*shikela*' to their community, take the benefit of begging to their place of origin. Pioneers are blamed for the instigation of this practice. This creates income differentiation among the community. These income differentiations become visible by some of the symbolic social consensus such as corrugated iron sheet, clothing etc. Information also spread to the furthest end through communication, often secretly. In that way, some migrated with plan of engaging in informal sector, other with predetermined plan to engage in begging, some by necessity, some by choice, finally all ending up in urban begging.

In this way, beggary is becoming sustained in the selected areas, e.g. Dera. The pattern of migration to begging is becoming stagnant, unchanged through time. Some of these migrant beggars are seasonal, spending the *bega* in city soliciting alms, from year to year, not leaving the farming work in their place of origin. Additional numbers of beggars are also joining this practice. These are mostly youth, confirming migratory begging is fitting as culture to the coming generation.

6.2. Conclusion

Consequently, begging is not, as it is commonly taken by mainstream view of food security and development studies which claim it is a coping mechanism, a social capital invariably in all context should be taken with great caution since this finding shows otherwise. Conceiving begging always as the practice of the extremely poor, the vulnerable, the destitute, the improvised migrant is at fault since not so- poor, the better-off etc migrants are participating in it. It is also not done always by compelling, compulsive, inevitable situation and necessity but by choice, by the will of the partaker. It is not always done for certain duration, temporary and infrequently, but also habitually, stagnantly, patterned and more or less with permanence, for a long time.

All this confirm that beggary is not only a coping mechanism but also a livelihood option, as comparable to other form of livelihood, for instance, farming. In this, it can be said that some rural famers are using it as an adapting strategy. It can be said that, with its shame and evil, beggary is becoming as one of a range of livelihood options for certain group of society.

With knowledge of the diverse causes, characteristics, nature of beggary in detail, this paper is in the very stand of the capability of the country, the community, each of us to tackle and avoid beggary with all people's participation such as the government, the churches, the mosques, the almsgiver, the community of origin and destination, and the beggars themselves. Beggary is not only a manifestation of deep rooted problem, but it is also further instigator of other social problems. With the support of previous studies in the country, though the aim of this paper is not to generalize but to gives insight to reality of beggary, it can be argued that it shows most of the scenario of begging in the country.

6.3. Recommendation

Beggary is generally related to the root problem of our extreme poverty of the material as well as the mind. We cannot get rid poverty just by 'eradicating' beggars from the streets. It is known that there is international as well as national conviction to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger e.g. Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) etc. At national level, contextual to our reality, there has to a viable way of addressing beggary that should be considered in this development of the country's agenda. Beggary is the manifestation and the

perpetuator of further poverty and problem such robbing the work force of the country, degrading the environment, criminality, proliferating dependency etc. As a result, most agree that tackling beggary is necessary.

However, looking at its complexity, some are pessimistic in 'eradicating' beggary while others are very optimistic to the point that it can go away with handful months if certain intervention is continued. However, practically both does not seem hold true. Beggary can be avoided, at least can be kept to the minimum, if combinations of interventional measurement are taken. Some interventions should be long-term; others should be short-term and immediate. Some should be preventive and some others should be curative. Some should be rehabilitative, some should be social protective. One way of intervention is futile and not understanding diversity of the groups of beggars with innumerable causes.

- **The first recommendation that underlined in general and beggary in particular is to create an improved socioeconomic and political system – a system that would serve not only the poor under investigation but also the entire vulnerable citizen.** In this sense, preventive measure should be taken at place of origin of beggars- rural places- to curb detrimental rural-urban migration at early stage. For instance, diversification, irrigation based farming, resettlement, and other form of social protection mechanism etc have to be strengthened and expanded. Mapping of food insecure areas also should be done at lowest level, *Kebeles*. To do all these, integration at various government hierarchical lines is crucial. Moreover, at place of origin, strengthening the positive influences of social capital has to be used to avoid begging. An old traditional stigma towards beggary among the rural can be used as an opportunity to tackle the root problem.
- **The other recommendation is shifting from the current, unilateral and face to face charity to viable, sustainable and integrative institutionalized support.** The institutionalization should maintain the participation of various stakeholders. The government should take the major role since it has the obligation to take care of the well-being of its citizen. For instance, budget line and specific programs and projects that specifically address such kind of problem should be in place. Besides, as almsgiving is supported by religion, the consideration the religious institutions to solve the problem are

necessary. In religious institutions, there is a support of institutionalization of donation but only limited in interpreting it into practice. This is a good ground to work with religious organization. Besides, the culture of almsgiving can be used as opportunity among the community of the believers to raise fund. Moreover, other method of budget generating can also be applied such as levying certain form of tax. Bank boxes can be put at busy public quarters of the city in which money can be collected from generous people, too.

- **With funds collected, the service of social protection should be expanded.** This support should not only be practice in urban area but should also be expanded in rural areas in that way the intervention would not instigate unhealthy migration. Institutionalization has clearly many merits. It does not only maintain the emotional well-being of the users but also ease for screening the eligible from non-eligible ones. The support should also be in constructive manner, being far away to propagate dependency. In this scheme, not only beggars but also others vulnerable group can also be assisted. Hence, the intervention should be according to the need of diverse groups. Some should be related to labour market intervention, while others on social insurance and the like. Others should be direct assistance of resources, either in cash or in kind. Peoples who can be supported directly includes elders, children etc.
- **The experience of the currently undertaken project by the AACA that deals with street beggars should be extended, taking lesson from the previous intervention.** After rigorous study done on the merit and demerit of the project, with the feedback, better and wide project should be designed and implemented. For the continuity of the project, budget can raised through the support of religious organizations and the believers and the citizen in general. Such kinds of commitment should not be sporadic, for the time being and temporary, but viable, permanent etc.
- **Congruent with the above interventions, public teaching that the current form of donation i.e. begging is not a sustainable way of solving problem should be strengthened, using social workers and advocacy organizations.** Besides, attitudinal changes by integrating mass media, schools and religious institutions, civic society and other community based institutions has to be done aggressively to think beyond charity, recognizing social justice. Banning legal practice of begging in most countries around the world proves a failure. Hence, using social means of sanction that incorporates mainly the almsgivers is indispensable since these people are the ‘sea’ that hosts the ‘fish’.

6.4. Further Research Area

Studying begging is opening a 'Pandora Box'. It has a very sophisticated thread of problem which each of them leads us to the fundamental evils of the country. In this sense, it is a symptom that warns us to every one of us that something wrong is happening. However, there is a wide gap of academic consideration. In this sense, there is still a need of further investigation from different angles. This study is just a one step, with expected faults, but very exciting findings. In addition, some problems that have been identified along the study, but which need further study are forwarded as follows;

- Blood Feud and Food Security in Dera Area (the site can be extended to Amhara Regional State)
- Land Fragmentation and Landlessness in Dera, Oromia Regional State (can be extended to similar Semen Shewa Areas)
- The impact of Current Government Intervention on Street Beggars

Finally, it is right to put that the problem of beggary calls every one of us, to give our support in different forms as a citizen- be it in the form of political, academic, social and financial support. This is how can we meet our articulated promise of MDGs that forecast to reduce poverty by half in 2015.

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ደሳለኝ ራህማዩ (ማኅበራዊ ጥናት መድረክ) እና ምህረት አየነው (አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ) የካቲት 9 (1992 ዓ.ም.)፣ የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ አበይት የማኅበራዊ ችግሮችና የመፍትሔ ሐሳቦች፡፡ ለወወይት የቀረበ፤ የአዲስ አበባ ነጋዴዎች ምክር ቤት፡፡

የኢትዮጵያ ኦርቶዶክስ ተዋሕዶ ቤተክርስቲያን (1991 ዓ.ም.)፣ ቃለዓዋዲ የሰበካ መንፈሳዊ ጉባዔ ደንብ፡፡

ሃይማኖት ሰሎሞን ቶልቻ (መጋቤ) (2001ዓ.ም.)፣ የአዲስ አበባ ቤተክርስቲያን ታሪክ ፣ አዲስ አበባ ኢትዮጵያ ሜጋ ማኮሚያ ድርጅት

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Interview/Group Discussion Checklist to Beggars⁸

Code: _____
Place of interview: _____
Date of interview: _____
Interviewer: _____
Tape recorded Yes () No ()
If yes, write No. _____

1. General Information

- Name (if not willing, pseudo name): _____
- Age: _____
- Sex: _____
- Ethnicity: _____
- Level of Education: _____
- Religion: _____
- Health condition: _____
- Place where you come from: _____
- Pattern of migration: _____
- Length of involvement in begging: _____
- Any skill acquired: _____
- Marital Status: _____
- Dependent (if any): _____

2. The causes of begging

- Where do you come here (if you were out of Addis)?
- Do you go back again to your family?
- What are your major reasons to beg?
- Whom do you blame for your involvement in begging?
- How much the causes are related to food security problem?
- Is it related to coping or livelihood strategy?

3. The situation of begging

- Do you always beg? Do you involve in any other income generating activities?
- How do you see your level of well being? How do evaluate your access to quantity and quality of food?

⁸ These are just guiding questions. Hence, probing questions are forwards to participants whenever necessary.

- How is your conditions in terms of clothing, shelter (housing), accessing social amenities like health, education and social capital (in relation to the community and political response, within other beggars)?
- How much is begging related to the health condition of a given individual?
- Do you have *iqub*? Do you manage to accumulate saving? If yes, what are you going to do with it?

4. The outcome and impact of begging

- Are you comfortable with begging? If yes, why yes? If not, why not?
- Do you really want to quit begging by yourself? What about if you are given other job opportunity? What does begging means to your family, community (to you place of origin)?
- What do you think your impact to the city?

5. The role and response of begging

- Do you think the community/ state is doing the right thing to solve your problem?
- What do you suggest to make better your situation in the future?

Annex 2: Interview/Group Discussion Checklist to hosting community⁹

Code: _____

Place of interview: _____

Date of interview: _____

Interviewer: _____

Tape recorded Yes () No ()

6. General Information

- Name (if not willing, pseudo name): _____
- Age: _____
- Sex: _____
- How much have you stayed in this locality? : _____
- Ethnicity: _____
- Level of education: _____
- Religion: _____

7. The causes of begging

- Do you think the causes of begging are real?
- Does it relate to lack of food?

8. The situation of begging

- Do you give alms regularly to beggars? Why and why not?
- What is the real situation of beggars in relation to well-being (in terms of food, clothing, shelter (housing), accessing social amenities like health, education?
- Do you have regular contact with beggars? Why and why not? In what way?

9. The role and response of begging

- Do you think you are doing the right thing to solve the problem of begging through alms giving? Why or why not? or Do you have any other ways to help beggars?
- What do you suggest to make better their situation in the future?

10. The outcome and impact of begging

- What is the outcome of begging to your local situation and yourself?

⁹ These are just guiding questions. Hence, probing questions was forwards to participants whenever necessary.

Annex 3: Questionnaire to Beggars

Code: _____

Place of questioning: _____

Date of questioning: _____

Name Questionnaire Administrator: _____

I am a student from Addis Ababa University who is doing a study on begging in Addis Ababa. Your response is completely and purely for academic purpose. I am by no means related to any government or other Non-government organizations. Your personality and response is completely confidential. In the course of your response, you are completely free to decline to answer for any of the question that is not comfortable to your feeling.

11. General Information

1. Name (Pseudo name): _____
2. Age: _____
3. Sex: _____
4. Place of Birth: _____
5. Ethnicity: _____
6. Religion: _____
7. Health condition: _____
8. Education: 1. illiterate 2. Religious literate 3. Joined primary 4. Joined secondary 4. College and above
9. Any skill you acquired: _____
10. Where do you come from?: _____
11. Length of begging (year and months): _____
12. Number of dependent on you: _____

2. Causes of begging

1. How serious enough are the causes that pushed you into begging?
 1. Very serious
 2. Moderate
 3. Not really serious
 4. I do not know

2. How much do your causes of begging are related to lack of access to food /hunger/ famine?
 1. Very much related
 2. Moderately related
 3. Not at all
 4. Difficult to measure
3. Would you list down if you have any resources anywhere (such as land, housing etc)

Types of resources	Place	Measurement (with type of measurement eg. 1 <i>timad</i> if the resource is land)	Estimated value (if the beggar do not estimate , write NE)

4. What is your pattern of migration?
 1. I was born here in Addis Ababa, nowhere else to go
 2. I will go back not to return here again after I beg for sometimes,
 3. I will go back to my homeland and I will come back again (if beggar used to come again and again, include here)
 4. I have planned to stay here in Addis Ababa for the rest of my life
 5. I may move somewhere but not to where I come from
 6. If there is any situation not included here, specify here _____

12. Situation of beggars (especially in relation to access to food)

1. Do you always beg? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
2. If No, how many days in a month on average? _____
3. What type things do you get from other?
 1. Food 2. Clothing 3. Money 4. Housing
4. What is your average income per day as you beg (if you get income)? _____
5. Do you have other source of income? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
6. Please, specify with associated with their associated average monthly income

Source of income	Average Monthly Income

7. How do you evaluate your level of health condition to get a job?
 1. Very serious to the extent that not to engage in any job
 2. Moderate that I have the ability to engage in some works that fit my conditions
 3. Very good that I can engage in any work to the extent that my knowledge and skill permits
 4. I cannot evaluate
8. Do you get enough food through begging? 1. Yes [] 2. No [] 3. I do not get food at all from begging []

6. If not, how do you augment your deficient food requirement?

1. Buying local cheap food
2. Through scavenging
3. Through food for labor
4. Feeding program
5. If other means, specify _____

5. If you spend on buying food, how much expense do you incur in a day on average?

6. Is there anything else (other than food) you spend your money while you are in begging - list down with their estimated associated expense per month

Types of items(e.g. clothing, washing, medicine, renting house, cigarette, alcohol etc)	Expense per month

7. How do evaluate your access to food all the time through begging?
 1. Adequate
 2. Moderate
 3. Poor
 4. Extremely Poor
8. How do you rate the quality of food you get?
 - a. High
 - b. Moderate
 - c. Poor
 - d. Extremely Poor

9. What types of food do you eat yesterday?

Food Time	Fill 'yes' or 'no' or 'no remember' (Nr)	Amount (Fill 'very little', 'fair' or 'adequate')	If yes, what types (list all mixture of foods eg. <i>injera</i> with its associated <i>wot</i>)
Breakfast			
Lunch			
Dinner			
Any unconventional time, specify			

10. How do you evaluate your yesterday's access to food?

1. Adequate
2. Moderate
3. Poor
4. Extremely Poor

11. What about the past six days (all mixture of food as above?)*

Time (Days)	Fill Yes or No or No remember (Nr)	Amount (very little, fair or adequate)	If yes, what types (list all mixture of foods eg. <i>Injera</i> with its associated <i>wot</i>)
Past 2 day			
Past 3 day			
Past 4 day			
Past 5 day			
Past 6 day			
Past 7 day			

* Do not include the yesterday (since it is answered above)

12. Do you believe that the past 7-days were a typical day that shows your situation in accessing food throughout the year?
1. Yes ☐
 2. No ☐
13. If not for no. 12, how do you evaluate your week's access to food?
5. Adequate
 6. Moderate
 7. Poor
 8. Extremely Poor
14. If not for no.12, what do you think are the reasons?
1. It is holiday
 2. I was ill
 3. It is fasting day
 4. I do not know
 5. Other specify, _____
15. Are there any days you fail to access food?
1. Yes ☐
 2. No ☐
16. If yes, what do you do in those days? _____
17. Are you anxious enough to get food of the day when you rise up in morning?
1. Very much
 2. Moderately
 3. Not at all
 4. I do not know
18. Are you anxious enough to the quality of the food of the day when you rise up in morning?
1. Very much
 2. Moderately
 3. Not at all
 4. I do not know
19. What is your general view on situation of begging?
1. It is better livelihood sources than any jobs and sources of income that I can make
 2. It is moderately satisfactory livelihood sources compared to many jobs and sources of income that I can make
 3. It is poor livelihood sources that I want to change
 4. It is very risky, misery livelihood sources and make me very vulnerable
 5. I cannot tell

13. Role and response of begging

1. Whom do you blame for your involvement in begging?

Agencies (such as myself, government, etc)	Why?	Order them according to their influential intensity

2. Do you think the current support of the community sustainable towards improving your livelihood condition?

1. Yes [] 2. No [] 3. I cannot tell []

3. Why or why not? _____

4. Do any agencies have attempted to help you to escape out from begging (in the past or currently) other than just giving alms?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

5. If yes, specify, _____

6. If 'yes' to number 4, how do you evaluate it?

1. Very much supporting
2. Moderately supporting
3. Not at all
4. I cannot evaluate

7. Does the local government in the city take any measure to stop you begging in any way?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

8. If yes, how do you evaluate such measure?

1. Very much supporting
2. Moderately supporting
3. Not at all
4. Negative
5. I cannot evaluate

14.Outcome and impact of begging

1. Do you manage to make saving from begging?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

If yes, continue to answer from question 2-5, otherwise skip them

2. How much money do you save know? _____

3. What do you do with that money? _____

4. Do you think that are planned to do in no. 3 will change your current livelihood strategy (begging)?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

5. What do you think about your continuation of begging?

1. I will continue indefinitely

2. I will stop in the near future

3. I will continue at least something happen

4. If other specify, _____

6. What outcome do you do you expect as you engage in begging on the following agencies?

	Write + if positive, - if negative	Outcome and impact
Yourself		
Family		
Local community at your place of origin		
City dwellers (hosting community)		
City's situation		

7. What do you think is the best way to improve your situation from the government, community etc?

8. If you have anything to say that remained in this questionnaire, please add,

Thank you for your participation!

Annex 4: Interview checklists to religious organization/ government officials/ concerned NGOs¹⁰

1. General information

1. Name (if you are willing):
2. Expert(position): _____

2. Detail Information

1. Do you think the problem of begging in Addis Ababa is very serious and need to tackle urgently?
2. What do think the real problems beyond begging?
3. Do you think the prevailed unilateral, individual based alms giving solve the problem of begging in Addis Ababa?
4. What are you doing (your institution) in relation to begging?
5. Whom do you support in this regard?
6. How much are you fruitful in your achievement?
7. Do you think the current legal, policy and existed intervention (if any) help to solve the problem of beggars
8. What do you recommend further to alleviate the problem of begging?

¹⁰ These are just guiding questions. Hence, probing questions was forwards to participants whenever necessary.

Annex 5 : List of churchyard beggars interviewed

No.	Name ¹¹	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Educational Status	Possession	Pattern of migration	Place of Origin	Health Condition	Length of Begging
1	Habtam siyoum	M	23	Single	Illiterate	No possession	Seasonal	Dera	Healthy	6 years
2	Hone Mola	M	56	Married	Illiterate	4 <i>Timad</i> , one oxen	Temporary	Gonder	Crippled	3 months
3	Yerob Gashaw	F	26	Widow	Illiterate	No possession	Seasonal	Dera	Healthy	1 year
4	Dereje Abeye	M	26	Widow	Grade 3	No possession	Temporary	Dera	Healthy	1 month
5	Enanu Abiyu	F	28	Married	Illiterate	No possession	Permanent	Dera	Healthy	8 months
6	Degsew Alebel	M	39	Widow	religious literate	No possession	Permanent	Debre Tabor?	Kintarot	3 years
7	Yirga Dubeta	F	62	Married	Illiterate	No possession	Permanent	Anikober	Leprosy	37 years
8	Abiye Wubetu	M	43	Married	Illiterate	No possession	Temporary	Dera	TB	4 months
9	Bimirew Worku	M	66	Married	Illiterate	rented house, working wife	Permanent	Debere Tabor	Blindness	30 years
10	Yirga Melese	M	63	Single	Illiterate	No possession	Permanent	Lasta	Age related Disease	36 years
11	Tadelle Getanew	M	45	Divorced	Illiterate	No possession	Permanent	Dera	Elephantiasis (elem)	1 year
12	Ayalew Hamagn'not	M	68	Married	Illiterate	3 <i>Timad</i> land	Seasonal	Dera	Hand crippled	6 years
13	Ayele Melesse	M	14	Single	Illiterate	No possession	Temporary	Dera	half-blind	3 years
14	Kassaw Getachew	M	47	Married	Illiterate	2 <i>Timad</i> , 2 oxen	Seasonal	Dera	Healthy	3 years
15	Abu Yimer	M	27	Divorced	Grade 6	Two Oxen	Seasonal	Dera	Healthy	2 months
16	Degwale Wedaje	M	42	Married	Illiterate	2 <i>Timad</i>	Seasonal	Dera	Healthy	2 years
17	Tariku Desalegn	M	26	Single	Illiterate	No possession	Permanent	Gojjam	Crippled	15 years
18	Naniye Belew	F	18	Married	Illiterate	No possession	Seasonal	Dera	Healthy	18 months

¹¹ Some of these names are pseudo-name based on the will of participants

Annex 6: Lists of churchyard and Dera District community interviewed

No	Name ¹²	Sex	Age	Educational Status	Marital Status	Place of Origin (for only churchyard community)	Length of stay (for only churchyard community)	Employment	Other Important Information
Interview Participants from the locality of the Churchyard									
1	Redwan Sultan	M	38	12 grade	Married	Silte	12 years ago, Silte	Shop Owner and Keeper	
2	Sisay Aman	M	28	6 grade	Married	Merabete	3 years, Merabete	Waitress	
3	Belachw Tesfaye	M	69	8 grade	Widow	Ankober	32 years, Ankober	Pensioner	
4	Abebech Belay	M	26	10 grade	Single	Bahir Dar	1.5 years ago	Open field Food sellers	
5	Basha Yared Tassew	M	54	11 grade	Married	displaced from Eriteria	13 years ago	Chief Guard of the Church	
6	Tesfaye Negash	M	31	University Degree	Single	31 years	born around the churchyard	Accountant	
7	Ewawash Debebe	F	65	Illiterate	Married	Gojjam	Gojjam	Housewife	
8	Belay Abu	M	32	7 grade	Married	Dera	4 years before	Mason	
9	Tadesse Gidelew	M	39	12 grade	Married	Dera	before 25 years, Dera	Musician	Ex-beggar, head of Dera Association
Interview Participants from Dera District									
1	Kiberet Shiferaw	M	46	religious literate	Married			Priest and farmer	
2	Kasiye Zeleke	M	25	Illiterate	Married			Farmer	Sharecropper
3	Amognesh Kaknaw	F	36	Illiterate	Married			Farmer	
4	Dagne Zeleke	M	71	Illiterate	Married			Farmer	
5	Befekadu Tassew	M	28	Degree	Single			Lawyer	Association Lawyer

¹² Some of these names are pseudo-names based on the wills of the participants.

Annex 7: List of Key Informants

No.	Key Informants
1	Demisie Asefa, A beggar himself, long stayed around the churchyard, come from Dera and familiar with most of the churchyard beggars
2	Church Head of Debere Selam Kechene Medanialem Church, Memihir Alemayehu Tibebu
3	Assistant to the Mayor of Addis Ababa City, Feleke Yimer
4	<i>Kebele</i> officials and Experts of <i>Wereda</i> 04 and 05 and Kechene Police Station
5	Local NGOs such as schools, missionaries around the churchyards
6	Ministry of labour and Social Affair, Addis Ababa Bureau of labour and Social Affair
7	DRMFSS
8	Various Dera District Officials and Experts (offices such as Agriculture, labour and social affair, Justice, police station, land Administration, emergency and food security , Small and medium scale industry, health Center etc)

Annex 8: Information about the FGDs

Place	Participants	Number of Participant	Number of Session	Duration
At Churchyard	Beggars	10	1	2.5 hrs
Dera District, Oromia Region	Dera Community Members	8	1	2 hrs

Annex 9: List of Dera's *Kebeles* with their Associated Population and Land Holding Size

No.	<i>Kebeles</i>	Total Population (Current)	Total Household	Arable Land	Average Land Holding Size
1	Gundomeskel (Town)	8,492	1,698	-	-
2	W/Meneyo	9,109	1,822	623.55	0.34
3	H/Boneya	8,686	1,737	861.75	0.50
4	Gebro	8,245	1,649	852.40	0.52
5	Jiru Dada	4,486	897	473.31	0.53
6	Mamo Bukini	4,738	948	555.53	0.59
7	Makafta Jiru	10,167	2,033	1,228.64	0.60
8	Kabi Gilelecha	9,710	1,942	1,206.28	0.62
9	Keru Suba	6,706	1,341	833.14	0.62
10	Abu Godo	4,285	857	538.41	0.63
11	Wegol Micheal	5,926	1,185	784.83	0.66
12	Keraba	5,069	1,014	711.64	0.70
13	M/Maneyo	5,166	1,033	881.53	0.85
14	Bahit	2,814	563	499.84	0.89
15	W/Gebro	4,836	967	866.80	0.90
16	A/Alem Yaya	8,006	1,601	1,507.28	0.94
17	W/Hula	12,756	2,551	2,490.57	0.98
18	Menkaka	5,563	1,113	1,169.90	1.05
19	Beyo Nono	5,639	1,128	1,201.43	1.07

No.	Kebeles	Total Population (Current)	Total Household	Arable Land	Average Land Holding Size
20	Kara Mit Kora	4,320	864	954.24	1.10
21	Babu Dire	4,940	988	1,094.61	1.11
22	Harbo Deso	3,050	610	694.54	1.14
23	Amuma Gendo	5,410	1,082	1,234.11	1.14
24	Gilli Wodesa	3,512	702	804.24	1.15
25	Illu Wayu	4,244	849	975.73	1.15
26	Becho Golecha	4,746	949	1,109.94	1.17
27	Menelego	4,921	984	1,165.10	1.18
28	Adea Melke	7,538	1,508	1,873.01	1.24
29	Hache Kusaye	5,164	1,033	1,430.72	1.39
30	D/Birje	5,439	1,088	1,603.02	1.47
31	Degnu Webnso	7,099	1,420	2,132.57	1.50
32	Koro G/Berbere	4,368	874	2,150.82	2.46
33	Illi Godechefe	4,126	825	2,263.93	2.74
34	Godima3 Worka	3,532	707	2,570.29	3.64
Total		202,808.00	23,702.00	38,249.09	1.61

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned student declare that this is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the references used for the thesis have been fully acknowledge.

Student's Name: Tewodros Yoseph

Signature: _____

Date of Submission: _____

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university advisor.

Advisor's Name: Mekete Bekele (Asst. Prof.)

Signature: _____

Date: _____

