

Begging among Physically Healthy Adults in Addis Ababa:
Commonness, Quality of Life and Mental Wellbeing

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology

By: Abduselam Kemal

Supervisor: Belay Tefera (Professor)

May, 2024

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Abduselam Kemal

This Dissertation is submitted to the School of Psychology, Addis Ababa University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Psychology

Approval of the Board of Examiners

1. Advisor

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

2. Internal Examiner

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

3. External Examiner

Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

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Acronyms

AACG = Addis Ababa City Government

FGD = Focus Group Discussion

LSAB = Labor and Social Affairs Bureau

LSAB-AACG = Labor and Social Affairs Bureau of Addis Ababa City Government

MHC-SF = Mental Health Continuum Short Form

MoLSA = Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

MW = Mental Wellbeing

QoL = Quality of Life

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Professor Belay Tefera, my advisor, for his kind and unremitting support without whom this work would have not been what it is today. The comments and suggestions I was receiving from him during the course of the study were found very much helpful.

I appreciate Weizero Alemtsehay Paulos, Ato Yidnekachew Hailu, and Ato Endalkachew Abera—officials of Labor and Social Affairs Bureau of Addis Ababa City Government—for their hospitality and support. I also appreciate Ato Zekarias and Ato Yared, who were feeding beggars and street dwellers for their helpful information and support.

Many thanks are owed to my wife Khayriya Idris and my aunt Weizero Zainaba Muhammad for their encouragement and understanding throughout this process. Without their love and support this would have not happened.

Finally, I would like to share this gratitude with my friends who have been instrumental in encouraging my work and dreams.

Abstract

Beggary is taking a new dimension recently. It is being considered as a profitable business. Those who are physically fit enough and able to take on formal economic activities are joining the field. This study basically explores the commonness of begging among physically healthy adults, reasons for getting into streets, daily income, challenges faced and coping strategies, quality of life, and mental wellbeing. The mean difference in mental wellbeing between addicted and non-addicted beggars was also tested. Thirty-nine physically healthy beggars, 12 non-beggars, and three key-informants from Labor and Social Affairs Bureau /LSAB/ were selected for qualitative data through purposive, convenience, and availability sampling techniques. Sixty-four beggars were also selected randomly using simple random sampling approach for quantitative data. Qualitative data were collected through open-ended questionnaire, interview, and focus group discussion, whereas quantitative data were collected by the help of adapted Mental Health Continuum Short Form /MHC-SF/ scale. Percentage, mean, and independent samples t-test were used for the analysis of the quantitative data; whereas thematic analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data. The findings of the study revealed that the number of physically healthy adult beggars is increasing and that begging is becoming a common way of earning a living. Among the reasons accounting for begging, many participants were found begging in streets through invitation by other beggars. The findings also indicated that although beggars earned far better daily income on average than many government employees, the majority of the participants' quality of life was found poor. The results of the quantitative data revealed that the mean mental wellbeing score of physically healthy beggars (56.6) was found to be above average (35); indicating that physically healthy beggars were found mentally healthy too. The analysis of the t-test shows that there was significant difference between addicted and non-addicted adult beggars in mental wellbeing; $t(df = 36) = 6.8, p < .01$, This shows that the mental wellbeing of non-addicted participants was better than the addicted group. Because the country is missing productive age people due to begging, the researcher argues that begging among physically healthy adults need to be controlled. To minimize or ultimately stop the behavior reasons accounting for begging should be improved; alms givers have to discriminate between physically healthy beggars and those who have culturally accepted reasons to beg. Furthermore, law enforcing agencies and all concerned organizations should show combined genuine interest to minimize and ultimately stop begging among physically healthy beggars.

Key Words: Begging, Physical Health, Physically Healthy Beggars, Deserving Beggars, Addicted and Non-Addicted Beggars, Quality of Life, Mental Wellbeing

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Globally, and more specifically in Africa, urban growth is becoming critical and unchallenged problem (Güneralp et al, 2017; Horn, & Cooke, 2001; Sireen, 2017, Zikmund, 2003). A remarkable rise in urban population has been the outcome of urban growth in Africa. According to Güneralp et al (2017), though the continent is still largely rural, it is one of the fastest urbanizing regions around the world. The total population in the continent is projected to reach almost 2.5 billion people by 2050. This is a significant increase given that less than 10 % of Africa's population resided in urban areas in 1950. Despite high rates of urban population growth, many African countries still have a high degree of urban primacy. That is, one city-usually the capital-has the population, economic activity, and political power that are several times greater than the next largest city (Güneralp et al, 2017, p. 2). According to Van Dijk & Franssen (2008), the main cause for urbanization is the gap in living conditions between rural and urban areas.

The rapid rate of urbanization is primarily caused by poor rural living conditions and persistent famine; forcing rural populations to migrate to cities in search of alternative livelihoods (p. 3).

Accordingly, the Central Statistics Agency of Ethiopia made a point that the number of people living in urban areas is increasing (CSA, 2020). The total population of urban areas of the country who were residing in conventional houses in 2020, excluding persons residing in collective quarters (hotels, boarding schools, prisons...etc) and homeless persons, was estimated about 23,081,127. The figure shows an increase in more than 6,000,000 people in the last four years.

The report further mentioned that the increase is mainly attributed to an increase in rural-urban migration. Children, adolescents and women are flooding to towns and cities. Farmers are also joining the move since agricultural productions are extremely vulnerable both to climatic conditions and to the disruptive impacts of war and ethnic conflict (Ashenafi & Getnet, 2012; Asmamaw, 2004). Woubshet (2005) further reported that huge numbers of rural people are being drawn to urban economy due to drought, political crisis, war, reduction of natural resources, and exploration of opportunities for employment.

According to the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, the incidence of poverty is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas of the country (MoFED, 2018). Though the Ethiopian government has sought to prevent or minimize migration, rural-urban migration seems inevitable and increasing. Opportunities to find paid work or engage in entrepreneurial activities in rural areas are extremely limited. Wages in rural areas are also considerably lower than those in urban areas. In order to survive, most rural households and farmers resort to seasonal or permanent migration to urban areas in search of employment (MoFED, 2018; Van Dijk & Fransen, 2008).

In Ethiopia, internal migration and subsequent concentration of people in urban areas has indeed exacerbated poverty and unemployment. Together with the expansion of urban areas and the corresponding minimal development in urban infrastructure, significant numbers of people are being affected by different social problems in the country. Ahamdi (2010) states that the increasing growth of urbanization and the excessive density of population in urban areas have caused poverty, unemployment, illicit jobs, and the increment of social problems such as begging. People living in a pervasive poverty may get themselves forced to turn to illegal methods of earning a living, for example, by begging simply to survive.

Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, has relatively better economic activity and political power than the rest cities of the country. That is why it is expanding in all directions and its population is increasing from time to time in an alarming rate (CSA, 2020). The expansion of the city along with poor infrastructural development created high competition over scarce resources. As a result, significant number of people is forced to make a living from culturally downgraded form of businesses of which begging is the most common.

The problem of beggary is affecting many parts of the world. It is not an issue of only developing countries, though, it is more pronounced in the third world countries (Ebenezer et al., 2018). This is true of Ethiopia, specifically of Addis Ababa, where different categories of beggars are noticeably found in parks, worshiping areas, market and commercial areas, road junctions, traffic lights, tourist destinations, in streets, on buses and trains, at cash points, and at public gatherings.

Research works conducted so far in Ethiopia evidenced that begging is one of the most widespread and multifaceted social problems with great magnitude in the country (Fireyihun, 2011; MOLSA, 1992; Negese, 2008; Tatek, 2009; Woubshet, 2005). Elshaday (2007) described that begging has drastically increased in Ethiopia. At least 50,000 people from rural areas were engaged in begging in the city of Addis Ababa alone. Negese, (2008) clearly indicated that beggary has become a major problem for the development and improvement of Addis Ababa city. He also described that significant number of individuals considered begging as a major option to earn a living. Below is a direct quote from his words:

ቀላል የማይባሉ የህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች በሀገራችን ያለውን የስራ ዕድል ተጠቅሞ በልማቱ ከመሳተፍ ይልቅ ልመናን የኑሮ የመጨረሻ አማራጭ እያደረጉ መተዋል (Negese, 2008, P. 1).

In 2009, the International Labor Organization (ILO) conducted an assessment on beggars and reported that beggary is essentially an urban phenomenon. Addis Ababa, the capital

city of Ethiopia, is the host of many beggars where the majority of them migrated from rural areas. The expansion of cities and towns would have helped beggars freely move to different corners of cities and practice the behavior without having people know much about them. According to Groce, et al. (2014, p. 13) “People in urban areas tend to be more isolated, know less about their immediate neighbors, and little or nothing about people who live in other parts of the city.”

As a result, the capital is becoming a city where different categories of beggars; children, disabled people, elderly people, young and adult individuals who are physically healthy, etc are increasing in number. It is becoming a common phenomenon to observe people from different age and ethnic groups in streets of Addis Ababa earning their living from begging.

In the past years, beggary was mainly practiced around religious areas. But in today’s Addis Ababa, one can easily notice beggars everywhere in streets of the city. The former Ethiopian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MoLSA) evidenced that the number of people who are earning a living from begging in streets of Addis Ababa is increasing (MoLSA, 1992). This finding is supported by a survey conducted by Labor and Social Affairs Bureau (LSAB) of Addis Ababa city government in 2016. According to this survey, 10,253 individuals were found while earning a living in streets of Addis Ababa through begging (LSAB-AACG, 2016). There are many evidences from videos, written documents, and television programs disclosing that the capital city, Addis Ababa, is becoming a place where making money and leading life through begging seems getting public and government acceptance (Negese, 2008).

It is imperative to say that the increasing incidence of healthy adult beggars in cities and specifically in Addis Ababa is not only due to poverty, illness, and physical disability but also due to the fact that the majority of them are satisfied with the job and that the field is a

profitable business (Antehunegn and Abduselam, 2019; Groce, et al., 2014; Jelili, 2006). That is why this research is supported by the principle of Operant Conditioning, a major theory in psychology. The theory states that behaviors are learned through reinforcement. As individuals' receive pleasant stimuli as reinforcement for their behavior (begging, in this case) they keep on exhibiting the behavior. Finally the person will form association between the behavior and the outcome (Skinner, 1948). Therefore, begging behavior is associated with the amount of money obtained from it.

There are numbers of research works conducted earlier on begging. These studies focused mainly on portraying the practice of begging by individuals whom the public considers deserving, such as, beggars with disability (Groce, Murray, et al., 2013; Groce, et al., 2014); old age beggars (Fireyihun, 2011; Kerebih, et al., 2007); and child beggars (Abebaw, 2003; Lucas, 2007; Tatek, 2009). Other researchers described the issue in relation to destitute people (e.g., MOLSA, 1992; Teweldebrhan, 2011; Woubshet, 2005). The current study dealt with begging behavior among the so called physically healthy adults who were considering begging as a living activity where, in fact, alternative means of economic activities were available for them.

Finally, the concept of mental wellbeing which is considered closely related to the concept of quality of life is explored. Both mental wellbeing and quality of life concern the satisfaction of material, biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs and demands of an individual, which are necessary for satisfaction with life (Zikmund, 2003). There are evidences from research that show mental wellbeing and physical health are positively associated (Taneva, 2016). One of the aims of this study was to investigate the quality of life and mental wellbeing (emotional, psychological, and social wellbeing) of physically healthy adult beggars. In doing so, it was attempted to see whether physically healthy adult beggars who were earning a living from the downgraded activity, i.e. begging, were mentally healthy too. Moreover,

previous research works revealed that people who beg in streets are susceptible to abuses. Therefore, it was tried to assess the quality of life of the participants.

As far as the readings and the day to day observations of the current researcher are concerned, people who are physically fit enough but earning a living from begging are leading better life when compared to the majority of people employed in government organizations. Therefore, assessing the mental wellbeing and quality of life of beggars was among the major objectives of this study.

1.2 Problem Statement

It is mentioned in the background section that capital cities of many African countries' population, economic, social, and political powers are significantly higher than the other largest cities (Güneralp et al, 2017). It is evident that Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, has far better population, economic and political powers than the next largest cities in the country. For instance, Addis Ababa's estimated population is eleven times larger than Dire Dawa's, Ethiopia's second largest city, population (World Bank, 2018). Currently, it seems that the capital is in a position of being unable to accommodate inhabitants due to the substantial flooding of new comers from rural areas and small towns of the country (PI, with LSAB). Disappointingly, a number of the migrants usually see themselves in tough social and economic conditions due to the fact that the living conditions and the style of life at Addis Ababa and the areas they came from are dissimilar. According to CSA (2020) and Gebre (2008), the number of homeless and destitute is increasing in an alarming rate in the city. Likewise, youth unemployment and poor social services accelerated the magnitude of the urban problems and urban life is becoming challenging.

As a result, significant numbers of individuals are being forced to engage in illegitimate or socially unacceptable forms of jobs such as earning a living through begging so that they will

be able to escape from the contests they were experiencing. From our day-to-day experiences, huge numbers of the so called physically healthy beggars are being observed in streets of Addis Ababa in the last few years. An increase in the number of healthy beggars in streets of Addis Ababa along with absence of research works on the issue forced the researcher believe that the problem deserved more attention from academics and policy makers.

Studies conducted so far, in Ethiopia, on begging concentrated on describing the demographic characteristics of beggars, causations, techniques beggars used to elicit the sympathy of alms givers, and attitude of alms givers towards beggary. The current study uniquely focused on variables that were not the focus of researchers who worked on beggary. Furthermore, previous studies focused on portraying the practice of begging by individuals whom the public considers deserving, such as, disabled beggars (Groce, Murray, et al., 2013; Groce, et al., 2014), old age beggars (Fireyihun, 2011; Kerebih, et al., 2007), and child beggars (Abebaw, 2003; Lucas, 2007; Tatek, 2009). Moreover, some other researches (MOLSA, 1992; Teweldebrhan, 2011; Woubishet, 2005) described the issue in relation to destitute people. The current study dealt with begging by individuals who had no obvious reasons like disability, age (being an old person or a child who can't help him/herself), and major illnesses (diabetes, heart disease, cancer, etc) to beg in streets.

In Ethiopia, several reasons that led individuals to resort to begging are frequently mentioned by different investigators. Poverty (Fireyihun, 2011; Teweldebrhan, 2011; Woubishet, 2005), family breakdown (Fireyihun, 2011), societal disintegration and illiteracy, (Teweldebrhan, 2011), rural-urban migration and displacement due to drought, famine and war (Tatek, 2009), religious obligation (Kerebih, et al, 2007), peer pressure and illness (Lucas, 2007), political reasons, unemployment and underemployment (MOLSA, 1992), and urbanization (Woubishet, 2005) were among the major factors. Since the above studies mainly

concentrated on people who had, at least, reasons related to their outer physical wellbeing to beg, as discussed in the background section, the factors mentioned here works for those who are culturally accepted group of beggars. In this research, it was aimed at assessing whether these reasons work for the so called physically healthy beggars. It was also attempted to investigate if there was any unique reason that pushed the participants of this study to decide to engage in begging to make a living.

According to Groce, et al (2014), physically healthy adult beggars who are taking advantage of a system intended for the very needy in the country (culturally accepted beggars) are gradually increasing in number. It is imperative to say that the increasing incidence of physically healthy adult beggars in Addis Ababa and in Ethiopian urban areas is not only due to poverty, illness, and disability. Rather, it is due to the fact that the majority of beggars are satisfied with the job (Antehunegn & Abduselam, 2019; Ashenafi & Getnet, 2012; Elshaday, 2007; Groce, et al., 2014). On the other hand researchers have found that people who are leading their life through begging are living in a discouraging environment (Groce, Murray, et. al., 2013; MOLSA, 1992; Woubshet, 2003). Based on the findings of these research works, the life of beggars is not joyful due to different forms of abuse occurred upon them. At this point, the researcher of the current study asked why the number of beggars being observed in streets is escalating while simultaneously they are experiencing various forms of abuse. This study attempted to give answer for this question.

In the same vein, beggary is not a socially accepted way of earning a living (MoLSA, 1992; Tatek, 2009). Culturally, our society does not encourage beggary as a livelihood strategy, especially for those who are physically healthy and be able to take on other formal economic activities. In addition beggary is not encouraged by religions teachings. Nevertheless, the field is attracting significant number of physically healthy individuals despite the fact that the behavior is both socially and religiously unaccepted (Antehunegn & Abduselam, 2019).

From our day to day observation, if we move from one city corner to the other corner we may come across individuals who are apparently physically fit enough to take on culturally accepted forms of economic activities but who spend their time begging in streets, religious places and business areas. The researcher strongly argues that if things continue this way, the probability of this poor country to continue being poor for the future will be high. It is not expected from any country to show significant economic development while significant numbers of its citizens are dropped out of economic activities as a result of begging. As a result it was found highly important that the problem of beggary among physically healthy adults need scientific investigation.

Finally, studies conducted so far on beggary did not understand the problem in all its dimensions. Woubshet strengthened this idea by stating that independent and major studies on begging were not carried out so far (2005). As far as the understanding of the current researcher is concerned, mental wellbeing of able bodied adult beggars has not been a subject for an in-depth scientific inquiry. Furthermore, there is no independent research work focusing on begging among physically healthy adult groups in Ethiopia. Hence, studies aimed at investigating further dimensions such as quality of life and mental wellbeing of beggars are imperative. Therefore, this study was aimed at answering the following research questions.

- 1) How common is begging among physically healthy adults in Addis Ababa?
- 2) What are the reasons that push/pull physically healthy adults to earn a living from begging?
- 3) What challenges do physically healthy adult beggars face in streets and how do they cope with them?
- 4) What does their quality of life of physically healthy beggars look like?
- 5) What does the mental wellbeing of physically healthy adult beggars look like?

- 6) Are there statistically significant differences between mental health of addicted and non-addicted beggars?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The major objective of the study was to assess the commonness of begging among physically healthy adults, finding out reasons pushing individuals to lead life through begging and challenges they experience in streets. Exploring their mental wellbeing and quality of life of physically healthy adult people who were earning a living from begging were also among the major objectives. Accordingly, the following specific objectives were sought.

1. Explore how common is beggary among the so called physically healthy adults.
2. Identify the reasons accounting for begging among physically healthy adults.
3. Identify the challenges beggars face in streets and coping strategies they employ.
4. Assess the quality of life of physically healthy adult beggars.
5. Assess the mental wellbeing of physically healthy adult beggars.
6. Test significant differences between mental health of addicted and non-addicted beggars.

1.4 Significance of the Study

A country's development is impossible without full participation of the adult population. The participants of this study are adult people who were physically healthy. These participants would have engaged in formal businesses that would improve the country's development. As mentioned in chapter four, beggary is attracting many physically healthy citizens. Therefore, this research plays its own role in informing concerned organizations that productive age individuals who shall contribute to the country's development are being misplaced.

This research and many other research works on beggary evidenced that poverty, displacement due to development, internal migration, unemployment, etc were among the major reasons pushing individuals to streets to earn a living from begging. The unique reasons found in this study were that begging is a profitable business and that some beggars begun begging through recommendation. So, this study identified reasons accounting for begging so that concerned government and non-government organizations shall improve and work on the reasons to minimize and ultimately stop, if possible, begging by the so called physically healthy adults.

Finally, since this research is among the first attempts to study begging among the so called physically healthy adults, it can be used as a primary reference for the next researchers who are interested to conduct their research on physically healthy beggars. The findings of this study will also provide useful information for policy makers.

1.5 Operational Definitions of Terms and Phrases

Begging: Asking people, for alms with whom they have no close ties, for a non-reciprocated gift such as money, food, and cloth as can be seen while individuals beg in public spaces.

Physically Healthy Beggars: beggars with a state of external physical well-being in which they are physically fit to perform their daily activities without restrictions. Physically healthy means that, for example, a person's ears can normally hear, his/her eyes have normal vision, his/her hands are normally functioning or that he/she can walk properly as measured through direct observation and screening tool. Physical health was also considered as being free from major diseases (cancer, diabetes, heart disease, etc) inhibiting the person from engaging in various formal businesses.

Physically Disabled Beggars: Beggars with apparent external physical disability and the disability restricts their daily business activities as measured through direct observation.

Deserving Beggars: people who beg having certain natural or accidental reasons to beg as measured by observation and screening tool. Examples of deserving beggars are children, old age beggars, disabled individuals, etc

Non-Addicted Beggars: beggars who were not using substances like alcohol, *chat*, *shisha*, *hashish*, etc frequently and who were not dependent on these substances to perform their daily businesses (begging) as measured by observation and self-report.

Addicted Beggars: beggars who were using addictive substances very frequently and who were not able to beg in the absence of the substances as measured by observation and self-report.

Quality of Life: it is a variable having components such as basic needs, schooling, participation in public affairs, recreation and leisure, relationship with families and the larger community, decision making, and a feeling of security. Each component was measured by an open-ended questionnaires.

Mental Wellbeing: mental wellbeing comprises of three components namely: emotional wellbeing, psychological wellbeing, and social wellbeing. It was measured by the mental health continuum short form of five point scale.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study was delimited to beggars who are seemingly physically healthy. In most cases, in Ethiopia, people give alms to those who are physically disabled. This study exclusively focused on those who had no physical related reasons to beg.

Among the 10 sub-cities of Addis Ababa, four sub-cities that were the main residence of physically healthy beggars were purposely selected. The other six sub-cities were intentionally excluded due to the fact that the four sub-cities from which sample participants were selected are the major business areas where the practice of begging by physically healthy beggars was mainly performed. There are well known market places, churches and mosques where beggars are able to do their job.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This research mainly focused on beggars who were externally physically healthy. Those beggars who can walk properly, whose hands, vision, etc. were normal were the participants of the study. Beggars who were seemingly physically healthy could be internally unhealthy. Physical health conditions were assessed by observation and self-report. Screening of the participant's health condition was not conducted by professionals.

The other limitation was related to data collection. While collecting data, participants were unhappy to spend time with data collectors. They don't have positive attitude towards research and researchers. According to their response, they were interviewed several times by several researchers in previous times but nothing was done to improve their life. They underlined that researchers spend time with beggars and vulnerable groups for the sake of their income. In order to mitigate this problem, the researcher provided compensations.

As mentioned in chapter three, one of the tools used to collect data was FGD. The other limitation of this study was related to the way participants for the FGDs were selected. FGDs were conducted on beggars who were found accidentally together in time and place. It was impossible to select participants for the FGD using certain criteria. This was due to the fact that the discussions were held at their working/begging time and place by providing compensation. Of course, sufficient data were collected but detail discussion was not conducted.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter of the paper discusses literature related to the problem being investigated in this study. Although, there is no independent research work on beggary among the so called physically healthy individuals, literatures on begging in the world and in Ethiopia have been reviewed. Accordingly, definitions of terms, historical development of beggary in the world and Ethiopia, theoretical explanations accounting for begging, factors leading to begging, its impacts, and beggar's persistence on begging have been presented. The researcher attempted to give analysis of each section by relating the issue with physically healthy adult beggars.

2.1 Definitions of Begging

Begging has been defined in a variety of habits based on the type of people engaged in the activity and its purpose. Different definitions have been given by different experts in the field. A definition given by inter-ministerial committee formed by Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs for the purpose of assessing the socially uprooted sectors of the society in August 1980 reads as "...Begging is a method of earning ones living from the income obtained by other sectors of the society using age, health, and economic conditions as a means for gaining sympathy" (MoLSA, 1992, p. 2).

MoLSA further indicated the definition given by a graduating student from Kotebe College of Teacher Education as "An activity emanated from poverty and destitution. It is a behavior practiced to obtain from others what one is unable to get by oneself. Begging is a request directed to the rest of the society to bring oneself out of misery and poverty" (1992, p. 2). But the committee was unsatisfied with the definitions given above due to the fact that the definitions were not comprehensive and did not include those individuals who beg temporarily, not being totally dependent on begging for survival but engage in the activity due to some

unexpected incidents. And, hence, the inter-ministerial committee gave the following definition which relatively seems comprehensive. “Begging is an act of asking alms that is essential for survival, for solving temporary problems, or for fulfilling some cultural and religious commitments” (MoLSA, 1992, p. 2).

As far as the search for available literature, by the researcher of this study, on begging behavior in Ethiopia is concerned, there is no sufficient methodical and well addressed research work. The definitions obtained from the few available studies in the country are those exhaustively addressed above. More definitions obtained from different studies conducted in different countries are given in the following paragraphs.

Adriaenssens and Hendrickx (2008) defined begging as an informal economic activity in a public space, consisting of a receiver asking for a non-reciprocated gift. Yusuf and his colleagues (2012, p. 115) gave similar definition for the term. Furthermore, they described the definitions given by Mortimer (2005) and Olawale (2007) as asking for money without an exchange of service in a public place; and as the habit of someone (a beggar) soliciting for favor from others (potential donors) for survival and enrichment respectively.

Wahlstedt (2013) presented the definition of begging as she obtained from different sources. The first definition she stated was the definition given by Adler (1999), Fitzpatrick and Kennedy (2001), and Lankenau (1999a). It was read as “Asking for money from strangers in a public space without providing any monetarily measurable product or service in return” (p. 6). The second definition was that of Adriaenssens and Hendrickx (2010) which was written as an unregulated and informal economic activity.

The definitions given in the above two paragraphs mainly conceptualized begging as non-reciprocated activities where individuals ask money and food for their daily consumptions.

International Labour Organization defined begging as a range of activities whereby an individual asks a stranger for money on the basis of being poor or needing charitable donations for health or religious reasons (ILO, 2004; Delap, 2009). Macdonald defined the term begging as “The act of asking for alms or charity, where alms refer to relief given out of pity to the poor” (Macdonald, 1972; Horn, & Cooke, 2001).

Finally, the two definitions given below conceptualized begging very differently. Lynch (2005) considered street begging as anti-social behavior where beggars unlawfully attempt to earn a living by exploiting others. In opposite manner, Groce and his colleagues defined begging as a system developed by society so as to support the poor people. “An activity which allows an individual to call upon people with whom he or she has no close ties for small donations to meet basic needs. It is a mechanism through which the community ensures that its very poorest members will not starve” (Groce et al., 2014, p. 9).

Even though the term begging has been defined differently by different scholars, as given above, one can understand that these definitions have certain features in common. Some of the common features are that: 1) begging as an act of asking people for money, food, and cloth, 2) the person who begs does not provide any service in return, 3) begging is seen as economic activity or business making strategy, and finally, 4) it is an activity emanated mainly from poverty, cultural and societal issues, and religion.

Among the features indicated above, the third feature best characterizes the target population of this study (adult beggars who are physically healthy, economically active, and who would probably earn a living from other formal and culturally supported businesses).

In some literatures the terms mendicancy, vagrancy, panhandling, and sponging have been used interchangeably with begging. But, Hanchao (1999) stated that while panhandling and sponging are synonymous with street begging, mendicancy and vagrancy connote more than street begging. While mendicancy is related to the practice of begging usually associated with religious beliefs; vagrancy is used to describe the problems of begging as practiced by jobless and homeless individuals.

Finally, all the terms and explanations given above to define the term begging have their basis in the general idea of asking people for money, food, clothes, etc where in fact the beggar provides nothing in return for the materials received through begging.

2.2 Type of Beggars

According to Bukoye (2015), beggars can be categorized based on their appearances and techniques or mode of begging. There are three categories based on their appearances:

- Professional beggars: are those who find themselves in begging as a result of physical disability
- Those who beg in streets because they are old enough to engage in other jobs.
- Those who voluntarily force themselves into the begging class. Participants of the current study can be categorized under this group.

Based on the techniques they employ while begging, they are of three types:

- Passive Begging: This type of beggars stay in one place and beg a person walking by using songs or any suitable techniques
- Active Begging: This type of beggars are those who usually move from one corner of a city to the other corner; or from one city to the other city to beg
- Aggressive Begging: These beggars are those who use harsh words and intimidations in soliciting for help (Burke 1999).

2.3 Historical Overview of Begging

Begging has been common since the existence of human civilization though when it actually began is unknown. Historically, references to persons who beg appear as early as the written word itself. In traditional societies, the needs of vulnerable individuals who cannot provide basic needs for themselves are first met by family or through group action within the community (Abebaw, 2003). They have organized sources of social and economic support through informal associations such as clan groups, cultural institutions, religious institutions, and other similar associations or through other more formal organizations (Groce, et al., 2014).

It is important to note here that there were economically dependent groups in traditional societies as they are today. But the traditional support system – which is almost absent today due to different reasons indicated elsewhere in this paper – has been one of the factors that inhibited the emergence of the practice of begging in the earlier society. The breakdown of these traditional social support systems has given rise to the emergence of various social problems of which begging is the common one.

MoLSA further explains that begging did not exist in primitive societies where small groups of relatives used to live together and support one another (1992). According to this study the problem of beggary started to multiply in relation to the disintegration of the earlier social structures and support systems. At different times in history and in different places the problem of begging increased due to socioeconomic disintegration and changes. Industrial revolution, world wars and many more historical changes happened in the world disturbed the previous socioeconomic structures and led segment of various societies into begging.

The study also indicated that the spread of begging was reinforced by the Christian doctrine of almsgiving. Pity for the poor expressed by almsgiving was considered to be a means of salvation from the threat of divine punishment after death. The rise of monasticism

contributed to the return of the consideration of begging as a holy occupation. In many countries the almsgivers as well as the beggars were honored due to religious values attached to almsgiving (MoLSA, 1992).

According to Teweldebirhan (2011), the where and when of the practice of begging was unknown. Some oral traditions and hearsays indicated that it was started when people began a competitive life across the entire world. Ancient people were characterized by living and working together, and supporting one another in different ways. However, later when the population increased, resources started to diminish at a faster rate. Therefore, human beings began competition over the scarce resources to satisfy and maximize their endless needs and desires. Nieuwenhuys (2001) further elaborated that it is through this process that the “haves” and “have-nots” emerged. Then, the “have-nots” were not able to win the competition which was very important for leading a good life and for creating satisfying relationship with others. In order to sustain their life and make their families survive they were forced to resort to stand in front of others for the purpose of begging.

In his study, Woubishet (2005) indicated that the emergence of begging practices was related to the existence of private ownership of property. The study further made a point that the prevalence of begging has increased throughout human history due to the socio-economic problems associated with natural and manmade crises.

Although there were economically dependent groups in each and every society across the world at ancient times, there was strong bond between individuals. Economically dependent individuals' needs were met by family members, clan groups, and various support systems available at that time. Based on the above discussions, it can be learnt that the exact time at which the practice of beggary was started remained unknown though the reasons were clearly indicated (reasons are discussed in section 2.5).

2.4 Historical Development of Begging in Ethiopia

The time at which the practice of begging started, in Ethiopia, was unknown too. According to MOLSA (1992), a written document which indicates the exact time and place of the emergence of the practice of begging behavior in Ethiopia is unavailable. However, it is known from oral reports that the practice has existed for centuries especially around religious temples and in some rural areas.

Concerning the nature of begging behavior, MOLSA (1992) revealed that three different categories of beggars existed in Ethiopia. The first category was begging related to religious teachings and beliefs. This took place mostly in churches, mosques, public places, rural villages, and on farms. The Orthodox and Muslim religions have been teaching their members that alms giving is sacred and that the alms givers will get the possibility of living an eternal life in the hereafter. The second category of begging is the one conducted by religious students and caste systems that relate to traditional beliefs. This kind of begging is based on a belief that moving far away from their home regions eases access to religious teachings and help them be smart learners. The third category of begging is related to a religious ritual service. It includes holly beggars like priests who carry sacred pictures and ask for charity to build new churches, to buy clothes for clergymen, etc. The other form of holly begging is the appeals made during religious holidays in order to get alms in the honor of one of the angels or saints of the Orthodox religion. Thus, Woubshet (2003) argues that it is mainly due to the above reasons that the problem of beggary has begun to grow and expand in Ethiopia.

The traditional and original cultures of most Ethiopian ethnic groups were characterized by support and sympathy for each other and compassion for the economically poor. In ancient times, basic needs for the needy were covered primarily by relatives, cultural and religious organizations, and clan groups (personal discussion with colleagues, September, 2018). The

disintegration of traditional culture paves the way for the disappearance of informal support systems, which in turn created the occurrence of social problems like begging.

Why these traditional social support systems suppressed? Urbanization was the basic reason for the disintegration of the traditional social support systems. It is not only the traditional social support systems that were affected by urbanization; rural-urban migration had also magnificently increased. The other two main reasons for the disappearance of traditional social, cultural, and economic structures were the recurrent drought and famine and internal wars that Ethiopia has faced (Woubshet, 2005). Unfortunately, rural-urban migration that has happened due to urbanization, draught, and war has thrown a vast majority to poverty (Planning and Development Commission (2018). The proportion of people living in absolute poverty has been growing rapidly and the worsening situation of the urban poor has become unavoidable. Consequently, a large number of the urban poor have been driven to illegal forms of getting money (Aklilu & Desaleng, 2000; Getahun, 1999; Hadgu, 1995; Miheret, 2001; MOLSA, 1992; Muhamed & Simeon, 1995).

Kerebih, et al., (2007) also argued that “Modern civilization as well as natural and manmade disasters disrupted the traditional social and economic structures. The disruption paves the way to begging for a number of individuals in Ethiopian cities, especially the capital. The important social structure affected by civilization is the extended family system. The disabled, the elderly, and orphans were taken care off within the family setting. However, these days, thousands of unaccompanied children, the elderly, lactating mothers, and handicapped soldiers fled to cities and towns, where the family support system could not be maintained. Their possibility of getting job is low in cities. Due to these reasons the chance of getting involved in illegal ways of earning a living, such as begging, was high for a number of members of this group.

Agriculture, which is the mainstay of the greater proportion of the population, is frequently affected by draught. As a result, the economic situation of the country is deteriorating. “Having no alternative means of survival, many of these people resort to begging on the streets in front of churches, at traffic lights, around commercial areas and rely on the traditional generosity rooted in the Ethiopian culture” (Kerebih, et al., 2007, p. 76). Unfortunately, the healthy and physically fit people, who are the main concern of this research, are also joining this illegal way of making money.

Ethiopia’s people are thought to be sympathetic and compassionate though not supported empirically well. Orally, it is well known that the societies of Ethiopia are characterized by a feeling of sympathy towards themselves and foreigners. This culture played significant role in helping and supporting those who were in need of basic necessities such as food, money, and cloth. This seems true in rural areas of the country even in recent times. People in rural areas tend to harvest together, fetch water together, eat together, and live together. A person who is in need can easily be identified because they are close to one another. This is one of the reasons behind the absence of regular beggars in rural areas, according to the researcher’s understanding. In urban areas the traditional support systems were broken down due to factors like modernization and political problems. Furthermore, the gradual substitution of collectivist culture to individualistic culture played its own role in breaking down the support systems rooted in the society. Similarly, the natural and manmade disasters took place in the country at various times disrupted the traditional social and economic structures

The breakdown of these traditional support systems in cities like Addis Ababa and the disruption of traditional social and economic structures gave birth to illicit jobs. Among the illicit jobs born was beggary. As discussed above, although when beggary was started in Ethiopia remained doubtful, the following factors were among those which gave birth to beggary.

- Religious teachings (take the lions share)
- Disappearance of traditional support systems
- Urbanization
- Internal migration
- Famine and war
- Displacement
- A decrease in Agricultural productions
- The gradual replacement of collectivist culture to individualistic

2.5 Theoretical Explanations to Prevalence of Begging

There are a number of theories developed by sociologists and psychologists that explain the causes to begging. Some of these theories are: Behaviorism, Social Learning Theory, Social Dominance Theory, Theory of Planned Behavior, Functionalism, Culture of Poverty Theory, and Strain Theory. Though all these theories explain some caused to begging behavior, this study presents the following four theories since they better explain causes to begging behavior among physically healthy groups. In each theory to be discussed, the researcher of the current study provided his analysis of basic themes of each theory in every paragraph. Finally, it was attempted to give a general summary of the theories at the end of the presentation of all theories.

Behaviorism (Operant Conditioning)

Social Cognitive Theory

Social Dominance Theory

2.5.1 Operant Conditioning

Operant conditioning is one of the theories under behaviorism. The term operant conditioning was coined by a behaviorist B.F. Skinner. As a behaviorist, Skinner believed that it was not really necessary to look at internal thoughts and motivations in order to explain behavior. Instead, he suggested, we should look only at the external, observable causes of human behavior (Skinner, 1948).

Operant Conditioning is a process by which humans and animals learn to behave in such a way that the possibility of obtaining a reward and avoiding a punishment is high. Through operant conditioning, an association is made between a behavior and a consequence for that behavior (Skinner, 1963). Beggars associate the money they receive from alms givers (consequence) with the little mental and physical energy they spend (behavior) while begging.

The association could also be possible between the amount and value of the reward obtained and the duration in which this reward is collected. According to part IV, chapter I, section I of the labor-proclamation No. 377/2003 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, normal hours of work is eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. When the hours of work of beggars are considered, they work/beg less than eight hours a day. Abebaw (2003) revealed that the majority (52.67 %) of his research participants usually beg in the morning and in the evening. The reason was also given in the study, i.e. people give better alms in the morning (73.67 % of the participants) and in the evening (16.67 % of the participants) among other times. It is shown in the research that beggars make themselves available in streets more in the morning and/or in the evening than in the afternoon or from dawn to dusk. Therefore, the amount of time they spent in streets to beg was far less than the amount of time employees at government and non-government organizations spend on their jobs. Even the amount of money beggars earn is better than many employees of government organizations.

Skinner used the term operant to refer to any active behavior that operates upon the environment to generate positive consequences. This phenomenon accurately explains participants of the study—physically healthy adult beggars. The participants of the current study are different from the usual or deserving beggars mostly seen on streets such as disabled beggars and old-age beggars. The deserving beggars have either developmental (e.g., age) or environmental (e.g., disability due to accident) limitations that inhibit them to operate effectively. But, the participants of this study could operate relatively in a better manner to receive reinforcement due to two reasons. The first is because they are physically healthy (neither disabled nor sick). The physical health could help them move to different corners of the city to beg. The second reason is that they are within the range of productive age groups (neither old nor children). Hence, these beggars can move up and down and operate in streets, shopping areas, bus stations, worshipping areas, and where they found suitable because they are relatively health and fit enough.

The principle of operant conditioning further states that actions that are followed by desirable outcomes are more likely to be repeated while those followed by undesirable outcomes are more likely to diminish (McLeod, 2015). According to personal discussion held with one of the employees working at LSAB of Addis Ababa city government, his organization is a good witness for the fact that many beggars do not want to stop begging and get hired in other organizations. His organization cleaned them up from streets and they returned back to streets after some time. The main reason is that they are really doing good job in streets. Various reports and Medias revealed that beggars receive a good deal of money in streets. Based on these findings, the researcher of the current study speculates that the number of physically adult beggars is increasing due to the fact that beggars are collecting sufficient amount of money from begging. If this is the case, they are receiving a reward for their begging behavior.

On the other hand, beggars do not always receive reward. A research finding reported that they are experiencing various types of punishments, which sometimes are harsh and grave, by different individuals and institutions (Teweldebirhan, 2011). What is most interesting here is that though they are experiencing various forms of punishments, they are still earning a living by staying in streets. Why beggars beg while simultaneously experiencing various forms of punishments? The possible explanations for this question could be that:

- 1) begging doesn't require intensive and special skill training and (can be done by any layperson)
- 2) it doesn't require exerting enormous effort and energy
- 3) it generates certain amount of money. The next two explanations encouraging the spread of beggars are typical of our country, Ethiopia
- 4) collective nature of our culture
- 5) 'Spirituality' of Ethiopian society

Skinner found that when and how often behaviors were reinforced played a role in the speed and strength of acquiring that particular behavior. He identified different schedules of reinforcement-among which **variable-ratio** schedule is a good example for the problem under discussion. Variable-ratio schedule involves delivering a reward after a variable amount of responses have elapsed. This schedule of reinforcement tends to lead to a fast response rate and slow extinction rate (Balleine, 2000). Beggars receive both primary and secondary reinforcers (food and money, for instance) after certain attempts. That is why they persist to stay in streets and lead life through beggary.

2.5.2 Social Cognitive Theory

In the principle of operant conditioning discussed above human behavior (beggary in our case) is explained in terms of one-way determinism. In such type of unidirectional causation

and drive reduction principles, behavior is explained as being shaped and controlled by environmental stimuli (Schunk, 2000). People resort to begging merely because of the money they receive from others. Social cognitive theory is a direct response to Behaviorism. In the social cognitive view people are neither driven by inner forces (drive reduction) nor automatically shaped and controlled by external stimuli (Bandura, 1986). The theory highlights the idea that much of human learning occurs in a social environment. By observing others, people acquire knowledge of rules, skills, strategies, beliefs, and attitudes. The usefulness and appropriateness of behaviors are learnt by observing others; and people act in accordance with their beliefs concerning the expected outcomes of their behavior (Bandura, 1978; 1989). If a person believes that a given behavior yields accumulation of money, he/she would act in accordance with his/her belief.

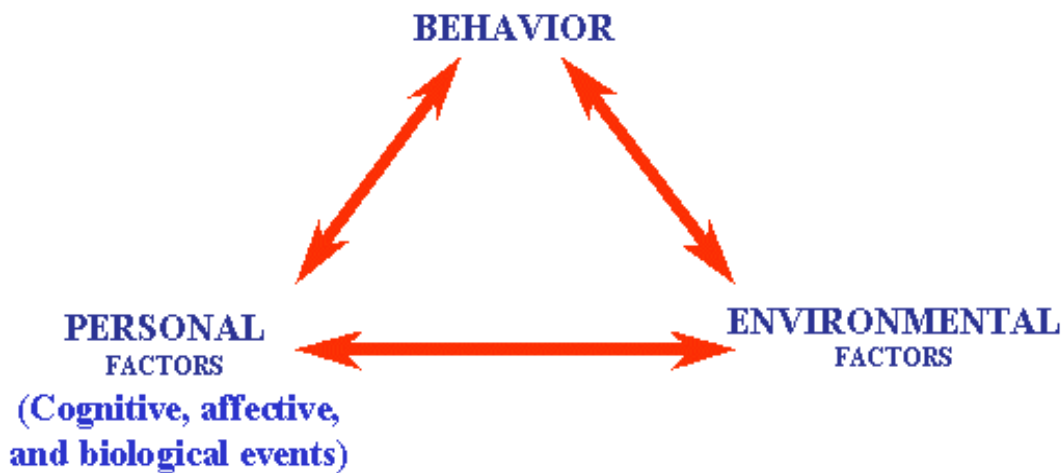
According to this theory, people get involved in antisocial behavior—begging, in this case—as a result of observing others and forming association with others who are already performing it. After the observation, the observer begins to perform what he/she observed. If the performance yields a reward, then the antisocial behavior and the beliefs that are favorable to the behavior are learnt (Mineka & Zinbarg, 2006). Consequently, the observers develop a positive attitude towards that behavior. Once positive attitude towards the behavior is developed, individuals come to view the antisocial behavior, for instance begging, as something that is desirable or at least justifiable in certain situations (Mineka & Zinbarg, 2006).

According to Bandura (Wood & Bandura, 1989) people are viewed as self-organizing, proactive, self-reflecting, and self-regulating rather than as reactive organisms guided by environmental forces or driven by concealed inner impulses. Unlike behaviorism social cognitive theory favors a model of causation involving triadic reciprocal determinism (Pajares, 2006). From this theoretical perspective, human functioning is viewed as the product

of a dynamic interplay between personal, behavioral, and environmental influences. The concept of *reciprocal determinism* indicated in the figure below explains that personal factors (cognitive, affective, and biological events), environmental factors, and people's behavior operate together and create an interaction that results in a triadic reciprocity (Pajares, 2006).

Beggar's feeling of benefits obtained from begging, and lack of employment opportunities (personal factors); anonymity of people in urban areas, and highly increasing number of population in cities (environmental factor); generosity rooted in the society, and spirituality of Ethiopian people (people's behavior) are the triadic reciprocity explaining the practice of begging.

Figure 1. The Reciprocal Nature of the Determinants of Human Behavior



At this point in time, the components of observational learning described by Bandura (1989) are worth mentioning by relating them with the issue under consideration—begging.

- **Attention:** the attending behavior of the beggar is, "...one of the main component functions..." of the observational learning processes (Bandura, 1971, P 16). According to Bandura, if important distinctions of the model's behavior are left unnoticed then the observer will fail to include them when he/she attempts to reproduce the modeled

behavior. To make this point familiar, beggars couldn't appropriately learn by observation unless they perceive and attend significant features of the modeled behavior. Even though the practice of begging doesn't have complex components to attend to, beggars need to give attention to what and how other beggars act and say in order to reproduce the behavior. Observers need to give attention as to how model beggars are successfully doing the jobs.

- **Retention:** once attended to what and how begging behavior is performed, the next step is retention. The process of retention includes such variables as symbolic coding of components of a behavior observed. Further, covert and overt rehearsal is essential to code the information into long-term memory (Bandura, 1969). As discussed in the above paragraph, the practice of begging could be easily learnt due to the fact that begging has no complex components to be rehearsed in detail.
- **Motor Reproduction:** after attending and retaining to the elements of the behavior, the observer is expected to have the ability of performing or producing the behavior—be able to beg. According to Bandura, ability to reproduce is the function of the availability of the necessary component responses of the modeled behavior. The observer must possess the mental and physical capabilities that help him/her to act accordingly. Beggars must have the mental and physical capabilities so that they are able to move to different corners of a city to search for alms.
- **Reinforcement and Motivation:** according to Bandura (1971), people who learn by observation are initially reinforced vicariously through the reinforcement contingencies that support the model's behavior. Then the observer, in turn, gets motivated to receive direct reinforcement which is similar to the model. Gradually, as a beggar continues receiving alms he/she gets reinforced by what he/she received and ultimately begging behavior becomes his/her life.

2.5.3 Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory, a general theory of group-based inequality, was developed in an attempt to understand how group-based social hierarchy is formed and maintained (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Unlike most other theories of prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination in social psychology; social dominance theory assumes that we must understand the processes producing and maintaining prejudice, inequality, and discrimination at multiple levels of analysis, including cultural ideologies and policies, institutional practices, relationships, the interaction between men and women etc ((Huddy, 2004; Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004). One of the reasons that this theory is chosen in this researcher was that it focuses on the social psychological processes by which ideological structures become internalized in individual attitudes and beliefs.

Regardless of a society's form of government, the contents of its fundamental belief system, or the complexity of its social and economic arrangements, human societies tend to organize as group-based social hierarchies in which at least one group enjoys greater social status and power than other groups. Although the degree, severity, and definitional bases of group-based hierarchical organization vary across societies and within the same society over time, the fact of group-based hierarchical organization appears to be a human universal (Brown, 1991; Lenski, 1984; Tilly, 1998).

Basically there are two groups in the hierarchy: the dominant and the subordinate. Members of dominant social groups tend to enjoy a disproportionate share of positive social values, or desirable materials and symbolic resources such as political power, wealth, protection, and access to good housing, health care, leisure, and education. Negative social value is disproportionately left to or forced upon members of subordinate groups in the form of substandard housing, disease, underemployment, dangerous and distasteful work,

disproportionate punishment, stigmatization, and vilification (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). This theory vividly indicates that certain common practices of some institutions and organizations enhance the power and prestige of some group of people while diminish the voice and power of some other groups. Not only institutions but also dominant individuals engage in behaviors that promote discrimination. Recruiters, real estate agents, prosecutors, authorities at various levels, and many other individuals might enact behaviors that disadvantage particular ethnicity, class, gender, religion, etc. (Rubin & Hewstone, 2004; Zitek & Tiedens, 2011).

From our day-to-day experiences, we notice that certain policies and practices in Ethiopian society unfairly advantage some religious and ethnic groups over the others. Social institutions such as financial organizations and educational institutions tend to distribute commodities to dominant and powerful collectives disproportionately. Many government organizations give better chance of employment for those who are affluent with certain political parties, ethnic groups, and religion. It is not uncommon, in Ethiopia, that authorized individuals at various levels in government and non-government organizations favor certain groups. Members of the dominant groups have better chances of getting job and promotion. They receive excessive prestige and power. The disadvantaged groups are left to dangerous works, incarceration, and contempt. There are ethnic and religious groups reporting that they are not getting the right recognition and equal treatment. There are also many people who are regularly claiming that they remained unemployed simply because they are from different group. These people claim that they remained unemployed having the necessary skills, experiences, and qualifications.

Such practices strengthen inequalities. The disadvantaged groups or the powerless collectives will be forced to look for illegitimate ways of getting money or job so as to survive. There are many physically healthy individuals leading their life through begging. These

individuals are those who are able to engage in formal businesses. The researcher of the current study believes that some of the physically healthy groups who are leading their life through begging could be the product of such inequalities. If a person attaches his unemployment to being a member of a subordinate group, then he/she could begin to search for any kind of job that would probably give him/her a chance of earning a living.

The practice of begging is one of the social problems in the world. As discussed in the first chapter, it is becoming a very serious problem in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Currently the problem is attracting the so called physically healthy individuals. Though there are theories that focus on identifying factors that predispose individuals to social problems, there is no sufficient ground as to what factor accounts for begging. The theories discussed above provided certain basic assumptions but none of them gave full explanations about the problem under consideration. It was attempted to relate each theory to factors accounting for begging, specifically to that of physically healthy groups. Nevertheless, people resort to earn a living in socially unaccepted ways due to several factors. These factors are discussed in the following section.

2.6 Reasons Accounting for Begging

At some point in the past, almost everyone has been asked for money by a beggar who is physically healthy. You have probably asked yourself or your friend the following questions. Why do healthy people beg when alternative means of support or employment are available for them? What will they do with the money? Do they really deserve to beg?

Although religions permit begging under special conditions, all religions put great emphasis on making effort and earning one`s own living rather than going out to ask for money or any other materials for no reason. Regardless of its prohibition by religions and the public, begging among the so called physically healthy individuals is becoming a common method of

earning a living. Individuals from various groups are joining the field. Beggars are a mixture of heterogeneous group. They are from various ethnic groups, religions, sex, age, and marital status. Able bodied beggars, disabled beggars, the elderly, women with or without babies, and children are being observed in streets. When questioned, all of them have their own reason. A considerable number of reasons have been identified by different scholars that lead to begging behavior in rural and urban areas. The reasons, identified at different times and in different localities, are closely related to one another (Jelili, 2006; Ogunkan & Fawole, 2009). The following paragraphs summarize empirical studies on reasons that lead individuals to make money from begging.

A Chinese Shanghai based Christian Organization identified five major factors influencing begging (Ogunkan & Fawole, 2009).. These are:

- national disaster
- civil war
- handicaps and diseases
- bad habits and
- family breakdown and inheritance

Furthermore, factors such as uncontrolled rural-urban migration, banditry, bankruptcy, and unemployment have also observed by other researchers (Hanchao, 1999; Ogunkan & Fawole, 2009).

In Mexico, begging is seen as a result of economic necessity and as a traditional activity associated with the city's religion and political life (Adedibu, 1989). Fabrega (1971) identified the following reasons that initiate individuals to beg in Mexico.

- physical deformities or incapacitation
- medical illness

- laziness
- psychiatric disabilities and
- old age

Adedibu (1989) identifies thirteen closely related factors influencing begging in Nigerian cities.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. physical disability | 8. uncontrolled migration |
| 2. unemployment | 9. lack of education |
| 3. religious belief | 10. place of origin |
| 4. old age | 11. lack of adequate residence |
| 5. lack of caring relatives | 12. accident |
| 6. poverty | 13. acceptability of begging in society |
| 7. lack of rehabilitation centers | |

The National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute /NCFWD/ (2001) also identifies the following six reasons accounting for begging

- lack of parental support
- parental neglect
- poverty
- disability
- socio-cultural misconception
- lack of parental education.

Finally, Jelili (2006) identified physical disability, unemployment, and old age as major reasons leading individuals to beg in streets.

In summation, some of the reasons given above are also considered by some researchers as major reasons putting individuals under pressure to resort to begging in Ethiopia (e.g.,

Woubshet, 2005). Unemployment, religious teachings, illiteracy, national disaster, lack of rehabilitation centers, and uncontrolled migration are among the major reasons identified by researchers worked on begging. Now, it has been clear that there are common reasons pushing individuals to earn a living from begging in different countries. The reasons identified in Mexico, China, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, etc are similar to a large extent. Among the common reasons observed above are migration, national disaster, war, unemployment, old-age, disability, lack of support from parents, religious beliefs, lack of education, and poverty. All these reasons could explain participants of this study—physically healthy adult beggars—except disability and old-age.

Some other research works (e.g., Groce et al., 2014; Kerebih, et al., 2007) added more reasons, among which is the profitability of begging. These and other research works revealed that begging in Ethiopia is becoming a profitable business. This could be evidenced by the fact that the field is attracting many people recently. From this finding, the researcher of the current study speculated that the participants of the study are earning a living from begging because begging is being considered as a profitable business. They are considering the practice of begging as a formal economic activity or as a viable form of employment.

Among the major factors accounting for begging by physically healthy adults, the common ones are discussed in detail.

2.6.1 Poverty

It is widely understood that an individual is considered poor if the consumption or income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs (Asmamaw, 2004). Poverty is generally considered as a situation in which individuals do not have adequate food and shelter, lack access to education and health services, and find themselves in a state of unemployment, vulnerability and powerlessness.

According to Bigsten and Abebe (2008), eight out of ten Ethiopians depend on agriculture as their main livelihood. The increased incidence and severity of drought in the country have caused major fluctuations in agricultural and economic growth. As a result, Ethiopia has become the world's poorest countries, where about 44 per cent of the population lives under the poverty line and more than 12 million people are chronically or at least periodically food insecure (World Bank, 2012). Furthermore, the incidence of poverty in rural areas is greater and poverty is more severe in rural areas than in urban areas (MoFED, 2018).

Although Ethiopia has carried out several economic reform programs in order to achieve economic stability and renewed growth in the fight against poverty, they have had limited impact in reducing poverty and the reforms are not supported by sufficient empirical ground (Abbi and Mckay, 2004).

Recurring droughts have left farming families without food crops, causing periodic famines. People lack coping mechanisms for facing drought-induced famines, and contingency planning is inadequate. The situation worsened recently because of sharp increases in the prices of food and fertilizers on world markets, which made it more difficult for poor households in Ethiopia, as elsewhere, to secure adequate food supplies (World Bank, 2012).

According to Ashenafi and Getnet (2012) and Elshaday (2007), significantly huge numbers of rural farmers and their families are moving to urban areas for search of better life. Once arrived, they find themselves in a serious problem. They even are unable to get food and ultimately end up being beggars.

2.6.2 Unemployment

Unemployment is one of the several socio-economic problems prevailing in virtually all countries of the world. The problem of an employment has a serious effect not only on the living standards of the people (negative effects on the psychological, socio-economic and

physical well-being) but also on the socio-economic status of a nation (Nazir, Cheema, Zafar & Battoo, 2009).

Many urban centers in developing countries are challenged by high rates of unemployment. Moreover, despite the huge unemployed labor force, urban centers of these nations experience high rate of rural-to-urban migration, exacerbating the unemployment problem of urban areas (Blomqvist, 2012). As in many other developing countries, the urban labor market in Ethiopia is typically characterized by huge inefficiency and underdevelopment. Labor supply by far exceeds labor demand and many men and women are looking but unable to find job and stay unemployed (World Bank Ethiopia, 2007). In urban Ethiopia the labor force grows with an increasing proportion while the opportunity of employment is inadequate to absorb the labor market applicants and thus, unemployment presents a particular challenge. While there is little improvement in urban unemployment reduction, the overall performance in employment creation remained sluggish. There is mismatch between employers needs and employees (graduates) competence. There is no good news for university-leavers over the past few years concerning the chance of getting jobs. Many of the graduates are without work. Simultaneously those who are employed are doing jobs requiring different skills.

Therefore, unemployment has been one of the reasons that forced a large proportion of the unemployed groups to make a living from illicit businesses such as begging.

2.6.3 Education

Approximately 40 percent of Ethiopia's population is under the age of 15, with another 30 percent between the ages of 15-29. As Ethiopia continues to develop, equipping its future working-age generation with quality education will be fundamental to the country's goal of becoming a middle-income country by 2025 (Ministry of Education, 2019). The efforts made to improve quality through Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP I- IV) are promising. The plan

focused mainly on improving quality, equity, relevance and efficiency of primary education, improving curriculum, expanding the opportunities for enrolment in primary education, improving students' achievement, creating a good work environment through improving school administration and creating child-friendly learning environment (Belay, 2019).

In the last two decades, Ethiopia has made impressive development gains in the education sector. Recently, the number of children enrolled at the primary level is dramatically increasing. An attempt to get more children into schools has strained the capacity of the system, and student learning has suffered (Aweke, 2016; Nzinga & Tsegay, 2012). Early Grade Reading Assessment suggests that only 40 percent of students in grades 2 and 3 can read at a satisfactory level of 20-25 words per minute. The lack of printed materials and insufficient support for teachers has resulted in many students failing to acquire basic literacy skills that would allow them to learn other subjects and advance beyond primary school. According to Tassew and Mesele (2016) even if the enrollment at all levels is high there is a varying degree of access at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. They further revealed that nine out of ten children of appropriate age are enrolled in primary education; two out of ten in secondary education and only one out of ten are enrolled at university level.

At this juncture, the researcher of the current study wishes to shift reader's attention to the link between reasons accounting for begging and poor enrollment rates at secondary and tertiary levels. It could be the poor enrollment rate that accounted for the participants of this study to lead life through begging. Researchers revealed that lack of access to education has driven many young people to seek employment in urban areas (e.g., Aweke, 2016).

2.6.4 Development Induced Displacement

Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, is undergoing a major transformation as evidenced by the construction of condominiums, road, networks, schools, healthcare institutions, hotels,

real estates, banks, shopping centers, and many other businesses. Thousands of people have been displaced and adversely affected by the process of urban development. The process of relocating people from inner city to new resettlement sites in the outskirts have disrupted the relocatees' business ties with customers, broken their informal networks of survival, caused loss of locational advantage, loss of jobs and incurred high transport costs (Abduselam, 2012; Abduselam & Belay, 2018; Gebre, 2008).

Urban development and renewal programs often target slums and shanty areas normally inhabited by low-income households. Compared to suburbs, income generating opportunities and social services are often concentrated in such areas. Therefore, relocation of low-income households from inner cities to the outskirts would, undoubtedly, affect their livelihoods and informal networks of mutual assistance, their critical coping strategies (Lourenço-Lindel, 2001). It has been widely agreed that people dislocated from inner cities are likely to lose important locational advantages linked to their survival (Davidson et al. 1993).

Progress in Addis Ababa has been exacerbating poverty among a section of the population. Huge numbers of people were moved and are being moved to parts of the city where there are less sufficient marketing places, schools, religious institutions, health institutions, transportation, etc. as compared to their earlier residences (Abduselam, 2012; Abduselam and Belay, 2018). The breakdown of social support systems and the chance of losing their previous income generating ways due to displacement could force segments of the displaced individuals to look for alternative ways of survival.

2.7 Impacts of Begging

The practice of begging, especially in many Ethiopian cultures, is a repudiated behavior. Individuals who make a living from such practices are not welcomed by the vast majority. This is evidenced by the survey conducted by the researcher of the current study. The survey was

about the acceptance and reputability of begging in their culture. The result has shown that 69 % of the participants who participated in the survey agreed that begging is not encouraged by the society and that it is both culturally and religiously prohibited means of earning a living. Despite its low prestige nature and its impact on beggars and the society at large, the number of physically healthy beggars is increasing. Though begging is becoming a well-known way of making money, it has great impact on beggars, the community, and the country (Fentahun, 2017). The impacts of begging on beggars, the society, and the country at large are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Universally, begging was not a kind of work that many people wish to engage at. It was also not a kind of job that one thinks as an alternative. It was socially a low prestige behavior. Eyo, Usoro and Usoro (2007) and Wahlstedt, (2013) viewed street-begging as a malady that eats into the fabrics of social, economic, religious, political, and educational structures.

According to Ahamdi (2010), begging is a social problem which has psychological consequences on the beggars, on their family members, and their network of kinship. He further states that the problem of begging affects the geographical and social structure of urban areas. Furthermore, begging is considered as one of the social evils that make environments unfavorable for residents (Fentahun, 2017; Kongoley (2017)

Researchers have shown that the life of beggars is full of harassment and abuse. Problems associated with street begging include sexual harassment, being driven from one location to another, exposure to raw weather, fear of being captured for sacrifice, verbal and physical abuse from street dwellers, police forces, and passers-by, social stigmatization, misfortune of being knocked down by passing vehicles, depreciation of societal image, disorderliness, and stigma against the nation's social and economic systems (Fireyihun, 2011; Kerebih, et al., 2007; Lukas, 2007; MOLSA, 1992; Mortimer, 2005; Tatek, 2009;

Teweldebirhan, 2011). Woubishet (2005) also described that beggars are experiencing all sorts of harms in streets.

The general living conditions of the beggars is one of the striking and irritating scene for it vividly reveals all sorts of multifaceted evils bestowed up on them
(p. 105).

It was also showed that begging had further impacts on the personality of beggars. In addition to impacts on personality, problems associated with begging would affect beggars' social and psychological wellbeing, relationship satisfaction, and life satisfaction (Fentahun, 2017). With all these forms of challenges the number of beggars, including physically healthy beggars is getting bigger.

2.8 Quality of Life and Begging Behavior

There is no universally agreed up on quality of life (QoL) determination. Different scholars have given different definitions of QoL. It is defined as an individual's spiritual (emotional), social, and physical well-being (Ruževičius. 2014). Gilgeous (1998) defined quality of life as an individual's satisfaction with his or her life dimensions comparing with his or her ideal life. The evaluation of quality of life depends on the individual's value system and on the cultural environment where he lives. According to Ruževičius (2012) and Shin (1979), quality of life is influenced by an individual's physical and mental health, the degree of independency, the social relationship with the environment, and other factors. WHO defines QoL as an individual purpose-aligned cultural and value system by which a person lives, relative to his/her aims, hopes, living standards and interests (Ruževičius & Akranavičiute, 2007). It is the subjective perception of one's position in life in the context of the personal goals and the value systems, the individual is living with (IESBS, 2015). The components included in

this detailed explanation are individuals' physical and psychological health, their degree of independence, their social liaisons and how they relate to their surroundings.

Likewise, QoL has been understood as measures of income and economic performance at previous times. It has now been widely acknowledged that income and economic resources will not constitute a sufficient metric to predict QoL. Therefore, indicators going beyond income and wealth need to be considered (Ruževičius, 2014; Ruževičius & Akranavičiute, 2007). The quality of working life is another important component of QoL. The quality of working life includes such work areas as employees' health and well-being, guarantee for employment, career planning, competence development, life and work balance, and others (Ruževičius, 2014). QoL can also be perceived through an individual's life experiences. If a person perceives her/his life as good and desirable, it is possible to assume that it is indeed so in her/his case. From such point of view, the core criteria for the evaluation of quality of life are joy, pleasure and contentment with life (Diener and Suh, 1997).

Researchers have come up with various components of QoL depending on the type of individual's job and environment in which the person lives (e.g., Ruževičius, 2014; Ruževičius & Akranavičiute, 2007). Therefore it was found so important to consider the job a person was working to measure QoL because components of QoL vary as the job varies. The researcher of the current study measured the components of QoL of beggars that are found relevant. The following components of QoL were identified from literature and from beggars' nature of daily activities of life.

1. Basic needs: how beggars fulfill their basic needs such as food, pure water, shelter and cloth.

2. Participation in public affairs: whether participants were taking part in activities such as public meetings, demonstrations, wedding ceremonies, religious ceremonies, cleaning the environment, donating blood, etc
3. Schooling: if participants were attending school and/or sending their children to school was assessed
4. Feeling of security: feeling secured is one major component of QoL
5. Relationship with families and the larger community: it was attempted to assess the relationship beggars had with their family members and the larger community
6. Independent decision making: one's QoL could be determined by his/her independence
7. Recreation and leisure: Oxford dictionary defines leisure as use of free time for enjoyment. There are much research works on the overall health benefits of leisure activities. When people engage in leisure activity, they have lower stress levels, better mood, lower heart rate and more psychological engagement.

2.9 Mental Wellbeing

Mental Health or Mental Wellbeing (MW) is not merely seen as the absence of mental illness. The World Health Organization (WHO) defined MW as “a state of well-being in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community” (WHO, 2004, p 12). MW is believed to consist of three components: emotional well-being, psychological well-being, and social well-being. Emotional wellbeing, the first component of MW, is defined as one's satisfaction and happiness in life. Psychological well-being indicates optimal personal functioning which includes six aspects: 1. self-acceptance: which refers to a positive attitude toward oneself, 2. personal growth as the feeling of sustained development and possibilities, 3. purpose in life: referring to having a purpose and orientation in one's life, 4. environmental mastery: representing a feeling of being able to handle a complex environment,

5. positive relatedness: having satisfying and intimate relationships (including abilities as empathy, affection and intimacy) and being interested in the well-being of others, and 6. autonomy: comprising being self-determined and independent (Ryff, 1989). Keyes (1998) defined social wellbeing as people's valuation of their circumstances and functioning in society. It refers to how much individuals see themselves thriving in their social life. Social wellbeing is characterized by five dimensions: 1. social acceptance: refers to a positive view on other people and the ability to accept others as who they are, 2. social contribution: which refers to the belief of being able to fulfill and achieve activities and goals which are valuable for the society, 3. social integration: representing a good relation to the community and society, 4. social actualization: implying the belief that society has the potential for positive changes, and 5. social coherence referring to a logical and apprehensible view of the social world with interest in the social environment and social interaction (Keyes, 1998).

It was clearly indicated that begging is not welcomed both by religious teachings and by various cultures. Unlike other beggars, physically healthy individuals have no reason to beg. Why they beg being physically fit enough to participate in other formal businesses? Are they mentally well?

Chapter 3

Methods

3.1 Design of the Study

The study employed descriptive research design since it mainly aimed at interpreting and making sense of participants' experiences. It provided a detailed understanding of the behavior and experiences of the so called physically healthy beggars. Both qualitative data and quantitative data were collected at the same time. Therefore, concurrent mixed approach was employed where qualitative method of data collection and analysis was used as a major approach.

3.2 Research Setting

Addis Ababa is located in the foothills of *Entoto* Mountains and stands 7,726 feet above sea level. Unlike many other African capitals, the foundation, growth, and development of Addis Ababa were not rooted in colonization (Bahru, 2001). It is a city where almost all the Ethiopian ethnic groups are represented (PEFA, 2008). The capital city covers 527 square kilometers from Ethiopian total area. The population density is close to 5,165 individuals per square kilometer. According to CSA (2020), the current Addis Ababa's population is estimated to be more than 4.5 million people.

Addis Ababa has emerged as a city that has both national and international significance. It serves as a seat of various international organizations and embassies. The city is often called the African Capital due to its historical, diplomatic and political significance for the continent (Gebre, 2008).

Addis Ababa is being largely populated mainly by people who are migrating from rural areas due to drought, political crisis, regional wars, government compulsion, debilitation of natural resources, search for employment opportunities, and lack of social services in the

regions (Abduselam & Belay 2021; Woubshet, 2005). The majority of the migrants usually find themselves in difficult socio-economic circumstances in the capital. Many migrants are forced to engage in various forms of jobs to earn a living and to tackle the challenges put up on them. They are also forced not to choose among jobs because of the high unemployment rate existing in the country (CSA, 2020).

Four sub-cities, namely; Addis Ketema, Arada, Lideta, and Kirkos were selected due to the reasons indicated below; and that the behavior under question was commonly practiced in some selected areas of these sub-cities.

- 1) These sub-cities are located at the center of the city
- 2) The sub-cities are relatively high business areas.
- 3) These areas are highly populated /constitute more than 40 % of the capital's population (Netsanet, 2009)/.
- 4) The majority of the city's poor are found in these sub-cities (Netsanet, 2009).
- 5) Street dwellers can easily get access to locations where they can pass night times such as bridges, worshiping areas and market places.
- 6) There are well-known churches and mosques in these sub-cities. Relatively large number of people usually performs day-to-day religious obligations in religious institutions found in these sub-cities.

3.3 Participants of the Study

3.3.1 Population

The population of the study was seemingly physically healthy adult individuals (18 to 40-years-old) who were earning a living from begging in Addis Ababa. These populations are considered as productive age group who are the backbone of the country. Since countries rely

mainly on this group of people for its economic development, they could have engaged in economic success of their country.

According to an interview held with officials at Labor and Social Affairs Bureau (LSAB) of Addis Ababa city government, the exact number of physically healthy adult people who were earning a living from begging in Addis Ababa was unknown. But the bureau has identified sub-cities where physically healthy adult beggars were largely found and practice the behavior. The four sub-cities, according to LSAB of Addis Ababa city government, where beggars largely beg were Addis Ketema, Arada, Lideta, and Kirkos. The officials of the bureau also identified the following specific areas where beggars commonly practice the behavior.

Mesalemiya	Piassa	Torhailoch
Awutobustera	RasMekonnin Bridge	Biherawi
Merkato	Arat Kilo	Sengatera
GojamBerenda	Megenagna	Tikuranbessa
Teklehaimanot	Filwuha	Kazanchis
Abinet	Legehar	Kality
Mexico square	Urael church	

Among the 20 areas listed above, 10 (50 %) were selected randomly using lottery method. These sites, from which sample beggars were taken, are Teklehaimanot, Awutobus Tera, Gojam Berenda, Piassa, Ras Mekonnin Bridge, Filwuha, Biherawi, Mexico, Legehar, and Megenagna.

3.3.2 Samples

Qualitative Data: Twenty three physically healthy beggars of whom 10 were females and the remaining 13 were males were selected through purposive and convenience sampling techniques from the selected areas in Addis Ketema, Arada, Lideta, and Kirkos sub-cities for the interview. Purposive sampling technique was used because beggars who were physically healthy were the target of the research and hence being physically normal was the purpose. Likewise convenience sampling was used because it allows getting readily and easily available participants. Beggars are available in streets and can be easily reached while they are begging. Concerning samples for the Focus Group Discussion (FGD), 16 participants were selected on purposive and availability sampling techniques where 12 of them were males and the remaining four were female beggars. Availability sampling was used because it was found so difficult to bring beggars selected through other methods together due to the nature of their job. Beggars who were found near each other in time and place were asked to take part in the FGDs if they were found physically healthy. Therefore a total of 39 beggars (25 male and 14 female) participated in the qualitative study.

Likewise, three officials (a female and two males) from LSAB of Addis Ababa City Government and 12 non-beggars (four females and eight males) were also included in the study through purposive and convenience sampling techniques respectively. Among these non-beggars, five were PhD students at Addis Ababa University, where as the rest seven were those who were randomly met in streets. The purpose of including officials from LSAB of Addis Ababa city government was that the bureau is among the organizations closely working on vulnerable groups and those who are living in streets. The remaining 12 non-beggars were included to get information on the commonness of beggary among physically healthy adults in the city. Furthermore, data from the non-beggars were used for the purpose of triangulation.

Generally, a total of 54 participants of whom 19 were females and 35 were males participated in the qualitative part of the study.

Quantitative Data: initially, while writing the proposal of this study, it was aimed at merely measuring the mental wellbeing of physically healthy beggars. Thirty six beggars were selected and data were begun to be collected. While observing the data it was learnt that there was differences between the responses of beggars who were regularly using drugs such as Chat and Alcohol (named ‘addicted group’ in this study) and those who were not (named ‘non-addicted group’ in this study). The differences in the responses between the two groups forced the researcher to form two groups—addicted and non-addicted. It was then decided to collect data from both groups separately and then compare the mean.

For this purpose, two informal organizations who were regularly feeding beggars, street dwellers, and other needy people were selected purposely. The two organizations are named ‘Nisirochu’, found in Addis Ketema sub-city and ‘Yared and His Brother’, found in Lideta sub-city. Both organizations regularly provide lunch for vulnerable groups through initiations taken by private donors. Physically healthy beggars can be easily reached out and contacted at lunch time through these organizations.

There were 280 individuals who were being fed by Yared and his brother, and more than 800 by Nisirochu. Among individuals who were being fed by Yared and his brother, Thirty eight non-addicted beggars (based on self-report) were identified by the help of the feeders of the organization and given number cards from 1-38. Nineteen beggars who hold odd numbers were identified and selected for the study. The same procedures were employed to select samples from individuals being fed by Nisirochu. Twenty four non-addicted beggars were identified, again, by the help of the feeders of the organization and given number cards ranging from one to twenty four. Accordingly, 12 beggars who were given odd numbers were selected

for the study. Therefore, a total of 31 non-addicted beggars have been selected based on the procedure mentioned above.

Participants for the addicted group were selected from Nisrochu. Sixty-six physically healthy adult beggars who were using substances regularly were identified and asked to make a line. The second, the fourth, the sixth, etc in a queue were separated from others. Thus, 33 participants who were found in even numbers in the queue have been selected. In general, a total of 64 beggars (27 females and 37 males) were selected to fill out the scale meant for the purpose of measuring mental wellbeing.

3.4 Tools of Data Collection

Two varieties of tools were used in this research. The first variety was the one used for the purpose of screening and identifying participants. As already discussed in various places, in this research, the participants of the study were those who were seemingly physically healthy adult beggars. The researcher developed two types of tools for the purpose of identifying physically healthy beggars from unhealthy beggars, under the first variety of the tool. These were observation (named 'primary observation' here) and screening tool. The second variety was those meant for collecting primary data from the participants. These were observation checklist, interview guide, FGD, and scale.

Since this research is mainly qualitative, semi-structured open-ended questions meant for observation, interview and FGD developed by the researcher, by relying on existing literature, were used widely. The quantitative data were collected through a five point rating scale.

Pilot study, in relation to qualitative data, was conducted on five female and three male, a total of eight, availably attended physically healthy beggars around *Awutobus Tera/Bus*

Station. The pilot study enabled the researcher to test trustworthiness of the instruments. In doing so it was attempted to avoid bias, ambiguity, and leading questions.

Concerning quantitative data, 14 beggars (eight male and six female) who were randomly met in streets filled out the Mental Health Continuum Short Form /MHC-SF/ scale. The original scale consists of 6 point scale ranging from NEVER to EVERYDAY. The lesson taken from this pilot study was that participants were unable to fill out the options given in numbers. They were unable to think and count how many times they experienced each and every item. The researcher converted the scale into five point and changed the option given in numbers into Agree or Disagree. Finally the scale consists of options ranging from STRONGLY AGREE to STRONGLY DISAGREE.

3.4.1 Qualitative Tools

3.4.1.1 Observation: two forms of observation checklists were used as mentioned above. The primary observation checklist was meant for the purpose of inspecting beggars as physically healthy or physically unhealthy. Since the participants of the study were the so called physically healthy adult beggars, it was through this primary observation checklist that the participants were initially assessed. The checklist consists of items assessing physical conditions such as the condition of hands, legs and locomotion. Initially, beggars were observed by relying on the observation checklist. If the beggar met the criteria sought in the primary observation checklist, then the action followed was administering the screening tool. This checklist consists of four items (e.g., “Are the hands of the beggar normal?”, “What about his/her legs?”, “Does the person walk properly?” etc.).

The second form of observation checklist was developed to assess commonness of physically healthy beggars, survival livelihoods, and challenges faced in streets. It is composed of guiding phrases such as “symptoms of physical health, availability in streets, nature of their

houses, how they get food and pure water, challenges faced while begging and spending time in streets.

3.4.1.2 Screening Tool

Like that of observation checklist, the purpose of screening tool was to differentiate physically healthy adult beggars from unhealthy ones. Since the participants of this study were beggars who were physically fit enough during data gathering period and who can engage in other legitimate forms of businesses requiring physical health and strength, the researcher developed items that were helpful to identify physically healthy beggars from unhealthy ones. The tool was developed by relying on medical research works and through consultation of professionals from medicine. The items of the screening tool focused mainly on major diseases inhibiting individuals to engage in various forms of businesses requiring physical fitness and their perception of the conditions of their physical strength. The back and forward translation was done by medical professionals/teachers at Tikur Anbessa Hospital.

The screening tool was constructed from 11 items. The tool focused on major diseases like diabetes, hypertension, heart disease and the likes (e.g., “I have never been diagnosed with heart disease.”, “There is no wound and/or injury on my body that inhibits me from participating in formal economic activities.”). It also focused on the condition of eyes, legs and hands (e.g., “I can see and recognize a friend at a distance others can see.”, “I can hear a sound at a volume others find acceptable.”). Furthermore, the screening tool assessed whether participants felt that they were physically healthy enough so that they were able to take part in any other jobs requiring certain amount of physical strength (e.g., “Do you feel that you are physically healthy and fit enough to engage in jobs requiring physical strength?”, “Any other illness inhibiting you from jobs requiring physical fitness?”).

Each item has two response alternatives: 'YES' or 'NO'. It was after the beggar answered 'YES' for all the items that he/she was considered as a participant of the study. If one of the items is answered 'NO' then the beggar was considered as physically unhealthy and rejected from the study.

All the items of each tool used in this research, except the screening tool, were initially developed in English language by the researcher based on the available literature. The researcher himself and a language expert in Addis Ababa University conducted the back and forth translations of the instruments from English to Amharic and again from Amharic back to English. Since the instrument was developed in English language, it was translated into Amharic and then the Amharic version was translated back to English language. In addition, the supervisor of this dissertation participated in translating the Amharic version back to English. This way problems associated with translation was tried to be solved. Finally, it is the Amharic version that was administered.

3.4.1.3 Interview Guide: the interview guide was administered after the beggar was identified as a participant of the study by the help of primary observation checklist and screening tool. The guide is of two types. The first type having four parts was filled out by beggars. The first part of the first type assesses demographic variables such as age, sex, place of birth, level of education, and reasons forced participants to lead life through begging. All the remaining parts of this guide are constructed from open-ended questions. Items in the fourth part attempted to assess the commonness of physically healthy adult beggars and the amount of money participants received on 'good' and 'bad' days. Participants were also asked whether they were engaged in other job along with begging in this section (e.g., "How common and prevalent is begging among physically healthy adults?", "How much money do you get on 'Good' and 'bad' days?", "Do you have additional job?"). The fifth part was meant to measure challenges participants faced in streets while begging and coping strategies they employed, if

any. The last part of the first type of the interview guide assessed quality of life of beggars. Under this broad section, seven variables indicating life quality, as identified from the literature and the nature of participants' life, were identified. These were: basic needs (food, shelter, and pure water), schooling, participation in public affairs, recreation and leisure, relationship with families and the larger community, independent decision making, and feeling of security. Accordingly, participants filled out at least two questions for each variable (examples for **basic needs** "How do you get your daily meal?", "How do you get pure water?", **schooling** "Do you attend school? Do you send your child to school?", **participation in public affairs** "Do you participate in various meetings?", "Do you involve in public demonstrations?", "Do you attend religious ceremonies?", **recreation and leisure** "Do you take time to relax and enjoy?", "What do you do to relax yourself?", **relationship with families and the larger community** "How frequently do you meet your family members?", "What does your communication with the community look like?", **independent decision making** "Do you pass decisions about your life independently?", **feeling of security** "Do you feel secured?").

The second type of the interview guide was filled out by officials from LSAB of Addis Ababa city government and non-beggars. The main purpose of this guide was to assess the commonness of beggary by the so called physically healthy adults in the city. The guide was also employed to assess the measures and strategies to be taken by concerned individuals to minimize and ultimately stop begging by physically healthy beggars. It consists of five items. Example: "How common is beggary among individuals whom you think are physically healthy?", "Do you think that there are beggars who totally depend on begging?", "What measures need to be taken to minimize begging by physically healthy individuals?"

3.4.1.4 Focus Group Discussion (FGD): while interviewing participants, it was suspected that some of the interviewees concealed information especially about their daily income and whether they were engaged in different economic activities along with beggary.

Therefore the items of the initial FGD developed were modified so that two more questions assessing their daily income and whether participants were doing other jobs along with begging were added. This FGD guide had 7 items. Unfortunately, again, two more items were reduced from this guide due to the fact that participants were dissatisfied with the length of time spent on the FGD. The researcher reduced two items that required more time for discussion. These two items were put in a different FGD guide for other participants. Finally, therefore, there were two FGD guides developed. The first FGD guide has four items and the second has two items requiring relatively more time for discussion.

The first FGD focused mainly on the commonness of physically healthy beggars; the amount of money collected each day; and whether participants were doing other jobs along with beggary. (e.g., “How common is beggary among individuals whom you think are physically healthy like you?”, “What is your daily income in terms of money and other items like food?”, “How much money do you get on GOOD and BAD days?”, “How many days do you beg in a week?”, “Do you have extra job?”).

The second FGD guide consists of two questions requiring detail discussion. The guide mainly focused on challenges participants faced in streets while begging and quality of their life (e.g., “Please, discuss in detail about the challenges/abuses you are experiencing in streets, if any?”, “What does the quality of your life look like?”

The first FGD of the first guide was conducted at Piassa, Jegole Square. Three females and 2 males participated in it. The second FGD of the same guide was carried out around Filwuha which similarly consisted of five participants of whom four were males and one participant was female beggar. The items of the FGD are developed in English language by the researcher and translated into Amharic by himself and a language expert in Addis Ababa University. While administering the Amharic version at Piassa, two participants were found

unable to fully explain their idea in Amharic. They came to Addis Ababa from Gimbi, West Welega. The researcher, together with a language expert translated the items into Oromiffa so that they were able to explain their ideas in Oromiffa. The data obtained from these participants were again translated into Amharic so that it would be able to put it together with other data and used during data analysis.

Those FGDs conducted around Teklehaimanot church and Filwuha lasted for only about 7 to 10 minutes. More compensation was given to the participants and they were met two more days. Therefore, the FGDs held at the above areas lasted 21-30 minutes. Though the FGDs were carried out with consent, the main challenge faced while conducting the FGD was that participants were unhappy with the time spent on discussion since the discussions were held during their working (begging) hours. It was found impossible to conduct FGD at times other than their working hours unless sufficient compensation is given.

The second FGD, having two questions, was carried out around Teklehaimanot church. There were six participants who took part in the discussion. Unfortunately, all the discussants were male.

3.4.2 Quantitative Tool

Two groups of beggars (those who use substances on a daily basis and those who do not) participated in the quantitative section of this study.

As mentioned in section 3.4.1.2 above, the screening tool developed for identifying physically healthy beggars from unhealthy ones was also used in the quantitative data collection procedure in a similar way conducted in the qualitative section. The contents of the tool were also similar except that the screening tool used here has one more item that measures whether participants were addicted or not.

Mental wellbeing was measured by the Mental Health Continuum Short Form /MHC-SF/ scale. The scale is derived from the long form Mental Health Continuum /MHC-LF/, which consisted of seven items measuring emotional wellbeing, six 3-item scales (or 18 items total) that measured Ryff's model of psychological wellbeing, and five 3-item scales (or 15 items total) that measured Keyes' model of social wellbeing. While the MHC-LF consisted of 40 items, the MHC-SF consists of 14 items that were chosen as the most prototypical items representing the construct definition for each component of wellbeing. Three items were chosen to represent emotional wellbeing (e.g., "I am interested in life", "I am satisfied with life"), six items were chosen to represent psychological wellbeing (e.g., "I have something important to contribute to society", "I belong to a community"), and five items were chosen to represent social wellbeing (e.g., "I am good at managing the responsibilities of my daily life", "I have warm and trusting relationship with others").

The MHC-SF scale is validated for use with individuals aged 12 years or older and has been used by many researchers (Keyes, 2007; Keyes, Dhingra, & Simoes, 2010; Keyes, Eisenberg, Perry, Dube, Kroenke, & Dhingra, 2012; Keyes, & Simoes, 2012). The scale has shown excellent internal consistency (> 0.80) and discriminant validity in adolescents and adults in various countries (Keyes, 2005 b; 2006; Keyes et al., 2008; Westerhof, & Keyes, 2010). The original MHC-SF scale measures the frequency with which respondents experience each symptom of positive mental health, and thereby provide a clear standard for the assessment and a categorization of levels of positive mental health that is similar to the standard used to assess and diagnose major depressive episode in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. But for this research purpose, the scale response category was modified into 5 point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree.' The responses of the participants were entered into SPSS 'version 23' for further computation.

The mean of the scale ranges from 14 (1×14) – 70 (5×14). Based on this range, a mean of 35 is an average score. Mean scores below 35 indicate low mental wellbeing whereas scores above 35 are within normal range. Seventy is the highest score possible.

Table 1. Summary of the Reliability of the Scale

Variable	Number of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Emotional Wellbeing	3	.77
Psychological Wellbeing	6	.73
Social Wellbeing	5	.75
Total	14	.775

3.5 Data Analysis

Beggars who took part in the study filled out the screening tool after being observed by the researcher for identification purpose. It was after the identification as externally physically healthy and able bodied adult that a beggar was allowed to take part in the research. Qualitative data were analyzed thematically. In using thematic analysis a deductive approach was employed. The researcher began the analysis by having some themes at hand, before beginning to go through the data, which were expected to occur in the data. Then familiarity with data was obtained through a thorough overview of all the data collected.

Phrases, sentences, and expressions having relevance with the themes were highlighted with various colors to create codes. Codes were created in a way that each code describes the ideas expressed by the participants. Some of the codes developed were: Undeserving Beggars, Strong Beggars, Beggars that Seem Healthy, Street Dwellers, Being Uncertain, 24 hours, incidence, profitable business, well-known job, 'Qifela', 'Yegile', 'Derash', 'teqetari' etc.

After looking at the codes thoroughly, patterns leading the researcher to the themes were identified. Irrelevant codes were discarded and some unusual Amharic terms used by the participants were changed to commonly understandable terms (for instance the term ‘Qifela’ was changed to begging; ‘Teqetari’ to full time beggar). Based on the codes, each theme was defined and named (e.g. ‘Undeserving Beggar’ is named as ‘Physically Healthy Beggar’). Finally, the themes developed were Physically Healthy Beggars, Commonness, Incidence, Full Time Beggar, Attractive Daily Income, Profitable Job, yegile (many years of experience).

Some of the interviewees were audio-recorded with permission. The recorded materials were transcribed precisely and put under each theme. Data obtained from Oromiffa speakers were also translated into Amharic and put under themes identified.

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were employed for the analysis of quantitative data. Percentage was used to describe demographic characteristics of participants. Mean was computed to test the mental wellbeing of both addicted non-addicted participants. Finally, independent samples t-test was used to see the statistical differences between addicted and non-addicted beggars in mental wellbeing.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Although ethical principles are important in all kinds of studies, the degree of importance is high for studies conducted on vulnerable groups like beggars. Therefore, fundamental ethical principles were strictly followed.

The data collection instruments including the tape recorder were accompanied by informed consent form and participants were informed that participation in the research is voluntary. Moreover, the respondents were identified by a self-generated letters and numbers for confidentiality.

Chapter 4

Findings

Data gathered through the instruments meant for data collection, mentioned in the previous chapter, were summarized and synthesized after analysis in this chapter. Initially the qualitative data were presented. In this section commonness of begging among seemingly physically healthy adults, reasons that forced them to earn a living from begging, challenges participants faced in streets while begging and their coping mechanisms and quality of their life, which were analyzed thematically, have been presented. This presentation was followed by the findings of quantitative data. Accordingly, mental wellbeing of beggars and the statistical differences between addicted and non-addicted beggars have been presented. In doing so, the results of both descriptive and inferential statistics have been displayed.

4.1 Characteristics of Respondents

There were 39 physically healthy beggars who took part in the qualitative part of the study, of whom 14 were females and the remaining 25 were males. Among them, 23 beggars (10 female and 13 male) and 16 beggars (4 female and 12 male) have participated in the interview and FGD respectively. Furthermore, a female and 2 male official from LSAB of Addis Ababa City Government as well as 4 female and 8 male non-beggars were also interviewed. Therefore, a total of 54 participants (19 female and 35 male) participated in the qualitative part of the study. The quantitative data involved 64 (27 females and 37 males) physically healthy beggars.

Table 2. Summary of Participants Involved in the Study

	Beggars			Non-Beggars	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Interview	13	10	23	10	5
FGD	12	4	16	–	–
Scale	37	27	64	–	–
			103	15	

Among the 103 physically healthy beggars who took part in this research, 28 (27.2 %) were born in Addis Ababa whereas 75 (72.8 %) were born outside the capital. Therefore, it is clear that the majority of the respondents were born outside Addis Ababa and moved to the capital for different reasons. Unfortunately, among the 75 respondents born outside Addis Ababa, nine of them migrated to the capital for the purpose of making money from begging. They came to the capital aiming that they can lead their life through begging and that they can earn a living from begging. When we look at the other's main reason of leaving their home land, data revealed that 24 of them reported that they came to Addis Ababa for search of job; 18 reported poverty as a reason; 10 reported problems associated with family; 3 mentioned displacement due to politics; and the rest 11 were called up to Addis Ababa by friends and/or relatives who previously migrated to the capital city.

Additional characteristics of participants are depicted in the following table and in the subsequent paragraphs.

Table 3. Characteristics of Respondents

Age in Years	Level of Education		Number of Children					
	f	%	f	%				
< 20	39	37.8	Illiterate	7	6.8	No children	56	54.4
20-30	43	41.7	Elementary	64	62.1	One child	30	29.1
31-40	21	20.4	High school	28	27.2	Two children	14	13.6
			Certificate and above	4	3.9	Three children and above	3	2.9

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Two very remarkable results from the above table were that: 1) there were participants who were earning a living from begging after having completed their education from higher education institutions (two participants having their first degrees from Mekele and Wachamo Universities; two certificate holders in food preparation and teaching from private colleges); 2) although they were leading their life through begging, more than 40 % of the participants who took part in the study reported that they had children whom they were taking care of during data collection period.

4.2 Commonness of Beggary among Physically Healthy Adults

The results obtained from observation, interview, and focus group discussion revealed that the practice of begging by physically healthy individuals was so common in Addis Ababa. There were many physically fit enough and able bodied adult individuals who were earning a living from begging in streets of the capital. Data obtained from beggars, LSAB officials, and non-beggars plainly revealed that the number of the so called physically healthy individuals who were leading their life through begging was increasing. In the past, it was common to see disabled beggars and individuals who beg in the name of religion. The specific areas where

begging was practiced were also well known. But nowadays there are many people who are joining the practice including those who are seemingly healthy and physically fit. According to the data, these people are those who are able to engage in other socially acceptable forms of economic activities. The areas where begging is being practiced is also changed from religious institutions to streets, market areas, and to any place where people are largely found.

The results of the interview conducted with non-beggars showed that the practice of begging was so common in Addis Ababa. The first woman PhD student at Addis Ababa University /AAU/ interviewed inside Graduate Library in October 2019 said

Begging becomes a common practice in our community. It is our day-to-day experience to see children, young, and adult people who appear healthy but spend their life by begging in streets of Addis Ababa. I usually see physically healthy individuals begging in streets each day I walk to different areas. The feeling I used to experience before few years when I see physically healthy beggars and my current feeling are totally different. Currently, I won't get surprised by an increase in their number. Truly speaking, the problem is becoming serious; hence, measures from all concerned bodies are required (Non-Beggar No. 1, 28-years-old).

A male participant of age 37 who was interviewed at AAU illustrated the prevalence of physically healthy adult beggars as follows:

"...it is common to find healthy people who beg at every short distance in main streets of the city. Nowadays begging is becoming a profitable business making strategy among those who could be able to engage in legitimate economic activities. Various newsletters and government officials are reporting that beggary is a profitable job (I don't know whether it is a job or not) where significant numbers of people, including educated ones are getting attracted toward it" (Non-Beggar No. 5, October, 2019).

Similarly, the other interviewee contacted at Megenagna area in the month of October 2019 narrated that:

I think the issue of beggary is not something new. This problem is well known and noticed by all concerned government and non-government organizations including Mayor office of Addis Ababa City Government. Seeing beggars in every areas of the city is not amazing. What is amazing is that beggary is becoming a profession even by individuals seemingly healthy. We are observing beggars begging in various forms. Some of them use religious images and others tell us sob stories. Recently I heard that those who are educated and possessed material (wealthy) are coming to the field (A male Non-Beggar No. 8, 26-years-old).

The following interesting quote was taken from one of the non-beggars whom the researcher met at Yeka Sub-City Administration Office in October 2019. The interviewee seemed disappointed with people who beg while they are healthy.

“...yes, there are beggars who are physically strong enough. I don’t understand how they are able to stand in front of people to beg for money. I think these guys are mentally not healthy because I cannot imagine that mentally healthy people get the courage to beg. Of course, you may beg once or twice in your life during emergency. But spending the whole life on this unreasonable behavior is inexcusable” (A female Non-Beggar No. 11, 22-years-old).

In the same vein, data obtained from the interview conducted with beggars showed that there were many physically healthy individuals, like the participants themselves, who were getting money from begging in Addis Ababa. For instance, a 23-years-old participant who was interviewed at Piassa Jegole Square said

I began begging 6 years before. At that time there were disabled beggars begging around religious areas and in streets during holidays. Today there are many people who are leading their life by begging while they are healthy. Don't ask me why I beg while I am physically fit and be able to look for various jobs. We are frequently asked this kind of question...

(Beggar No. 10, 23-years-old, November, 2019).

The other participant interviewed around Tikur Anbessa Hospital noticed an increase in the number of physically healthy adult beggars in the city. According to this participant, the increasing incidence of healthy beggars was visible to everyone living in the city. What was exciting for the participant was the competition of beggars on territory rather than their increase in number. Her response showed that those who beg around Piassa were not allowed to go to other areas of the city to beg, especially if the other area was occupied by other beggars. She remarked that there were specific areas identified as territory of certain groups of beggars.

...you see healthy beggars at various locations of Addis Ababa. Some of them beg around churches; some others beg in streets; some others are found in public and government organizations like hospitals (she begs in hospitals); and again others stay on specific areas. Most of the time, we (beggars) fight against each other on areas where to beg. Some locations in the city are reserved for specific beggars. Nobody can beg at those reserved places. For instance, the area of Ras Desta Bridge is kept for some known individuals. I can't stand for an hour and beg around that area. Similarly Filwuha area is kept for few identified beggars (A female beggar No. 12, 29-years-old, November, 2019).

Likewise, an interview conducted at Filwuha area with a 26-years-old man showed that the number of adult beggars who were physically healthy was increasing from time to time. The

participant further explained that beggary was attracting many new comers from rural areas of the country.

Years before, I used to observe people who have the right to beg. You know that there are individuals who need help from people around them. These beggars are those who have injury/disability on their body. They are those who lost their vision, hand or leg. There are beggars who beg because they are very old and some of them are sick. I will not be surprised if I see these groups of people begging. They have socially accepted reason and the society gave informal permission for them to beg. But, begging by healthy individuals like me is becoming a common way of earning a living, though it is unaccepted by our society. I know able bodied individuals who have recently begun begging around Kaliti ... (Beggar No. 14, November, 2019).

Data obtained from a female participant interviewed near Menilik Hospital clearly showed that the practice of begging among physically healthy adult people was eye-catching. According to her response begging among the so called healthy people was increasing because they are getting relatively sufficient amount of money. Below is the quote taken from the interview conducted with her.

“...Very recently, the competition of beggars against one another is high. We are competing on location and on whom to ask. This is because our number (beggars) is escalating. I invited my friend to beg with me because I’m collecting money and food by exerting minimum effort... There are beggars who were called up on by their friends and relatives and remained a famous beggar. I’m telling you about healthy beggars, not disabled beggars...” (Beggar No. 2, 23-years-old, October, 2019).

As mentioned in the method section, three officials from LSAB-AACG were interviewed and audio recorded. Among the many available employees working in the bureau,

the officials chosen for the interview were those working directly on street dwellers and vulnerable people. Data obtained from them revealed that begging behavior among physically healthy people was so common in Addis Ababa city. The interviewed individuals in LSAB-AACG clearly remarked that the problem is knocking the door of all concerned individuals and organizations. The bureau tried its best to minimize the number of beggars and ultimately stop beggary. The data revealed that attempts to minimize beggary, specifically begging by healthy individuals have been made at various times, though the attempts were unsuccessful. The quote taken from an interview conducted with LSAB-1 is given below.

The problem of physically healthy beggars is well understood by our organization. There are a number of individuals who are physically fit enough but who are making money from begging. I can assure you that these beggars can work more than ten hours a day because they are physically fit and strong. Some of them beg by hiring cars and large speakers to publicize that they need large amount of money for treatment inside or outside the country. Some others use children as begging agents. What is amazing here is that those who have no children pay more than 2000. 00 birr per month for parents of the children. They beg during day time having children with them for gaining public attention. The children will be sent back to their parents each day after using them as a begging tool. Simply put, these guys are earning a good deal of wealth from begging (PI, December, 2019).

An interview conducted with LSAB-2 revealed that there are adults who seem physically fit but beg using various eye-catching techniques.

...they are observed to a large extent in places where the practice of begging is mostly conducted. Churches, traffic lights, bus and train stations, and near ATM machines are some of the areas where they spend their time. You see them equally begging with those

who are injured and disabled. Let me give you very interesting information. Artificial injury models which are meant for the purpose of begging are being produced in Merkato. Beggars pay certain amount of money to fix the model on their body so that they can easily be a focus of alms givers. By the way, they are so smart that the method they employ to get the attention of passers-by is a result of creative thinking. I began thinking that it would have been so important for our country's development if the ability of beggars to create ideas that help them collect money was properly cultivated and used (PI, December, 2019).

Among the three officers of LSAB-AACG who participated in the study, the final interviewee was the manager of the organization. She focused mainly on the measures taken by the bureau to curb the problems of people who lived in streets including beggars. According to her response, though the organization led by her frequently tried its best to reduce the number of people living in streets and ultimately create employment opportunities, it was not successful due to various reasons. The major reason was that beggars found the job (beggary) profitable. She further explained about the commonness of physically healthy beggars as:

The bureau, together with Addis Ababa city administration and other concerned non-government organizations, is working to improve the city. In doing so, our primary concern is to clean up the city from street dwellers because there are many crimes associated with street dwelling. It is estimated that there are more than 50,000 people living in streets of Addis Ababa. Of course we do not know the number of people involved in begging. We believe that the majority of them are beggars. We prepared 8 sites in 8 different sub-cities. By the way, there are only two sub-cities which have no site at present, Addis Ketema and Gulele sub-cities. In a single night we relocated about 3000 street dwellers and relocated them to these sites (the researcher was not allowed to visit the sites (PI, December, 2019).

4.3 Begging as a Full or Extra Time Job

One of the question participants were asked through interview was whether they were engaged in economic activities other than begging or simply relied on begging as source of revenue. Accordingly, the majority of them (17) replied that they were practicing beggary as a full time job. These participants were earning a living from beggary and considering beggary as a permanent or lifetime work. For instance, a 22-years-old woman interviewee believed that the only job available in this world was beggary. She remarked that the world was unfair and discriminatory.

Begging in Addis Ababa is not an easy task. It is full of hardships. But I chose it as a way of life. I work it day and night. Some people insult you and humiliate you. My goal is to survive. I have to feed my son. Therefore I have to strongly move from one corner to the other corner the whole day. Begging is everything to me and many others who have no one to hire them. Getting hired in organizations or to get job you need to have money or you have to have a close family member who is appointed at higher position (Beggar No. 11, 23-years-old, November, 2019).

The other woman explained that she had no chance of getting other job except begging. The following paragraph was quoted from her response.

...I'm not educated. I know that those who are well educated are also not getting employment opportunities. Great deals of people living in streets of Addis Ababa did not get employment opportunities though they possess certain kind of skill. Since I'm not educated or I don't have extra skill I can't get other job than begging. I only rely on beggary. Today, it is time of high competition. You need to be fit enough to survive. Many of my friends are healthy and they could be successful if they got the opportunity of employment. Since there are no employment opportunities we are leading our life by

standing in front of people (begging). Extra job is unthinkable at my level. ...We are happy but we might not be happier than others (Beggar No. 8, 33-years-old, October, 2019).

The mother of two children interviewed at Mexico in the month of November 2019 was also among the full time beggars together with her children. She was begging from Legehar area up to Torhailoch. According to her response she spent much of her time begging in and around Torhailoch train station.

In the morning I beg around Legehar and Mexico. In the afternoon I go to Torhailoch train station because you meet many people inside and around the station. Have you ever seen the queue? It is too long. By the way that is my peak time (afternoon). Sometimes I collect about 200.00 birr in half a day although some people are not happy because as you see me I look healthy... Being healthier is not sufficient to make money from various activities” (Beggar No. 17, 30-years-old).

One of the tools used, in this research, for data collection was focus group discussion. Accordingly data from FGD revealed that the practice of begging among physically healthy beggars in Addis Ababa was widespread on traffic lights, market areas, religious places, and very recently on trains and near train stations. The number of people, who considered beggary as a major livelihood strategy, though tiresome, was rising. These street dwellers beg 7 days a week to earn a living. The FGD showed that it was impossible to think other job besides beggary due to the fact that the job required physical strength and standing for hours in streets. The discussants further added that standing or sitting across major streets had many challenges including rain, high or low temperature, and blowing dust.

Discussant number 2 of the FGD conducted at Jegole Square, Piassa, in December 2019 explained that *“Most of us beg all the days that are found in a week. I think there are few*

beggars who are engaging in other jobs. But I, including my friends, have no other job. By the way it is unthinkable to participate in other jobs simultaneously due to the difficult nature of the behavior.” The other discussant (number 5) said “... *I have to move from one place to the other or I have to stand or sit down across street for many hours to feed myself. Begging requires huge energy and power. Since it is so tiresome I can't do other economic activities.*”

As mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, the majority of the participants were those who relied totally on begging. Their single source of revenue was beggary. On the other hand, 6 participants were found doing other job along with beggary. These participants were begging for some hours in a day and shifting to other economic activities in the remaining portion of a day. Among the types of jobs these beggars were doing along with beggary were selling small items, shoe polishing, serving as guard at private residents, prostitution, and cooking food on different occasions. For instance, a 29-years-old woman replied: “*I usually prepare food on ceremonies like wedding and holidays through payment. You don't see me in streets around the month of January because there are lots of weddings. You know I am a famous cooker*” (Beggar No. 12, Tikur Anbessa Hospital, November, 2019).

The other participant who was earning a living both from begging and selling tissue paper, gum, biscuit, and similar small items was interviewed at Megenagna. He reported that the money he collected from begging was some times better than the money he earned from selling small items mentioned above.

Previously, I divided my day time into two. If I spent selling objects in the morning I used to beg in the afternoon. Through time I learnt that begging is more productive early in the morning and in the afternoon. From my experience I can tell you that if you beg from 7:00-9:00 AM in the morning and from 4:00-5:30:00 PM in the afternoon you will never and ever go back to your home without having certain amount of money in

your pocket. The remaining hours of a day are spent in selling goods (Beggar No. 6, 21-years-old, October, 2019).

4.4 Reasons Accounting for Begging

In this section, it was attempted to identify why physically healthy adults beg while they were able to engage in culturally appropriate businesses. Before presenting the reasons that led physically healthy adults to lead their life through begging, it has to be clear that reasons that led deserving beggars (disabled beggars, child beggars, old-age beggars, etc) were thoroughly investigated by the researcher. It was speculated, in this research, that there could be different reasons that probably pushed physically healthy individuals to beg since the participants of this study had no outwardly observed reason forcing them to beg. To this end, new and unique reasons that led physically healthy adults to earn a living through begging were identified (represented by asterisk in the table below). Nevertheless, the reasons accounting for culturally accepted groups to beg, as revealed by previous researchers have also been found accountable for physically healthy beggars too.

The following table illustrates the factors that pushed participants who participated both in the qualitative and quantitative data to resort to begging. It has to be noted that participants were given the chance of selecting more than one factor that they believed was/were among the major reason/s that forced them to begin life in streets through begging.

Table 4. Reasons Accounting for Beginning Life in Streets

Factors	Qualitative		Quantitative		Qual + Quan		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total
* Recommended by others	13	5	7	4	20	9	29
Unable to find job	5	11	12	18	17	29	46
Poverty	10	14	18	21	28	35	63
Family problems	5	14	11	17	16	31	47
Political reason (war, displacement, etc)	4	3	2	5	6	8	14
profitable job	3	4	7	4	10	8	18
* Other jobs are physically too demanding	4	2	3	3	7	5	12
I have no one who take charge of me	3		16	2	19	2	21

As indicated in the Characteristics of Respondents section, it is clear that the majority of the respondents were born outside Addis Ababa and moved to the capital for different reasons. Unfortunately, among the respondents born outside Addis Ababa, eight of them were migrated to the capital for the purpose of making money from begging. They came to the capital aiming that they would be able to lead their life through begging and that they can earn a living from begging

Previous research studies conducted on begging among disabled beggars, old age beggars and child beggars revealed that reasons such as inability to find job, profitability of begging and political reasons were some of the causes forcing individuals to begin to earn a living through begging; in addition to being disabled and aged (Ahamdi, 2010; Groce, et al., 2014; Negese, 2008). Although these research works focused on begging, the nature and

characteristics of this study was totally different from participants of earlier researches. As mentioned frequently in previous sections, the current study focused on beggars who were physically healthy so that able to do formal jobs. Nevertheless, the reasons accounting for begging, in previous research findings, were also found to be identified as reasons pushing participants of this study to earn a living through begging.

Furthermore, some participants of this study reported that they began to beg in streets because begging do not require unique knowledge and skill. They didn't try to look for other legal or formal jobs since they are too demanding when compared to begging. Similarly, some of the participants began to earn a living through begging just by receiving requests from other beggars who previously joined the activity of begging.

According to the officials working at LSAB of Addis Ababa city government, some of the reasons that pushed physically healthy individuals to lead their life through begging were religious beliefs, work habit of the community, profitability of begging, and the culture of our society associated to alms giving. Here is what one of the participants said:

Many of the healthy beggars observed in streets are not actually poor. They are not the right person to beg. They beg because they know that begging is currently a profitable job. As I heard the healthy beggars are fighting with disabled beggars in streets. Disabled beggars are complaining to our office that the healthy ones did not allow them to beg in areas where they are available. The reason is clear that if both able bodied and disabled beggars beg together, obviously people prefer to give to the disabled ones (LSAB, 14).

The other official explained about the reasons that forced physically healthy individuals to beg as follows:

It is agreed that we, Ethiopians, are lazy people. We want to be rich as fast as possible. I think religion played its own role on us to develop poor work habit. We collected beggars and other street dwellers from streets and gave them training on various skills. After completing the training, we provided them 12,000.00 birr believing that they can begin their own business. Some of them were found while begging in streets. Mindless, it is after taking the training and the money that they were found in streets. This is simply because they don't want to exert maximum effort to get money from other jobs. You know, begging is so simple that everybody can do it (LSAB, 15).

4.5 Daily Income and Work Experience

Concerning their experience, from the interview participants, more than half of them (19) had experience of begging for more than three years, whereas the remaining participants were making money from begging for the last seven and above years (see table 2 below). The table also shows the amount of money participants collected through begging.

Table 5. Daily Income and Work Experience

For how long have you been engaged in begging?			Daily Income					
			On Bad Days			On Good Days		
	f	%		f	%		f	%
< a year	2	8.7	No income	2	8.7	No income		
1-3 year	9	39	Less than 50 birr	6	26	< 50 birr	1	4.4
4-7 year	8	34.8	50-100 birr	8	34.8	50-99 birr	2	8.7
8-10 year	3	13.1	Above 100 birr	2	8.7	100-200 birr	6	26
Above 10 year	1	4.4	No bad days	5	21.8	201-300 birr	8	34.8
						Above 300	6	26

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

As can be seen from the table, five of the research participants reported that there was no bad day in their begging life. Each day yields sufficient amount of money for their daily consumption. These participants believed that it is the person (beggar) that makes his/her day good or bad. A 34-years-old participant narrated:

There is no 'Bad' day in my begging life because it is I who is going to make my day good or bad. I usually begin begging here (Filwuha area). I always begin begging here at about 7:30 AM. I ask as many people as I can very quickly. If I get money it is ok but if I don't I have to immediately go to other areas to continue begging... in most cases I earn up to 200.00 birr in a single day (A male Beggar No. 7, October, 2019).

Similarly a female beggar number four interviewed at Biherawi in October 2019 underlined that all days in a week are equal. It is the time at which someone begs that matters more than the day itself. She said *"I beg seven days a week. All the days are equally important. Of course Sunday is unique. You may not get as equal money as the other six days. On Sunday you have to go to special areas like church, hotels, and places where wedding ceremonies are celebrated. You don't have to remain in streets. If you ask for money on weekends in streets the day will never be good. Any way I usually collect from 150.00 to 200.00 birr on weekends and more than that on week days (24-years-old).*

On the contrary, the amount of money a female participant collected even on good days was not more than 100.00 birr. She also got food from others only once in 2 days. She further added that there were many days in which she returned back to her plastic house having nothing at her hands. *"I am not lucky as my colleagues. I go back to my sleep area (house made of plastics) with nothing earned. I didn't understand whether the problem is with me or that I am created to suffer a lot"* (Beggar No. 5, 21-years-old).

To collect the amount of money indicated in the table and paragraphs above, beggars were expected to work hard. They have to reach as many people as they can. Interview results showed that on the average participants received alms after getting nothing from eight consecutive trials. This means that they got money on the ninth person on average. A male participant interviewed in the month of November explained:

.... I do not ask each and every individual I meet in the streets. You have to be selective. You have to be smart enough and able to identify those who would probably give you. There are people who insult you, curse you, and disregard you. So, if you are smart enough you will get good response may be after 10 trials (Beggar No. 13, 26-years-old).

A 30-years-old male beggar explained:

As a beggar, I don't have to refrain from begging so as to survive. I keep on asking whether I get or not. Ask, ask, and ask. Beg, beg, and beg again...Most of the time I get money after visiting 12-15 people, but sometimes I receive money even after 3 or 4 attempts (Beggar No. 3, October, 2019).

In the same vein the other participant narrated that she was earning about 350.00 birr each day on average. Together with her children (she had two children) the amount of money they earned was more than 400.00 birr.

Sometimes I collect about 200.00 birr in half a day although some people are not happy because as you see me I look healthy. I earn more than 250.00 birr each day and my children come back to home having more than 100.00 birr. But if God is not with us (bad day) we get less than 100.00 birr... Nevertheless, my children come to home with food in many cases (Beggar No. 17, 30-years-old).

The results obtained from the focus group discussions similarly revealed that participants earned adequate amount of money in most cases including items like food and cloth. The data obtained from the discussants of the FGD revealed that the amount of money they earned each day depends on the place and time at which begging was practiced. Their response showed that the first three hours of the morning (6:00 AM to 9:00 AM) and the last two hours (4:00 PM to 6:00 PM) of the afternoon were appropriate time for getting reasonable amount of money. The other determinant factor of the amount of money earned was holidays. Data showed that participants collected more than 600.00 birr on average on holidays. The first discussant of the FGD conducted at Filwuha clearly underlined that they were too much happy with holidays.

We love holidays specially that of religious holidays. Each and every holiday is well celebrated by us (beggars) than any other people, because a single holiday is celebrated as double... we pray for more holidays to be added to the existing ones. I get not less than 800.00 birr during Eid holidays.

Discussant number 4 explained: *“We beg either individually or in a group. Being in group yields better money but it has its own problem while distributing the money among ourselves.. On one occasion we (a group having 3 members) collected 1700.00 birr. I earned 740.00 and 450.00 birr the last x-mass and Epiphany respectively... I usually earn about 200.00 birr on other days.”*

The last theme of the study was about satisfaction of participants with their daily income and the job itself. Participants were asked whether they were satisfied with begging behavior and the amount of money they earned each day. Accordingly, 17 of the participants were found satisfied with their daily income than the job. They were forced to stay in streets for the fact that the money they earned motivated them to stay in streets and lead their life through begging.

Four participants reported that they were unsatisfied with both the amount of money and the job itself. The remaining two participants explained that they were really happy with the amount of money they collected and that they are enjoying life through begging.

4.6 Strategies Used by Physically Healthy Adult Beggars

In the context of this study, begging by physically healthy beggars was defined as asking people with whom the physically healthy beggars have no close ties for a non-reciprocated gift such as money, food, and cloth. The result obtained from participants of the study, in relation to strategies or techniques used to approach almsgivers, was found almost similar with techniques that have been used by beggars with disability, old-age beggars, child beggars, and other types of beggars in previous research findings (these techniques are given below). The only unique strategy obtained from the data was that participants had to walk certain distance with the person whom they beg. In doing so, they will get the chance of explaining their heart touching reasons just to get pity.

The FGDs of the current study revealed that participants used various begging strategies to get the attention of almsgivers so that they can easily attain their goal. *“In most cases I show respect for people I beg by using words of respect such as ‘Yene Geta’ (My Lord), ‘Yemesafint zer’ (Royal Family Member), ‘Yelij Habtam’ (Deep Pocketed Young), etc”* (Discussant Number 2, Filwuha).

The other participant said: *“Although I have to frequently change techniques, many times I appear as if I ate nothing for hours. Sometimes I go certain distance with the person I beg so that I will get room to get sympathy of the person”* (Discussant Number 1, Piassa).

A 28-years-old female participant of the FGD narrated that she was using some religious terms, wearing used up clothes and occasionally new clothes, using words that show that she was in a very serious hunger, telling that she has children to take care.

In general, the strategies physically healthy beggars used included:

- Presenting themselves as sick
- Wearing worn out clothes and occasionally new clothes
- Using religious words and pretending to be a religious person or leader
- Using words that show respect to alms givers
- Looking starved
- Expressing that they have many responsibilities such as caring and feeding children, educating children and taking care of older parents, etc.
- Going certain distance with the person whom they beg

As already mentioned earlier in this section, many of the strategies employed by participants of the current study to meet their goal (to get money and food) were found similar with strategies previously identified by other researchers. For instance, Abebaw (2003) and Fireyihun (2011) found that beggars look starved and sick and wear worn out and dirty clothes while begging.

4.7 Challenges Beggars Faced and Coping Strategies Employed

Living in streets, especially in houses (if some of the participants' houses could be named so) made up of papers, cartons, plastic materials, and worn out clothes obviously exposes to various forms of challenges. From our day-to-day experiences, people who live in streets are predisposed to various forms of violence and abuses when compared to those who live in relatively better houses. Since the participants of this study were beggars who were living in streets or who were spending much of their daily life in streets, the chance of getting exposed to certain forms of challenges was high.

With reference to the houses participants of the study were living in, they can be categorized in to three groups. The first group was those who were begging the whole day and went back to their parents' home during night time. These participants were very few in number. The second group of participants was those who were living by hiring private houses.

They usually stay the whole day and about a quarter of each night in streets. Similarly, they were few in number. The third group was those who made their entire life in streets. These participants constitute the largest proportion of the study participants. Unfortunately, it was members of this group that were found aggressively abused.

Data concerning the challenges beggars faced in streets were collected from interviews and FGDs conducted with beggars who participated in the qualitative part. Officials from LSAB of Addis Ababa city government were also interviewed for the purpose of validating the data obtained from beggars. Accordingly, the result obtained from beggars showed that most of them were suffering from different forms of abuse, where the inflictors of the abuse were law enforcers (police and *denb askebari*), alms givers, street dwellers, intoxicated people who go around, and even beggars themselves.

A participant interviewed around 'Ras Mekonnen' bridge listed out the type of challenges they usually face in street on a regular basis. He further narrated that life in streets would be attractive if abuses were not there.

Life in street by itself is so challenging. The worst comes when it is accompanied by abuse. Shall I list down the types of abuse we experience in street?" The interviewer showed his agreement by head nodding. *"...sexual abuse, beating by law enforcers, insult, and robbery. In the absence of these types of abuses life would have been attractive in streets of Addis Ababa. You know, we bother for nothing except for the money we need for filling our stomach and for our drug. To be honest, I prefer drugs than food. If we get certain amount of money, that is all. We pass day-time safely but when night comes, we feel terrible. People need us for various purposes. Some need to speak out their sour feelings; others want to relax and have good sexual time both with*

female and male beggars. Did you understand what I'm telling you? (A male beggar No. 20, 19-years-old, January, 2020).

The oldest participant of the study explained that, although, he was able to defend against naturally happening events such as rain, too high cold and hot, etc. he was not in a position of resisting abuses occurring from people.

...I am trying to overcome natural forces that harm us like sun, wind, rain... I found it very difficult to stop or prevent human abusers. For example, I can't go to bed as early as I need. You can't sleep when you feel exhausted. Going to bed is not determined by your body's need. It is rather determined by how strong you are to protect yourself and how much ready you are to accept the challenges. Furthermore, the time you choose to go to bed matters. You don't have to think to sleep before midnight. You have to device certain techniques in certain ways to protect yourself... We move in a group for the purpose of protecting ourselves (40-years-old, No. 16, November, 2019).

The other female interviewee depicted the fact that unexpected people ('unexpected' was to mean wealthy and famous people plus individuals having authority) visited them at different times for sexual abuse.

Unthinkable people visit us for abuse. We observe individuals who park a car at some distance and approach us. They know that we are poor and that we need money. People from all walks of life including huge organization managers and athletes visit us. You may argue that it is good to be with these individuals, but they usually want to go beyond our interest and capacity. I don't want to stay with unfamiliar people simply because I am poor (No. 23, 20-years-old, January, 2020).

Furthermore, a male interviewee of age 34 said “... *many times I and my friends experience sexual abuse from beggars and non-beggars of same sex. Homosexuality is very common at night. We frequently change our address due to fear of sexual abuse. Although many forms of abuses we are facing, this one is so serious*” (No. 7, October, 2019).

A women participant reported that although every individual who live in a street get abused, women beggars were experiencing uniquely cruel form of abuse from various groups. The abuse ranges from sexual harassment to property damage. An interviewee of age 30 illustrated this point in the following way.

It makes me sad to tell you about the challenges I and my children (the participant has two children) are experiencing. I can say that I am being abused daily. It is not uncommon to, at least, hear words of insult like ‘anchi shermuta, yeshermuta lij’ ... Some others want to have sex forcefully. I may agree if I have no money at hand because I have to feed my children (No. 17, November, 2019).

Attention-grabbing result was obtained from a female beggar interviewed around ‘Biherawi’. The interviewee explained that even though people think that beggars and street dwellers are thieves, there are beggars who were the victims of theft.

People think that we (beggars) have no possessions. There are beggars and street dwellers who are the owner of many properties, though, many of us are genuinely poor. Besides, people sense that street dwellers are thieves. For your surprise, there are beggars who lost their possessions by thieves (No. 4, 24-years-old, October, 2019).

The other participant sadly mentioned the car accident he observed in street. “...*we faced many severe challenges in our life. There are individuals who are injured by police stick. Car accident is among the many accidents street dwellers face. Many drivers drive by taking*

alcohol during night time. As you know, due to various reasons, we regularly spend night in streets. We are so close to get exposed to car accidents. I know a woman who lost her child by a car accident. It was three years before that a car killed one of our colleague's children in front of Biherawi" (A male beggar No. 19, 20-years-old, January, 2020).

As mentioned somewhere in this document, LSAB together with Addis Ababa city government prepared campsites for educating and rehabilitating street dwellers. A 20-years-old beggar participant explained that street dwellers were dislocated without their consent and that he will not happy to be taken away from street and from his habitual life style.

It has been three months that one of my friends was dislocated to one of the sites prepared for eradicating street dwellers. The government is removing us from streets at various times without our consent. Many of us don't like to be taken away from our routine life. I enjoy living here (in street) due to many reasons. Life in other places is difficult for us (street dwellers). If I were dislocated like my friend, I would get mad. I don't want to begin to learn new way of life. I am waiting for my friend to come back to street and join me... I can assure you that he will come as soon as he could (A male interviewee No. 19, January, 2020).

Significant number of participants reported that it was their day-to -day life experience of getting punished and abused by law enforcers. Law enforcers (polices) are responsible to watch the peace and safety of the people. In doing so, they usually clash with beggars because it is obvious that people who beg in streets interfere with the day-to-day life activities of others. Beggars usually do their job near traffic lights, market places, religious areas, and places where large number of people is found. Police forces normally keep the security of people by making themselves available around these areas. One of the respondents said

I used to be beaten by police forces when I began this job (begging) years before. Now I have learnt much from my life. I already know when and how to beg by minimizing the beat and the stick. Many of my friends are being beaten by them. The abuse is serious when the city is responsible to host international and continental meetings... (A male beggar No. 13, 26-years-old, November, 2019).

As far as the data were concerned, it was found that beggars were found to be perpetrators of a number of abuses perpetuated on people living in streets as they were victims. Though participants of the study clearly indicated that they were abused by various groups of people, including police, the type and severity of abuses they faced from their colleagues were remarkable.

...There are many issues that are responsible for a conflict to happen among people living in streets. Most of the time, we fight against each other on specific places to beg. Some locations in the city are reserved for specific beggars. Nobody can beg on those reserved areas. For instance, the area of Ras Mekonnen Bridge is kept for few known individuals. I can't stand for an hour and beg around that area. Similarly Filwuha area is reserved for few known beggars (A male interviewee No. 10, 23-years-old, November, 2019).

Likewise, another participant revealed that the fight that happens between them was so frustrating to him.

...each and every day, conflict happens between street dwellers. Disagreement between people living together is natural. I think the main reason for the conflict between beggars is the use of alcohol and lack of money (poverty). Obviously if they consume mind-changing spice (to mean alcohol and related drugs), they spend the whole night fighting and without sleep. They can't survive without drugs because drugs are part of

their life... when I don't get money, I try to get from someone beside me (other beggar or street dweller) because, you know, I don't have to go to bed with empty stomach (A female beggar No. 4, 24-years-old, October, 2019).

Similarly, results of the interview conducted with the officials working at LSAB of Addis Ababa city government clearly revealed that beggars were experiencing various forms of challenges.

I have contact with some beggars who are currently begging in streets and who are at campsites prepared, for the purpose of cleansing the city, by our office and Addis Ababa city government (eight campsites were prepared). At different times I heard that beggars are insulted, beaten, and sexually abused. I also heard that there are beggars who are seriously injured. The other point I shall note is that beggars are being stricken by polices (LSAB, 15).

The other official from the bureau made clear that he knows about the abuse beggars are exposed to. He was well informed that street dwellers were prone to abuse.

Since we work with police and other law enforcing bodies, we have the information. As there are beggars who harm their body for begging purpose, there are others who were abused by various groups. There are cases where street dwellers are harmed by intoxicated individuals. We also know that they usually fight among themselves. Although there are beggars who help law enforcing groups by giving information, there are also beggars who are engaged in harming other street dwellers (LSAB, 14).

It was attempted to include data from observation concerning the challenges participants of the study faced in streets for triangulation purpose. Unfortunately, it was found impossible to see when participants were exposed to various forms of abuse due to many reasons. The first reason was that many participants were not willing to tell exact areas where they regularly work

and sleep. The other reason was the time at which beggars were exposed to abuse was unsuitable to conduct observation. It was mentioned earlier in this section that many of the beggars exposed to abuses were those who spend the whole night in streets. Much of the abuses happened at night than day time. Therefore, the researcher was unable to conduct observation at night due to security issues. To, at least, have sort of data from observation on challenges happening on street dwellers, it was attempted to see when street dwellers and beggars who were not participants of the current study were humiliated by police and alms givers. Accordingly, it was observed, in some instants, that individuals who were comparable, in many ways, to the participants of this study were facing abuse from alms givers, police forces, and *denb askebaries*. Of course, it is the duty of police and *denb askebaries* to keep the day-to-day life activities of the citizens protected. The problem associated with the methods that law enforcers applied was that they were using excessive force. It was also observed that the law enforcers were trying to restore the order unwisely. The researcher observed that representatives of the city's police and *denb askebaries* were trying to eliminate beggars from where they beg. It was also noticed that polices were beating individuals who were begging on traffic light found around *Sholla*.

In general, the various forms of abuse or challenges participants of the study were experiencing, at the time of data collection are summarized as follows:

1. Various words of insult and disrespect
Example: 'Sertesh Atibeyim', 'Yelemagn Lij', 'Leba', 'Wedeza Hiji'
2. Strike by stick
3. Dislocating to different sites in the city and to hot areas of the country
Example: to Inkulal Fabrika, to 8 sites found in different sub-cities, to Afar
4. Sexual abuse, including homosexuality
5. Being suspected as a thief and criminal

6. Theft

7. Car accident

At this point, it may be possible to ask about the coping strategies beggars employed when they are exposed to the forms of abuse indicated above. Did they have any technique that helped them get away? What were the strategies they were using to solve the problem? The following quote was taken from an interview conducted with a 40-years-old interviewee in the month of November, 2019.

I remember when I was caught by two polices. They hit me until I was unable to stand up from my seat. I remember that I was looking for other's help on that particular occasion. You can run away when you see polices. The problem is when you are abused by others. This time you can't escape because you don't know who is an abuser from the many people approaching you. For example, you don't know who is in need of robbing your property. You don't know who have planned to put you in danger. What you could do is either shouting loudly so that others could help you or accepting the abuse and living with it. This is what most of us do (A male interviewee No. 16).

Another interviewee said

...we are susceptible to various forms of abuse as we are living in homes made of papers and plastic materials. Our homes are not meant for the purpose of protecting us from abusers. Rather our houses protect us from wind and cold. There are some blessed individuals who take care of us. We have schedule of protecting ourselves. Some of us do not sleep while the rest members of the group go to sleep. ...By the way, there are forms of abuse to be tolerated. For instance we may agree for sexual abuse if we need money and if the abuser is ready to pay (A female interviewee of age 21, No. 5, October, 2019).

Likewise, an interviewee interviewed recently in January 2020 revealed that she had friends so that they protect one another by moving and sleeping together. *"The only thing we have to do to protect ourselves is to form a group and protect one another. We move together during night time and we also sleep together"* (A female beggar, No. 22, 20-years-old).

Very interestingly a female participant met and interviewed in the month of October, 2019 indicated that she has no option other than accepting the evil deeds she was experiencing and that she has already adapted to the abuses.

When I began life in street, I was so disappointed by challenges I went through. Gradually, I began to think that challenges are part of this form of life... you will be forced to think that if you want to continue to live in the street, you have to accept the things happening. No other option is available for me. ...I don't have a house or a pistol. I told you before that my house couldn't protect me because it is a kind of house having no strong material in it. By the way if you look at the materials my house was built from you will find no wood. The plastic is stretched by rope. How could this house be able to protect me from dangers? (No. 5, 21-years-old)

Figure 2. One of the Participants' house



Similarly data from FGDs showed that beggars were using various types of tactics to cope up with abuse they faced in streets. Among the techniques raised in FGDs were: using drugs to forget or suppress pain, trying to get sympathy of abusers, accepting and believing that abuse was part of their life, running away, etc.

Results concerning techniques participants used to avoid the challenges and cope up with challenges they were regularly facing as obtained from FGD held at Piassa, Jegole Square, in December 2019 are summarized as follows.

The first 26-years-old female discussant said *“I usually smoke cigarette when stroke, disappointed, and disregarded. It is my simple and easily applicable way of escaping”* A female discussant number 3 of age 19 explained about the techniques she used briefly as *“...I ask the person (abuser) not to harm me saying ‘sileset lij amlak, beset tichekinaleh? ere ibakihin tewegn’ etc and similar other words to get pity of the abuser.”*

The following quote was taken from the same FGD. Three discussants replied to the probes following the main question about the techniques they employed to escape from abuses. *“...One thing you need to know is that we are also abusers as we are subject to abuse. Therefore one of our methods is abusing other street dwellers. I think you get surprised. Any way this is our technique...”* (Discussant No. 5, 28-years-old).

The researcher asked the group members why and what form of abuses they inflict. A female discussant responded: *“...if we don’t have money in our pocket we tend to harm others. When we see someone who holds money and if we feel that there is a room to take the money away, we will do it”* (Discussant No. 2, 20-years-old).

A 19-years-old male discussant added: *“All of us use substance. We smoke cigarette, shisha, and sometimes we use hashish. As you know we can’t tolerate if we don’t get these substances. So we look for another way of getting money or drug. It could be theft or fighting”*.

The techniques participants were using so as to cope up with the various forms of abuses they were experiencing are summarized as follows:

1. running away
2. crying and roaring
3. forming group and protecting each other
4. going to bed or sleeping turn by turn
5. frequently changing areas of begging and moving to different corners of the city
6. using substance
7. accepting the abuse and considering it as part of life
8. growing animals like dog
9. forming agreement with abusers on certain occasions. For instance, agreeing on amount of money if the abuser wants to have sex with them.
10. abusing others in turn
11. applying to law enforcers

4.8 Quality of Life

To measure quality of life, initially, it was attempted to identify major dimensions of quality of life that have broad legal tender in the contemporary literature. Then, among the components identified from the literature, five were selected based on the living habits of participants and the nature of the problem under discussion. As a result, qualitative data were collected under these components and two more components that were found relevant for the problem under consideration which were added to the existing ones. Accordingly, basic needs, schooling, participation in public affairs, recreation and leisure, relationship with families and the larger community, a feeling of security, and independent decision making were among the components of quality of life given emphasis.

The findings of both interviews and FGDs generally revealed that there were few participants who reported that they were happy in leading their life through begging. These participants were proud of being beggars. The life quality of these participants was also found to be better than the majority of the participants of the study. In the following sections the components of QoL have been presented and finally the findings concerning those participants who were happy in the practice of beggary have been presented.

4.8.1 Basic Needs

In this component of quality of life, how participants were obtaining food, pure water and the nature and quality of houses they were living in were assessed by the help of the interview and the FGDs and presented below.

4.8.1.1 House

Interview results indicated that the vast number of participants was living in a very harsh condition. Their life was full of tragedies. Many of them can't fulfill their basic needs. The houses they were living in were made up of plastic, carton, hard papers and worn-out clothes. The size of their house was also very small; not much bigger than the size of a big box.

A male participant narrated “...*Streets are my homes. See my face. It is burnt and totally changed due to an exposure to varying weather condition. Unless cleared away by police force we are always here; day and night, summer and winter.*” (They were not allowed to stay in streets when there were continental or international meetings in the city). The interviewee continued “*I want to live in a a better house but options are not available for me... this is my fate*” (No. 18, age 30, December 2019).

The other participant tried to persuade the researcher that the house she was living in does not fulfill the criteria that a house has to fulfill as follows.

There is nothing that I can tell you about my house. At first place, before interviewing me, you have to believe that I have no house, but I can tell you where I am spending night times. I usually beg the entire day in streets but at nights, most of the time I, together with my friends, built a house from plastic and hard papers around Sengatera. It is too small and meant only for sleeping purpose. It has no mattress, pillow, and bed sheet (A female interviewee of age 20, No.23, January, 2020).

Observation about the conditions of the houses of participants further indicated that participants of the study were living in very poor houses. More quotes taken from the interviews conducted with the beggars shows the conditions of their houses are given below.

...the house I am living in truly shows clear difference between human beings. The hierarchy is visible. I don't know why God need to create this much difference among his creatures. We all are his sons. Why he forced me to live in plastic house while allowing others to live in very attractive houses? You know, the gap is too high like the gap between the sky and the earth. ..My house is not in a position of protecting me from cold and rain. Houses protect people from rain. My house requires my help not to be destroyed by flood and blowing wind (A female beggar No. 11, 22-years-old, November 2019).

Similarly, a female interviewee of age 21 explained about her house by stressing on the fact that her house needs frequent maintenance due to the reason that it was built not from strong materials.

...let me add few points... my house is one of the things that made me ever busy. I have to repair it almost every day. Since it is built from papers and cartons it can't tolerate wind. Leave alone wind it can be destroyed by a sun ray. If one of its sides repaired today, the other sides also required maintenance the next days (No. 5, October, 2019).

A male participant who appears rich because he was found wearing better cloth and shoes reacted aggressively and said:

I don't have a house. I sleep here with my friends when I want to (figure below). We built a house twice last year. Kebele chairperson and polices destroyed our house (it was around Teklehaimanot Church). Most of the time, we spend our time in begging by moving from one area to the other. When we want to sleep and take rest, we simply do it beside the fence of the church. Sometimes we also go near Umar Semeter school that is found in front of Anwar mosque. This way, we are living (21-years-old, No. 6, October, 2019).

Although the majority of the participants were found living in poor houses, data revealed that there were few participants who were living in better houses on the other hand.

I was paying 700.00 birr per month for the house I rented three years before, but now I am paying 1700.00 birr for the same house. The house is getting older and older but its cost is increasing from year to year. I frequently planned to leave the house but my children can't live in houses which are similar to that of my friends (begging colleagues). Many street dwellers live in very poor houses that cannot protect them from cold. Some of them are living in houses that were not in a position of protecting them from night dangers (A female beggar No.1, 26-years-old, October 2019).

4.8.1.2 Food

As discussed in the section 'Daily Income' participants of the current study were receiving a relatively sufficient amount of money on average from alms givers. Though they had relatively better daily income, they were unable to get or buy the type of food they preferred. This was mainly associated with the substance usage. Significant number of

participants was using addictive drugs. The money they collected through begging was spent, to the larger extent, on purchasing drugs like *chat*, cigarette, and *mastish*.

A female participant said

Regularly, I use two methods of getting food: 1. I buy from non-costly restaurants. 2. moving around restaurants to beg for leftovers. Many restaurants prefer to give leftovers to us than throwing it as garbage. Thanks to Ethiopian people who made us throw something daily to our throat. I would like to say 'Long life to Ethiopia and Ethiopian people' ... when I always go to my sleep area (bed) in the middle of the night, there could be no money left in my pocket. But the next day I will be 80 % sure that I am able to get breakfast having no money in my pocket (No. 11, 22-years-old, November, 2019).

A 26-years-old participant who was interviewed around *Filwuha* gave supplementary idea on how he was able to get food and the quality of food he usually consumed. The participant further mentioned that his concern and major issue was not food.

...let me tell you that food is not our (his colleagues) primary and basic need. If we eat something in the morning we direct our attention to where we shall spend our time chewing chat and the amount of money that would help us buy some other drugs. Once we found a place where we chew chat and the money for buying it, we feel as if we have done more than half of our daily activities successfully. After chewing the chat, we will move to various corners of the city to beg. In the evening, we will try to get food if possible. Otherwise we will take some alcohol and pass the night either sleeping or sitting in streets. ...we don't bother for food. We need food not to die. We eat any type of food we get from restaurants and alms givers. Occasionally we buy food that does not cost us much (A male interviewee No. 14, November 2019).

The use of addictive drugs was so common among many participants. Drugs were preferred well than food for several participants. The amount of money spent for drugs and food was incomparable (see table 5).

I prefer spending money on chat and cigarette. I also drink alcohol. I can't live in the absence of chat and cigarette. We (also his friends) don't worry about the quality of food we eat. We protect ourselves from cold and bad weather conditions by hiding ourselves in substances. Substances are our guards. ... Though some of my friends regularly eat the food provided by 'Nisrochu' I usually consume leftovers I obtain from hotels and restaurants. (A male interviewee of age 23, No. 10).

Another female interviewee supported the above idea. She compared the amount of money spent for food and drugs

...there are people who sell leftover food in streets with fewer prices. I will get satisfied by spending only 15 to 25 birr depending on the type of the food. Eighty percent of the money I collect is spent in buying drugs and some amount is spent in house rent (No. 12, 29-years-old, November, 2019).

A 37-years-old participant interviewed at Piassa narrated that food was not their major problem. He further pointed out that they were getting their food from Nisrochu, and Yared and his brother.

The type and quality of food we use is not our primary concern. If we are able to fill our stomach with any kind of food, it is ok. We strive to fulfill our need of chat and various forms of drugs that we consume each day. We bother for whether we are able to feed ourselves ones or twice a day. ...food is thought after we have secured our extra costs. Thanks to Nisrochu, and Yared and his brother. They are feeding us daily. Sometimes

we go to Yared and some other time to Nisrochu (A male beggar No. 9, November, 2019).

Similarly another interviewee explained that he did not bother as such for what to eat and how to get it.

Usually, I think of something to be eaten when I wake up from my sleep in the morning. Once I collected the money which is sufficient for getting my breakfast, I have to shift my attention to how I will be able to get other forms of equipment needed for recreation (Recreation for the participant was using drugs). The amount of money I usually spend on food and other necessities is incomparable (A male beggar No. 13, 26-years-old).

The following table compares the estimated amount of money spent for food per week on average with that of drugs. Three male and three female participants' responses were taken randomly.

Table 6. Amount of Money Spent on Drugs and Food on Average

Code of the participant	Estimated amount of money spent for food per week on average	Estimated amount of money spent for drugs per week on average
4	539.00	700
22	315.00	600.00
23	420.00	350.00
6	70.00	700.00
13	175.00	560.00
9	940.00	0.00
	2,459.00 birr	2,910.00 birr

A unique way of getting food was obtained from the data. There was a participant who usually rotates around villages to secure his daily need of food. The participant had customers who usually provided him foodstuff. The quote taken from the interview conducted with him is given below:

...I feed myself well. Some of my friends are also fed by me some times. I have customers who give me food. The food can be leftover or nice food. If I receive food from one of my customers, I will never visit her back for about two or three days, and sometimes for a week. I wanted to sell the food for those who need leftovers but my friends did not allow me to do so. It is a good source of income. They will tear me down if I do it (A male participant No. 15, 35-years-old).

Data obtained from one of the participant was very unique. This participant was trying to identify himself with members of various families or groups to feed him-self. This technique is, in Amharic, known as ‘*Dinkuan Sebera / ድንኳን ሰበራ*’. The participant explains the technique of *dinkuan sebera* as follows.

Dinkuan Sebera is a way of earning food by going to houses where there are various celebrations. It could be wedding, death and funeral gatherings, mahber, tsebel qimesu, etc. My unique behavior is that I am good at gathering information on where such ceremonies are taking place. Once I identified the place and the house, I act like a member of the ceremony or the gathering. I try to serve others first. If it is death, I act like someone who lost a family member. I seriously cry and try to show how much grief I am experiencing. In many cases, I successfully feed myself in this way (A male interviewee of age 30, No. 18).

The other point discussed with participants was about the availability of pure water in areas where they were living. In this regard, interview results showed that the majority of the

participants were obtaining pure water. They were obtaining pure water from people living around their begging territory. *“People living around our begging areas give us water. We also go to nearby hotels to get water. Of course we have to know the time suitable to beg for water. If we go to hotels and cafeterias at times where there are many customers, we will be punished instead of getting water”* (A female participant of age 24, No. 21, January, 2020).

A 20-years-old female interviewee reported that she was getting water very easily:

I get water mostly from cafes. If I found water outside the cafeteria (some restaurants put water outside or on the get of the cafeteria so that customers wash their hands before moving inside), I simply drink and wash my hands without asking permission. Everybody gives you water. But we wash our clothes in flowing water found around Ras Mekonnen bridge (A female participant No. 23, January, 2020).

Figure 3. Participants Washing Cloth at Ras Mekonnen Bridge



The other female participant revealed that obtaining water was not difficult for her. She further showed that water is something having less value in Addis Ababa because there is no shortage of water in the city.

Water is not a problem in Addis Ababa. There is no shortage of drinking water even in streets. Everybody will give you. It is common to see flowing water here and there in the city even if not pure. You know that water is meant for washing dead body ውሃ እኮ የሬሳ ማጠቃለያ ነው ማን ይከለክላሃል! (23-years-old, No. 10, November, 2019).

Data obtained from another participant revealed that she was not thinking and worrying about getting pure water. The participant revealed that she was drinking any available water in her surrounding, even flood and small flowing water in rivers. She was interviewed near Gola Michael church and explained that she usually drinks and washes clothe by flowing water found around the church.

I don't remember the time at which I thought about drinking water. I need water to wash my cloth and also to clean my hands when I get food. Much of the time I eat without washing my hands. I know that water is helpful to prepare food. I don't need water because I don't prepare food (A female participant No. 11, 22-years-old).

As discussed in the method section, FGD was conducted for the third (challenges beggars faced in streets) and fourth (quality of life) objectives alone. While conducting the first FGD it was learnt that participants were unwilling to spend much time in discussing on issues in detail. So the researcher separated these two objectives requiring more time and detailed discussion and conducted FGD only on the two objectives. The FGD was conducted near Teklehaimanot church on six male participants.

Data obtained from this exclusive FGD revealed the same result in relation to basic needs like food, pure water, and house. Results were put in sequence as follows.

Initially, it was about food that was discussed with FGD participants. A male discussant number six said “...it is true that we can't survive without food. But, when I calculate the time we usually spend in searching for food, it is not worth mentioning. Considering its importance, I can say that we give far less time and energy for our food. I think it is because we eat anything obtained.” The other discussant number five mentioned that he consumed anything named as ‘food’. “At times of hunger, I use all kinds of items that are named ‘food’. I also eat food thrown in trash basket. So, as my friend said, searching for food does not require us much time”. The third discussant narrated “...crucial issue in our life is not food. As already said we allot very little minute to eat, and to find food. Of course thanks to Nisrochu that helped us not to think much about our food”.

Discussants of the same FGD also revealed that by and large they were getting pure water from their surroundings. They were able to get water to be drunk from hotels and from people living around places where they beg. They were also getting pure water from people who sell different goods like coffee, fast food, snacks, etc in streets and in containers besides streets.

Ethiopians are generous. Leave alone water, they can provide you things more expensive than that. You see water flowing to different directions in Addis Ababa. It is pure for us even though not pure for others. Water is not something that seriously consumes your time and energy in Addis Ababa (Discussant number one).

The other point discussed with participants of the study in FGD was about houses they were living in. In view of this, the data obtained was found consistent with the data obtained

from the interviews. It was found that many participants were living in houses made up of hard papers, torn out clothes, plastics, and packing materials.

Discussant number one said “...*I call it a house simply for the sake of agreement. My house is amazing. It can't guard me from dangers, but I like it so much. It is built from packing materials earned in streets*”. Similarly, discussant number four reported as: “*I afraid to say that I have a house because it doesn't fulfill even a single criterion that could make it a house. I can't say that I don't have a house because; I am taking rest in it. It can't protect me from rain when it rains*”. The last discussant narrated:

I live with my three friends. We don't have a house. We live in streets besides buildings. Actually, we move here and there to beg and we will be back to the place where we pass each night. We have very old mattress. We are lucky because we are not sensing the cold from the floor.

4.8.2 Schooling

The second component of quality of life assessed was about education. As discussed under section 4.1, the majority of participants of the study (64) were those who did not complete their primary education. As well, the other 28 participants did not complete secondary education. It was due to this reason that asking participants whether they were attending school was found important and included as one component of QoL. Participants who had children were also asked if they were sending their children to school.

It was discovered from the data that many of the participants showed interest to education and had plan to continue their education though they were not attending school during the data collection period.

A 19-years-old participant said “*even if I have an interest of attending my education, my current life style does not allow me to do so. Learning is not an easy task for people like me. For that matter, it is when you live good life that you think of education.* ሲደለህና ሲመችህ ነው የምትማረው” (A male beggar No. 20, January, 2020).

Among the participants who took part in the study, only one male participant was found attending education. The following quote was taken from the interview conducted with him.

When I began life in street I was a grade 6 student. I spent five solid years without going to school. I began learning three years before... now I'm a grade nine student. I work (beg and polish shoes) the whole day and go to school in the evening (20-years-old, No. 19, January, 2020).

In relation to sending children to school, there were four participants who were found sending their children to government and even to private schools. Among them, two participants were sending their children to government school; one participant was sending her children to religious school, while the fourth participant was sending her child to private school.

The mother of a child who was sending her child to private school narrated:

My daughter is seven years old. She is a KG-3 student. Though very difficult for me, as a beggar, to send my child to private school, I am sending her to one of the private schools. I suffered a lot in my life in view of the fact that I am not educated. So I have to avoid those bad life experiences that happened to me not to happen on my child. ... A monthly payment of the school is relatively fair. I pay 1020.00 birr per month; 720.00 birr for her schooling, 200.00 birr for transportation, and 100.00 birr for afterschool study period (A female interviewee of age 26, No. 1).

Figure 4. A Child of a Participant Wearing School Uniform (Photo taken on consent)



The following quote was taken from an interview conducted with a male participant who was sending his children to religious school.

My children are learning at St. Raguel School. The elder one is a grade 6 student while the younger is 3rd grade. I think they are not doing good because we are not helping them. We focus on collecting money through begging and covering the daily costs expected from us. As a parent, I believe that I have to give them time. But I couldn't do this because I have to run up and down to get money. I know that sending children to school is not sufficient for their development (35-years-old, No. 15, November, 2019).

A 37-years-old participant who was sending his child to government school explained that though his child was attending school, he was not doing well due to the fact that the child resorts to begging after school.

My child has to beg with me when he comes back to home because I, alone, can't fulfill even our primary needs. Sometimes I send him to bring some money even before he goes to school. He is expected to get certain amount of money early in the morning before going to school depending on our last day performance. For instance, if we get enough money last day and also if that amount is beyond that day's cost, my child will directly go to school. Otherwise, he has to go to either church or anywhere suitable for begging. He is suffering a lot and doing poor in school because he has no time to study and to do his home work. I am not educated and that is why I am sending him to school. I understand that I am sending him simply because I have to send him. I know that, this way, both of us (the son and the father) will not benefit. ...I beg my lord to give my child a better life (A male interviewee No. 9).

4.8.3 Participation in Public Affairs

Under this component, participants were asked whether they were taking part in public affairs such as public meetings, demonstrations, wedding ceremonies, religious ceremonies, cleaning the environment, donating blood, and similar other social activities arranged by government and non-government organizations. Accordingly, it was found that almost all participants were taking part in one of the affairs mentioned above—religious holidays and ceremonies—though some of them usually took part in such ceremonies for the purpose of begging. These participants were collecting a great deal of money on such occasions. In this regard, the participants' religious lives were found better than the other social activities mentioned above. Furthermore, some participants reported that they were taking part in demonstrations or strikes organized by political parties.

Concerning the involvement of participants in public activities other than religious ceremonies and demonstrations, the majority of them were not taking part totally. The data showed that some of them were even unaware of what was happening in their surroundings.

...among the activities you (the researcher) mentioned, I know only religious gatherings. I and my friends participate in public holidays and holidays of the Orthodox Church. I regularly follow religious ceremonies to attend them. Religious ceremonies are so important and unforgettable for us. We collect far better money on these days than on other days. I remember the birr I got on last year annual Medhanialem holiday. My friend also got around 700.00 birr on the same day. ...There could be beggars who participate in other social affairs like blood donation, but I don't have such experience (A male interviewee No. 15, 35-years-old).

A female participant of age 30 who was interviewed at Tikur Anbessa narrated:

You will witness that Ethiopians are religious people when you see beggars and individuals from various groups on religious ceremonies. Of course, I know that there are beggars who go to religious gatherings for other purpose (begging). There are also many beggars who attend these ceremonies to worship their lord.

The interviewee also explained that she was participating in strikes against government. *"since polices are my enemies I participated in demonstrations. For instance, I was a member of a demonstration organized by 'Qinijit' party, in 1997 E.C. These are the only two types of activities I took part among those you listed"* (No. 17, November, 2019).

The other young participant mentioned that he was one of the organizers of Semayawi party demonstration (a previous political party). *"I was given a chance of informing and arranging up to ten individuals for the demonstration conducted at Meskel Adebabay. I tried to inform and encourage street dwellers to make them take part in the event (A male interviewee No. 19, 20-years-old).*

Similarly, a male interviewee of age 26 reported that he was not taking part in any social activities.

What is the importance of taking part in demonstrations, blood donation, cleaning the environment, etc? Please, tell me their importance! I am a beggar and I know the attitude of people towards beggars. Initially, I have no interest of participating in social life with other people. It adds nothing to my life... you know, the amount of money I earn depends on the number of people visited or begged each day. It is better, for me, to ask as many people as possible rather than spending my time in irrelevant duties. Let me add one more point; blood is to be donated by those who have it. Those who eat 3 times a day have to give their blood. Look at my body. Don't you think that I, myself, need blood...? (No. 13, November, 2019).

Participants who were involved in the FGD conducted at Filwuha described that they were not attending various societal activities. Some of them were attending wedding ceremonies without getting the permission of the owner of the wedding. They further pointed that attending wedding and religious ceremonies is their regular job. They usually rotate from village to village for the purpose of begging and their main objective was to identify where various ceremonies are to be conducted. Once they identified the house where the ceremony is to be prepared, they begin to contact individuals who are responsible to guide the activities or those who are assigned as guards. A discussant number two said:

...after identifying the house we try to get closer to members of the family and help them in some jobs, if possible. If you are lucky you get paid for the jobs you performed and additionally make your stomach full.” The other discussant added *“If they are not willing we use power to get food. Most of the time we eat a kind of food which does not have any importance for our body. We eat not to pass away. Therefore we have to use*

such chances appropriately –chances providing us delicious food (A male discussant number five).

Participants who participated in the FGD conducted at Piassa, Jegole square described about their participation in public affairs. Two, among the five participants, reported that they were actively participating in few societal matters. “...for instance, I took part in the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s call for cleaning the city” (Discussant number four) The second participant who was taking part in public affairs said “I donated my blood twice at the head office of Addis Ababa Red Cross Agency found beside Addis Ababa stadium” (Discussant number one).

The other three participants of the FGD revealed that they were not totally participating in any of the public matters. The data also showed that they did not even know what was happening in the city.

4.8.4 Recreation and Leisure

Nowadays, individuals give importance to leisure by creating some strategies to get rid of work pressure and to renew and strengthen themselves (Eskiler, Yildiz, and Ayhan, 2019). Recreation not only contributes to people’s quality of life, but also enhances people’s life satisfaction (Sugiyama & Ward, 2007; Sugiyama, Ward, & Alves, 2009). The busy and tiring parts of working life and other compulsory activities have made leisure activities essential part of life.

Data showed that participants of the study were not taking part in usual and known day-to-day relaxation activities accustomed by the society such as going to cinema, relaxation areas and watching various games. Participants explained that though they have plenty of spare time, they didn’t think of relaxing themselves. Getting money for their daily consumption was

considered as their final goal of life. Furthermore, chewing *chat* was found major means of relaxation for beggars.

We worry about the money and food we have to earn each day. For us, relaxation is hiding ourselves in drugs. If we are able to get money for drugs, we consider as if we put the world in our palms. Other forms of relaxation are not meant for us. I can't go to Ghion Hotel to swim or to make my child swim. I think you need to have 100.00 birr to swim at Ghion. I may swim for an hour by paying 100.00 birr, but the chat and cigarette bought by this amount of money can make me relaxed and feel free the whole day. What is important for my child is its food, cloth, exercise book, and pen/pencil" (A female interviewee No. 5, 21-years-old).

This point was clearly illustrated by the following quotes taken from the interview.

“መዝናናትን የምታስበው ሲመችህና ሲመችህ ብቻ ነው። ... እኛ በየዕለቱ የምናስበው ስለእለት ጉርሳችን ነው። በእርግጥ ንዳና ላይ መኖር በራሱ ብዙ የሚያስደስቱም ሆነ የሚያስከፉ ነገሮችን እንድታይ ያስገድድሃል። ከዚህ ውጭ ለመዝናናት ብዬ ጊዜ ሰጥቼ አላውቅም” (A male interviewee of age 19, No.20).

The other participant added *“We enjoy ourselves when there is a wedding and if we are allowed to enter into the hall. I have never planned to go to a recreation center for the purpose of relaxing myself and my family. I get relaxed when I am able to successfully perform Dinkuan sebera” (A male interviewee of age 30, No.18, December, 2019).*

A male interviewee of age 26 narrated "...spending an hour without drugs is so difficult for me. It will be totally impossible specially after lunch. I use *Mastish* if I do not get money to buy chat and cigarette” (No. 14).

4.8.5 Relationship with Families and the Larger Community

Concerning participants' relationship with their family members and relatives, the result showed that some of them had good relationship with their relatives. The result obtained from

nine participants indicated that they had close communication with their family members. It was found that four, among the nine, participants were born in Addis Ababa. Among these, the first participant said:

I am living with my father, mother and sister. I regularly go to home during lunch time. I help my mother. Sometimes, when I get sufficient money I give it to my mother. I also buy exercise book and pencil for her. She is a student, but I don't know what grade she is (A male interviewee of age 26, No. 14).

The other female participant narrated

My father is living in Kolfe Keraniyo sub-city. He is serving as a guard in Georgis Church. I told him that I am working in one of the garment factories found in Akaki. I also informed him that the monthly salary I get is not worth mentioning. He did not know that I am leading my life through begging. I can say that I am living with him because most of the time, like four/five days a week, I go back to his home after spending the whole day in streets (24-years-old, No. 4, October, 2019).

The other participant narrated that though her sister is an employee in a private bank, her parents rely on her income from begging

I am living with my parents. My father is an old person. He is unable to move from place to place. It is I and my sister who are helping him. I have a sister working as a janitor at private bank. Her salary is the only income for my parents. So I began to help them by the money I collect from begging. Of course my parents are currently relying on my income to a larger extent (A 22-years-old interviewee No. 11).

Another interviewee born out of Addis Ababa reported that he was meeting his parents through telephone. He also visits his sister not more than three times a year.

I was born in Bichena. Both my father and mother have passed away. I have a sister and two brothers. My sister is living with my grandmother. My grandmother is supported by her daughter living in United States of America. I regularly meet them through telephone and visit them physically twice or three times a year. My sister wants me to go back to Bichena and live with her (A male interviewee No. 10, 23-years-old).

The result obtained from 14 participants revealed that they had no close relationship with their relatives and the larger community. The parents of some of the participants had already passed away. These participants were not communicating with the other members of their family. Amazingly, one of them knows that he has brothers and sisters but he did not know where they were living.

I have three brothers and four sisters. We were born from three different women; two from the first woman, three from another woman, and the other three from the last wife of our father. I have no communication with all of them, including those who were born from my mother, due to the type of job I am doing. It has also been long long time since we departed (A male interviewee No. 19, 20-yearsold).

Those whose parents were alive also had very weak or no relationship with their parents and relatives. The bond between children and parents is thought, in Ethiopian culture, to be strong. Data showed that the relationship of these participants with their family members was not as expected as the culture of the country; and in many cases it was totally lacking. *“It has been more than a year since I heard news about my family members. My uncle was a merchant. I know that he was frequently coming to Addis Ababa. These days I have no idea”* (A male interviewee No. 3, October, 2019).

According to one of the participants, the reason for the absence of communication between herself and her parents was that she doesn't want to tell them about her job (begging).

She doesn't want to tell them that she was earning a living from begging in streets. *"I don't want to communicate with my parents because I feel that they don't have to know about my begging life. My communication is limited to my friends with whom I beg and to people who give me money"* (A female interviewee of age 29, No. 12).

The other participant explained that he begun begging in streets due to the poor relationship with his father and mother. He further explained his communication with his parents and relatives as follows.

...my parents are living in rural areas of Gamo. The network is very poor. Actually I don't want to call them because my mother has no interest to live with him (his father). It is due to my parent's bad relationship that I came to Addis Ababa and finally began begging (A male interviewee No. 6, 21-years-old).

Finally the other participant narrated in detail about his relationship with his parents and relatives.

I heard that my father and mother are trying to get my address. They want to hear where I am and what I am doing. I hide myself because I am not in a good situation. I have a plan to visit them as soon as I can. ... Some of my relatives are living here in Addis Ababa. When I see my relatives I beg them not to tell to my parents that I am living in Addis Ababa. If the person I saw is very close relative, I run away and hide myself. Once I saw my uncle around Janmeda. I was so lucky that he did not see me (A male interviewee No. 13, 26-years-old).

Based on the data about participants' relationship with the larger community, it can be concluded that, almost all of them had no meaningful relationship with the larger community. Their relationship, if any, was limited to people whom they beg money and food.. The

relationship of these participants with those who provided them food was found better. A bit better relationship was observed between the beggars and the alms givers than between the beggars and their families.

Let me tell you my daily journey. My first activity, after waking up, is trying to get money to buy breakfast. I do this by begging or if I have money I will directly buy. Once I had my breakfast, I have to beg for more money to be used for many purposes (drugs). Once I accumulated certain amount of money, I will sit down having bought the things I need. After hours, in the afternoon, at about 10:00 (local time), I have to again beg standing in front of people. When secured, I will take alcohol. I told you how I spend the day. Do you see any spare time at which I have to communicate with others except friend of mine? By the way, I will be alone only while begging. ...The nature of my life does not allow me to form close relationship with the larger community (A male participant No. 15, 35-years-old, November, 2019).

In a similar way a participant met around Menilik hospital strengthen the above idea in the following manner.

I have a very close relationship with the people I live with (beggars and street dwellers). Although there is no blood relationship between us, we love and trust each other more than the love and trust observed among family members. We enjoy together when we get money and starve together when we don't. I think forming close relationship with other people would affect our business. As much as possible certain distance must be kept between us and the society (A female interviewee No. 2, 23-years-old).

Similarly the other male participant who was interviewed at Megenagna supported the idea that there should be no close relationship between beggars and the larger community. His reason was that if the community has got chance of knowing beggars in detail, it surely affects

their business. *“...people shouldn't get detail information about me. I have to disguise myself as much as possible”*. (21-years-old, No. 6).

Data obtained from the exclusive FGD conducted at Teklehaimanot revealed that the majority (four out of six) of the discussants had good communication with their parents. The data from these participants further showed that they had a relatively better relationship with people around them or the larger community. Only two discussants reported that they were detached from their parents and relatives. These participants were not communicating with their parents and relatives totally.

The quote taken from discussant number three and six is respectively given as follows. *...even if my mother is so poor she is my mom. I have planned to visit her next week. I have no sufficient money at my hand but my mother needs me, not my money.” “Did you forget that we are Ethiopians? Don't you know that how much our mothers love us and how much we love our mothers? By the way I swear with my mom. ሁል ጊዜም 'እናቴ ትሙት' እና 'ከእናቴ ይነጥለኝ' ብዬ ነው የምናለው:::*

Concerning the discussants that had no communication with their parents, the first discussant said: *“For the last three consecutive years, I met no one from my close family members. I have no idea about who is alive and who has gone away.”*

Discussant number two also explained that he had very rare relationship with his parents and that he had no communication with his extended family members. *“...may be it is once in one or two years that I see my brother who is living in remote area of Arsi zone. Both my father and mother are not alive. I have no meaningful relationship with the rest of my family members.”*

4.8.6 Feeling of Security

Since participants of the study were beggars who habitually spend much time in streets than any other group of people, assessing their feeling of security was found worthy. In section 4.6 it was put in detail that participants of the study were experiencing various forms of challenges from various groups of people. Having experienced all those forms of violence, one can likely speculate that they were not feeling secured. Of course, similar result was obtained from the data. Participants who were entirely living in streets were exposed to relatively severe forms of abuse than the rest group of people. Participants who were living with their parents and those who were living by hiring house were experiencing relatively milder challenges. As discussed earlier, these participants spent their day time in streets while they went back to their home at night. The data showed that they were experiencing relatively mild forms of abuse than those who were passing the whole day and night in streets. Since they were spending their nocturnal at their home, they were free from abuses happening at night. Nevertheless, the majority of them reported that they were unprotected. The following quotes were taken from participants who were spending night time with their parents and in the houses they rented.

I beg during day time in streets until I go back to my father's home in the late afternoon. There is attempt of abuse in streets. It is obvious and everybody knows that we are among the people whose fate is being abused. We ask each other that how many times we experienced various forms of abuse each day. A beggar who spends the whole day without being abused is so lucky. But, when you compare my experience with that of my friends' experience (who spend the whole night in street), it is incomparable. Just to be clear, the abuse I receive is not as harsh as the abuse my friends face by night (A male interviewee No. 15, 35-years-old).

A 29-years-old female participant who was living in her own rental house gave additional response. She boldly noted that because she was living in rental house she was relatively safe than those who were entirely living in streets.

I think passing in my own house after sunset has been a guarantee for avoiding abuses observed at night. Previously, I was living in street around Cherkos. I used to experience different abuses when I was there. The type and severity of abuses before the end of a day and after the end of a day are totally different. You will be abused by relatively healthier individuals during day time. We know what they need from us. Because there are many by passers, the abuse is not harmful. But in the hours of darkness, you will be approached by abnormal individuals including intoxicated guys. Though the money I pay for the house I rented is high, thanks to God, I am feeling secured (No. 12, November, 2019).

The other participant explained that although she was not spending the night time in streets, she was exposed to different forms of abuse. She was really found disappointed due to the fact that there are many bad people on earth.

...you see all forms of abuse in streets. The earth is so tough that it is not destroyed as a result of the bad acts people perform on it. It is also so humble because it carries very bad and sinful individuals on its back. At night, the problem of security is serious. Street dwellers receive unexpected and unimagined type of abuse. It seems as if varieties of abuses are granted for us. I am lucky because I am not spending night time in streets. What I hear from my friends is disgusting. Of course I myself receive cruel forms of abuse even before the day is getting dark, while it is bright. (A male participant No. 9, 37-years-old, November, 2019).

Data obtained from those who were living in streets under bridges, buildings, and in houses made up of plastic and other poor materials showed that they were experiencing various forms of shocking abuses and that they were unsecured.

An interviewee met around 'Sengatera' indicated that he was getting abused by various types of individuals and that he was not getting protection by law enforcers including police.

The issue of security for people like me (beggars and street dwellers) is exacerbating from time to time. ...even police forces do not protect us. When there is an international meeting, the police remember us because they want to renew the image of the city. Everybody tries to stretch his arms on us. Being beaten, sexual abuse, robbery, and other types of abuse are meant for us (A male interviewee No. 13, 26-years-old).

A female participant reported that she was in a serious problem due to her sex. According to her response women are being abused more than men in streets. She explained that she was not able to sleep up until the last third of the night.

Everybody living in street receives certain amount of violence. The violence is unsympathetic on females. As a female I suffer from various forms of abuse at least twice a week. ...I have two dogs. Though they are protecting me, I am not able to feed them. Do you remember a common Ethiopian saying: 'Yemitlebsew Yelat Yemitikenanebew Amarat'. I am not sufficiently feeding myself, but I am obligated to feed the dogs (No. 21, 24-years-old, January, 2020).

Figure 5. Dogs Protecting Participants



A 20-years-old interviewee expressed her disappointment that her house is not able to protect her from dangers. There is nothing that is meant to protect her including the government, according to her report.

My house can't protect me from abusers. I can't feel secured while living in a house made up of paper and tattered cloth. You will be protected either by your house, people around you, or by government. All these are absent in my case (A female interviewee No. 23, January, 2020).

A 20-years-old young adult narrated:

I live under a bridge built for railway together with my seven friends. We spend the whole day begging independently or being in pair and come back to our sleeping area at different times. Some of us will be back at about 3:00 local time in the night; others come back around 4:00; and still others at the middle of the night. Once we get together, we protect one another. To avoid the danger we have to come back at the same time, but we can't do so because of two reasons. The first reason is that the time at which we finish our daily activities associated with begging is not the same. Secondly, most of us have no telephone to inform one another. If you come early, the chance of getting abused will be high. ...you don't have to blame abusers or the government if abused by arriving very early (No. 22, January, 2020).

Another participant of age 23 revealed that the majority of the abuses beggars were experiencing emanated from beggars themselves.

There are many groups of people who are responsible for our feeling of being unprotected. The main destroyers of our security are individuals who live in streets like us. To be honest, the sources for the majority of abuses inflicted on us—street dwellers and beggars—are ourselves (A male interviewee No. 10, November, 2019).

4.8.7 Independent Decision Making

Although decision making is a process it is a fundamental function in one's life.

According to Al Shra'ah, decision making is the heart in the success of individual's life, family life, and organizations (2015). Therefore, it was attempted, in this research, to assess whether participants were in a position of passing decisions independently on their own private lives and day to day activities.

The results obtained from the data concerning independent decision making were unusual. In the previous seven components of quality of life, and even in the rest objectives of the study, the responses obtained from many participants were about unhappiness, negative emotions, and dissatisfaction in life. The responses obtained under this component were relatively positive unlike other components. A reader, having read the results of the previous six components of life quality would probably speculate that participants would also be unable to independently decide on various aspects of their life. Conversely, it was found that the majority of the participants were able to pass decisions on their private lives independently. Though they depend on other's charity, they felt that they can independently decide on major tasks of their day-to-day life activities.

Two participants (husband and wife) interviewed at Mexico explained about their freedom of passing decisions independently—without the interference of others as follows.

Yes, we are beggars, but it is we who decide on our daily life activities. We take care of ourselves and our family. There is no one who is responsible for our life. We are teaching our children and performing whatever we want to perform. The only thing we are unable to decide is that we can't force those individuals whom we beg to give us money without their consent (A male interviewee No. 9, 37-years-old).

A 26-years-old male interviewee similarly responded that although he relies on the alms to be given by people whom he beg, he was the one who was responsible for his personal growth and development.

...my wealth depends on the will of others. If people I beg do not stretch their hands (give us money), we will suffer a lot. At this juncture it seems that I can't lead my life alone, but, in many ways, I am a decision maker of the things happening in my life... I have passed many decisions that enhanced my development in the past years and I will

decide for the future on issues requiring my personal decisions (No. 13, November, 2019).

Similarly, a 20-years-old participant replied that he was leading his life in a way he was expecting. In addition, he explained that nobody can force him to beg or to do other things unless he wanted.

Nobody is supposed to interfere in my life. I will beg if I want to beg, polish shoe if I want, I will go to church, I will visit relatives if I want to do so. I think this is what we call independent decision making ability. As I told you earlier I have another job. I can buy and sell what I need to buy and sell. I do not discuss with others even on important aspects of my life. If I feel that I have to decide, I will do it alone. If I feel that the issue needs to be discussed with others, I will discuss with people around me (A male interviewee No. 19, January, 2020).

Correspondingly, the other participant narrated that making someone to decide on your own life tasks was considered as interference. People who interfere with other's life are considered abnormal. Similarly, a person who looks for the interference of other people concerning his private matters is abnormal to me.

I feel that I am abnormal if somebody is responsible to decide on my own life agendas. Allowing someone to interfere with your life comes from abnormality. At times you may need to ask the help of others on certain issues. You need the help of others on some occasions. I can assure you that if a person is not able to lead his life in the ways he likes, he is considered abnormal. I can say that there is something wrong in his health condition. So as a beggar, I am responsible to take the credit for my successes and to accept the blames for my failures. This happens when you have the power of deciding on issues (A female interviewee No. 4, 24-years-old, October, 2019).

Differently, data obtained from five participants (21.7 %) showed that decisions to be passed on their major actions pertinent to their life heavily depended on the interest of others—especially on those who provided them basic needs like food and money. They believed in the fact that their life was totally dependent on the bigheartedness of alms givers. As these participants illustrated they were unable, for instance, to get the kind of food and cloth they want; cannot visit their relatives; can't sleep when they wish to sleep; and they cannot perform major tasks as they wish. The data also showed that these participants were not able to move from one area to the other area of the city. Even their locomotion was restricted to areas where they usually practice begging.

A beggar who was interviewed while sleeping in street said the following:

... I can't breathe without food. This means that the air I breathe in and breathe out comes from the pocket of others. I cannot get food immediately when hungry. I have to wait until people moving in streets provide me food or money. ...Once I had my lunch I have to be patient until I get money from another person for the next meal. At night I go to bed most of the time without eating food (A female interviewee No. 11, 22-years-old).

A 30-years-old interviewee clearly narrated that he was totally dependent on the people who give him money and food. The interviewee illustrated the point by mentioning his actions and behavior while standing in front of people to beg. *“In fact, I am a slave of others. ...when I beg I have to incline my body down ward. I have to show to the people I beg that they can order me whatever they want to. This shows that I am totally dependent on them”* (A male interviewee No. 18, December, 2019).

Among the participants of the study who supported the idea that they were unable to pass decisions concerning major tasks in their life, a female interviewee of age 24 boldly

narrated that she did not remember any task performed by her own power in her life; and even that what to eat and when to eat was decided by those whom she beg.

I don't remember any major task that I performed alone using my own decision making strategy. I am not able to decide on the type of food I prefer to eat. People eat three times a day. The frequency and time at which I have to eat is determined by the will of alms givers. Usually I get food on time when I go to 'Nisrochu' even if getting food there is so challenging. You know there are many people who want to eat there. The number of people who make line to get food and the amount of food to be delivered is not equivalent. The queue is too long. By the way, I would like to acknowledge them because they are feeding many beggars on a regular basis" (No. 21, January, 2020).

Let us divert our attention to different findings. In the second paragraph of section 4.7, it was indicated that few participants were proud of being beggars and that they were happy at being able to lead their life through begging. The data showed that they were happy in their day-to-day life activities happening in streets of Addis Ababa and that they were able to manage the money and property they own.

This is my house" (demonstrating at her house). "I am so happy at all the things happening in my life. I bother for nothing. No house rent; no payment for water and electricity. There is nothing I lost in my life. Of course I have no good house and car, but I think I'm happy than those who own houses and cars...I heard that those who are rich are not living happy life. I get involved in some of the societal activities you listed down. I have 'Idir' and 'Iqub' like other people. (A female interviewee of age 24, No.4).

Similarly the other interviewee explained that she was living in a very beautiful city and that she was happy in events taking place in her life.

...I am one of the happiest people you have ever interviewed” (both of us laughed for few minute). “I tell you the truth. Thanks to God, I and my husband, together with our child, are so lucky. We earn the amount of money we need daily in most cases. We also visit and financially help my husband’s parents.” What about your parents? The researcher asked: *“My father is not alive. My mother is married to a man after the death of my father. I am not happy at her marriage. So I don’t want to visit her* (An interviewee No. 1, 26-years-old).

A 35-years-old interviewee revealed that he was doing almost all of the components of QoL assessed in the interview. He liked the way he was leading his life except the challenges his family was exposed at each year in summer seasons.

I usually reconstruct my house immediately before July because of the rain regularly falling from June to half of September. These two months are so challenging for us because of the weather condition and the extra cost expected from us. We spend large amount of money for charcoal and dresses appropriate for the season (A male interviewee No. 15, November, 2019).

It was not challenging, for the other participant, to fulfill his own and his families’ basic needs such as food and cloth.

I can easily get access to my daily food consumption. At times of unluckiness I consume leftovers by buying in streets. But most of the time I am able to get a kind of food most Ethiopian people eat, such as ‘Beyaynet and Pasta. I rotate from one home to the other and certainly I get better foodstuff many times. I am sending my child to school. What is left uncompleted If I am able to send my child to school and get him educated. ... I usually wear torn out cloth for the purpose of attracting the attention of the people I

beg. I wear different clothes when I want to go to various places. I have new and costly cloth meant for different purposes (A male interviewee of age 26, No. 14).

4.9 Mental Wellbeing (MW)

As discussed in the introduction section, MW comprises of three components: emotional, psychological, and social. In this section the mean of each component of the participants and the overall mean was presented and analyzed. As already discussed in the sections above, earning a living from begging is both culturally and religiously discouraged in some parts of Ethiopia. Why physically able people earn a living through begging? Are they mentally healthy? How do we see the MW of those who were physically healthy but earned a living from begging? In the following section, I gave answer for these questions. It was also attempted to assess the mean difference between the addicted and non-addicted groups.

Since emotional wellbeing was measured by 3 items of 5 point scale, the expected average score was 7.5 and the highest score was 15. Accordingly, emotional wellbeing of participants was 11.9, which implies that their emotional wellbeing was above average. Psychological wellbeing was the second component of MW measured by 6 items of 5 point scale. The findings indicated that the mean score of the participants (24.2) was significantly higher than the average score (15) and very close to the highest possible score (30). Similarly, data revealed that the other component of MW, i.e., social wellbeing (20.5), was found to be significantly higher than the average score (12.5). In general, it was found that all the three components of MW of participants was high (56.6) and hence it can be concluded that physically healthy adult beggars who participated in this study have been found mentally healthy. Therefore, the participants were earning a living through begging being seemingly physically healthy and mentally healthy too.

In relation to analyzing the mean difference between those who were regularly using substances like Chat and Alcohol (addicted) and those who did not (non-addicted), same procedures were employed. Initially, emotional wellbeing of the two groups was compared using independent samples t-test then followed by the comparison of the remaining components.

The following table shows the output of the independent samples t-test of the three components.

Table 7. Independent Samples T-Test Output of Each Components of MW

		Independent Samples T-Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variance			t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig	t	df	Sig (2- tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Diff.	95% CI	
									L	U
EW	Equal variances assumed	35.6	.000	5.01	62	.000	3.27957	.65	1.9	4.5
	Equal variances not assumed			5.13	39	.000	3.27957	.63	1.9	4.5
PW	Equal variances assumed	22.7	.000	5.7	62	.000	6.04790	1.05	3.9	8.1
	Equal variances not assumed			5.9	38	.000	6.04790	1.03	3.9	8.1
S W	Equal variances assumed	20.5	.000	4.5	62	.000	3.75660	.84	2.1	5.4
	Equal variances not assumed			4.6	40	.000	3.75660	.82	2.1	5.4

As can be seen from table 7 above, the level of significance corresponding Levene statistic F is very small (.000) in all the three components. This implies that the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated and hence the 'Equal variances not assumed' t-test

statistic was used. Accordingly, the result of the analysis of emotional wellbeing indicated that there was significant difference between addicted and non-addicted beggars, $t(df = 39) = 5.13$, $p < .01$. The mean values also indicated that emotional wellbeing of addicted beggars ($M = 10.3$) was lower than the non-addicted ones ($M = 13.6$). The data also revealed that the psychological wellbeing of addicted group showed significant difference from the non-addicted group, $t(df = 38) = 5.89$, where $p < .01$. This significant difference was also revealed by the mean values because the mean value of non-addicted beggars (27.3) was significantly higher than that of addicted beggars (21.2).

Similarly, the result of the analysis between the two groups in relation to social wellbeing revealed significant difference. The social wellbeing of those who were not using substance was better than those who were using various substances, $t(df = 40) = 4.57$, $p < .01$. The mean values also indicated that social wellbeing of addicted beggars ($M = 18.7$) was significantly lower than the non-addicted ones ($M = 22.5$).

The final output of the t-test was the test conducted for the three components of mental wellbeing. As shown in the table below the result of the analysis of MW between the two groups showed significant difference, $t(df = 36) = 6.8$, $p < .01$. The mean values also indicated that mental wellbeing of addicted beggars ($M = 50.3$) was significantly lower than the non-addicted ones ($M = 63.4$).

Table 8. Independent Samples T-Test Output

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variance		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% CI	
								L	U
Equal variances assumed	50.417	.000	6.589	62	.000	13.08407	1.98	9.1	17.1
Equal variances not assumed			6.776	36	.000	13.08407	1.93	9.2	16.9

Chapter 5

Discussion

Researchers have found that the number of beggars in Ethiopia is increasing from time to time. Many research works evidenced that begging is one of the most widespread and multifaceted social problems with great magnitude in the country (Fireyihun, 2011; MOLSA, 1992; Tatek, 2009; Woubshet, 2005). It was clearly indicated that the practice of begging by individuals whom the public considers deserving such as disabled beggars (Groce, Murray, et al., 2013; Groce, et al., 2014), old age beggars (Fireyihun, 2011; Kerebih, et al., 2007), and child beggars (Abebaw, 2003; Ebenezer et al. 2018; Lucas, 2007; Tatek, 2009) is becoming a common means of survival among physically healthy adults. In addition, beggary among adult individuals who are physically fit enough to engage in other economic activities is being observed in urban areas of Ethiopia and in the streets of Addis Ababa (Ashenafi & Getnet, 2012; Elshaday, 2007; Groce, et al., 2013). The findings of the current study similarly illustrated that the number of the so called physically healthy adult beggars was increasing in Addis Ababa in an alarming rate.

At earlier times beggary was seen as an activity practiced by people ridden by poverty or disability. But today there are many people who consider beggary as a profitable business. According to Ebenezer et al. (2018), Groce, et al., (2013), Jelili (2006), and Ogunkan (2009) the increasing incidence of physically fit productive age beggars was not associated with poverty and other socially accepted reasons but to the fact that the majority of them were satisfied with the job. It was because beggary was producing a good daily income and becoming a kind of income generating mechanism that people preferred it from other type of jobs requiring high competition. The findings of this study revealed that the majority of the participants were satisfied with the job because they made a daily income better than many government employees. According to the findings, the income from begging was far better than the income

from many other socially accepted economic sectors. As already indicated in the second table, eight participants earned from 200.00-300.00 birr each day which was equal to or greater than graduate assistant teacher's income while 6 of them earned above 300.00 birr a day, which in turn was equal to or greater than the income of assistant lecturer at government universities.

People who are physically fit enough to earn a living from socially acceptable ways are resorting to earning a living from begging in Addis Ababa. This is due mainly to the fact that the traditional ways of helping the needy are disintegrated, as already indicated in the background section. According to Groce and his colleagues, the disappearance of the traditional support systems among the members of societies has been a major factor for many individuals to get themselves in streets to beg (Groce et al., 2014).

Previous research works on begging mainly focused on beggars who had culturally accepted reasons (e.g., disability, being old enough) to beg. In doing so, some of these researchers tried to mention that physically healthy people are being observed while begging in streets of Addis Ababa (Elshaday, 2007; Negese, 2008; Ogunkan, 2009). But this research exclusively focused on individuals who had no culturally accepted reasons to lead life through begging.

Poverty, family problems, lack of job or unemployment were among the common reasons that made participants of the study lead life through begging. In general, many of the reasons accounting for begging, as identified in this study, were those already showed by previous researchers (eg., Abebaw, 2003; Fireyihun, 2011; Groce et al., 2014; Samuel, 2017). Furthermore, unique reasons that seem working for physically healthy adult beggars were identified. According to the findings, many participants got into streets to beg because they were called up on or invited by other beggars. This was because begging is becoming a profitable job. The other unique reason identified in the current study was the fact that begging

does not require special knowledge and skill when compared to other forms of jobs. Others jobs demand sufficient knowledge and skill, specially acquired from going through educational institutions at higher levels.

Prior to data collection for this research, the researcher had a belief that physically healthy beggars would probably approach almsgivers through techniques which were not used by old-age beggars, disabled beggars, and other individuals who have some sort of reasons to beg. Unfortunately, the result obtained from participants of the current study showed that physically healthy beggars were found using similar strategies used by the previously mentioned beggars to approach almsgivers. Data showed that participants of the study were found using no different strategies except that they were going few distance together with the person whom they begged. This technique was found helpful for participants because moving certain distance with almsgivers gave them extra room and time to explain their need and to get their mercy.

Physically healthy beggars who participated in this study were found engaging themselves in begging activity without any culturally and legally accepted reasons. Though some reasons seem justifiable (for instance, war and displacement), physically healthy beggars should have engaged in culturally acceptable formal businesses. In general, it was learnt from the findings, that physically healthy beggars were earning a living from begging due to the fact that begging is becoming a profitable activity.

From our day-to-day experiences it is clear that vulnerable groups are exposed to various forms of abuse which could result in poor QoL. As already mentioned in chapter 2, QoL is influenced by an individual's physical and mental health, the degree of independence, the social relationship with the environment, and other similar factors (Ruževičius, 2012). In this research it was

attempted to assess QoL in terms of components such as fulfillment of basic needs, participation in public affairs, independent decision making, etc.

It was found, in this research, that the QoL of the participants was poor. Data showed that among the seven components of QoL assessed, 'independent decision making' was the only component that was found positive. The majority of participants reported that they pass decisions relating to their private life independently, although, they rely on other's charity to feed themselves.

As group of people who spend their life in streets, the chance of experiencing various forms of abuse is high. It was documented in the previous sections that the majority of participants of the study were exposed to complications. As a result their QoL has been found full of tragedies. They were not able to recreate themselves; they were detached from the larger community and even from their families; they were not able to educate themselves and to send their children to school; they were in difficulty to fulfill their basic needs; they felt unsecured. Generally, the QoL of participants were found poor, as hypothesized.

Mental wellbeing was conceptualized, in this research, as a construct having three components: emotional wellbeing, psychological wellbeing, and social wellbeing. Initially the mean score of each component was analyzed and followed by the overall mean scores. This was followed by the comparison of the mean differences between the addicted and non-addicted groups. Accordingly, the mean scores of each component of MW were found above the average. Thus physically healthy adult beggars who took part in the study were found mentally healthy too. Based on this finding, adults who were found begging in streets were those who can create chances of earning a living from socially accepted and legitimate ways because they were both physically and mentally healthy.

The findings concerning the mean differences in MW among the addicted and non-addicted groups indicated significant differences. The mean scores of addicted beggars in all the three components of MW were found significantly lower than that of the non-addicted beggars. Those who were not totally using substances or those who were using substances occasionally were found to be mentally healthier than those who were regularly abusing various types of substances. The use of substances could be one of the reasons contributing to low mental wellbeing. It has been widely documented that substances are chemical compounds that affect the mind and body (Galvani & Livingston, 2012). Substance abuse was among the factors lowering mental wellbeing. Many research findings revealed that substances alter a person's brain structure and function resulting in long-term psychological effects such as depression, anxiety, and increased aggression (eg., AAC, 2021).

According to AAC/American Addiction Centers/ lack of social support was one of the reasons accounting for using drugs (AAC, 2021). The data obtained from many of the participants of the current study showed that they were disconnected from their family and the community and that they had poor social support. The only support they were receiving was from beggars with whom they beg.

There are research evidences showing that MW is positively associated with physical health (Taneva, 2016). The findings of this research also showed that physically healthy beggars who took part in this study have been found mentally healthy too, although there was speculation that people who beg in streets being physically healthy could have some form of mental illness.

As mentioned earlier in this research, there is no independent research work conducted on physically healthy adults who lead life through begging. These, productive-age, group of people are the backbone for their countries overall development. It was also documented in

various research works that young adults play important role in their country's political and economic development. The results obtained from participants of the study clearly evidenced that begging among physically healthy young adults is becoming one of the famous economic activities. It generates good daily income. It does not require special training or diploma from college or university. Because it does also not require special or unique skill, the field is attracting many young and adult individuals. To be honest, if this issue is kept quiet, the probability of the country to remain poor will be high.

Finally, because begging is not welcomed by many cultures in Ethiopia, the researcher expected that participants of the study will be mentally unhealthy, at the initial stage of the research. It was informally hypothesized that adults who are physically healthy but lead their life through begging will be, at least to certain extent, mentally poor. The researcher has evidences for this argumentation. Standing in front of people and asking for alms requires sufficient and observable health related or extra-ordinary reasons. Although begging among physically healthy adults is becoming a common phenomenon, the issue is not advised and recommended by many Ethiopians. Even, those people who give alms to this group of people do not support the behavior. They give because they know that giving alms to people who ask you will provide reward in the hereafter.

Begging on certain occasions is acceptable. If one begs occasionally due to certain unintended reasons, it is okay. It is okay if religious people beg for the purpose of fulfilling religious activities. But, how do a person, who is physically healthy and who can engage in socially acceptable business activities, gets into streets to lead life exclusively through begging unless he/she is mentally unhealthy? Unfortunately, both addicted and non-addicted groups of participants have been found mentally healthy.

At this point, under this section, it was found important to relate the theories presented in chapter 2_section 2.5 to the findings of the current study. Though three theories were discussed in that section, it was attempted to discuss the first two theories, namely operant conditioning and social cognitive theories.

According to operant conditioning theory, behavior is explained in terms of external rewards obtained as a result of the behavior. It focused on actions aimed at receiving reinforcements and simultaneously avoiding punishments.

According to the data obtained from the research participants, physically healthy beggars collected a good deal of money on days they named 'Good Day'. Data showed that the majority of the participants of this research were obtaining daily income which is better than employees hired in government organizations. What makes impressive is that the employees compared with the beggars were those having at least BA degree or BSc degree from universities. Now, it has been evident that beggars stayed in streets to earn a living because they were getting rewarded by alms givers. It is important to mention the fact that participants of the current study were unable to avoid punishment although they were receiving money from people they found in streets and around business areas.

As the term operant refers to any active behavior that operates in the surrounding environment to get a positive reward, physically healthy beggars accurately moved from one city corner to the other; from one street to the other to collect their daily income.

Finally, the principle of operant conditioning states that actions that are followed by pleasant outcomes are more likely to be repeated and actions followed by unpleasant outcomes are more likely to be reduced. Therefore, it can be concluded that this theory partially explains the participants of the current study.

An opposing response to operant conditioning theory was given by social cognitive theorists. According to social cognitive theorists, people are not automatically shaped and controlled by external stimuli or rewards (Bandura, 1986). Beggars who are physically healthy (participants of this study) resort to begging not only due to the fact that begging yields sufficient amount of money. Rather beggars stay in streets to earn a living due to the fact that much of human learning occurs in a social environment. The theory explained this idea in relation to observational learning. By observing others, people learn rules, skills and strategies of how particular behavior is performed. They also learn the benefits obtained from behaving accordingly simply through observation.

As far as the data obtained from the participants of the study is concerned, significant number of physically healthy beggars started to lead life through begging by observing others while earning a living from begging.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

In Ethiopia, these days, begging is becoming a major means of earning a living for quite large number of people. The field is currently attracting many individuals from various groups. Children, youngsters, able and disable bodied, old aged men and women, etc are joining and enjoying the field. What should be noted here is that beggary is becoming a mainstay for a number of undeserving population, those who are physically fit and economically active. Any person living in Addis Ababa may witness that significant number of physically healthy people are relying on beggary for their daily consumption. This happens due to the fact that people in Addis Ababa are more isolated and know one another very little, if any, as compared to other urban areas of the country. Although beggary has created opportunities for many young and adult individuals, it would be impossible to achieve today's societal and economic challenges having lost theses productive group of people – as a result of beggary – many of the physically healthy adults in streets. As discussed in the finding section, the majority of the participants of the current study were totally dependent on begging. It was indicated that only 6 of the participants were simultaneously engaged in other economic activities.

Many reasons accounting for beggary among physically healthy adults have been identified in this research. Poverty was the main reason followed by inability to get employed and problems associated with family of participants. The other very interesting reason was invitation towards begging. Significant numbers of physically healthy beggars were found begging in streets through invitation by a beggar friend, relative, or neighbor. The other reason accounting for the commonness of begging by physically healthy adults was its profitability. The findings of this study revealed that participants were receiving better income than many employees hired at government organizations after having completed their first and second

degrees. Similarly, religious beliefs, work habit of the community and the culture of our society associated with responding to the questions of beggars have been noted as reasons for being a beggar among physically healthy adults.

Political instability, inter-ethnic conflict and internal war need to be given attention for future researchers as these factors are believed to play significant roles in forcing people to resort to socially unacceptable ways of earning a living in the Ethiopian context.

Mental Wellbeing was comprised of three components—emotional, psychological, and social wellbeing. Two research questions were framed. The first research question assessed whether the physically healthy participants were mentally healthy too? In this regard, the mean scores showed that physically healthy adult beggars who took part in this study were found mentally healthy too, in all the three components. They were found emotionally, psychologically, and socially healthy. The second research question raised about MW was whether the MW of addicted beggars (who regularly used various substances) and non-addicted beggars (those who did not use or who were using substances only sometimes) was statistically different. Accordingly, the differences in MW between the two groups were found statistically significant. The mean scores of those who were using substances regularly (addicted beggars) were found significantly lower than the non-addicted group.

6.2 Recommendations

The researcher of the current study wanted to underline the fact that no country can achieve its full potentials in a situation that large number of a country's young and adult population resorted to making a living from begging in streets. The researcher argues that although the practice of begging does potentiate opportunities of getting money for unemployed physically healthy adults, the risk countries face and the overall negative impact deserve more

government attention. On the basis of the findings, the researcher proposed the following recommendations.

- Internal migration needs to be controlled in some way by concerned organizations because the majority of the participants were those who migrated from rural areas to the capital.
- The majority of the participants of the study were those dropped out from school. Therefore, all concerned individuals and organizations need to work on controlling factors leading to children's drop out.
- Poverty, unemployment and political instability were among the major reasons that forced participants of this study to lead life through begging in streets. The researcher of the study believed that these reasons can be improved by government organizations such as regional states, labor and social affairs bureau, Addis Ababa city government and office of the Prime Minister. If these and other concerned organizations work on improving poverty, unemployment and political instability, it would be able to minimize the number of physically healthy beggars.
- Concerned organizations have to develop intervention strategies that enhance employment opportunities. Simultaneously, any plan concerning intervention methods need to consider the structural causes of poverty.
- People who do not deserve to beg (named as "seemingly physically healthy" in this research) were taking advantage of a system informally intended for the very needy in the country. These people have no culturally accepted reasons to earn a living from begging. They were also found to be mentally healthy. Therefore, those who give alms need to differentiate the needy, such as disabled beggars and old people, from others.
- Beggars used various strategies to get pity of alms givers. Those who give money for beggars; and those who regularly support beggars need not be deceived by mere

strategies beggars employ. They have to be able to differentiate between those who require genuine support from others.

- Begging has to be prohibited for various reasons. Preserving public order and inducing people to work rather than to beg are among the major reasons. It has to be seriously taken into consideration that the country is missing productive age groups due to begging. Therefore, law enforcing agencies, ministry of education and ministry of labor and social affairs bureau should be able to formulate national policy that controls student drop out and factors that lead to earning a living from begging (for physically healthy group).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Data Collection Instruments

Addis Ababa University

College of Education and Behavioral Studies

School of Psychology

Qualitative Tool

Questions to be filled out by study participants

Dear Respondents: The major objectives of this research are to explore the commonness of beggary among physically healthy adults, reasons accounting for begging, their mental wellbeing, and quality of life. The questionnaire consists of 9 parts that require your true answers. Please, provide your answers. Make sure that your answers represent your behavior.

- I want to assure you that your answers will be kept confidential and will be used only for a research purpose.

Part 1. Primary Observation checklist

Guiding Phrases for Primary Observation

1. Observing physical health

- Conditions of hands _____
- Conditions of legs _____
- Vision _____
- Hearing conditions _____

Part 2. Screening Tool

Questions Assessing Physical Health

Instruction: Dear respondent, below are list of items asking about your physical health conditions. Please provide information which you think represent your health condition by placing a check mark (√) in the boxes.

No	Items	Yes	No
1	I have never diagnosed with hypertension		
2	I have never diagnosed with diabetes		
3	I have never diagnosed with heart disease		
4	I have never diagnosed with cancer		
5	My legs are normal, therefore I can walk properly		
6	Since my hands are healthy, I can do anything with them		
7	There is no wound and/or injury on my body that inhibits me from working		
8	I can see and recognize a friend at a distance others can see		
9	I can hear a sound at a volume others find acceptable		
10	Do you feel that you are physically healthy and fit enough to engage in jobs requiring physical strength?		
	Any other illness inhibiting you from jobs requiring physical fitness? Mention them		

Note: Go to the next page if your answers for all items are ‘Yes’.

Thank you so much!!

Part 3. Demographic Information

Instruction: Below are list of items asking for general information about you. Circle the number of your true responses among the given alternatives or write your answers in the boxes.

No.	Items	Responses
1	Sex	1. Male 2. Female
2	Age	_____ years
3	Education	1. Illiterate 2. Elementary 3. High School 4. Certificate and above
4	Do you have children?	1. Yes 2. No (skip to No 7)
5	How many children do you have?	_____
6	Where were you born?	1. In Addis Ababa (Skip to the next page) 2. Outside Addis Ababa
7	Region and City/rural kebele you were born in	
8	Why you come to Addis Ababa?	

Thank you so much!!

Part 4. Reasons Accounting for Begging

Instruction: Below are list of reasons accounting for begging. Circle the major reason/s that pushed you to lead life through begging among the given alternatives. You can choose more than one reason.

1. Recommended by others
2. Illness (mention the type of disease) _____
3. Unable to find job
4. Poverty
5. Problems associated with family
6. Political reason (War, displacement, etc)
7. Begging is a profitable job
8. Other jobs are physically too demanding
9. I have no one who take charge of me
10. Other reason _____

Thank you so much!!

Part 5. Main Observation Checklist

Guiding Points for the Observation

1. Observing the commonness of beggary among physically healthy adults in streets
2. Survival livelihoods
 - How beggars get food
 - How beggars get water
 - Observing their house
3. Social interaction
4. Challenges faced in street

Part 6. Challenges Faced in Streets

Instruction: Dear respondent, below are items asking about challenges you faced in streets while begging. Please provide information which you think represents your experience.

1. Did you face any challenge in streets? If Yes, list down the kinds/forms of the challenges
 2. Who are the inflictors of the challenges you experienced?
 3. What measures did you take when faced those problems?
 4. Is there anybody/organization who protects you from dangers?
- Any additional point you would like to mention?

Thank you so much!!

Part 7. Questions Measuring Work Experience and Daily Income

Instruction: Dear respondents, below are items asking about your experience and daily income. Please provide information which you think represents your behavior in detail.

1. How long have you worked as a beggar?
2. At what time you begin begging and at what time you finish?

Morning I begin at _____ finish at _____

Afternoon I begin at _____ finish at _____

3. Is there any specific day in which you do not beg?
4. Your daily income
On bad days _____ birr
On good days _____ birr
5. On average, how many people you need to ask to get money?

Any additional point you would like to mention?

Thank you so much!!

Part 8. Questions Measuring Quality of Life

Instruction: Dear respondent, below are items asking about your current quality of life.

Please provide detail information which you think represent your current life quality.

1. Can you fulfill your basic needs such as food, **water, and shelter**? How?
2. Do you go to school? Do you send your child (if you have a child) to school?
3. Do you meet and communicate with your family and the larger community?
4. Do you participate in various public affairs such as meetings, demonstrations, wedding ceremonies, religious ceremonies, cleaning the environment, blood donation, etc?
5. Do you take time to relax and enjoy yourself and your family?
6. Do you pass decisions about your life independently?
7. Do you feel secured?
8. How much money did you spend last week on average for:

Food _____

Drugs_____

Any additional point you would like to mention?

Thank you so much!!

Part 9. Guiding Questions for FGD with Study Participants

FGD 1. Please Discuss In Detail on the Following Questions

1. How common is beggary among individuals whom you think are physically healthy?
 2. What is your daily income in terms of money and other items like food? How much money do you get on GOOD and BAD days?
 3. How many days do you beg in a week?
 4. Do you have extra job? Or Are you engaged in jobs other than begging?
- Any additional point you would like to mention?

Thank you so much!!

FGD 2. Please Discuss In Detail on the Following Questions

1. How is life, through begging, going on? Please explain the quality of your life in depth.
 2. Discuss on the challenges you faced and coping strategies used while experiencing challenges
- Any additional point you would like to mention?

Thank you so much!!

Questionnaire to Be Filled Out By Non-Beggars

Dear Respondents: The major objectives of this research are to explore the commonness of beggary among physically healthy adults, reasons accounting for begging, their mental wellbeing, and quality of life. Please, provide your answers. Make sure that your answers represent your behavior and/or your organization.

- I want to assure you that your answers will be kept confidential and will be used only for a research purpose.

Sex _____ **Occupation** _____

1. How common is beggary among individuals whom you think are physically healthy?
2. Do you think that there are beggars who totally depend on begging?
3. Do you think that leading life through begging is profitable?
4. Do you think that beggars are exposed to various forms of abuse?
5. What measures need to be taken to minimize begging by physically healthy adults?
6. Is there any support given for physically healthy beggars by your institution? (for LSAB officials)

Any additional point you would like to mention?

Thank you so much!!

Quantitative Tool

Questions to be filled out by beggars

Dear Respondents: The major objectives of this research are to explore the commonness of beggary among physically healthy adults, reasons accounting for begging, their mental wellbeing, and quality of life. The questionnaire consists of 2 parts that require your true answers. Please, provide your answers. Make sure that your answers represent your behavior.

- I want to assure you that your answers will be kept confidential and will be used only for a research purpose.

Thank you so much!!

Part 1. Demographic Information

Instruction: Below are list of items asking for general information about you. Circle the number of your correct responses among the given alternatives or write your answers in the boxes.

No.	Items	Responses
1	Sex	3. Male 4. Female
2	Age	
3	Education	5. Illiterate 6. Elementary 7. High School 8. Certificate and above
4	Do you have children?	3. Yes 4. No (skip to No 7)
5	How many children do you have?	_____ years
6	Where were you born?	1. In Addis Ababa (Skip to the next page) 2. Outside Addis Ababa
7	Region and City/rural kebele you were born in	
8	Why you come to Addis Ababa?	
9	Addiction	1. I'm addicted (I use substances regularly/daily) 2. I'm not addicted (I don't use substances daily)

Part 2. Items Measuring Mental Wellbeing

Instruction: Place a check mark (√) in the boxes concerning how strongly you feel about the following items.

No	Items	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	I am happy					
2	I am interested in life					
3	I am satisfied					
4	I like most parts of my personality					
5	I am good at managing the responsibilities of my daily life					
6	I had warm and trusting relationships with others					
7	I had experiences that challenged me grow and become a better person					
8	I am confident to express my own ideas and opinions					
9	My life has a sense of direction or Meaning					
10	I have something important to contribute to society					
11	I belong to a community (like a social group, or your neighborhood)					
12	Our society is a good place, or is					

	becoming a better place, for all people					
13	People are basically good					
14	The way our society works made sense to me					

Thank you so much!!