DYNAMICS AND PATTERNS OF TRANSNATIONAL STREET BEGGING IN LAGOS AND IBADAN METROPOLIS, NIGERIA

BY

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ABSTRACT

Street begging is a social problem in Nigeria. Although studies have been extensively conducted on street beggars in Nigeria, sufficient attention has not been devoted to transnational street begging as a distinct phenomenon. The continual influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria makes the investigation into the dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging imperative. The study examined the socio-demographic profile of transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan, their reasons for migrating to Nigeria, their migratory trajectory and network of relationships.

The study was exploratory and cross-sectional in design. The strain and migration network theories were used as conceptual framework. Convenience sampling technique was employed for the selection of transnational street beggars. Three hundred and eighty-two respondents were sampled. A semi-structured questionnaire was administered. In addition, three case studies and 13 in-depth interviews were conducted with purposively chosen transnational street beggars. Seven key-informant interviews were held with personnel of the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Nigeria Custom Service, the Nigeria Police, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP), Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare. Quantitative data were analysed using frequency distribution, cross-tabulation and chi-square at $p>0.05$, while qualitative data were content analysed.

Respondents' age was 28.0±1.2years, 79.6% were Nigeriens, 56.3% were females, 61.8% were married and 64.4% had resided in Nigeria for less than a year. Economic hardship in own country was the major factor responsible for their emigration. Migration was essentially facilitated by social/kinship networks dictated by the presence of relatives (51.6%), friends (29.0%) and acquaintances (19.4%) already in Nigeria. Majority (80.6%) confirmed the involvement of other member(s) of their family in street begging. Most resided with their relatives (43.2%) and friends (35.6%), but some lived in rented rooms (14.9%) in lower class neighbourhoods. About 53.4% came to Nigeria because of perceived better opportunity, however, a difference existed in their reasons according to nationality ($\chi2=18.95$). Migration pathway was characterised by a low involvement of smugglers ($\chi2=0.91$). A difference existed in transnational street beggars' points of entry into Nigeria according to nationality ($\chi2=122.02$). Transnational street beggars contributed to the nation's insecurity and other environmental and health problems. The porous Nigerian borders, Economic Community of West African States' treaty on free movement, commonly shared Hausa language, human trafficking networks and lack of specific order for relevant government agencies inhibited effective control of transnational street beggars.

Migration of transnational beggars is an all year round activity with more immigrating into Nigeria in September and August. The Nigerian government should ensure that relevant law enforcement agencies are effective in policing the borders and enforcing migration laws.

Keywords: Transnational street begging, Social network, Migratory trajectory

Word count: 435

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Usman Adekunle Ojedokun in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Alhaji M.A. Ojedokun, who passed on to the great beyond a week after my final defence.

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Usman Adekunle Ojedokun,

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

Street begging is one of the most serious social problems that have, over time, attracted global attention (Namwata, Mgabo, and Dimoso, 2011; Goyal, 2005; Jordan, 1999). Although this problem has generated issues both in developed and developing countries of the world, it is more prevalent and least attended-to in the developing countries (Adedibu, 1989). The presence of beggars in the streets of urban areas of developing countries is recognised to be a serious problem that requires an urgent redress; their lifestyles and the display of overtly aggressive behaviour make them subjects of suspicion and hostility by the public, at large, and law enforcement agencies in particular (Namwata, Mgabo, and Dimoso, 2011).

In Nigeria, the culture of begging is fast becoming a social influence too strong to be ignored as the number of alms-dependent persons in the country has been increasing progressively since 1980s (Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga, 2007). Though street begging, by definition in constitutional law and criminal code, is a deviation from what Nigeria and the majority of her citizens defined as right (Adewuyi, 2000), the severity and widespread nature of this phenomenon are daily exemplified by different categories of persons engaging in it (Fawole, Ogunkan, and Omuruan, 2011; Jelili, 2009; Ibrahim, 1997). Indeed, the problem has reached an acute stage to the extent that it has continued to draw the attention of the government, the media, religious leaders, the general public and other stakeholders in the society.

Street begging in Nigeria has gone beyond seeing pitiable wretched, poverty ridden and physically handicapped street persons soliciting alms to survive, as able-bodied men and women, who have refused to work for a living, are also involved in it by using different strategies to solicit alms from members of the public (Fawole, Ogunkan, and Omuruan, 2011; Igbinovia, 1991). Begging has become a social institution, a commercial enterprise, and an occupation for otherwise healthy citizens in the society (Igbinovia, 1991). While some people take to begging as

a permanent business, others see it as a temporary measure of escaping the contingent poverty conditions. Some other individuals engage in begging as a way of diverting the attention of the nearby people from all forms of evil they may wish to perpetrate (Adedibu and Jelili, 2011).

The phenomenon of street begging is fast assuming an international dimension, as many street beggars around the world have continued to realise the potential profitability of moving from one country to another for the purpose of alms soliciting instead of maintaining the old practice of conducting street begging within their immediate environment. Consequently, while an increasing number of Nigerian street beggars are continuously travelling out of the country to solicit alms in some more economically developed countries of the world (The Punch, 2012; Adewuyi, 2000), a growing trend in the phenomenon of street begging across most of the major urban centres in Nigeria, in recent times, is the large scale involvement of transnational street beggars in the act.

Large numbers of migrants from some neighbouring African countries, such as Niger Republic, Mali, Chad, among others, have taken to street begging in virtually all parts of the country (Adedibu and Jelili, 2012; Adedokun, 2003). The majority of these migrant beggars are generally able-bodied and prolific such that they procreate more than people who are economically better off (Anon., 2011). Unlike their Nigerian counterparts, this category of beggars employs a more aggressive approach to street begging; they grab pedestrians and molest motorists in their attempt to wrest alms from them (Esan, 2009; Igbinovia, 1991). When all these methods fail, they often rain curses and abuses on Nigerians (Oyofo, 1987).

The menace of street begging as a potential threat to the environmental, economic and social survival of human society is evident in Nigeria (Ogunkan and Fawole, 2009; Amman, 2006). The problem has moved from the social type to an economic or worst, a criminal one, as most beggars now transform themselves into thieves, thugs and even robbers (Bambale, 2008). Begging impacts on crime, increases the fear of crime, concerns the public, affects businesses and retail trades. It equally presents problems for local authority, the police and city centre managers (Goyal, 2005). Against this background, this study was, therefore, concerned with a

critical examination of the dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis in Nigeria.

1.1 Statement of the problem

The endemic nature of street begging in Nigeria and its negative implications over time cannot be overemphasised. The recognition of this deviant behaviour as a serious social problem has compelled the Federal Government of Nigeria and some State Governors, including Lagos and Oyo, to formulate measures to contain it at different points in time. The problem has, however, remained pervasive despite past efforts designed to address it (Adedibu and Jelili, 2011; Adewuyi, 2000; Aboluwade, 2012; Balogun, 2012). In spite of measures, such as: proscription of street begging in Nigeria, periodic evacuation of beggars from the streets and the construction of rehabilitation centres for street beggars, amongst other measures which are targeted at addressing the menace of street begging, different categories of individuals, ranging from child to aged, the able-bodied and the physically challenged still take to the street everyday for the purpose of alms solicitation.

Although street beggars are recognised by a segment of the Nigerian populace as rendering important service to members of the society by essentially praying for their donors and/or helping them fulfill their religious obligations (Ogunkan and Fawole, 2009; Ogunkan, 2009), however, the costs of this practice largely outweighs its perceived benefits. An aspect of street begging that further aggravates the extent of this problem is the involvement of transnational street beggars. A large number of immigrant beggars from the relatively poorer neighbouring African countries have taken residence in Nigeria for the purpose of engaging in begging. Although there is no available record on the actual number and composition of these transnational street beggars, the prevailing situation in most of the major urban centres indicates that this group of beggars substantially contributes to the problem of street begging in the country.

The continuing influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria becomes problematic because it poses a serious threat to the socio-political stability and economic development of the country. Transnational street beggars, like their Nigerian counterparts, constitute potential readily

available human resources to mischief makers who may wish to use them as instruments to perpetrate violence and/or vandalise public property in the country. Indeed, foreign nationals, particularly those from some neighbouring African countries, have been frequently linked to series of civil upheavals and ethno-religious crisis witnessed in some parts of Nigeria at different points in time (Onuoha, 2010; Salawu, 2010; Olaniyi, 2009; Adedokun, 2003). The most recent case is the indictment of some immigrants from neighbouring African countries by the Nigerian security agencies as members of Boko Haram - the terrorist group that is currently threatening the corporate existence of Nigeria through a series of bomb attacks on Nigerians and public property (Okoli, 2013; Adepegba, 2012; Sambo, 2012).

Beggars on Nigeria streets often consist of immigrants who gained entry into Nigeria, unofficially, through various illegal routes. Besides, studies in different countries have established a connection between organised human trafficking network and immigrants' involvement in street begging (Cherneva, 2011; Delap, 2009; Social Development Notes, 2009; Friends-International and United Nations Inter-Agency Project, 2006). Indeed, the sheer size of children among the transnational street beggars soliciting alms on the street alongside their adult counterparts, in most of the major urban centres in Nigeria, is increasingly becoming worrisome.

Furthermore, the continuous influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria is capable of leading to the problem of overpopulation with its many attendant negative effects. Hence, it is, therefore, important to find out why they selected Nigeria as their country of destination, the means through which they gained entry into the country, and their social network/structure in their cities of residence. Similarly, it is also imperative to unravel the current challenges being encountered at controlling their influx into the country.

Although there has a been lot of studies on the social problem of street begging and activities of street beggars in Nigeria (Fawole, Ogunkan, and Omuruan, 2011; Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga, 2007; Adewuyi; 2000, Sule-Kano, 1994), sufficient scholarly attention, however, has not been devoted to the transnational beggars as a distinct group. Thus, there is a need to further expand the scope of research to this category of beggars. This study was, therefore, aimed at collecting data on the dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis in Nigeria.

1.2 Research questions

Against the background of the above stated problem, this study attempted to provide answers to the following questions:

(a.) What are the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis?
(b.) Why did transnational street beggars select Nigeria as their country of destination?
(c.) How did transnational street beggars gain entry into Nigeria?
(d.) What network of relationships exists among transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis?
(e.) How does the presence of transnational street beggars constitute threat to Nigeria, and what are the current challenges at controlling their influx into the country?

1.3 Research objectives

The general objective of this study was to examine the dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis, Nigeria. The specific objectives were to:

(a.) Examine the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis.
(b.) Investigate reasons that informed transnational street beggars' choice of Nigeria as their country of destination.
(c.) Investigate the trajectory of transnational street beggars from their respective home countries to Nigeria.
(d.) Examine the network of relationships that exist among transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis.
(e.) Examine the ways through which the presence of transnational street beggars constitutes threat to Nigeria, and the challenges at controlling their influx into the country.

1.4 Justification for the study

This study increases the current state of knowledge on the social problem of street begging in Nigeria by providing relevant information on the activities and demographic characteristics of the transnational street beggars. Some important variables such as their countries of origin, age, sex, religion, years of residence in Nigeria, among others, would be revealed. In addition, it will also yield first-hand information on the trajectory of transnational beggars to Nigeria, the networks of relationship existing among them, as well as the implication of their involvement in street begging on the country.

Furthermore, a study of this nature is capable of generating vital information that can assist personnel of relevant law enforcement agencies, such as the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Nigeria Custom Service, the Nigeria Police and National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) in the discharge of their statutory duties. Information gathered can be used to develop necessary institutional framework that can be geared towards strengthening the existing security arrangements as a way of tackling the problems of human trafficking and the influx of illegal immigrants into Nigeria.

Similarly, findings of this study can also serve as important materials which the Federal Government of Nigeria and other concerned agencies, particularly the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development, can adopt to formulate result-oriented policy and/or put in place far-reaching and long-lasting measures that would be geared towards curtailing the social problem of street begging, in general, and that of the influx of transnational street beggars into the country, in particular.

1.5 Scope of the study

This study covered transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis in South Western Nigeria. Meanwhile, attention was specifically directed at their socio-demographic profiles, their reasons for coming to Nigeria, their migratory pattern, their network of relationships, as well as the ways in which their presence poses problems to the country.

1.6 Conceptual clarifications

Conceptualisation is the process through which we specify what we mean when we use a particular term in research. It produces a specific agreed-on meaning for a concept adopted for the purpose of a research. This process of specifying exact meaning, according to Babbie (2005), provides the indicators that will be used for measuring concepts. Hence, the clarification of some key concepts in this study was deemed necessary.

(a.) Transnational street beggars: these are male and female non-Nigerian beggars, who usually move from one country to another, but residing in, and are engaging in street begging in Nigeria.

(b.) Trajectory: this refers to the migratory patterns of transnational street beggars. It involves the means through which beggars facilitated their movement into Nigeria, their migration routes, mode of entry and favoured period of migration.

1.7 Plan of the study

This study comprised five chapters. Chapter one discussed the introduction/background information, statement of the problem, the research questions and objectives, the justification for the study, the scope of the study, the clarification of concepts, and the plan of the study. Chapter two contained the review of relevant literature and theoretical/conceptual frameworks adopted. Literature was reviewed along eight different sub-headings: Nature and dynamics of street begging, factors promoting street begging, cultural and gender issues in street begging, relationship between religion and street begging, public attitude to street begging, children's involvement in street begging, socio-economic consequences of street begging and efforts at combating street begging. The two theories adopted for the study, strain and migration network theories, were extensively discussed. This chapter also contained the conceptual framework that showed the integration of the two theories.

Chapter three comprised the methodology of the study. It discussed the description of the research design, the study areas, the sampling procedure, the methods of data collection and data analysis, ethical consideration, field experience and limitations of the study. Chapter four

discussed the research findings, analysis and interpretation. The discussion and interpretations of findings were carried out in relation to the research objectives, the reviewed literature and theoretical underpinnings of the study. In chapter five, the summary, as well as, the conclusion of the study were carefully discussed. Also, some useful recommendations and suggestions for further research were put forward.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the review of relevant literature and theoretical framework for this study. This was done with the aim of having adequate information and in-depth understanding of the state of knowledge on the social problem of street begging globally, building a theoretical and methodological foundation, as well as providing the baseline for the interpretation of findings.

2.1.1 Nature and dynamics of street begging

In his discussion on the problem of begging in the society, Igbinovia (1991) contends that though little is known about its origin, the practice is not a recent phenomenon. Street begging has been defined in a number of ways by scholars as well as international organisations. For instance, the International Labour Organization (2004) describes it 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. Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga (2007) define street begging as an open solicitation of monetary and non-monetary assistance from anonymous donors through plea, deceit or exposure of deformity. While Mortimer (2005) views begging as asking for money without an exchange of service in a public place, Olawale (2007) regards it as a habit of soliciting favour from others (potential donors) for survival and enrichment.

Lynch (2005) views begging or gathering alms as the solicitation of a voluntary unilateral gift, most often, money, in a public place. This definition of begging, according to Lynch (2005), encompasses various begging categories or techniques which include 'passive begging' (that is, sitting or standing in one place with a sign and/or a receptacle entreating donations), 'active begging' (that is, approaching people in a public place and asking them for money or other gifts) and 'aggressive begging' (that is, following or asking a person aggressively, with threat or repeatedly for money or other gifts). Burke (1999), however, submits that people who adopt passive begging style tend to obtain more donations than those who usually adopt the active style; and the least successful beggars are those that use the aggressive styles. Aggressive

begging, according to Burke (1999), tends to be extremely low because it connotes a 'self-defeating' begging strategy.

Osagbemi and Adepetu (1999) assert that the term 'street beggar' tends to describe where beggars congregate rather than denoting a common set of characteristics of a unique group of individuals. Esan (2009) refers to beggars as a group whose utterances target the emotions of prospective benefactors, and which are capable of changing their sense of reasoning. According to Erskine and McIntosh (1999), people who are begging represent, at least, a breakdown in social order, and at worst, in the images of an alternative social organisation, a different set of norms and a different way of life from those prescribed by the society. Demewozu (2005) argues that demographic factors like ethnic background, gender, marital status, religion, educational level and body physique play basic roles in composing and patterning beggars' informal social relationships and in determining their choice of friends.

In a study conducted by Meir-Dviri and Raz (1995) on the exchange systems among Israeli beggars in a Tel Aviv central bus station, communication pattern among this group of beggar was observed to be scant and superficial as each of them passively sits in his or her own corner, and with most of them not usually knowing one another's names. Meir-Dviri and Raz (1995), however, observe that these beggars often engage in the exchange of some items, such as cigarettes, coffee and food, as well as watching over each other's stuff when required.

Lankenau (1999) describes street beggars as a highly stigmatised collection of individuals who suffer numerous indignities while begging passersby for spare change. Despite these humiliations many panhandlers, as they are also called, enhance their self-regard and status by developing relationships with givers who become regular sources of support for them. These stigmatised beggars, according to Lankenau (1999), normally attend to the presentation of self in important ways to contend with humiliations and to develop fruitful relationships. They usually achieve this by acting in accordance with the anti-panhandling legislation that prohibits aggressive begging, and by also managing and/or controlling their emotions in the face of rejection and humiliations.

Rana (2006) avers that beggars have horrific appearances or disabilities that are often used as convenient tool for extorting whatever little money they can, while walking, limping or roller-skating in the street all day. Rana (2006) further observes that only few things disrupt public life on roads and streets with more audacity than beggars chasing people for paltry amount of money, as it is becoming an increasingly common phenomenon to be interrupted, often insolently, while driving a car or on foot, by a barefoot child, or by a seemingly healthy woman carrying a bandaged infant, or by an ageing man. Rana considered these individuals as a huge source of distraction to the public, because most of them do shamelessly shock commuters in an attempt to generate maximum sympathy from them.

Meanwhile, Dean and Gale (1999) liken street begging to some other types of street-level informal activities because it has a discordant relationship with the formal and mainstream users of the space. They further submit that begging continues to be an informal activity because of its insecure and unregulated nature. Street begging transactions, according to Nieuwenheys (2001), are always publicly performed transactions. Yet, they are usually personal transactions between two individuals which always take place in public spaces. Swanson (2007) notes that, regardless of what may be gained or lost through these transactions, begging encounters are often highly disquieting moments that elicit a wide range of emotional and physical responses.

For Naalir (2010), beggars belong to a separate group in the society, because they are a group without any aspirations or goals in life, rather they depend solely on charity and their life pattern is different from other communities. They live in streets, parks, under trees and roam in public places. Naalir further asserts that street beggars frequently haunt locations such as entrances to office buildings, almsgiving houses, ATM machines, parking places, railway stations and bus halts, major road intersections, particularly where there are tourists, filling stations and fast-food restaurants. Adedibu and Jelili (2011) similarly posit that street beggars in Nigeria usually congregate for the purpose of soliciting alms in and around religious centers, motor parks, filling stations, markets and major road junctions. They regard these locations as important begging attraction zones in Nigerian cities.

Lee and Farrel (2003) also submit that the central business districts and adjacent areas are particularly attractive to beggars because they contain many of the features that make up a sustaining habitat for homeless people, who work the streets. They identified a dense population, converging transportation lines, an abundance of niches, and tolerance on the part of local residents as elements that create an enabling environment for beggars.

In Nigeria, scholars have identified different categories of street beggars in the country. Esan (2009) categorised beggars in Nigeria to include the 'fine', the 'sit-at-a-place', and the 'babiyala' beggars. 'Fine' beggars are psychological beggars, who use language to deceive people by telling important and unimportant lies under the garb of religion; the 'sit- at-a- place' beggars are the beggars who usually select places, especially restaurants, holy places, and points where goods for affluent people are sold. The 'babiyala' beggars are typically Hausa from northern part of Nigeria, who always roam the street, sing-begging and rendering small services to their client such as fanning them with locally made hand fan, mopping their faces with handkerchiefs or decorating them with stickers.

Table 2.1: Categories of beggars in Nigeria

	Broad categories of beggars in Nigeria
Esan (2009)	Fine Beggars, Sit-at-a-Place Beggars, *Babiyala* Beggars
Jelili (2009)	Jobless Beggars, Occasional Beggars, Criminals in Disguise, Old age Beggars
Ibrahim (1997)	Physically-challenged Beggars, Cultural Beggars, Child Beggars *(Almajiranchi)*
Igibinovia (1991)	Women Beggars, Child Beggars, Immigrant Beggars, Executive Beggars

In his own categorisation, Ibrahim (1997) categorises beggars in most of the Nigerian cities to include the apparently maimed beggars, the cultural beggars, like the praise singers and the twins' mothers, the lepers, the blind and the crippled. Others are the young and the elderly, who are unemployable because they are either too young or too old, and the '*almajirai*,' who beg for alms to fulfill religious belief. Jelili (2009) similarly categorises the Nigerian beggars into the destitute and jobless beggars, occasional and unprofessional beggars, wanderers, unskilled, un-catered for female beggars, criminals in disguise and old age beggars.

While discussing the extent and nature of street begging in Nigeria, Igbinovia (1991) laments that the act which used to be the sole preserve of destitute and the disabled in the country is now being actively practised by able-bodied Nigerians. He claimed that while destitute or disabled beggars openly solicit alms in public spaces, some of their able-bodied counterparts, otherwise known as the "executive beggars," usually resort to begging with style from one office to another or from one major city center to another. Beggars of this kind, according to Igbinovia (1991), are usually recognised by their neatness, nice clothes, attractive demeanour, smooth talk and impeccable use of English. Such beggars are recognised as being on top of beggars' hierarchy. However, at some point in their careers, Nigerian beggars usually select a method of operation best suited to their status, their perception of the public, their physical and mental conditions and their financial objectives (Igbinovia, 1991).

Adedibu and Jelili (2012) have also observed that the situation in most of the Nigerian cities shows a large influx of poor street beggars from relatively dry neighbouring countries, such as Chad and Niger Republic. According to them, some of this category of beggar presents themselves as prophets who often prophesy doom to scare their helpless "clients," who are expected to get prepared to give them (prophet of dooms) any stuff to prevent the doom from happening to them. Igbinovia (1991) similarly submits that alien or immigrant beggars in Nigeria are mostly from some neighbouring African countries like Niger Republic, Sudan, Ghana, Chad, Togo and Cameroon. This category of beggars, according to Igbinovia (1991), often unofficially gain entry into Nigeria but also do, sometimes, take advantage of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol which permits the stay of immigrants from ECOWAS countries in Nigeria for ninety days. At the expiration date, they usually travel out of the country, but to return later to resume another ninety days of begging. This category of beggars can be found soliciting alms around churches, markets, departmental stores, bus stops, mosques and other public places (Igbinovia, 1991).

Oyofo (1987) also avers that migrant beggars in Nigeria are generally able-bodied men and women who idle away while their children pester members of the public and motorists in an attempt to extract money from them. Indeed, their general practice, according to Sunday Times (1987), is for the old alien beggars, who are not disabled to send their children out to solicit

money while they watch them from a close distance. Similarly, in a study conducted among migrant beggars in Ibadan, Southwestern Nigeria, Salami and Olugbayo (2013) discovered that their respondents came from Niger Republic, Chad, Benin Republic and Mali; with the nationals of Niger Republic (83.6%) in the majority. They also observed that more than half (56%) of their study population was female. The majority of these migrant beggars (84.8%) were reported to have relatives residing in Nigeria, and most of them spoke Yoruba, the local language, and Pidgin English.

While commenting on the extent of street begging in Bangladesh, Al Helal and Kabir (2013) lament that street beggars are everywhere in the country; they are found in the villages, in towns and cities. On Friday, they gather mainly near the mosques, bus stands, railway stations, in front of market places, and near the traffic signals. Azam (2011) classifies beggars in Pakistan into the impoverished people who beg to survive, people who beg out of preference, and people who beg because they are forced by criminal organisations. While those who beg out of poverty and those who engage in it as an occupation of last resort beg out of desperation, those who choose to beg out of preference find begging a convenient or preferred source of income because it is a relatively profitable endeavour.

In a study conducted on street begging in the Kadapa District of Andra Pradesh, India, Reddy (2013) identified two major groups of beggars to include the full-time and part-time beggars. Full-time beggars are those who left home and do not receive any form of support from members of their family or friends, and are totally dependent on begging. The part-time beggars on their part take up the profession of begging as a means of providing additional income for their household. For this group of beggars, their family members provide all forms of support for them as a way of discouraging them from begging but they always do not listen to them. They sometimes use their income from begging to meet their personal expenses like liquor consumption, tobacco chewing and smoking.

Namwata, Mgabo and Maseke (2012) have also categorised street beggars in Central Tanzania to include the beggars on the street, the beggars of the street, the beggars in the street and the beggars of street families. The beggars on the street spend most of the day on the streets begging

for alms, they have permanent homes, usually maintain family ties or contacts, and do often return home in the evening to sleep. The beggars of the streets live and sleep on the streets and have loose family contacts and do occasionally go back home. The beggars in the streets are completely detached from, have abandoned or have been abandoned by their families and their immediate communities and have drifted into the begging life. The beggars of street families are beggars born and raised on the streets; most of them have parents who are beggars.

In their study on street beggars in Thailand, the Friends-International and United Nations Inter-Agency Project (2006) claim that a wide range of beggars are found in Bangkok, and they usually include mothers with children, unaccompanied children, old men, old women, disabled men, women and children, blind people being led by children, blind people playing music through a microphone, and others. It was further observed in this particular study that the new increasingly common trend on the streets of Bangkok is for the alms-givers to favour a mother (or mother figure) begging together with a child.

Tatek (2009) posits that an important factor in begging and its success is the disability status of the actor, be it visual, mental or physical impairment because giving alms to disabled people, rather than able-bodied individuals is considered by the public to be more appropriate and, thus, should be given a priority. Being handicapped is the most high-ranking status and symbolic role in the beggars' world. The handicapped are territorially and socially isolated; they usually do not engage in exchange relations, and are known for "keeping their property to themselves." Indeed, other beggars consider them as owners of property, "millionaires," and "cheaters". They are also conceived as violent and unpredictable (Meir-Dviri and Raz, 1995).

Beggars organise and govern themselves to achieve some degrees of control over competition and to establish social order (Lu, 1999). Lu (1999) observes in China that the beggars' society was not unlike other social groups because it is like a trade organisation, native place association or professional society, among others, which existed to secure some degrees of autonomy in their own domains in order to help with their members' success or in some cases, for sheer survival in an increasingly competitive urban world. Reddy (2013) similarly believes that beggars are fairly well organised despite the fact that they are not unionised. They view new beggars with

suspicion and try to find out about them by asking different forms of question. Reddy observes that, like any other occupational group such as labour unions, beggars also form an organised body, consisting of relatively 'permanent' beggars of a certain locality. The body decides the roles of beggars, places the rules for sharing the income, and determines the squatting place for begging. The new members are always treated with suspicion and they cannot become an embodiment of the group without having a significant length of period of association and trust. Adewuyi (2000) has also noted that beggars in Nigeria are frequently organised according to their disability and placed under a leader, who is publicly turbaned in that capacity. This leader oversees the affairs of his men by housing them, providing them with guides and transportation facilities, allocating them to areas of begging and protecting them from physical and even policy attack. The followers, in turn, pay him their earnings on Fridays for his services, and keep whatever they earn on other days for their own use.

Karacoskun (2009) claims that begging, by its very nature, requires an opportunist character, which consequently makes it indispensable for those making a living out of it. The number of beggars today, according to Azam (2011), is apparently much greater than what was the case several decades ago; not only have their numbers increased, the nature and extent of begging has evolved over time. In recent decades, it has turned into a lucrative business for some opportunists, who turned it into an organised crime in some cases. Since begging is largely outside the radar of powerful international institutions, it therefore flourishes. Beggars, albeit a social nuisance, are not considered a threat and therefore addressing begging is less of a priority (Azam, 2011).

While discussing the difference between street begging and other economic activities, Adler (1999) maintains that those who think that begging is different in kind from other forms of economic activity usually point to the fact that it involves 'getting something for nothing', while other forms of economic activity involve getting something in return. However, those who think the difference is merely one of degree on the other hand, point to the fact that some other forms of street-level economic activity are not really that different from begging. Nevertheless, 'getting something for nothing' is, arguably, what makes begging so problematic, because a market economy, where market values which include the principle of exchange (normally of goods and

services for money) is pervasive, exists in the society. Members of the society, therefore, feel uncomfortable with transactions like begging that do not reflect this principle (Adler, 1999). However, it is important to point out that in spite of the fact that street begging is largely considered a deviant act in Nigeria and some other parts of the world, it is erroneous to conclude that the act involves 'getting something for nothing', as stated by Adler (1999). For instance, most of the people that give alms to street beggars, in Nigeria, and Africa, in general, believe that prayers and blessings offered by beggars are the services they render in return for the alms given to them.

According to Wardhaugh and Jones (1999), begging, socially, is not only a highly marginal and stigmatised activity, but also the one that leads to the ascription of a deviant 'master status' to the one who begs. That is, the identity of the beggar becomes of primary importance, eclipsing any other possible identities. It is not possible to be a person who simply *does* begging, rather one *becomes* a beggar (Goffman, 1959). The process of stigmatisation, therefore, is likely to deter individuals from voluntarily embracing the spoiled identity of the beggar (Wardhaugh and Jones, 1999). In his study among street beggars in Leicester, Burke (1999) observes that most people interviewed preferred to go begging when and where they thought they were most likely to receive money. The most popular times were morning and evening rush hours and the lunch period when more people were out and about; the most favoured places were those crowded city areas with narrow access where people were unable to easily avoid them.

In his discussion on commercialisation of street begging in Nigeria, Mohammed (1991) notes that beggars are often well established in the society to the extent that syndicate superintend over them. Such syndicate groups, according to Mohammed (1991), usually protect these beggars and do sometimes pay both their Umra and pilgrimage tickets to Saudi Arabia as a way of maximising the profit of their 'business organisation'; since the alms they obtain are in hard currency, thus, the business is very lucrative. This internationalisation of begging beyond Nigeria and West African States seems to further confirm the commercial and professional status of begging (Adewuyi, 2000).

Kirchofer and Weeks (2010) assert that in Austria, organised begging, and begging in general, has been the subject of much debate. While some parts of the country have forbidden the practice altogether, others are working to restrict it to certain areas. Organised begging, according to Kirchofer and Weeks (2010), refers to a situation in which begging is a business with a hierarchy. At the bottom of the organised begging's hierarchy are the beggars who collect money on the street; there are leaders who collect money from the beggars working for them. At the top of the chain are the leaders, who receive most of the money and organise those who beg, where and when they beg. The leaders are also responsible for acquiring the needed begging "staff," either themselves or by paying others to "recruit" them (Kirchofer and Weeks, 2010).

Azam (2011) has similarly argued, that just like all other businesses, criminal groups in the business of forced begging have organisational structures. This practice, according to Azam (2011) is known as beggarisation. To him, beggarisation is a form of begging in which the beggar has a criminal intent to defraud the donor. It is carried out in an organised fashion, and handled as a business. The organisers have criminal intent to maximise profit for themselves by forcing people, often of disadvantaged social groups, to beg. These disadvantaged groups include, but are not limited to, those who are mentally and physically handicapped, women, third gender, children, and the elderly. Azam identifies the two forms of beggarisation as voluntary and involuntary. While those involved in beggarisation on a voluntary basis are not coerced or forced into the activity, those involved in involuntary beggarisation are exploited for their economic potential and may be subjected to physical or mental abuse involving threats, disfiguration, or other violent means and they are sometimes disposed of. In his own description of the activities of organised begging syndicates, Alam-Khan (2011) contends that beggars' master is at the top of the hierarchy, while forced beggars are at the bottom and the middlemen fulfill organisational functions. Beggars' masters or contractors often exploit beggars by forcing them to beg for money and they do, sometimes, physically disfigure and perform other atrocities to fit beggars into disabled and disadvantaged groups so that they can earn sympathy and, hence, more money from the passers-by.

While discussing the relationship between street begging and migration in Ecuador, Swanson (2005) submits that since the 1990s, the rural indigenous women and children have started

migrating to beg from the Andes to Ecuador's largest cities for survival needs. The majority of these beggars, according to Swanson (2005), are children, who migrate during their two-month summer holidays, two-week Christmas holidays or when there are teachers' strikes or national holidays. They sell gum, flowers, food, shine shoes and guard cars. The success of these migrant beggars is prompting a few families to migrate further away to Colombia during Christmas to beg for pesos, from where they return with substantial cash.

Similarly, the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project (2006) has also observed in Bangkok that Thai beggars have been significantly overshadowed by a major influx of foreign beggars from Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Bangladesh. The study revealed the involvement of a group of persons facilitating the inflow of migrant beggars into Bangkok**.** Focusing on the networks that enable Cambodian beggars move to Thailand and operate, the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project (2006) found a heavy involvement of a group of persons generally known as *Me Kyhol* (a Cambodian term for a facilitator and leader) that have a wide variety of characteristics and roles in helping migrants as part of the network bringing beggars into Bangkok. This network of *Me Kyhol* is believed to be composed of largely decentralised Cambodian facilitators who provide a variety of services to migrant beggars, and are less controlling than the "gang boss" that has been assumed to control migrant beggars. These *Me Kyhols*, according to the report, are also indistinguishable from those that facilitate journeys of illegal (and /or legal) migrant workers and, in some cases, turned out to be traffickers.

It was also discovered by the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project (2006) that many of the female beggars involved in the study claimed they came to Thailand alone, while some stated they had heard from friends or relatives on how to get to Bangkok. Furthermore, others said they had been to Bangkok more than once, and that on the first occasion they paid a *Me Kyhol* to facilitate their trip. The study further established that some of the better known *Me Kyhol* rent houses in different locations in Bangkok which they, in turn, rent out to other beggars. The research team also discovered that many of the women send money back to their family in Cambodia via the *Me Kyhol*. The beggar hands the money over to the *Me Kyhol* who charges a fee for the service; the fee amount varies and can either be a percentage of the money being

transferred or a flat amount. The *Me Kyhol* then contacts his/her agent in Poipet, who would subsequently give the money to the designated recipient. The level of organisation and structure of the business of a *Me Kyhol* may vary greatly, but the research findings of the study suggested that they are part of informal networks of friends or relatives in both countries.

Adedibu and Jelili (2011) have also linked street begging in Nigeria to human trafficking. They submit that the physically challenged or disabled persons, such as, the blind and crippled, are lured into the begging business and trafficked into major Nigerian cities, such as Lagos, Ibadan, Kano and Kaduna. This type of trafficking, according to them, has spread beyond the country's borders to the Middle East, in particular, to Saudi Arabia. In a similar vein, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2006) laments that a form of begging arrangement known as contractual begging exists in Nigeria, in which physically challenged or handicapped persons are hired on a daily basis for begging assignments with a token fee of often no more than 500 naira (some US $3.8). These physically challenged are often carried on their backs, in a wheel barrow or wheel chair and taken around towns from sunrise to sunset, often under harsh weather and dangerous traffic conditions. The 'investor' only releases the trafficked person when he has made sufficient profit.

The phenomenon of street begging is a complicated social problem for which planning is difficult (Ahamdi, 2003). This is due to the fact that begging in contemporary society is a symptom of a number of multifaceted social problems which include: homelessness, poverty, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental illness, lack of education and vocational training, and so on (Reddy, 2013; Murdoch, Connell, Davis and Maher, 1999).

2.1.2 Factors promoting street begging

Scholars have identified several factors as responsible for the problem of street begging in the society. Lynch (2005) recognises begging as a complex and multi-faceted problem that is most often caused by multiple and interrelated individual and structural deprivations. He opines that there are clear causal and consequential correlates between begging, homelessness, poverty, mental illness, drug dependency and inadequate access to housing, income and health support services.

The National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute (2001) identifies six reasons why people engage in begging in Nigeria to include: loss of parental/guardian support, parental/guardian neglect, poverty, disability, socio-cultural misconceptions and lack of parental education. Igbinovia (1991) also summarises factors promoting street begging in Nigeria as: traditional and cultural factors, customs and religion, poverty and destitution, laziness and indolence, unemployment and the need to make a living or money, deformity and disability, desertion and lack of spouse or family care, inadequate and lack of rehabilitation and vocational centers, old age, and influx of illegal/destitute aliens. Adewuyi (2000) attributes some of the factors promoting the phenomenon of street begging in Northern Nigeria to include the traditional system of education, family problems, and the structure of traditional administration as interplayed by Arabic civilisation, Westernisation and colonialism. In an earlier study, Aliyu (1972) states that beggars in Nigeria are unfortunate victims of the rapidly changing society whose plight is stemming from a great disorientation in both social and cultural values.

In his discussion on factors promoting street begging in Nigeria, Oyofo (1987) also sees physical and mental disabilities as possible causes of begging in Nigeria. He further asserts that people who are crippled, blind, paralysed, deaf and mute, or handicapped, in some other ways, are sometimes exploited by their relatives or friends, only to make money for themselves. These beggars are often placed at strategic locations to solicit alms and at the end of the day, the bulk of the money collected is taken by their kith and kin, while only a token amount is given to them (Oyofo, 1987). Konkola (1998) similarly contends that street begging has assumed a serious problem in Africa for two reasons. First, the attitude of society towards the people living with disabilities is that of abandonment, apathy and over-protection. Second, the attitude of the society has created a negative habit of total dependency among people living with disabilities, themselves.

According to Olawale (2007), begging behaviour among people living with disabilities could be understood within four major contexts. First, there are some disabled persons who are forced into begging by their condition, which is begging for survival. Second, there are persons who beg without realising that it is abnormal to do so, not necessarily for survival, but as a permissible norm. Third, some disabled persons beg because they have learnt to do so, either from their

parents, guardians, or models. Lastly, some persons beg because they are psychologically predisposed to do so, due to lower self-esteem, lower achievement and lower motivation.

To Demewozu (2005), poverty is the most frequent precipitant of the problem of begging in the society. Beneath poverty lies the widespread scarcity of resources needed to lead a proper life and also, a socio-economic system that is becoming more concentrated with the evils of urbanisation owing to migration and displacement of people, who have nowhere else to go but to the streets. Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere and Oyenuga (2007) assert that the worsening economic condition in Nigeria has thrown up several socially disapproved survival mechanisms and deviant behaviours; one of which is street begging now engaged in by different categories of people, such as the area boys, the disabled and other vulnerable groups. This increase in poverty is traceable to the failure of Structural Adjustment Programmes, as well as the current worsening socio-economic conditions in the country (Okunmadewa, 2001; Jibril, 1997).

According to the World Bank's (2000) estimates, over 45% of Nigerian population live below the poverty level with about two third (2/3) of this group being extremely poor. Although the studies conducted by the Federal Office of Statistics in Nigeria between 1980 and 1996 indicated that the problem of poverty was more pronounced among rural than urban dwellers. Recent trends in the country, however, suggest that urban poverty is increasingly becoming a problem (Fawole, Ogunkan and Omoruan, 2011). Osagbemi and Adepetu (1999) indict modernisation and western influence as factors promoting street begging in Nigeria. They observed that modernisation is increasingly leading to the disappearance of the extended family support system which in the past characterised most African societies. Consequently, the aged, the disabled and even the disadvantaged youths are now the leading beggars of our time. This increasing urban living is accompanied by a marked increase in various forms of deviant behaviours, which include street begging.

Mijinyawa (2001) perceives begging as a derogatory habit brought about by the unrestricted movement of the *Almajiri* children, especially in the North, which is now associated with touting. Phelan, Bruce, Moore and Estueve (1997) and Osiki (1999) have also attributed the problem of street begging to conditions that have sociological connotations like poverty, under-

education, underprivilege and homelessness. Anderson (1961) identifies six major conditions contributing to the problem of begging to include: unemployment and seasonal work, misfit of industry whether due to physical handicaps, mental deficiency, occupational diseases or lack of vocational training, defects of personality, family conflicts, misconduct and crime, racial or national discrimination in employment opportunities, and desire for new experiences. Moorthy (1959), as cited in Reddy (2013), identifies over-population, unprofitable methods of cultivation, debt, famine, floods, family breakdown, chronic diseases, unwillingness to work, as the predominant causes of begging. He opines that besides the problem being more urban in character, the act of begging has roots in the prevailing socio-economic conditions.

According to the Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre (2011), many of the refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Pakistan are involved in begging due to the lack of basic necessities and unsubstantial support from the government. Lu (1999) laments that Chinese cities are among the worst beggar-devastated cities in the world. This problem, which Lu (1999) attributes to urban poverty and uncontrolled rural-urban migration, subsided at a time for about three decades when the Communist Government control of the rural urban drift was strict. However, it later exploded again when the regime softened its migration policy. It was reported in 1991 that about 28,000 beggars were arrested in the southern city of Guangzhou alone, while a total number of about 250,000 beggars, across the country, were reported by the China News Agency in October, 1993 (Solinger, 1998).

Also, in the United State cities, begging has gained serious recognition to the extent that the Supreme Court of the country ruled that though asking people for money is a form of protected speech. However, the restrictions imposed on the time, place, and manner of begging are constitutional (Smith, 2005). Smith's study on the need or otherwise for anti-begging regulations in the US cities revealed that while those cities with higher welfare benefits are less likely to regulate begging, those with higher crime rates, higher proportions of disabled citizens and higher proportions of college-educated citizens are more densely populated and more likely to regulate begging.

Dean (1999) avers that the persistence of begging in the Western World may be construed as an indictment of the failures of social policy. Begging, according to Dean, is an ancient practice; as such, it is associated with all kinds of tradition, myth and imagery. Murdoch (1994) and Moore, Stockley and Drake (1995) argue that people who beg are more likely to be homeless. Similarly, Dean and Gale (1999) also observe that in Britain, there is evidence that young people without automatic social security entitlements and former patients from mental health institutions are among those to be found begging on the streets. However, this does not necessarily characterise those who beg or what kind of a problem begging is (Dean and Gale, 1999).

According to Jessop (1990), the return to begging on a large scale in Britain and America occurred following the collapse of the long post-war economic boom and the subsequent retreat from the welfare state that has epitomised the subsequent government response. From 1973 onwards, the growing world recession reintroduced mass unemployment to the United Kingdom and the increasingly tougher rules limiting welfare benefit to certain groups can be seen as a major reason why there are now a greater number of beggars on the streets of London (Murdoch, 1994) and other major cities in the UK (Rose, 1988). A similar situation is replicated in the USA, in general (Kelling and Coles, 1996) and New York City in particular (Bratton, 1997; Currie, 1997; Taylor, 1997).

In his submission on causes of begging in the former Soviet Union, Jordan (1999) contends that the rise in begging correlates with increases in homelessness, poverty and income insecurity, and a whole range of survival activities taking place outside the formal labour market. This change has been most dramatic in the former Soviet Union and its satellites in Central and Eastern Europe, where economies with very high levels of employment suddenly found themselves with massive labour surpluses, especially among those unskilled groups of workers whom their regimes mostly favoured and protected. In most Central European towns and cities, begging is uncommon, except by a few Roma people (mainly women and children) whose plight has deteriorated far more dramatically than the rest of the population since the end of Communism. However, begging by old people, people with disabilities and by working-age men is a very extensive and striking feature of street life in Budapest, the Hungarian capital. Jordan (1999) further maintains that begging activity in Britain and North-West Europe is engaged in mainly by

those with the least personal and cultural resources for survival practices, such as young people who have recently been in care or in mental hospitals, homeless single people, and people with serious mental health, alcohol or drug problems.

Coles and Craig (1999) similarly submit that the characteristics of those who beg reveal an association between begging and a lack of involvement in the formal labour market, homelessness in its various guises, detachment from families, having been in the formal childcare system, and periodic involvement in crime and the criminal justice system, including imprisonment. Coles and Craig further opine that though those who beg include many who are middle-aged or in later stages of the life-course, many of the processes which have driven these groups to the margins of society often set in and/or manifest during their 'youth'.

On their part, Adedibu and Jelili (2011) view urban land use activities as greatly influencing the spatial distribution of beggars in Nigerian cities as a result of the favourable land uses for commercial, transport, and public uses. A less organised commercial or public area where informal activities are predominant tends to attract more beggars than an organised one. Hence, in Nigeria, begging activities is more concentrated in commercial, public and high density land use environments which are features of the central areas and junctions of major transport corridors.

In a study conducted in Australia, Cooke and Horn (2001) discover the reasons given by their respondents for engaging in begging behaviours to be related to their life histories and pressures their past disadvantage and trauma had placed upon them. Such pressures often lead to substance abuse, which in turn promote a chaotic lifestyle. Beggars covered in this particular study saw begging as a means of supplementing their income to feed their drug and/or alcohol habits, pay for temporary accommodation, as well as, meet their basic needs for food and drink.

2.1.3 Cultural and gender issues in street begging

Ayagi (1997) regards street begging in Nigeria as a cultural issue because a great number of Nigerians believe in the goodness of helping the poor, and also recognise the right of the poor to seek the assistance of the better-off in the society. People's generosity encourages more beggars to continue begging as a means of earning money. This traditional way of giving charity usually encourages the able-bodied beggars to take advantage of it (Demewozu, 2005). Briggs (1985) notes that in medieval times, there were some 'lordless men' who chose to live in isolation as hermits, while making occasional forays to beg for alms.

According to Obidoa, Eze and Okide (2007), the lower incidence of street begging in Southern Nigeria when compared to the North is suggestive of a cultural dimension to the problem. For Adewuyi (2000), the most visible of the beggars in Nigeria are those of Hausa origin, who are more organized than beggars from other ethnic groups. The Hausa beggars, according to Adewuyi (2000), appear to outnumber those from other ethnic groups. Over the years, these Hausa beggars have evolved a distinctive modus operandi that makes them to be strikingly dissimilar to other beggars. Begging, to them, seems not to be a stopgap, necessitated by problems incidental to poor production and distribution of social and economic resources. In the same vein, Bamisaiye (1974) describes begging among Hausa migrants as a cultural pattern resulting from the social organisation and the Islamic doctrine on giving alms. Begging among the Hausa is gendered and dominated by male migrants.

Osa-Edoh and Ayano (2012) equally contend that street begging is a cultural practice among certain ethnic groups in Nigeria, and a common phenomenon among them is to see most nursing mothers, who have twins, begging for alms in the market places while claiming to be fulfilling religious and/or custom demands as a way of protecting their children from premature death. Meanwhile, Idoye (1993:3) has also decried the reckless abandon with which female beggars in Nigeria bear children and the possible implications of socialising such kids by the road side. In his words:

> Women beggars also carry with them children ranging from one day old to five year old. At times, one wonders if these children have legal fathers…these mothers compound the issue of population control in the country, in the sense that they are known to put no limit to the number of children to have as a result of attitude of those hit-and-run, irresponsible men in the society and those foolish father-beggars who share the same open space or bus-stop with them in an attempt to satisfy their sexual desires.

In their discussion on how culture and tradition influence the style of begging, Dean and Gale (1999) observe that the adopted style of begging in Britain is different from those employed by beggars in other continental European cities. This difference, according to them, is informed by different expectations and understandings with regard to the basis of social welfare and the rights of citizenship. Meanwhile, Wardhaugh (2009) opines that though begging exists across cultures and historical periods, yet it is often subject to various forms of regulation. According to him, while there is a place for the beggar within the social systems of south Asia, this acceptance appears to be contingent on compliance with unwritten but forceful codes of social behaviour. These codes are made evident when begging activities in public places are observed. Hence, the acts of begging take place in clearly defined locations and follow established patterns of interaction between beggars, donors, and regulators such as religious officials or the police. Similarly, among the Indians, it is a traditional practice and a duty to give alms to beggars, especially the 'Sadhus', whose traditional way of life limits any income. They believe that even the Shiva, Hindu god, ran his household from begging alms (Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia, 2007).

While discussing how culture and gender influence street begging in the Turkish society, Karacoskun (2009) submits that the most important factor that makes begging indispensable is the members of the society who give money to beggars because of their moral and religious beliefs. Karacoskun further points out that the begging of women was more tolerated than men; consequently, women beggars include those who are mostly married to unemployed husbands, or those whose husbands have been sentenced to prison. These women's husbands usually encourage them to beg and hence, they often find it difficult to stop begging despite getting all kind of financial and social supports.

Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga (2007) consider the involvement of women in street begging in Nigeria as arising from the patriarchal ideology, prevalent in most African societies, suggesting that women are less likely to control their situation, given their economic dependence on men. This observation was earlier made by Aigbokhan (2000) and United Nations (2002) who shed light on the harsh realities of increased poverty in Nigeria where many women are struggling to survive due to their disadvantaged positions, economic deprivations and social discriminations.

Oyekanmi (2005) also identifies low level of female employment, low literacy rates, limited employment opportunities and patriarchal cultural practices as barriers to the development of women. Oyofo (1987) claims that femeale beggars in Nigeria usually offer such reasons as poverty, unemployment, physical disability, customs, and the need to make a living for themselves and their families as rationalisations for their involvement in begging. On their part, Mendanhall, Muzizi, Stephenson and Allen (2007) argue that in Lusaka, Zambia, one of the most prevalent forms of gender violence which creates poverty in women is when husband's family claims the property of deceased from the widow. Property grabbing following the death of husbands by their families exposes women to unnecessary hardships which may eventually lead them to street begging.

Adebiyi (1987) recognises three varieties of female beggars in Nigeria, namely: women who beg for a living because their culture or tradition permits it, those who become beggars because they or their spouses are unemployed, lazy or poor (this category of beggars use begging as a means of living, to sustain themselves and their families). The third type of female beggars is those women who take to begging because they or their spouses are physically or mentally handicapped. Most female beggars in Nigeria are generally able-bodied, and of particular interest are those female beggars, who claim that they are not really beggars but were driven into begging because their custom or religion mandates them to do so in order that their twin children will live long or not die.

While discussing the cultural dimension of street begging in Nigeria, Igbinovia (1991) alludes to the fact that Yoruba people of Nigeria sanction begging for a woman who has given birth to

twins in order to safeguard the children from sickness and death. This submission is clearly demonstrated in the study conducted in Lagos and Ibadan by Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere and Oyenuga (2007), where some female beggars admitted that they had to beg due to the dictates of culture and tradition which prescribed that twins must be taken to the street for begging. Igbinovia (1991), however, claims that most beggars in Nigeria are male.

According to Melrose, Barret, and Brodie (1999), in Northern Europe and the more developed post-Communist countries, prostitution may be a more culturally acceptable form of street-level economic activity than begging for most young women. By contrast, young men, however, appear to find begging less degrading than 'renting'. Those who do engage in male prostitution are more likely to disguise it behind the public façade of begging activity (Dean and Gale, 1999).

Bourgois (1996) similarly suggests that begging is a highly gendered activity. He argues that "male income generating activities in the underground economy are more publicly visible" than those employed by women. Gmelch and Gmelch (1978) posit that begging among the Dublin Tinkers in Ireland is exclusively a female activity which is primarily an outgrowth of the traditional female task of door-to-door peddling, during which alms are also solicited. According to Gmelch and Gmelch (1978), there are two primary approaches to seeking alms in Dublin. In the first, women go from door to door through the suburbs asking for food, secondhand clothing, and to a lesser extent, cash. In the second, they solicit money from pedestrians and shoppers on busy downtown streets. Begging from door to door is, however, viewed as a more legitimate subsistence activity than begging indiscriminately on the street for money.

However, Tatek's (2009) observation of street beggars in public spaces in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, shows a gender dimension to street begging in which boys were more involved than girls. Unlike boys, girls seem to find begging more shameful and hence feel inhibited about it, particularly on the main streets, except in the evening. During the day, most girls combine begging with other activities, such as selling food items, chewing gum, lottery papers, and cigarettes. They do these in order to reduce the social stigma of their presence in 'wrong places' and engagement in 'wrong careers', as the domestic sphere (home) is the 'right place' that society expects them to occupy (Evans 2006). In addition, some girls might perform 'passive

begging' by simply sitting on street corners, as well as 'advocacy begging' in which they take their younger and 'dependent' siblings with them, thus, suggesting that they are not the main beggars. While some girls practised begging on feeder roads instead of main avenues and at transport terminals, for some others, begging in the evening is an elusive way of combining the activity with transactional sex (Tatek, 2009). Swanson (2007) also observes in Ecuador, a nation where machismo is well-entrenched, that able-bodied male beggars are rare. This situation, according to Swanson (2007), contrasts what obtains in North America and northern Europe where the majority of beggars are men.

2.1.4 Relationship between religion and street begging

Dean and Gale (1999) consider begging as both a timeless phenomenon and a new moral issue. In feudal times, the giving of alms to strangers, according to Lis and Soly (1979), was firmly believed as sanctifying the donor and could also afford some assurance against the risk of hell-fire and damnation. Igbinovia (1991) linked the practice of begging to Christianity and Islam. Both the Bible and Koran, according to him, state emphatically that the affluent should give alms to the poor. It is stated in the Quran:

> 107: 1 "Have you thought of him that denies the last Judgment? It is he who turns away the orphan and does not urge others to feed the poor"
>
> 107:7 "Woe to those who pray but are heedless in their prayers; who make a show of piety and give no alms to the destitute"

These injunctions agree with the Christian teaching, where in the Book of Proverbs 9:17 (Old Testament Bible), it is written:

> "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord and that which he hath given Will he pay him again".

Glasser (1994) claims that begging is embedded within the social and religious systems in many developing societies. Azam (2011), on his part, states that beggary, to some extent, is, socially,

religiously, and culturally acceptable in most places, particularly in developing countries. Bromley (1981) notes that the association of begging with religion is particularly evident under Christianity and Islam where prestige is accorded to both humility and charity, and where the lowly individual is exhorted to accept humble status with the hope or promise of rewards in a future world. In many societies, the prime responsibility for beggars is, therefore, given to or taken by religious institutions.

In his discussion on the relationship between religion and begging, Jordan (1999) observes that in medieval Europe, as in the Orient and the Middle East, the religious faithful were exhorted to give alms not merely to relieve the poor, but also to support travellers and (above all) pilgrims to religious sites and shrines, as Muslims normally support pilgrims to Mecca. Furthermore, Christian monastic orders similarly included mendicant friars, who travelled the roads in the pursuit of their missions of education or healing, and survived by begging. Also, in the Buddhist tradition, begging was in a religious context, the reverse of a shameful activity; it denoted a spiritual calling or an evangelistic task.

According to Webb and Webb (1963), throughout the early Christendom, the act of providing assistance to the needy was thought to be at a par with prayer and fasting as overt signs of inner spiritual grace. Holy days and the funeral of sovereigns and men of wealth often provided occasion for liberal almsgiving in Europe and Britain. The motivation for such acts of charity was the god-fearing Christian's commitment to alleviating the suffering of 'God's poor" (Murdoch, Connell, Davis and Maher, 1999). In the same vein, Baker (2009) asserts that in the Christendom, in the Middle Ages, the church took responsibility for providing relief to the impoverished. For instance, in early Saxon times, providing succour to the needy was thought to be self-sacrificing, saintly and noble. During this period, the giving of alms by the lady of the house was seen as a dutiful honour.

While the Islamic and Christian cultures have long been noted for the importance given to alms-giving, the analysis of this practice and its religious articulation is also emphasised in Buddhism (Massey, Rafique and Seeley, 2010). Begging also has an established place within Buddhism and many lay people are attracted to temples in search of the means of subsistence and spiritual merit

accrue to those who donate alms to the poor. Buddhist monks and nuns also routinely receive alms while reciting mantras and praying in front of temples (Blomley, 1981). Alms-giving or more generally "giving", is called "dana" in the Buddhist texts (Nyanatiloka, 1980), and it is often regarded as the beginning of one's journey to faith (Massey, Rafique and Seeley, 2010). Becknell (2000) also asserts that in the Jewish tradition, alms-giving is represented by "tzedakah" or justice, which entitles the poor to charity as a matter of right, rather than benevolence. Also, in Hinduism, "bhiksha" is a form of devotional offering offered at a temple or to a priest (Massey, Rafique and Seeley, 2010).

According to Bambale (2008), Islam enjoins Muslims to give out 'alms' or 'gifts' to the needy. The religion enjoins Muslims to give out or assist the poor and needy with food, clothing or any materials or cash. Quran 93:9-10 and 51:19 command all followers to give to those who ask as well as to those who are unwilling to ask, even though they are in need.

> Quran 93: 9-10 commands: "Therefore, treat not, the orphans with oppression. And repute not, the beggar".

> Quran 51:19 states thus: "And in their properties, there was the right of the beggar and the poor".

While discussing the situation in Ethiopia, Tatek (2009) asserts that in many parts of the country, begging is related to the practice of alms giving, and is supported by the religious teachings of Orthodox Christianity. Ndubuisi (1987) has also stated that African traditional religions support begging and encourage the giving of alms to the needy. Ogunkan (2011) claims that though virtually all religions of the world encourage alms giving, however, the degree to which it is entrenched varies from one religion to another. To Ogunkan (2011), religion is an expression of morality and also a fount of moral reassurance and guidance which can play a central role in determining the status of supplicant beggar and donor, and the legitimacy and desirability of begging and almsgiving. In many societies, therefore, the prime responsibility for beggars is given to, or taken by, religious institutions (Blomley, 1981).

Furthermore, Azam (2011) points out that religion, especially the three monotheist religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, stress support for beggars through their emphasis on charity. The three religions tell their followers to be compassionate towards the poor and to give charity/alms. These ideas are articulated in the New Testament, the Old Testament, and the Quran. Hence, during the month of Ramadan, an increasing number of beggars are seen in cities, markets, mosques and other places to take advantage of the opportunity to extort money from religious adherents in the name of Allah. Azam (2011) laments further that, given its religious and cultural acceptability in the society, beggary has become a strategic tool used by criminal networks as a front under which other unacceptable activities are carried out. The practice has been linked to other criminal activities, such as, human and drug trafficking, drug use, organ selling, child abuse, prostitution and terrorism.

Wardhaugh (2009) posits that religious institutions frequently provide food or alms for beggars and this often followed a regular pattern in terms of time and place. Food was often distributed in temples or near mosques at particular times and days of the week. This act, according to Wardhaugh (2009), serves to weave beggars into the fabric of their respective religious institutions and also to regulate their behaviour by discouraging begging outside of specified times and places. Weiss (2007) believes that almsgiving is being practised in many societies and is not a particularly Christian or Muslim philanthropic activity, but it is a private act of compassion which one can find all over the world. Weiss (2007) further argues that if one narrows the discussion on various kinds of organised (but not necessarily institutionalised) forms of almsgiving, Christian and Muslim societies have much in common. In both religions, the act of giving alms, according to him, is regarded as a recommended, if not obligatory form of piety. A further comparison between the Christian and Islamic doctrines on almsgiving, however, reveals some clear differences in the understanding of giving and receiving. Whereas the mandatory aspect of almsgiving is not as visible in Christian doctrines, Islam makes a normative distinction between obligatory and voluntary alms.

Tatek's (2009) study on street beggars in Ethiopia indicates that begging in many parts of the country is related to the practice of alms-giving supported by the religious teachings of Orthodox Christianity, is very common. It was observed that the situation differs fundamentally from the

one that prevails in the West, where Protestantism considers begging as something that is morally unacceptable. In Addis Ababa, begging is recognised to be a common practice near churches and hotels. Also, giving alms to the poor is a fundamental pillar of Islam among the Muslims in the country, as prescribed in the principle of Zakat. Tatek (2009) further notes that many children involved in the study revealed that their families begged in mosques on Fridays, wore hijab even if they were not followers of Islam. Nieuwenhuys (2001), however, submits that despite the socio-religious roles associated with begging in Ethiopia, the practice has increasingly been viewed as a 'distress industry' in the social policy in the country.

Rana (2006) states that most people in Pakistan, especially women, see beggars as more of a blessing in disguise than irritating entities because they find them to be the most readily available recipients of charity on a regular basis. Consequently, beggars find begging occupation the easiest way to earn a living, because the affluent see the beggars as a medium of purifying their wealth. Hence, this relationship has abetted beggary and turned it into an organised form in the country. In his discussion of the relationship between religion and street begging in Sokoto, Northern Nigeria, Adewuyi (2000) maintains that some beggars often make mosques' premises their permanent abode, while others congregate there on Fridays to solicit alms after Jumat service. He described beggars' activities around mosques' premises every Friday this way:

> Up to the time the worship started and as soon as it ended, the clinging of coins rent the air with incredible vigour. Outstretched bowls greeted each worshipper at every inch of the way. Coins and sometimes Naira notes were dropped into the bowls; but the Naira notes were quickly tucked away in the inner pockets of the beggars' dresses probably to forestall theft. Mosques were said to provide ample opportunity to meet the top-shots of the society in a pious mood.

Wardhaugh (2009) posits that though beggars in India and Nepal are often subject to social and political controls, however, they do have an established place within the social system. Wardhaugh further maintains that religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam all encourage alms-giving, and similarly, nations without formal welfare systems often recognize the need for informal systems of support for the poor. Historically, certain Hindu castes have been associated with begging as a profession (Thurston and Rangachari, 2001); while in

contemporary South Asia, groups such as the sadhus and sadhavis (wandering Hindu holy men and women) and hijras (transgender men) traditionally engage in begging as one of their means of subsistence (Wardhaugh, 2009).

In his discussion of the situation in Turkey, Karacoskun (2009) submits that beggaing in the country is often encountered at places and times of intense religious feelings. These frequent periods of begging could be Ramadan month, Fridays and holy nights. The common places of begging, according to Karacoskun (2009), are often cemeteries, shrines and courtyards of mosques. Here, people try every possible way to make money because beggary, by its very nature, requires an opportunist character. Tambawal (2010) and Obidoa, Eze and Okide (2007) assert that several Nigerians give alms to the poor on the basis of religious belief that they are counted as righteous people before God. This, to Ahamdi (2010), indicates a symbolic connection with the spiritual and indicates being humble in life.

However, Erskine and McIntosh (1999) argue that though alms-giving within almost all major religious traditions is understood to be an indication of goodness, receiving on the other hand is understood as a moral failing. Ogunkan (2011) asserts that the objective of alms-giving in Islam is to purify the soul of a Muslim from greed and miserliness. Giving, according to him, is also a means of training the Muslims on the virtue of generosity. Islam teaches its adherents that it is the sacred duty of the wealthy to give part of their possessions to fulfil the needs of the deprived section of the community.

To Ogunkan (2011), begging is neither a profession nor a career in Islam. Rather, it is a dubious act that is contrary to the provision of Quran and Hadith. Although Islam makes it obligatory upon the rich and the well-to-do to support the poor and the needy, it does not in any way encourage begging. Igbinovia (1991) similarly submits that though both Christian and Islamic religions support and encourage charity to the poor, they frown on begging per se. Begging according to him, is unlawful in Islam. Because it is believed that by begging, the beggar not only lowers (demeans) himself before his fellow men, but also loses reliance upon Allah and complains indirectly against him. In the same vein, Bambale (2008) states that Islam, as a religion, abhors the practice of begging among Muslims irrespective of geographical area, race,

gender, or age; it guarantees and promotes dignity and respect for mankind and frowns at the practices of begging which demean and belittle the person of whoever indulges in it.

In the same vein, Mudanssir (2010) maintains that it is clearly provided, accepted and acknowledged in the Islamic economic system that earning a living is only through lawful and legitimate use of available resources in a decent way; the system does not accept dependency act by any able but lazy and effortless persons on others for livelihood. The only condition for one to beg is when he is extremely poor and in dire need, then such an individual can approach others for assistance, and once his need is met, he goes back to his normal business. Unfortunately, in Nigeria and particularly in the Northern part, a significant number of beggars are Muslims and have professionalised the practice of begging (Bambale, 2008). Ndabawa (1991) states that, the fact that many beggars happen to be Muslims and found in the Northern parts of the country give the impression that Islam encourages begging. Thus, Muslims in Nigeria have made begging appear to be part of Islamic culture, while in the real sense, begging is not part of Islam (Ogunkan, 2011).

2.1.5 Public attitude to street begging

Goyal (2005) posits that people's opinions about begging are rooted in deeply held beliefs about individual liberty, public order and social responsibility. Their opinions are also shaped by their actual exposure to beggars because the more people are begged, the less sympathetic they are towards beggars. While begging is discouraged on the most philosophical grounds and by most major religions, many people feel torn about whether to give money to beggars. On his part, Ahamdi (2010) views people's attitudes towards begging and beggars as indicating their opinion that helping beggars can have a positive effect on human's life; therefore, for some social groups, such as people of rural social origin, people with low education, married people and those of low social classes, the beggars, and their community have a positive function for the society and they have favourable feeling towards them.

Swanson (2007) asserts that for the beggar who takes but gives nothing in return, accepting charity with no thought of reciprocity or repayment inevitably implies a loss of honour, and when perceived within the context of gift economies, the beggar is understood as lowly and

inferior. In other words, charity is wounding for those who accept it. Adler (1999) states that though giving alms and helping the poor are encouraged by many religions that regard charity as one of the highest virtues, the norm of beneficence, however, is almost certainly a weaker norm than the norm of reciprocity and plays a second fiddle to it because it conflicts with the ideology of the market, which is hostile to the view that people should get something for nothing. Rana (2006) also believes that street begging in Pakistan does arouse an element of pity in some people, while for so many others it is no more than a sickening nuisance.

To Jordan (1999), begging, as a street-level economic activity, represents a return to practices that were common in previous centuries in all the developed economies, and which both the welfare states and state socialist systems sought to eliminate. The cultural context of begging was the recognition of alms-giving as the predominant form of poor relief, and one which was embedded in systems of religious belief and duty. Begging, according to Jordan (1999), is still a highly visible feature of social life in some developing countries, and it retains many of these connotations, and hence lacks the stigma attached to it in developed ones. Jordan (1999), however, submits that though there may be a less social stigma associated with begging in developing countries than in the West, people who beg are not usually accepted as equal citizens. Ramanathan (2008) claims that begging is viewed as an undesirable behaviour and beggars are, most times, perceived as threatening in many parts of the world. Fabrega (1971) explains that begging in a south-eastern Mexican city is characterised as deviant behaviour, an action of last resort, because it implies an identity lacking self-regard and self-respect, relegating an individual to a degraded social position.

The begging encounter is perplexing and contains within it the possibility for ambivalence and confusion. In a study focused on the attitude of people to beggars, McIntosh and Erskine (1999) observe that the contradictory views of beggars and begging constitute a feature of all the interviews conducted. The participants in the study found it difficult to be certain about what they thought about being asked for money in the street, by acknowledging that their opinions on the subject were rarely formed definitively and were subject to change. McIntosh and Erskine (1999) further observe that begging relation involves a monetary exchange that is unlike the vast bulk of exchanges between strangers; and in part, that is why it is problematic. It is a monetary

relation that lies on the periphery, if not completely outside, the normal routine understandings of such exchanges and has the potential to undermine and usurp a central social relation around which gravitates much of our understanding of social and economic life as well as the smooth running of our daily routines (Goffman, 1971).

In addition, Erskine and McIntosh (1999) contend that the representation of people who beg throughout the centuries has been consistently built upon these three associated images: fraudulent beggars who are using children or shamming disabilities to evoke pity; 'professional' impostors working in an organised criminal network; and beggars acquiring great wealth. Adriaenessens and Hendrickx (2009) equally maintain that members of the public often assume that criminal organisations are employing profit-maximising strategies in their street begging activities. They are described as frauds who fabricate wounds and forge illnesses. They are further depicted as clever professionals who rely on ruse and disguise (Swanson, 2007). According to Murdoch (1994), the implication of the consistent element of accounts of fraudulent begging is that there is a consciousness in the presentation of a beggar. Therefore, a begging encounter must involve a deliberate strategy by the supplicant.

While commenting on beggars' strategies of gaining passers-by's sympathy, Travers (1999) contends that because beggars make people who pass them feel glad that they are not beggars, they usually create in their passers-by a brief emotion of enviability. And the passer-by, feeling enviable, cannot shake off this feeling by reversing the interactional flow of energy. Travers (1999) maintains that by sitting or standing in demeaning locations, beggars disadvantage themselves towards passers-by, who, upright and mobile, seem imbued with purposes beyond the begging interaction. Also, by contriving to look up at others from below (when sitting) or from discomfort (when standing), beggars pedantically underline the message "We are at the bottom of your social scale". Indeed, the whole beggar's demeanour, according to Travers (1999), is like a social doorstep, compelling the passer-by to step up from it into a relative superiority assured in every case by the forward motion of the passer-by.

In his discussion on attitude of people to street beggars in Nigeria, Adewuyi (2000) observes that Nigerians' attitude to street beggars vary fiercely, but a common trend in people's disposition to

these severely marginalised persons is sympathy, or at least pity. He points out that many people favoured street begging, either for religious or humanitarian reasons. While some see it as a dehumanising indictment of national integrity, others develop neutral attitude towards it. Many Nigerians continue to give alms to beggars without any concern about the feeling that some beggars, in fact, earn a bigger income than the alms-giver (Mohammed, 1991). While some people give money to street beggars out of piety-real or counterfeit, others give to beggars just to get them off their neck. Yet, other Nigerians are, simply put, philanthropists. An average Nigerian, irrespective of his socio-political and religious orientations, resorts to spiritualists for his benefit to seek spiritual liberations and protection or obtain desire of the heart. Many times than none, the process involves giving alms to beggars (Ogunkan, 2011).

Namwata, Mgabo and Maseke's (2012) study on street beggars in Central Tanzania showed that while the majority of passers-by were generous and sympathetic to beggars, some other people were harsh to them. Similarly, in a study conducted in Antananarivo, Madagascar, by Adrianenssiens and Hendrickx in 2009, it was observed that people in Antananarivo, especially the highest castes, have a deep sense and image of what should constitute 'their' city, in which people involved in street begging clearly do not fit into the image. Therefore, begging by teenagers and adults in the city are not tolerated, but children are, however, perceived as victims who should be supported by the public. Ennew (2003) opines that the temporality of begging partly relates to the perception of the public towards child beggars. The public's view of child beggars, according to Ennew, changes from the one in which they are seen as 'innocents' or 'victims' when they are young to that of 'dangerous' and 'risks to society' when they come of age.

Burns (1992) observes that beggars spend days in isolation despite the urban bustle about them, because passersby routinely ignore them with eyes averted, while a few hurl verbal insults at them. Even those who hastily drop a coin or two frequently avoid eye contact or an exchange of words. Hence, beggars are often surprised or sometimes frightened if anyone actually touches or attempts to converse with them. Lankenau (1999) describes the encounter between donor and alms solicitor as an obvious source of discomfort because of the inherently asymmetrical relationship that exists between them. Although the former needs the latter, the latter usually

attempts to ignore the former. Lankenau (1999), however, claims that because beggars are usually treated as nonpersons, they must manage their own emotions in addition to manipulating those of passers-by.

In a study on the technique of begging, conducted among street beggars in Edinburgh, Dean and Melrose (1999) observe that beggars begged from a sitting position, some silently, with a hat placed in front of them or with a sign, usually saying 'homeless and hungry, please help'. Others make request more vocally by asking passers-by if they could 'spare any change'. Some of the beggars who participated in this particular study declared that they always vary their technique, depending on the circumstances or their mood, and virtually all emphasised the importance of being 'polite' to passers-by. Participants were, by and large, conscious of the offence which they might cause and sought to minimise this by being as unobtrusive or as obsequious as possible (Dean and Melrose, 1999).

Lu (1999) describes the popular image of Shanghai's beggars as complicated and even contradictory. Beggars are perceived as utterly destitute, but they are also frequently perceived as cunning and brassy people, who take the advantage of human compassion to make a fortune. In addition to the conventional view of beggars as poor creatures, or, alternatively, as cunning parasites, there is yet another popular view that is rooted in the Chinese tradition but which continue to prevail in modern times and which, to some degree, upgrades the beggars to an unimaginable level. A part of this tradition is to see beggars as mysterious figures who disguised themselves to test the conscience and compassion of mankind in which those who gave alms to the poor received salvation or were unexpectedly rewarded, while those who refused to help were punished, often in mysterious ways. Ellickson (1996) has also contended that many passers-by resent beggars because they perceive them as unproductive freeloaders. He argues that the public are also offended by begging, because people assume that there is a high probability that the beggar's solicitation is fraudulent.

Karacouskun (2009) posits that people's attitudes towards the poor in Turkish society revealed a pervasive ambivalence. Begging by the poor people is often seen as legitimate and even supported by reactions, whereas begging of the non-poor is condemned. Beggars' presence is

often considered a nuisance and sometimes even a threat, but they are also credited with bringing good luck and blessing to a house. According to Karacouskun (2009), it is a commonly held belief that if no beggar enters a courtyard for more than seven days, then some calamity would befall members of the household. The underlying logic of this is that of reciprocity in which the donations of alms give an opportunity to the family to fulfill religious obligations and also receive blessings in exchange. The beggar's blessing was gratefully received, and his curse was feared. Karacouskoun notes further that beggars in Turkish society are not always regarded as passive recipients of charitable donations but are expected to reciprocate; it is generally believed that their social marginality in the society potentially endowed them with supernatural powers which could be mobilised to benefit or harm the individual and the household. Nieuwenhuys (2001) similarly claims that, in Addis Ababa, begging involves a mutual interdependence, interaction and exchange of resources between givers and recipients, as well as between the 'haves' and the 'have- not'.

On his part, Bromley (1981) observes that the moral satisfaction which some donors obtain by giving to a beggar is counterbalanced in most contexts by the irritation of other donors and those who refuse to donate. The irritation at the sight of a beggar and even more on being the focus of a beggar's appeals are common emotions. Beggars may be viewed as unproductive parasites, malingering frauds, petty blackmailers, or simply as an embarrassment to anyone anxious to show off the prosperity and productivity of their society. Bromley (1981) further describes all beggars as actors adopting specific strategies in the hope of obtaining an income of donations from members of the public. They attempt to convey one of two possible impressions which are that of 'deserving supplicant' or that of 'blackmailer with a tangible threat'. Their potential donors in turn attempt to assess the veracity of individual beggars' image to effectively decide whether they are 'genuine' or 'frauds'. Once they have made their personal assessments of a beggar, they vary their behaviour according to these assessments by offering gracious or friendly looks, apologies, advice, encouragement or donations to those seen to be 'genuine', and ignoring, avoiding, insulting or even physically abusing those seen to be 'frauds'.

In order to qualify the description 'deserving', a beggar, according to Bromley (1981), must not only be seen to have certain physical and mental attributes, or rather lack some of the physical

and mental attributes of 'normal' person, but must also adopt an inferior supplicant role. The deserving beggars look poorer than the potential donor, not merely in terms of clothing and manifestation of apparent wealth, but also in terms of physical and mental facilities. They pose a direct challenge to moral principles by requesting a form of personalised charity, and thereby raising issues of equity treatment and levels of 'deserving' and often leaving citizens with feelings of guilt, regret or confusion. Thus, they may dress in rags, stoop, sit, kneel, or even crawl, exaggerate physical deformities and adopt humble simplistic form of speech, so as to emphasize their inferiority to the potential donors, as well as their 'deserving status'.

Snow and Anderson (1993) place panhandling (street begging) within the domain of shadow work which comprises peddling, scavenging, selling blood, and some other similar activities that fall outside the wage labour economy. Hence, to win the attention of passers-by, panhandlers (beggars) must often play a more active part: offering a greeting, a story, entertainment, or some type of menial service within a narrow temporal window (Lee and Farrell, 2003). Consequently, they prefer locations where donors are likely to be plentiful and have money in hand (Lankenau, 1999).

In a study that involved a systematic observation of begging behaviour that was conducted over a period of nine-month at several sites in central London between 1996 and 97 by Dean and Gale, it was reported that most of the beggars that were observed appeared to be young or relatively young men. Though a few begged quite assertively; none was observed to be aggressive and most, paradoxically, behaved in ways calculated to make themselves as unobtrusive as possible. While some begged silently, others, avoiding eye contact, uttered a sometimes barely audible mantra to passers-by, such as "Can you spare any change please?" It is as if they were engaged in a very private performance, albeit in a public place (Dean and Gale, 1999).

The study by Gmelch and Gmelch (1978) among the Tinker beggars in Dublin reveals that the pedestrians often attempt to ignore beggars or else communicate with them in the quickest, most impersonal manner possible by simply shaking their heads in refusal and it is only when a beggar pursues a particular individual down the street or is able to stop a passer-by that he or she can verbally manipulate him/her into giving alms. Indeed, the success of begging in a society and the

strategies employed are dependent on the donors' attitude towards it. Gmelch and Gmelch (1978) submit that begging is a stigmatised activity in Dublin which is opposed by most settled Irish. Over 95% of the Dublin survey sample objected to street begging, while 73% opposed house begging. However, because the practice has long been accepted as an outlet to poverty in Ireland and supported by Catholic ideology, many Irish give alms. They note further that various strategies that are used by the beggars to evoke feeling of compassion and sympathy from their donors include wearing a uniform of soiled and tattered clothing to create an impression of poverty, the presence of an infant, sympathy provoking pleas that include references to God, appealing to almsgiver's ethical and religious values and when all else fails, subtle threats and sheer persistence.

In a study conducted in Edinburgh, Mcintosh and Erskine (2000) observe that those who beg are often viewed with some suspicion and often considered a troubling presence on the street. Within market societies, where reciprocated exchanges are a normal and routine part of public life, the begging encounter can be a perplexing one, because it involves a confusion of moral issues with monetary calculations and exchanges with someone who is, more often than not, a complete stranger. In addition, giving to a beggar rarely conforms to the norms and rituals of gift exchange. The begging encounter, no matter how fleeting and anonymous, is scarcely anything other than a troubling one.

It was observed in the above study that a common element in a decision to give alms by the respondents involved a moral judgement of whether those asking for money were 'genuine' or not; this was the central element in the participants' accounts, explanations and experiences of begging and was employed to decide how much to give and when to give. Whether a beggar was seen to be genuine or not impacted upon how they experienced the interaction and understood the activity. Some respondents thought that many of those begging were not genuine because they were 'abusing the system' or pretending to be 'real' beggars to augment their income from the welfare state. The lack of reciprocation was a constant source of irritation and consternation for most of those interviewed because they found it difficult to decide whether or not to give to beggars on any obviously 'rational' or 'calculating' basis (McIntosh and Erskine, 2000).

Similarly, the result of a study conducted by the Friends-International and United Nations Inter-Agency Project in Cambodia in 2006 indicates that their respondents' rationales for giving to beggars were varied. While over 84% of those giving to beggars were influenced by whether the beggar had a disability, about 72% of the respondents, however, stated that, it was a feeling of sympathy that compelled them to give money to beggars.

2.1.6 Children's involvement in street begging

Hagan and McCarthy (1997) submit that globally, about 100 million children and adolescents live on the streets and engage in begging. In his description of the incidence of child begging in Nigeria, Igbinovia (1991) observes that child beggars are a growing phenomenon in Nigerian cities and towns. He avers that unlike some of their adult counterparts, child beggars often do not show any visible signs of physical and mental disabilities. They start begging at a relatively early age, usually between the ages of two and twelve years. This category of beggar, according to Igbinovia, is mostly from poor homes, may have unwed mothers, may be orphans or escapees from motherless homes. Generally, they do not have any fixed homes; as a result, they sleep in public buildings, mosques, churches, cinema halls, abandoned buildings, and other institutions.

Igbinovia (1991) articulates that many of the foreign child beggars in Nigeria, especially those from Chad and Niger Republic, have the ability to speak the three main languages in Nigeria; often, the language they employ usually depends on their perception of their would-be "donor-victims". The immigrant child beggars, Igbinovia observed, are more aggressive when soliciting alms than their Nigerian counterparts. In their desperation, they often embarrass their potential "victims" by pulling at their clothes, thereby importuning them. Ihejirika (2013) also observes that migrant beggars in Nigeria use their children to solicit alms to keep body and soul together. Most of their children usually look dirty and unhealthy in their tattered dress and oily clothes. Adebola (2006) similarly contends that these street children are extremely vulnerable to physical and emotional trauma with the adolescent girls among them mostly susceptible to sexual exploitation and exposure to a wide variety of highly infectious diseases.

Aderinto (1996) believes that the inability of parents to pay their children's school fees and/or the children's consistent failure to adjust to the school system force some students to drop out of schools and gradually metamorphose into area boys, thereby engaging in street begging and other deviant acts. Odukoya (2009) traces the incidence of child begging in Nigeria to a very old cultural and religious practice in most parts of the country, in which children were often sent out by their parents, guardians, or care-givers to beg for alms and in some cases, where children acted as aides to adult beggars, who were blind or who pretended to be blind.

Child begging, according to Imam (1998), is much more widespread in the northern parts of the country where Koranic system of education known as Almajiranci or Almajirai is widely practised. Some abuses, according to Imam (1998), have however crept into this formerly lofty and notable religious educational system. The teachers encourage their pupils or wards to beg for sustenance in the course of which they imbibe some bad habits. The involvement of children in begging has been severely criticised even in the communities where the practice is rife (Imam, 1998).

In 2001, the Federal Office of Statistics in Nigeria also observed that the phenomenon of child begging is rapidly becoming prominent in some southern cities like Lagos and Ibadan. In some beggar enclaves in Lagos Mainland, hundreds of child beggars were observed to be living and sleeping in open spaces with their families, where they eke out existence from begging by playing active role in wheedling sympathy money from passers-by. The Federal Office of Statistics (2001) further identifies the three categories of child beggars in the major urban centers in Nigeria to include those who lead blind parents or relatives, those who are encouraged to beg in order to support religious education, and those who act as fronts for parents, especially mothers who are usually hidden from public view but supervise them from a close distance. Odukoya (2009) notes that in some parts of Nigeria, women hired children from parents as begging baits from unsuspecting members of the public. Among the Yoruba of south-west Nigeria, "Ibeji" (twins) begging was a religious-based practice as part of traditional religion's obligation. In the northern cities of Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, Yola and Funtua, child begging was not just pervasive, but institutionalised (Odukoya, 2009).

In his study of street children involved in begging in Addis Ababa, Tatek (2009) observes that the children engage in different 'strands' of begging, which include 'lone begging', oral begging, 'singing' or 'written begging'. He further notes that in all of these contexts, 'mobile begging', in which child beggars frequently change their sites of begging, is the most important. The new child beggars are expected to patiently serve the established ones, who are often older, in order to learn the styles and routines of the activity; younger children often beg with their parents. Another approach commonly used by these children, according to Tatek (2009), is to present stories that are dramatic, and which in some cases might not represent the true situations; these include exaggerated stories of neglect and abuse, and the absence of anyone to turn to at home. He further asserts that the existence of children who beg on the streets always raises complex issues in the society as it suggests an apparent decline in the 'moral economy', a failure of social values, and an erosion of cohesiveness and solidarity. He viewed the presence of child beggars on the street as a manifestation of 'failed development'.

In a similar vein, Veale (1993) indicts family disintegration, abuse and neglect by parents, as well as the lack of social services as the main factors forcing children to take to street begging in Ethiopia. Other disruptive reasons given by Veale include the failure of rural livelihoods, displacement due to drought, famine and war, harmful traditional practices (such as early marriage), hostile step-parents, peer pressure, lack of opportunities for social mobility, and uncaring environments at home.

Koselci, Rosati, and Tovo (2008) lament that the number of destitute children begging in the streets of Senegal, especially in the Dakar region, is becoming alarming, and has drawn growing attention of the government, as well as those of international and non-governmental organisations. The raggedy- begging children, according to them, are a common sight in many urban centers; they beg where human traffic is high, like the busy street intersections, in front of supermarkets, mosques, banks and markets. They are usually less than 15 years, extremely poor and face severe living condition. They are often exploited and are also likely to be victims of human trafficking, sexual abuse and other various types of violence.

Beazley (2003) similarly contends that child beggars in Indonesia employ a range of strategies to negotiate and resist their marginal position as beggars; this is usually done by narrating stories which highlight their vulnerabilities to elicit the empathy of the public. Through their body language, action and speech, child beggars adopt defiant stances which are essential components in the process of spatial and social withdrawal. In this way, they also develop resistance to their social and spatial exclusion and counteract the negative perception of the state and the dominant culture, which view them as social pariahs infesting public spaces.

In its contribution on children involvement in street begging, the World Vision Australia (2009) submits that while some children turned to begging as a means of survival, there are reports indicating that some children and people with one form of disability or the other are being kidnapped or rented out for months at a time, and are forced to beg on the streets. Child beggars are easy to control and can make a large profit for those who exploit them. Children who are forced to beg are generally put into a small group and given a daily target that they have to meet in order to be allowed to eat or sleep. Their masters use fear, drug dependency, sexual abuse, violence, maiming and intimidation to ensure that the children do not escape (World Vision Australia, 2009).

According to Delap (2009), forced child begging exists in wider context of child begging which is highly regarded as an indictment that society fails to protect and nurture its children. It involves forcing boys and girls to beg through violence, the threat of violence or other forms of physical or psychological coercion. This extreme form of abuse or exploitation, and the current lack of action by government to tackle it sensitively and effectively are particularly pathetic, because the children involved are clearly visible to everyone in the streets of cities around the world. Other research suggests that children are trafficked into begging in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America (US Departments of State, 2008; ILO, 2006).

On his part, Tiurukanova (1999) asserts that there are reports of cases ranging from boys made to beg in return for learning the Koran in boarding schools in many parts of West Africa, South Asia and Russia. It was reported in China that adults force street children to beg and, sometimes, break their arms or legs to evoke more pity. It is thought that such children could earn US$30-

40,000 per year by forcing them to beg (US Department of State, 2008). Elsewhere in Asia, children are reported to be trafficked for begging from Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, India, Burma, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Cambodia and Thailand (US Department of State, 2008; International Office for Migration, 2004a).

In Africa, the phenomenon of forced child begging has been witnessed in Sierra Leone (Surtees, 2005a), Chad, Mauritania and Uganda (US Department of State, 2008). In Europe, information suggests that children are also being trafficked for begging from a number of poorer areas of South East Europe to richer nations (IOM, 2004b; Surtees, 2005b; US Department of State, 2008). Children are reported to have been trafficked for begging from various countries, including Yemen and Sudan to Saudi Arabia; the phenomenon of boys living in Koranic schools and begging has also been noted in several other West African countries, including the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Nigeria (US Department of State, 2008).

A study conducted by the Mirror Foundation (Mirror Art Group) on Thailand's beggars revealed a business built around children trafficked from Cambodia and Burma who make nothing from their takings, and are sometimes beaten. The brokers get the children from poor families in the border regions by buying, renting or kidnapping them. It is a lucrative trade, with children making between 500baht and 3000 baht a day for their brokers (Levett, 2005). According to Azam (2011), beggars in Pakistan have taken full advantage of the recent technological advancement in the country; the development has led to the emergence of high profile beggars, which include rap beggars, ibeggars and e-beggars. Azam notes that child beggars now rap in English language to attract foreign tourists and the expatriate community because of their well-known generosity.

According to Blitz's (2011) report, as cited in Al Helal and Kabir (2013), every year, not less than 5,000 children are abducted by the Bangladeshi beggar mafias which may have syndicated links with their Indian counterparts for cross border trading of abducted and maimed children. The job of such mafias, as mentioned in the report, is to abduct, drug, maim and force the children to beg at designated places that are assumed to be guarded and controlled by mafia leaders. The Mirror (2012) similarly avers that begging syndicate in Bangladesh has become a

big business involving the use of taxis and other private cars to convey the destitute and drop them at vantage points in the cities, particularly at traffic intersections, to carry out their business.

Gackle, Lolem and Kabanda (2006) observe in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, that there is a distinct group of beggars scattered in different locations across the city. The first distinguishing trait that differentiates this group of individuals from others conducting the same survival techniques is their physical characteristics, specifically, the body markings on their faces, their jewelry, other adornments, and clothing. Also, this group comprises women accompanied by children, and among them were children, who are too young to walk or talk, but have been taught how to open a hand to a passer-by in alms solicitation.

Similarly, the research carried out by the Save the Children (2011) in South East Europe indicates that most child beggars exist in the major cities and have almost become one of their distinctive features. It was observed that though these children can be regularly seen on city squares, traffic roads and crossroads, in front of shops and in parks, yet they are largely invisible for the system and the society. Though begging serves as one of the most present forms of child exploitation that have fatal consequences for their development, society as a whole fails to put pressure on institutions to deal with the issue more effectively for the welfare of the children. Competent authorities rarely recognise it as being a high priority for their actions, while civil society organisations addressing the issue are few (Save the Children, 2011).

According to the Federal Office of Statistics (2001), the act of using a child for the purpose of begging can be designated as a worst form of child labour in several possible ways, because of its grave consequences on the child concerned. It could create such dependency syndrome in children that may impair their ability to carry out any normal work in future, and as such, they may easily drift into deviant activities because of their lowered self-esteem. Adewuyi (2000) has similarly noted that the poor accommodation, over-crowded living, unhygienic foods and used clothes doled out to the child beggars could infest them with serious diseases and street life could also expose them to automobile or other violent accidents. In the mean time, being socialised on the street among anonymous persons of several shades of character, unimaginable and

incalculable damage could be done to the children's sense of values which may turn them into permanent adult beggars, delinquents, or social miscreants of all sorts.

The World Vision Australia (2009) also articulates that begging is dangerous, because working on the street makes people, particularly children, vulnerable to many risks which include sexual assault and rape, violence, drug use, and incarceration, as it is often illegal. The World Vision Australia observed further that though not all beggars are trafficking victims, yet, once on the streets, children are particularly vulnerable to being trafficked. According to the Save the Children (2011), the phenomenon of child begging has implications and consequences not only on the child, but also on the society as a whole. The most visible of these consequences is related to the vulnerability of the lives of children involved and deteriorating health condition due to permanent residence in the street and exposure to violence. In most cases, children who beg are not properly dressed, often barefoot, half-naked, and completely unprotected from the extreme cold or high temperature.

Apart from being constantly threatened by injuries in road traffic, they are also exposed to violence or abduction. Child begging is associated with child prostitution, drug abuse and involvement of children in the commission of criminal acts such as robbery. A particular risk to children who beg is to become victims of trafficking. Children who beg are deprived of the period of childhood, because from an early age, they are given a significant share of responsibilities of their own. During childhood, children who beg are adapted to conditions and requirements of the street, and thus, become easy prey to those who see earnings' potential in their engagement. Living and working on the street, begging, whether under pressure or out of "need", is a consequence of the violation of their right to protection from any kind of abuse, neglect and negligent treatment (Save the Children, 2011).

Ameh (2002) laments that children who engage in begging are deprived of schooling, exposed to numerous hazards and risks, including injury from traffic accidents, sexual assault and rape, exposure to harsh weather conditions and infections such as pneumonia. Aluigba (2009) equally claims that begging on the streets exposes children to all sorts of vile, deviant behaviours, and immoral acts because they interact freely with people of low virtue, like prostitutes, drug addicts

and gamblers. Their health is also endangered since they depend on leftover and rotten food, at times. Mehr (2009) contends that begging impairs a child's psychological development which usually leads to anti-social behaviour, including living with a complexity or fear. A child beggar who gets separated from his family has low self-esteem and is likely to hold self negative behaviour. Child begging, according to Mehr (2009), results in child's emotional insecurity and fear of being threatened or hurt by older or stronger street peers; it equally puts children under pressure and consequently, they lose confidence in their ability to deal with any difficult situation. It also neglects all children's basic rights of physical and educational needs.

Bambale (2008) points out that children, who are involved in begging, run enormous risks as they are often darting between cars in heavy traffic while begging for alms from motorists. These children, some of them as young as 4 – 5 year old, are at a very high risk of accidents, and apart from these direct physical dangers, they also suffer severe psycho-social consequences of engaging in a demeaning type of activity and are being exposed to constant abuse and aggression from the general public.

On their part, Alemika, Chukuwuma, Lafttra, Messerli and Souckova (2005) observe that despite the recent adoption of the Child Rights Bill 2003 in Nigeria, the Children and Young Persons Act (CYPA) still remain the most important legislation in the country, dealing with the welfare of young person and the treatment of juvenile offenders. However, they noted that the part five of the CYPA contains provisions which, for practical purposes, constitute the criminalisation and punishment of destitution and deprivation and the conviction and institutionalisation of the disadvantaged children in need of care and protection.

Section 26 (1) provides that*:*

> *"Any local authority or any local government council, any police officer or any authorized officer, having reasonable ground for believing that a child or young person who is found begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale or otherwise, or is found in any street, premises, or place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms; or who accompanies any*

person when that person is begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale, or otherwise may bring that child or young person before a criminal court".

The above provision, according to Alemika, Chukuwuma, Lafttra, Messerli and Souckova (2005) practically brings problems that fall under social welfare within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, and thereby making it look as if the child or young person had committed a crime. Similarly, Koselci, Rosati and Tovo (2008) lament that the translation of the increasing attention by policy makers to the issue of begging children into concrete policy action in Senegal has been hampered by the lack of reliable information on the number and characteristics of the target population. Also, the International Trade Union Confederation's (ITUC) (2009) reports on internationally recognised core labour standards in Niger Republic and Senegal reveal that, Article 179 of the Niger Republic's Penal Code prohibits begging, and Article 181 of the Code prohibits the parents of minors under 18years who habitually engage in begging or the persons who ask them to beg or wittingly benefit from the begging. Despite this, the practice of child begging remains a common phenomenon, because the government efforts to take child beggars off the streets remain feeble as it has not done everything it can to punish unscrupulous marabouts using those children for purely economic purposes.

The United State Agency for International Development's (2007) assessment of the status of trafficking in persons in Egypt reveals that "The Child Law of Egypt" consider child beggars as socially dangerous because they are vulnerable to delinquency. The law, therefore, is intended to prevent these children from becoming criminals by holding parents or guardians criminally liable for failure to ensure that their children behave properly. Meanwhile, this assessment, according to USAID (2007), points out that despite the positive legal developments in the protection of children, it appears that the approach adopted by the law is to treat street children and child beggars in particular, as criminals, thus failing to address the root causes of child begging.

2.1.7 Socio-economic consequences of street begging

In his submission on the negative effects of street begging in Nigeria, Igbinovia (1991) laments that beggars constitute a social menace and parasite to the country, because they roam the streets, harass citizens, disrupt free flow of traffic on the highways, and engage in various forms of crimes. Ndubuisi (1986) similarly posits that many of the beggars in Nigeria are carriers of terrible and contagious diseases and also pose serious health consequences to the citizenry. The beggars, according to him, do not only constitute a scourge to Nigerian society, but also form the dregs of the Nigerian society. Salami and Olugbayo's (2013) study, among the international migrant beggars in Ibadan, Southwestern Nigeria, has also confirmed that these beggars are potential agents of disease transmission from their home countries to the host country.

Adedibu (1989) claims that the potential threat of begging to the Nigerian society is obvious in its negative implications on social, environmental and economic survival of the country, because it constitutes economic threat to the society as beggars are not economically productive. They merely contribute nothing to the national economy, and consequently, the economy is further retarded as a result of the considerable proportion of beggars' population depending on the already overstretched workforce. Reddy (2013) has similarly claimed that begging has become the mainstay for a quite large section of the population in India. He further avers that the larger the chunk of the population involved in begging, the heavier the burden on the working population and the lesser the usage of human resources for constructive human development.

In the same vein, Jelili (2009) reveals that the negative impacts of begging on social and physical environments are obvious in the tendency of beggars to delay and obstruct free flow of human and vehicular traffic and their high propensity to generate dirty materials, either as waste or as parts of their belonging. Also, the criminal activities of fake beggars, who are mostly criminals in disguise, constitute the social implications of begging in Nigerian cities. Indeed, Yau (2000) observes that almajirai (child beggars) played negative roles during religious and ethnic conflicts in northern parts of Nigeria. He further notes that this category of beggars usually transforms from mere street beggars to street gangs known as "Yandabas" in Kano state.

Bambale (2008) and Olaniyi (2009) have submitted that a number of riots and disturbances, such as those of Bonnke of 1991 and Maitatsine riots of 1981 were facilitated by the beggars in Kano Metropolis. Child beggars, according to them were reportedly fully involved in the large scale looting of homes and shops in various parts of Kano State. Ogunkan (2009) has also noted that some beggars use insults, profanity, or veiled threats as means of soliciting alms in aggressive panhandling. Meanwhile, Osa-Edoh and Ayano (2012) contend that it is a common practice in Nigeria for beggars to use posters or envelopes with pictures of terminally ill people to solicit money meant for their own personal use. They also lament the deceptive activities of some self-acclaimed healers of mental patients, who are fond of using them to beg for money from the unsuspecting members of the public. On their part, Fawole, Ogunkan and Omuruan (2010) state that street begging is a social deviance in Nigeria because it negates the norms, expectations and values of the society. In Yoruba culture, for example, only hard work is highly valued; hence, begging in its absolute sense is not popular and beggars are usually looked down upon by others as belonging to a group of wretched persons in the society.

In his own contribution on the negative implications of street begging in Nigeria, Olaniyi (2009) articulates that young children and teenagers are co-opted into street begging by old professional beggars who lured them with fabulous stories of the money spinning advantages of the act. He further observes that in order to prick the conscience of alms-givers, some beggars routinely hire babies from nannies and day-care centres, and thereafter, disguise them as beggars on the street. In Lagos, for instance, with a token of N500, some owners of day care centres 'rent out' children for at least four hours to women who disguise them as beggars in the streets. Indeed, con-men and child traffickers have transformed street begging in Nigeria into a lucrative 'export commodity' (Olaniyi, 2009).

In their discussion of the situation in Bangladesh, Al Helal and Kabir (2013) noted a child with the worst injury is a prize earner to a beggar mafia because he or she can easily melt the hearts of the sympathetic passers-by. These young beggars, according to Al Helal and Kabir (2013), are trained to learn how to choose the most appropriate place to beg, the kind of people to approach and the kind of mannerism to mimic to make people sympathetic. They are also tutored on how to make their appearance pitiful as a way of obtaining money from people like elderly men and

women, who are often assumed to be soft-hearted. In a study conducted by Cheng and Kumar (2012) among street beggars in Bihar, India, it was revealed that homeless beggars were victims of organised crimes and they faced exploitations, such as physical torture and economic loss. Female beggars on their part faced sexual exploitation and were manipulated into prostitution. Young beggars were manipulated and forced into drug abuse and drug dealing, pick pocketing, stealing and robbery.

Cherneva (2011) notes that children and elderly women in some countries are often victims of human trafficking networks who usually recruit them from their villages, and forced them to beg in the streets of urban centres. Annuska (1998) has equally stated that in Cambodia, the victims of trafficking for the purpose of begging vary from (street) children and handicapped people to elderly women. A common characteristic among them, according to Annuska (1998), however, is their vulnerability and dependency. Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia (2007) has also reported that women from Bulgaria and some other poorer countries in Europe are often engaged by organised 'gangs' who usually collect their proceeds from them.

For Murdoch (1994), though people who beg are themselves frequently subjected to verbal abuse and physical violence, yet their status as law breakers may inhibit their willingness or ability to resort to law for their own protection. Similarly, people who beg are likely to be disenfranchised from the political rights of citizenship. Not only might they be prevented by their circumstances from registering to vote, but even if they establish the right to vote, their votes are not courted by politicians. Beggars exist in political rhetoric as a problem to be addressed, rather than as constituents with distinctive needs and interests (Dean and Gale, 1999). To Scott (1994), the nature of the beggar's deprivation is his or her exclusion from the ordinary realm of citizenship. Beggars by their behaviour or their status as beggars placed them outside society expectations. Consequently, they lie beyond the pale of citizenship.

Jordan (1999) submits that begging occupies a particular niche in street-level activity. According to him, to beg is to conduct a series of encounters in which the basic value of one's life as a human being and as fellow citizen is on the line over and over again. From the standpoint of the passer-by, the impact of begging as an assault on their expectation of peaceful and uninterrupted

progress towards a shop, an office, a parked car or a lunch appointment is a violation of what might be called a negative right of citizenship. To encounter a beggar is to be asked to make a judgement about a fellow citizen's plight.

In his study among street beggars in Leicester, Burke (1999) observes that intra-group violence is an essential aspect of the vagrant way of life and it is extremely likely that physical coercion underpins much activity in the begging underworld. The vast majority of beggars encountered in the study also claimed to have been victims of both verbal and physical abuse from members of the public. There was clearly a case for the regulation of the activities of beggars both in the interests of the general public and in order to offer some protection to those involved in this way of life. This particular study also uncovers the evidence of overt aggressive begging, with the intimidation of the passers-by taking more subtle forms. Many of the beggars interviewed admitted to seeking out those areas of town with the highest congregations of relatively affluent people and choosing the specific places where geographical space is narrowly constrained and members of the society are forced into the close proximity of the excluded.

In his contribution, Invernizzi (2010) opines that begging might be a sort of cover for other criminal activities such as picking pockets and spotting potential victims or distracting them. Azam (2011) links the problem of street begging in Pakistan to other criminal activities such as drug and human trafficking, drug use, organ selling, child abuse, prostitution, and terrorism. Organized criminal groups, according to Azam (2011), usually obtain money by manipulating religion to extract Zakat and other charity from the people in order to minimise operational costs. Forced beggars are sustained at the least expense possible, which, therefore, means that beggars typically receive no healthcare, no education, and live in poor conditions. They are intentionally under-fed because the alms given to them by the people increases when they look malnourished. Such beggars gain the most sympathy, thereby maximising donations.

Criminal organisations thrive on the ample supply of cheap, surplus, and disposable people without fear of political or judicial consequence. In their study among the homeless beggars in India, Cheng and Kumar (2012) have also observed that this group of beggars consists of victims of organised crimes, who are exploited by the beggar mafias. While the female beggars among

them face sexual exploitation and often being manipulated into prostitution, young beggars are manipulated and forced into drug abuse and drug dealing, picking pocket, stealing and robbery. In a related development, Rana (2006) submits that the act of beggary in Pakistan has become a profession for people who are part of a much larger industry that recruits, trains and relocates men, women and children. These beggars are not independent, but are instead a part of a very dense network of criminals called the Beggar Mafia. Well organised mafias, according to Rana (2006), deposit the physically challenged on the roads every morning and remove them along with their daily earning in the evening while the local police or the officials of the city government remain unconcerned with the inhuman and dangerous practice of exposing individuals with special needs to hazards and inciting them to beg at public places. Rana observes further that an individual under the mafia's control is usually beaten, tortured, and often maimed for life to invoke pity and sympathy from the people, who in turn, would give more alms.

Azam (2011) posits that in 2004, the Pakistani government officials in the process of implementing the Punjab Destitute and Neglected Children Act of 2004 uncovered fourteen organised begging operations in Lahore. He observes further that due to social accessibility that beggars have in the society, suicide bombers have, in recent times, disguised as beggars to gain access to some highly valued sites. For instance, in August 2009, a suicide bomber posing as an injured beggar blew himself up in a Baghdad mosque, thereby killing 29 people in the process. The bomber in question had a bandaged hand and appeared to pose no threat (Salaheddin, 2011). Similarly, Jihad Watch (2008) reports the case of six people who were killed in 2008 when a beggar bomber blew up a government building in Afghanistan.

In a related development, Meyer (2006) also submits that beggars have been linked to terrorism through their roles as informants and even suicide bombers. They are increasingly being considered as potential security threats, as their connections to radicalisation become increasingly publicized. Alawi (2011) has also pointed out that prostitution is thriving under the guise of beggary in Islamic countries, such as Saudi Arabia, where the police have arrested beggars and women indulging in prostitution. Begging facilitates prostitutes' abilities to find new clients and also serves as a means through which their services are put on the market.

The 2004 International Labour Organization's (ILO) rapid assessment of beggars' ethnographic profiles in Pakistan indicates that begging is essentially an urban phenomenon, and it establishes a linkage between begging and other illegal activities, such as sex work and drug use. Similarly, the ILO regional study on the problem of begging in Asia conducted in 2006, where researchers surveyed 210, 198, 167 beggars, reveals that 34% of the beggars interviewed in Pakistan confirmed that they were soliciting alms under an organised begging operation in which beggar masters were involved. Comparatively, between 6 and 11% of beggars were also found to be begging under organised situations in the other countries. Also, of the 130 child beggars interviewed, 73% disclosed that they were bought by their begging master; 92% reported that they were not allowed to leave the begging operation or they would be punished if they tried to (ILO, 2006). Hussain (2010) notes that illegal Afghans and Tajik immigrants are also part of the beggar market in Pakistan. These immigrants, according to him, often enter the country illegally without any form of identification documents or registration, and are contributing to the social and health problems in major cities in the country.

On his part, Mortimer (2005) contends that problems associated with street begging include: sexual harassment of female beggars, being constantly driven from one location to another, exposure to raw weather condition, the misfortune of being knocked down by passing vehicles, depreciation of societal image, disorderliness and stigmatisation of the nation's social and economic systems. To Ahamdi (2010), begging is a social problem which has not only psychological consequences, such as the development of inferiority complex in the beggars' family members and their network of kinship, but also will affect, as an unpleasant problem, the geographical and social structure of the cities. Goyal (2005) states that people who beg are amongst the most damaged and vulnerable people in the society, because they are often caught up in activity that is dangerous, damaging and humiliating, and trapped in a cycle of poverty and deprivation.

Karacoskun (2009) similarly notes that the act of beggary should not be ignored because it is an abusive means of making profit by those who have lost sense of dignity. Hence, he considers it a profession with the aim of ripping off anything, in any way possible. The begging act, according

to Karacoskun (2009), forms a source of labour disrespect, decrease of human respect and a damage of social and individual structure through the violation of a number of humanitarian and religious feelings. Snow and Anderson (1993) claim that beggars in the society normatively breed resentment by violating the core tenet of the work ethic because gainful employment is the acceptable way to earn a living, especially among men. Their poor hygiene and disheveled appearance also raise concerns about disease transmission; some of them exhibit diminished capacity due to alcohol, drugs or mental illness, which often call into questions the predictability of their actions. They tend to be considered most intimidating when they fit demographic (young, male, minority) and behavioural (erratic, aggressive) stereotypes of street people.

For Lankenau (1999), irrespective of whether beggars pose any direct threat to the safety of passers-by, their mere presence could convey the symbolic message that social controls have broken down. In addition to fueling urban disorder, beggars are thought to have a harmful impact on the local economy. Government officials and business leaders worry that tourists, conventioneers, and shoppers will stay away from these parts of town where requests for handouts are numerous. Tambawal (2010) and Rana (2006) posit that street begging has a host of idiosyncrasies attached to it. Some of these include: glue sniffing, drug abuse, minor criminal tendencies, prostitution, sexual abuse and coercion.

2.1.8 Efforts at combating street begging

In his submission on efforts at controlling street begging, Ogunkan (2009) claims the problem has arrested the attention of governments of various countries. Adewuyi (2000) on his own part submits that the menace of street beggars has worried successive governments in Nigeria since the colonial days. He points out that in 1953, the colonial government drew out a comprehensive strategy to contain and resettle street beggars in Lagos. A similar move was made in the 1970s when the governments of Generals Gowon and Murtala built several rehabilitation centres and kept away all derelicts and street beggars. Also, in 1984, the Federal Government, under the leadership of General Buhari set a 1985 date for the transfer of all the destitute to their respective states of origin for rehabilitation. Adewuyi (2000) observes further that in 1987, in a bid to address the problem of child beggars in Kano, the state government under the administration of Governor Ndatsu Umaru inaugurated a ten-man committee to look into the plight of the destitute.

The committee at the completion of its assignment recommended that the almanjiranchi system of education should be accorded official recognition in order to serve as a control mechanism which may regulate some of the social and religious vices that have, over time, infringed on the system.

Street begging in Nigeria currently stands criminalised by the sections 249 and 250 of the Criminal Code of 1958 and section 21 (e) of the1963 federal constitution of Nigeria. Section 249 of the criminal code of 1958 states:

> *"Every person wandering abroad and endeavouring by the exposure of wounds and deformation to obtain or gather alms shall be deemed to be a rogue or vagabond, and is guilty of misdemeanour".*

Section 250 of the same criminal code states:

> *"Every person going about as a gatherer or collector of alms, or endeavouring to provide charitable contributions of any nature or kind, under any false or fraudulent pretence, shall be deemed to be a rogue and vagabond, and is guilty of misdemeanour".*

Igbinovia (1991), on his part, submits that during the Second All African Games held in Nigeria in 1973 and the World Black Festivals held in Lagos in 1977, the Federal Government, in a bid to control the activities of street beggars, forcefully removed them from the streets and sent them to rehabilitation centers. Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga (2007) similarly submit that General Ibrahim Babangida, the Nigeria's military ruler from 1985-1993, established a People's Bank which extended micro-credits to many street boys and girls as a way of helping them to start small businesses. However, they observed that many of those who benefited from the scheme simply returned to the streets when the community bank system collapsed in the 1990s.
Also, in 2005, Bola Tinubu, the then Governor of Lagos State designed a new scheme to rid the city of Lagos of the scourge of beggars and area boys by setting up a skill training centre at Ita Oko, a disused Island Prison on the Lagos Lagoon where beggars and area boys were taken for

six months training. At the end of the training, they received a certificate and job placement (Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga, 2007). Osagbemi and Adepetu (1999) stated that governments at local and national levels in Nigeria, have made various attempts to solve the problem of beggars and begging by removing beggars and the destitute from the streets in many parts of the country. They observe that rehabilitation centers for the disabled and destitute were built in virtually all the State capitals, including Jos, Lagos, lbadan, Akure, Enugu, Kaduna, Kano, among other places.

Osagbemi and Adepetu (1999) maintain further that some state governments have also officially banned begging on the streets of their towns, and are actively enforcing this action through different relevant agencies that are periodically embarking on the exercise of physically removing the destitute and beggary from the streets for rehabilitation purposes. The overall aim of these efforts, according to Osagbemi and Adepetu (1999), is to restore the beggar and the destitute to the mainstream of the socio-economic life of their community.

Despite different measures put in place to combat street begging in Nigeria, the problem is still endemic. For instance, the Federal Government of Nigeria in 1975 states that:

> Past development in this section has been, at best, modest. Not much has been achieved in the area of social development, as efforts have been characteristically ad hoc and temporary. This has been particularly true of attempts made hitherto to camp and rehabilitate beggars and destitute in various parts of the country (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1975:85)

According to Adedibu and Jelili (2011), most of the measures adopted at one time or the other by different governments or their agencies in Nigeria have failed to yield the desired result which is the eradication of street-begging or its drastic reduction because of the less coordinated, incomprehensive, inconsistent, un-holistic approaches and less focused attempts at addressing the issue. The forceful evacuation of beggars embarked upon by some state governments in Nigeria is ineffective because it only ‘shifts’ or ‘redistributes’ their activity among Nigerian cities, but never addresses the reasons why they take to begging. Hence, most of the forcefully evacuated beggars tend to resurface when such a policy is relaxed.

Ojo (2005) has also observed that in spite of the efforts geared towards combating the menace of street begging by the government and concerned parties in Nigeria, it is still very difficult to get the urban street cleansed of beggars, because it was no sooner that some of the state governments in the federation evacuated them from the city than they re-appear. In a similar view, Igbinovia (1991:30) described the situation this way:

> Most of the rehabilitation programmes and institutions in Nigeria, instead of providing the protective cover for destitute people, have, with their bureaucratic ineptitude, regimentation, neglect, underfunding, lack of zeal and plan turned out to be more like prison yards than rehabilitation centres.

On their part, Namwata, Mgabo and Dimoso (2011) have similarly observed the same situation in Tanzania, where many urban authorities have made various efforts to tackle the problem of street begging but without setting strategies on how to make street beggars attain their basic necessities of life. These efforts, according to them, include sending street beggars back to their homes, reintegrating them with their families, where possible, and taking them to rehabilitation centers. As a result of these inappropriate steps, many urban authorities have been striving to control the influx of street beggars in their areas without success.

In his contribution on efforts at controlling street begging, Lynch (2005) asserts that the notion that begging is offensive or constitutes a problem has persisted since at least the 1800s as it constitutes a criminal offence in England and Wales under the Vagrancy Act 1824(UK). Also, in Victoria, the maximum penalty for begging or gathering alms is imprisonment for one year as a punishment for a first offence and imprisonment for two years for a second or subsequent offence. Collins and Blomley (2003) have also observed that laws enacted in England in the 1800s became the basis for early legislation in Canada, the United States and Australia; since that point in history, there have been cyclical attempts to control the homeless, the beggars, and the panhandlers through both harsh and more humane applications of the law. Though the anti-panhandling by-laws in the Canadian municipalities are generally city wide, they usually address particular concerns about begging within the public spaces of the downtown (Collins and Blomley, 2003). This enforcement of anti-panhandling laws varies widely among cities, and

penalties can be substantial, but many cities make no formal attempt to regulate the activities of panhandlers (Carter, Polevychok, Friesen and Osborne, 2007).

The evidence of history, according to Burke (1999), suggests that more coercive measures have usually been taken against those found begging when the numbers involved visibly escalate. At such times, the authorities have tended to favour some form of repressive intervention with the intention of maintaining social order and the protection of the status quo. The research evidence from the study conducted by Burke among street beggars in Leicester observed that police in the city have managed to maintain a reasonable balance between maintaining order and providing some protection to beggars without engaging in overtly zero-tolerance-style policing initiatives. Less than a half of the beggars interviewed during the course of the study claimed to have been warned by the police of begging on the street; while less than a third have been arrested for the same offence. Nearly two thirds have been arrested for offences other than begging, with the most common offence being 'assault' and 'drunk and disorderly'. In all, the evidence of the Leicester Study suggests that the police in the city are fairly tolerant of beggars unless they are 'in breach of the peace' and behaving in an aggressive fashion. Some of those interviewed suggested that some police officers actually 'look out' for the safety of the more vulnerable beggars.

In feudal England, begging was seen as a symptom of vagrancy, that is, those who were outside the feudal order. Therefore, only the disabled had any chance of begging (Baker, 2009). Many Englishmen believed that vagrants were a major threat to the stability of society as they were beyond the positive persuasion of the church, family and community (Alder, 1989). The contemporary justifications for criminalising begging and vagrancy, according to Baker (2009), centre around two core themes. While the first is that vagrancy and begging are considered a precursor to more serious crime, the second focuses on the general offence and nuisance caused to passers-by as a result of the presence of beggars or vagrants.

Duneier (1999) notes that begging as a deviant activity engaged-in by the stigmatised poor carries significant costs and is disapproved of by a majority of citizens. Lofland (1998) notes that in several instances, the design elements of public settings have been altered so that beggars have

fewer places for hanging out to conduct alms solicitation. Some other measures frequently put in place include the forced removal of homeless persons from selected locations via police sweeps, the restriction of beggars to "safe zones," and the dispersal of service agencies to prevent them from congregating in the central business district or similar prime spaces at too high a density. The most popular step taken in recent years has been the enactment of anti-panhandling ordinances in Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C. (Ellickson, 1996; Simon 1996). A report issued by the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty (1996) indicates that 36 of the 50 largest United States of America cities possess local ordinances that criminalise one or more forms of public begging. Judicial review of these ordinances affirms the constitutional protection afforded begging but recognises the appropriateness of limits (Taylor, 1999).

However, Stoner (1995) notes that where the ordinances cannot prohibit panhandling (begging) per se, they can identify specific actions such as gesturing, using abusive language, violating passers-by's personal space and locations (near Automated Teller Machines, in parking lots or subways) that make the activity illegal; with fines and imprisonment to be among the more common penalties. The motivating factor for such ordinances and some other measures targeted at street begging, to Stoner (1995), is the belief that it will erode the civility and appeal of community life if left unchecked.

Hermer (1999) observes that in contemporary Britain, begging in public places is governed by a complex of official and informal techniques that are linked within a framework of vagrancy, charity, welfare and local 'good government' legislation. These techniques are implemented by agents who work both 'within the scene' and from a distance, and are located not just in traditional offices of social control, such as the police, but also in related regimes of public space administration, such as tourism and economic development, town centre and estates management, and environmental health and highway engineering. Blomley (2010) also contends that the City of Vancouver in Canada has recently launched a 'Civil City' initiative that proposed the stepped up regulation of street disorder. Similarly, in 2001, the City amended its Street and Traffic by-law so as to set 'time, place and manner' restrictions on begging. The 'Safe Street' Act, which was introduced in Ontario in 1999 and British Columbia in 2004 to regulate panhandling and place restrictions on what is termed 'aggressive solicitation' makes it an offence

to panhandle in groups of two or more and also criminalises 'solicitation' from 'captive audiences,' such as people at a payphone (Blomley, 2010).

While describing steps taken in Ecuador to control activities of beggars, Swanson (2005) claims that begging in the country is most often addressed under criminal law that stresses the potential criminality and deceitful nature of beggars. Beggars, who carry false documents, feign sickness, or who carry weapons or pick-locks are liable to between three months and one year imprisonment, while a 'disguised' beggar or a beggar who escapes from the authorities is liable to between two months and one year imprisonment. Meanwhile, in Bangladesh, the government has recently approved new laws to tackle "beggar masters" in the country, who force people onto the streets and who sometimes amputate their body parts to increase their value, under the Vagabond and Street Beggars Rehabilitation Act 2010 (Al Helal and Kabir, 2013). According to this law, forcing anyone to beg would be punishable by five years in jail and an additional 500,000 taka (7,000 dollar) fine, if the person is found guilty of severing a limb of a beggar before sending him or her into the streets (Sabina, 2010).

In his discussion of efforts at controlling street begging in India, Gopalakrishnan (2002) maintains that the criminalisation of begging under the 1959 Bombay Prevention of Begging Act provided for the incarceration of beggars in 'certified institutions', popularly known as beggars' homes. Also, more recently, a police directive has outlawed begging at traffic intersections in Delhi. Such forms of regulation define the social and legal space within which begging interactions take place. The Bombay Prevention of Begging Act, 1959 was extended to the Union Territory of Delhi in 1960. The rationale behind the act was to make uniform and better provisions for the prevention of begging, for the detention, training and employment of beggars and their dependants in certified institutions (Mehak, 2012).

In Thailand, the law regulating begging is the Control of Begging Act of 1937 (Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project, 2006). This law forbids anyone to beg. In terms of the definition in the law, begging is defined as seeking money from persons with no exchange of work, when the persons who are providing the money are not relatives or friends. The provision of this law further states that persons who are apprehended while begging, and who are found to

be old, handicapped, sick, lacking the means to support themselves, and/or unable to work must be sent to a social welfare shelter. However, if the person who is begging is found to be of able body and mind, s/he is to be sent to the Department of Employment where they will be provided with assistance in finding employment. Beggars are required to cooperate with officials seeking to help them, and officials are given permission to punish non-cooperative beggars according to regulations (Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project, 2006).

Gmelch and Gmelch (1978) submit that under the Irish law, begging is illegal and conviction carries a fine and a maximum penalty of one month imprisonment. The enforcement of anti-begging statuses, however, is sporadic largely because Irish officials consider begging more of a nuisance than a crime. The fact that Irish courts and prisons are already overcrowded also gives low priority to the enforcement of begging statutes. Begging arrests are common only during the summer tourist season when beggars become a source of embarrassment to the Irish Government.

Rana (2006) laments that, though the Beggary Prevention Law in Pakistan makes it illegal for people to beg, the phenomenon of begging in the country is almost like an industry. Handicapped beggars are usually left alone by the Anti-Beggar squad while the others are rounded up, even though it is the handicapped ones who are generally employed by the Beggar Mafia. Consequently, this practice usually leads to more instances of forced maiming of beggars. Since, handicapped beggars are better earners; therefore, the Beggar Mafia ensures that they stay on the street. Azam (2011) similarly asserts that beggars have always been a common sight throughout Pakistan, despite the fact that the practice of begging has been made illegal in the country since 1958.

2.2 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

This study was anchored on two relevant theories, namely, Anomie-strain theory and migration network theory. While Anomie-strain theory was employed to explain the push factors that predisposed the transnational street beggars to street begging, migration network theory was adopted to explicate the social networks that facilitated their migration to Nigeria and which also contributed significantly to sustaining their presence in the country.

2.2.1 Anomie-strain theory

Robert K. Merton proposed Anomie-strain theory after reviewing Emile Durkheim's theory of anomie. Durkheim had analysed the concept of anomie as a breakdown in the ability of society to regulate the natural appetites of individuals. Merton, in an article published in 1938, pointed out that many of the appetites of individuals are not necessarily "natural" but rather, are "culturally induced". He argued that social structure could limit the ability of certain groups to satisfy these appetites. This would then mean that the social structure itself might exert a definite pressure on certain persons in the society to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct (Vold and Bernard, 1986).

Merton's theory is a theory of deviance; it does not focus on criminality. His conception of deviance is relatively large (Williams III and McShane, 1999). He opined that the culture of any society defines certain goals it deems "worth striving for", and that there are many such goals in every society, and they vary from culture to culture. Cultures also specify the approved norms or institutionalised means all individuals are expected to follow in pursuing the culture goals. These means are based on values in the culture, and generally, they will rule out many of the technically most efficient methods of achieving the goal (Vold and Bernard, 1986).

Robert Merton noted that certain goals are too strongly emphasised throughout society (he uses the example of financial success), and society also emphasises certain means such as hard work, education, starting at the bottom and working one's way up to reach those goals. When these goals are too strongly stressed, as Merton said financial success was, in the United States of

America, the stage is set for anomie. This is due to the fact that everyone does not have equal access to the achievement of the legitimate financial success, and as a result, these people may search for other, perhaps illegitimate, ways of succeeding. Due to social inequality, the approved means to reach the success goals are not readily available to certain groups in the society even though the goals are said to apply equally to all. Certain groups of people, the lower social class and minorities, for instance, may be at a disadvantage in gaining business positions that would allow them to pursue the goal of financial success (Williams III and McShane, 1999).

According to Merton, when this inequality exists because of the way society is structured, the social structure is anomic (Williams and McShane, 1999). The individuals caught in these anomic conditions (largely the lower classes) are then faced with the strain of being unable to reconcile their aspirations with their limited opportunities. He, however, presents five ways by which an individual can respond to this problem of anomie, depending on his attitude towards the cultural goals and the institutionalised means. These options are: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion (Vold and Bernard, 1986).

To the extent that a society is stable, most persons in it will choose 'conformity', which entails acceptance of both the cultural goals and institutionalised means. These persons try to achieve wealth through the approved methods of middle-class values and will continue to do so whether or not they succeed. Most crimes that exist in society will probably take the form of 'innovation'. Persons who innovate retain their allegiance to the cultural goal of acquiring wealth (since this is so heavily emphasised), but they find that they cannot succeed at this through the institutionalised means. Therefore, they figure out new methods by which wealth can be acquired (i.e. pursing culture goals through unapproved means).

A third possible adaptation is ritualism, it involves rejecting the possibility of ever achieving wealth, but retaining allegiance to the norms of hard work and honesty. This is the adaptation of those persons who wish to "play it safe". They will not be disappointed by failure to achieve their goals, since they have abandoned them. At the same time, they will never find themselves in trouble since they abide by all the cultural norms. These persons have achieved a minimum level of success through the institutionalised means, but have no real hope of achieving anything

more. The fear of losing even this minimum level locks them into their adaptation. The fourth adaptation, retreatism, involves a rejection of both goals and means. Retreatists are those individuals who opt not to be innovative, and, at the same time, need to resolve their inability to reach the important goals in life. Their solution is that they simply quit trying to get ahead. This pattern is best seen as dropping out of society and is exemplified by vagrants, alcoholics, and drug addicts (Williams III and McShane, 1999).

Merton's typology of adaptations to anomie

	Culture goals	Institutionalised means
Conformity	+	+
Innovation	+	–
Ritualism	–	+
Retreatism	–	–
Rebellion	±	±

(+) signifies "acceptance," (-) signifies "rejection", and (+) signifies "rejection and substitution of new goals and standards".

The final mode of adaptation, 'rebellion,' is of a different type from the others. It focuses on the substitution of new goals and means for the original ones. Merton's conception suggests that rebellion "leads men outside the environing social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being, a new, that is to say, a greatly modified social structure. It presupposes alienation from reigning goals and standards" (Merton, 1968). The basic point is that this person ceases to function as a member of the existing society and begins to live within an alternate culture.

Although Merton regarded all these modes of adaptation except conformity as deviant, they do not all entail criminality. The ritualist adaptation, in particular, with its rigid adherence to the norms of the society, does not involve any crime at all. Retreatism involves crime to the extent that society criminalises the process of dropping out with laws against vagrancy, public drunkenness and drug use. Rebellion, when it is politically oriented, may involve such criminal activities as assassinations and bombings, or the expression of militant belief may be criminalised. Innovation itself is not necessarily criminal (Vold and Bernard, 1999).

Transnational street beggars like their local counterparts, the Nigerian beggars, fall within the category of persons that adopt innovation as their mode of adaptation to the condition of anomie existing in their respective societies. These people retain allegiance to the cultural goal of society that emphasises wealth acquisition or financial success. However, rather than pursue it through the institutionalised means of education, farming, pastoralism, artisanship, among others, as specified by the society, they seek to achieve the cultural goal through a new and unapproved method in the form of street begging. Hence, they are being innovative in their attempt to achieve their desire. This is done in the form of migrating from their home-countries to Nigeria and some other more relatively economically advantageous countries for the purpose of engaging in street begging.

2.2.2 Migration network theory

Migration network theorists conceive migration as embedded in social networks; they fit individual decision makers within groups, and further interpose groups between macroscopic social/economic conditions and actual migration (Light, Bhachu, and Karageorgis, 1993). Proponents of this theory opine that individual migrants are members of numerous formal and informal networks that affect their migration outcomes. Migrant networks are viewed as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. These networks increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993). Thus, social networks pave way for establishing transnational migration networks (Faist, 1997).

The theory opines that migrants are participants in social networks that encompass places of origin, transit and destination through social interaction among actors related to one another not just through close family ties but by a variety of characteristics. These characteristics can be tradition, religion, extended family, friendship, acquaintance, political ideology, gender, age, ethnicity, tribe, neighbourhood or work experience (Tilly, 1990). Such networks, thus, provide a coherent structure for the movement of migrant populations (Gurak and Fe, 1992). Opportunities

and constraints as well as the form, volume and direction of the movements are determined within the social network of the migrants.

To the proponents of this theory, network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment. The concept of social capital was integrated into migration research in the mid-1990s (Portes 1995). This is a further development of the network perspective and has evolved from different theoretical bases, connecting human capital with social networks (Haug, 2008). The social capital approach in migration sociology has been strongly linked with the economic approach in sociology (Portes, 1998).

According to the theory, once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold, the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement, thereby causing the probability of migration to rise, which further expands the networks, and so on. Over time, migratory behaviour will spread outwards to encompass broader segments of the sending society**.** The first migrants who leave for a new destination have no social ties to draw upon, and for them migration is costly, particularly if it involves entering another country without documents. After the first migrants have left, however, the potential costs of migration are substantially lowered for friends and relatives left behind. Because of the nature of kinship and friendship structures, each new migrant creates a set of people with social ties to the destination area.

Every new migrant reduces the costs of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives, and some of these people are thereby induced to migrate; this further expands the set of people with ties abroad. And this, in turn, reduces costs for a new set of people, causing some of them to migrate, and so on. Thus, the self-sustaining growth of networks that occur through the progressive reduction of costs may also be explained theoretically by the progressive reduction of risks. This dynamic theory accepts the view of international migration as an individual or household decision process, but argues that acts of migration, at one point in time, systematically alter the context within which future migration decisions are made, and thereby greatly increasing the likelihood that later decision makers will choose to migrate (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993).

As social networks are extended and strengthened by each additional migrant, potential migrants are able to benefit from the social networks and ethnic communities already established in the country of destination (Haug, 2008). Once begun, international migration tends to expand over time until network connections have diffused so widely in a sending region that all people who wish to migrate can do so without difficulty; thereafter, migration begins to decelerate. Governments of destination countries will have great difficulty at controlling flows once they have begun because the process of network formation lies largely outside their control and occurs no matter what policy regime is pursued (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993). Migration networks enable migrants to cross borders, legally or illegally (Bo¨cker 1994). Certain immigration policies, such as those intended to promote reunification between immigrants and their families abroad, work at cross-purposes with the control of immigration flows, since they reinforce migrant networks by giving members of kin networks special rights of entry.

While networks at origin can restrain or encourage an individual to migrate, networks at destination can facilitate or discourage adaptation and integration. Similarly, networks between origin and destination can play critical roles in channeling information, migrants, remittances, and norms (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993). Social and cultural factors determine firstly whether migration takes place; secondly in what form migration takes place, whether it is permanent or circular; thirdly the choice of destination; and fourthly, migrants' experiences in their new environment. The demographic structure, such as the size of family, age and sex, stage in the life cycle, and various aspects of the social structure of families, such as kinship patterns, influences the availability, expectations, motives and incentives with regard to migration (Harbison 1981). Some notable proponents of migration network theory include: Douglas Massey, Charles Tilly, Nicholas Van Hear, Monica Boyd, and Edward Taylor (Stamm, 2006).

The decision of transnational beggars to migrate to Nigeria is strongly influenced by the interpersonal ties that connect them to other people in their countries and in Nigeria. These ties that exist in form of kinship, friendship, and shared common origin create networks which help them lower the costs and risks of transnational migration. While their family members probably

provide social and financial supports for them, former transnational beggars and those currently involved in street begging in Nigeria serve as important sources of information to them on the available illegal routes to Nigeria and ways to circumvent border-security arrangements aimed at combating illegal entry. Similarly, transnational street beggars, who are already residents in Nigeria, probably serve as important contacts to the newcomers. The Economic Community of West Africa States' protocol on free movement which allows the stay of ECOWAS citizen for ninety days in Nigeria without permit, probably, aids their migration, and thereby helping them to further strengthen their network in the country.

2.2.3 Social exchange theory

Social exchange theory was formally advanced in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the works of scholars like: John Thibaut and Harold Kelley (1959), George Homans (1961) and Peter Blau (1964) (International Encyclopedia of Marriage and Family, 2003). This theory's fundamental principle is that humans in social situations choose behaviours that maximise their likelihood of meeting self-interests. It analyses interactions between two parties by examining the costs and benefits to each (Chibucos, Leite, and Weis, 2005). According to it, interactions are only likely to continue if both parties feel they are coming out of exchange with more than they are giving up-that is, if there is a positive amount of profit for both parties involved (Wang, 2004). Social exchange theory further posits that individual actors in social exchange are more likely to be comfortable when the 'tangible and intangible benefits derivable from a relationship approximate what they put into the relationship; this is what Homans (1961) describes as the 'rewards and costs' in social exchange. The social basis of social exchange is, therefore, the fact that people give use values or something more valuable to others than what it costs the giver, and vice versa (Homans, 1961; Emerson, 1969).

Given that all social life is driven by a degree of reciprocity on the part of actors, social exchange is, therefore, characterized by reciprocity and approximation of derivable benefits (Gandu and Adegboyega, 2013). People tend to be more satisfied in any social exchange that is considered to be relatively balanced. Hence, social exchange theory holds that individuals who perceive that there is a presence of reciprocity in social relationships tends to feel more satisfied with, and maintain those

relationships. At the heart of this theory is the contention that humans are rational beings who take rational decisions within the context of rewards and costs. Depending on material and psychological context and disposition, rewards or benefits derived from personal social relationships can come in both concrete as well as symbolic terms. While individuals are typically motivated to gain rewards in social exchanges, the nature, form and character of what constitutes a reward or benefit differs from one individual to another (Gandu and Adegboyega, 2013).

According to Chibucos, Leite, and Weis (2005), social exchange theory includes a number of key assumptions. First, it opines that individuals are generally rational and engage in calculations of costs and benefits in social exchanges. In this respect, they exist as both rational actors and reactors in social exchanges. This assumption reflects the perspective that social exchange theory largely attends to issues of decision making. Second, the theory builds on the assumption that those engaged in interactions are rationally seeking to maximise the profits or benefits to be gained from those situations, especially in terms of meeting basic individual needs. In this respect, social exchange theory assumes social exchanges between or among two or more individuals are efforts by participants to fulfil basic needs. Third, exchange processes that produce payoffs or rewards for individuals lead to patterning of social interactions. These patterns of social interaction, not only serve individuals' needs, but also constrain individuals in how they may ultimately seek to meet those needs. Individuals may seek relationships and interactions that promote their needs but are also the recipients of behaviours from others that are motivated by their desires to meet their own needs.

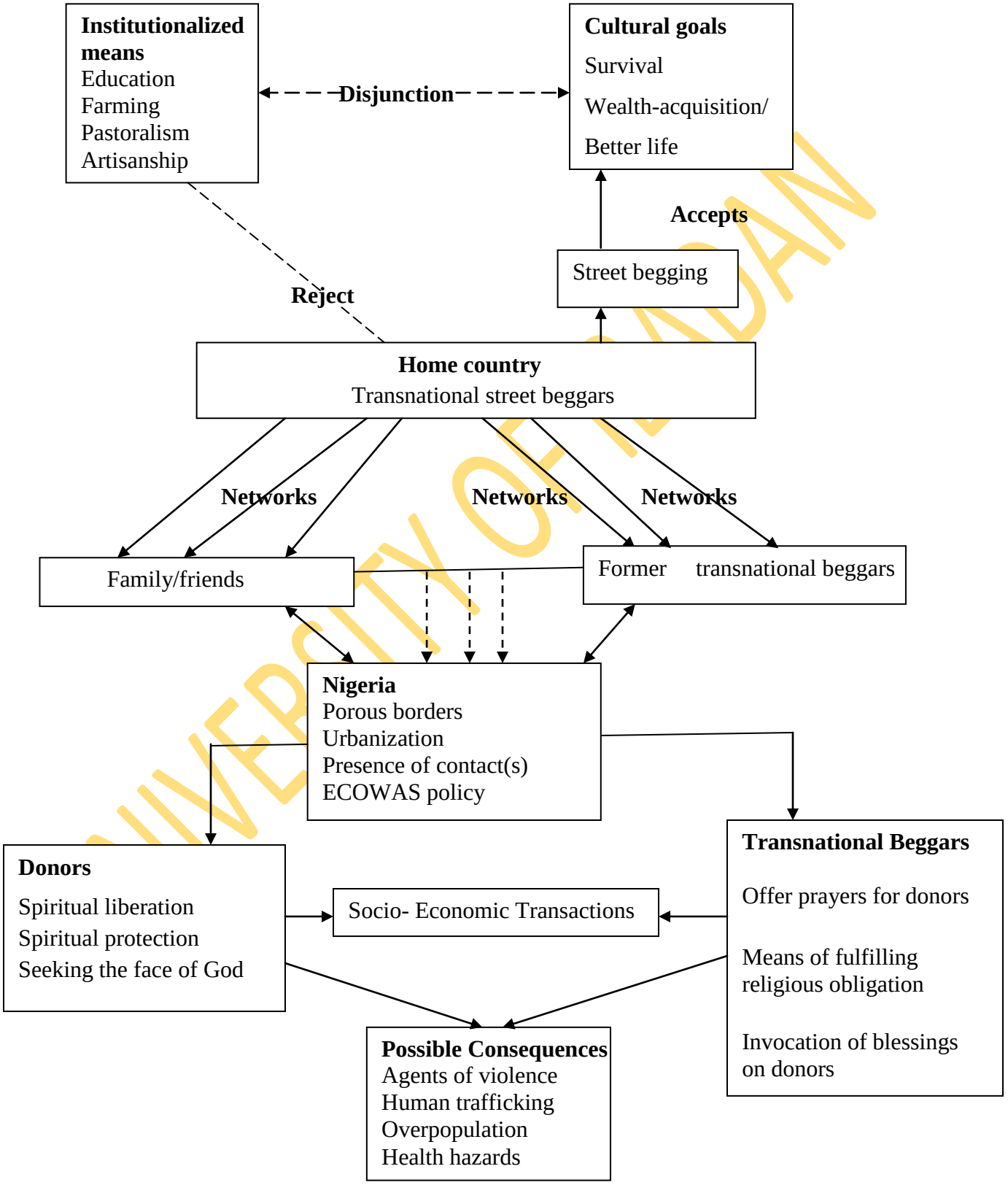
Social exchange theory further assumes that individuals are goal-oriented in a freely competitive social system. Because of the competitive nature of social systems, exchange processes lead to differentiation of power and privilege in social groups. As in any competitive situation, power in social exchanges lies with those individuals who possess greater resources that provide an advantage in the social exchange. As a result, exchange processes lead to differentiation of power and privilege in social groups. Those with more resources hold more power and, ultimately, are in a better position to benefit from the exchange. Tied to this concept of power in a social exchange is the principle of least interest. Those with less to gain in terms of meeting their basic needs through a social exchange tend to hold more power in that exchange.

Analysis of social interaction by various variants of the social exchange theory premised their postulations on the contention that human and interaction is motivated by the desire to seek rewards or comfort and avoid pains or potential costs (Homans, 1958). Simply put, social interactions are driven by exchange of rewards between human actors. Humans are considered as rational being who possess the capacity to review all available information, opportunities, chances and life alternatives before choosing to act or behave in ways and patterns that are beneficial (Gandu and Adegboyega, 2013). Generally, social exchange theory proposes that individuals are motivated to gain rewards in social exchanges. In the absence of apparent rewards, individuals in social exchanges may be primarily motivated to avoid costs in those exchanges. Costs are either punishments or forfeited rewards that result from social exchanges (Chibucos, Leite and Weis, 2005). Typically, social exchanges carry three potential costs: (a.) Investment costs which represent the energy and personal cognitive or emotional investment put into an exchange by the actors involved (b.) Direct costs which include time, financial resources, or other structural resources dedicated to the exchange (c.) Opportunity costs which represent possible rewards that may be lost as a result of the relationship or social exchange.

Street beggars and their donors are rational actors who attach certain social values to the socio-economic transactions taking place between them. The two parties involved in the exchange (givers and receivers of alms) typically estimate the costs and benefits involved in the transaction and believed that there is a balanced reciprocity embedded in it. On the one hand, donors see the act of giving alms to beggars as a means of fulfilling an important religious obligation and/or attracting the blessings of God. On the other hand, street beggars view alms being given to them as payment for the service they rendered in form of prayers and praise-singing. Thus, both parties are motivated by the rewards accruable from the exchange.

Fig 1: Conceptual framework

This conceptual framework shows the integration of theories adopted for this study



The conceptual framework shows that transnational street beggars respond to the disjunction existing between the societal specified cultural goal (wealth acquisition/better life) and the institutionalised means (education, farming, pastoralism or artisanship) in their respective home countries by attempting to reach the goal(s) through the deviant act of street begging in Nigeria. The social/kinship networks that tie them to other people (their family members and other transnational beggars) in their respective countries and in Nigeria play a vital role in facilitating their migration plans.

Transnational street beggars are encouraged to come to Nigeria to solicit alms because they have realised that there are some categories of people in the country who are highly motivated to give alms to them as a way of seeking the face of God and meeting their spiritual needs, as well as fulfilling their cultural and religious obligations. Additionally, the relatively porous nature of most of the Nigerian borders, her high level of urbanisation, the presence of contacts in the country, as well as the Economic Community of West Africa States' protocol on free movement are among the likely factors that make Nigeria conducive for the transnational street beggars. Health hazards, the possibility of being used as agents of violence, human trafficking, overpopulation, environmental pollution among others, are some of the possible consequences of the involvement of foreigners in street begging in the country.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains a detailed description of the research design adopted for this study and the methods employed for data collection. Similarly, it covers some other important sections such as the selected study areas, the study population, the sampling procedures and sample size, ethical consideration, field experience, as well as the limitation of the study.

3.1 Research design

Research design essentially entails a plan or blueprint which specifies how data relating to a given problem will be collected, processed and analysed (Babbie, 2005). This study was both exploratory and cross-sectional in design. Data was collected through the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. The complexity and unpredictable nature of the human social reality makes the adoption of this mixed approach of data collection expedient because of the advantage it offers at facilitating access to a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the subject matter of the study.

3.2 Study areas and rationale for selection

The study was conducted in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis, two important urban centres in South-Western Nigeria.

3.2.1 Lagos

Lagos metropolis is in South Western Nigeria on the Atlantic coast of the Gulf of Guinea. It lies between latitude $6^0\ 27^1$ north of Equator and longitude $3^0\ 24^1$ east of the Greenwich Meridian. It originated as fishing and farming settlement on Lagos Island that was predominantly inhabited by the *Aworis* (Afolayan, Ikwuyatum, and Abejide, 2010). Lagos was believed to have been founded by Oba Orogbua of Benin, who used the area as a camp during his numerous warfare campaigns. The Oba was believed to have reigned around 1550 A.D. The name, "Lago di

Kuramo", was given to the lagoon sighted in the area by the Portuguese in 1472, and the city subsequently derived its name from the appellate (Omololu, 1990).

Historical accounts also show that the city first attracted the Ijebus, who came to trade and were the earliest immigrants in the area. By the middle of the 19th century, it had grown from scattered fishing settlements into a relatively prosperous and well-populated town along the coast, and since then, its growth has been phenomenal (Aderinto, 1996). By the year 1821, Lagos, according to Olokesusi (2011), was acclaimed to be the most important slave port on the West African Coast.

Under the British rule, the colony of Lagos was expanded and it consequently became the terminal of many routes. The first steamer service between Lagos and England began operations in 1853, and this was followed by the establishment of a bank in 1881, then telephone in 1882 and a chamber of commerce in 1894. These activities, together with the infusion into the Lagos population, as well as freed slaves from Sierra-Leone and the Americas, increased the scale and variety of commercial activities which, in turn, necessitated the need for a modern port (Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1988).

The population of Lagos, according to the 1952 census, was estimated to be about 346, 137 and by the time of the 1963 census, this population had increased to 1,135,805. These figures imply an intercensal annual growth rate of 11.4 per cent per annum (Olokesusi, 2011). This phenomenal population explosion is attributable to the significant economic, commercial and political changes which made Lagos metropolis the fastest growing city in Nigeria (Olokesusi, 2011). The 2006 national population census report indicates that the population size of the metropolitan Lagos or Lagos Urban is 7,937,932, out of the total population of 9,113,605 recorded for Lagos state in 2006 (National Population Commission, 2006). But the metropolis is estimated to be actually inhabited by at least 15 million people, who are mostly migrants from within and outside the country (Lagos State Government Centre for Rural Development, 2006). According to Aluko (2010), the city of Lagos is Africa's second fastest growing urban centre after Cairo. It has also been projected to be one of the top five most populous cities in the world by the year 2015 (Massey, 2002).

Lagos has been described as the gateway to Nigeria, because apart from being the former administrative capital of the country, it is also the commercial and industrial centre as it enjoys a disproportionate share of industrial establishments (Olokesusi, 2011; Aderinto, 1996). Its status as the chief port city of the country has also earned it the most populous conurbation centre in Nigeria. The city has thrived on commercial activities prompted by both local and transcontinental/global forces which led to mobility and migrations of people (Afolayan, Ikwumyatum, and Abejide, 2010). In a very important sense, Lagos is mini-Nigeria as about every Nigerian ethnic group is represented in the city (Olokesusi, 2011). The city has housed other people from the hinterland, and had an earlier contact with the outside world than most other centres in the country (Afolayan, Ikwumyatum, and Abejide, 2010).

Lagos metropolis comprises both the islands and the mainland. The islands are Lagos Island, Victoria Island, and Ikoyi Island, while the mainland includes Yaba, Ebute-Metta, Ojo, Apapa, Oshodi-Isolo, Somolu and Surulere (Afolayan, Ikwuyatum, and Abejide, 2010). The metropolis covers 16 out of the 20 Local Government Areas of Lagos State; these are: Agege, Ajeromi-Ifelodun, Alimosho, Amuwo-Odofin, Apapa, Eti-Osa, Ifako-Ijaiye, Ikeja, Kosofe, Lagos Island, Lagos Mainland, Mushin, Ojo, Oshodi-Isolo, Shomolu, and Surulere (Lagos State Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, 2009). Today, the city of Lagos occupies 1,170 square km of land out of which 220 square km (18.9%) is water (Olokesusi, 2011).

A notable characteristic of Lagos, according to Aderinto (1996), is the almost hysterical socio-economic activities in most of its central commercial areas. Motorists, pedestrians, hawkers and street side traders compete for dominance. The resultant effect is a general state of chaos in these areas at peak periods of the day. A large number of people crammed into such a small geographical area which results in widespread social problems that are continually manifested and this obliged the state government, as well as the federal government, to expend large amounts of resources on the maintenance of law and order. Lagos is one of the areas in the country plagued with widespread criminal activities which create economic, personal and social insecurity; this has consequently led to the establishment of many agencies dealing in security services (Aderinto, 1996).

Some of the locations covered within the Lagos metropolis for the purpose of data collection included Obalende Motor-Park, Ajegunle (Boundary), Oshodi Motor-Park, Iyana-Ipaja Bus stop, Agege-Pen-Cinema Railway Line, Ijora Under-Bridge, Idumota market, Agege Central Mosque, Ebute-Metta bus stop, Mile 12 market, Ketu Under-Bridge, Adekunle-Oko-Baba Destitute Home, Oyingbo market, Ikeja, Iyana-Iba, Okoko-Maiko Expressway, Alabaragbo, amongst others.

The choice of Lagos metropolis as one of the study areas stemmed from the fact that the city is among the most urbanised and greatest absorbers of migrants in Nigeria (Aderinto, 1996). Also, the problem of street begging is prevalent in the metropolis (Balogun, 2012; Adedibu and Jelili); but more importantly, the existence of transnational street beggars in the city is confirmed.

3.2.2

Ibadan

The city of Ibadan is also located in South Western Nigeria. It lies approximately on longitude 3^0 5^1 east of the Greenwich Meridian and latitude 7^0 23^1 north of the Equator (Tomori, 2008). Ibadan was created as a war camp for warriors coming from Oyo, Ife and Ijebu towns in 1829. Its location at the fringe of the forest promoted its emergence as a marketing centre for traders and goods from both the forest and grassland areas. The city began as a military state and remained so until the last decade of the 19th century; during this period, it succeeded in building a large empire from the 1860s to the 1890s and extended over much of northern and eastern Yorubaland (Fourchard, 2003). The warriors constituted the rulers, and the most important economic group of the city (Falola, 1984). Owing to its secure location within the forest region and nearness to the grassland area, Ibadan became one of the few Yoruba towns to which escapees and war deserters fled in the face of Fulani advancement. The location later encouraged the exchange of produce between the grassland region and the forest belt during the peace time. As a result, the town emerged as a market place for the Ijebu, Egba, Oyo, Ijesha and Ife people (Aderinto, 1996).

Ibadan has been an important administrative center since the colonial times. It was the capital of the old Western Region from 1946 to 1967, the old Western State from 1967 to 1976; and Oyo State, from 1976 to date (Afolayan, 1994). It is approximately 145 km in a Northeastern direction from Lagos by the most direct route. The city, according to Ayeni (2002), is directly connected to many towns in Nigeria by a system of roads, railways and air routes. Ibadan has recorded a sustained growth primarily owing to its central location in Yorubaland, as well as its accessibility from the colonial capital city of Lagos (Udo, 1994). All the road traffic from Lagos to the Northern states through Abeokuta and Sagamu converge on Ibadan before proceeding to their destinations (Ayeni, 2002). The railway to the Northern states also passes through Ibadan and the city has consequently become a major break of bulk point for trade goods from the Southwest to the North, as well as from the North to the Southwest. It also served as a major fuelling station for the traffic to Eastern Nigeria during the early colonial period till the opening of the Benin-Sagamu-Lagos expressway in 1980. Ibadan has grown extensively to incorporate nearby towns and villages into a large urban sprawl, the extent of which is only comparable with what is happening in the Lagos Metropolitan Area (Ayeni, 2002).

Once a dominant cocoa region, Ibadan used to attract hired labour from far and near. However, with the decline in cocoa farming by the middle of the 1960s, local cottage industries began to feature more prominently in the economy of the city than before. And as a result, some residential districts engage in such industries as weaving, dyeing, pottery, soap making, metal work, wood work and blacksmithing (Aderinto, 1996). Though industry is less developed in Ibadan than in Lagos or Kano, there are, however, many traders and artisans who service many needs of the city (Okafor and Amayo, 2006). The major occupations of the inhabitants of Ibadan include trading, agriculture, craftsmanship, and engagement in formal public and private sectors (Labinjoh, 1991).

The total population of Ibadan metropolis rose to 1,829,300 in 1999 at a growth rate of 1.65% from 1963, and increased to 2,550,593 in 2006 at a growth rate of 3.4% (National Population Commission, 2006). The current population of the city, according to the Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette (2009), is over 2.7 million. Although the core population of Ibadan is Yoruba, it has always been ethnically mixed and this is becoming increasingly so. The

metropolitan area of Ibadan today comprises eleven local government councils; five of which are generally regarded as comprising the Ibadan city. These are Ibadan Southwest with headquarters in Ring Road at the location of the old Metropolitan Planning Authority; Ibadan Northwest with headquarters in Onireke; Ibadan North with headquarters at Bodija; Ibadan Northeast with headquarters along Iwo Road; and Ibadan Southeast with headquarters at Mapo. The other six local government areas circumscribe the city and comprise Egbeda, Oluyole, Lagelu, Ona Ara, Akinyele and Ido (Ayeni, 2002). In addition to rural-urban migration, urbanisation growth of Ibadan is also due to immigration from other urban centres, as well as from other ethnic groups from within and outside Nigeria (Afolayan, 1994).

At the city of Ibadan, some of the locations visited for the purpose of data collection included Challenge Motor-Park, Agodi-Gate Market, Oojo Bus-Stop, Mokola Round-About, Sango Junction, Iwo-Road Central Motor-Park, Ahmaddiyya Central Mosque, Oja-Oba Central Mosque, Shasha Area, Saabo Area, Bodija Market, Kara Area, Agbowo Shopping Complex, amongst others.

Just like Lagos, the inclusion of Ibadan metropolis as a study area was due to its heterogenous nature. The city accommodates people of diverse ethnic and national backgrounds (Afolayan, Ikwumyatum, and Abejide, 2010). In addition, some other studies have established a high prevalence of street begging in the city (Aboluwade, 2012; Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere, and Oyenuga, 2007). Furthermore, transnational street beggars are actively soliciting alms in the major streets of the metropolis.

3.3 Study population

The primary target population for the study included both male and female transnational street beggars. Also, officials of some directly related agencies were involved. The inclusion of personnel of these specified agencies is predicated on the fact that they are individually charged with certain responsibilities that equip them with important and relevant information on the activities of transnational street beggars who are conducting street begging in the major cities in Nigeria.

3.3.1 Transnational street beggars

These are non-Nigerian street beggars that are residing and conducting street begging in Nigeria. They constituted the primary study population.

3.3.2 Officials of the Nigeria Immigration Service

These are officials of the government agency that is charged with the responsibility of controlling and monitoring the movement of persons in and out of Nigeria. Their views are considered important in this study because they are capable of providing useful information on the migration process of transnational street beggars to Nigeria, and the negative effects of their activities on the country.

3.3.3 Officials of the Nigeria Police

These are personnel of the Law Enforcement Agency that is charged with the preservation of Law and Order, as well as prevention and detection of crime in Nigeria. Their views are considered important in this study because they are in the best position to provide relevant information on the security implications of transnational street begging on Nigeria

3.3.4 Officials of the Nigeria Custom Service

These are officials of the government agency that is charged with prevention and suppression of smuggling in Nigeria. They were included in this study because they are capable of providing significant insight into how transnational street beggars gained entry into Nigeria, and the ways through which their influx negatively affects the country.

3.3.5 Officials of National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and other Related Matters (NAPTIP)

These are officials of the government agency that is charged with the responsibility of addressing the problem of human trafficking and its attendant human right abuses in Nigeria. Their views are considered important because they are in the best position to provide useful information on the possible connection between human trafficking and transnational street begging in Nigeria.

3.3.6 Officials of Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare

This is a ministry created by the Oyo State Government and charged with the provision of care, protection and social rehabilitation for the less privileged in the state. The views of the officials of this ministry are considered important in this study because they are capable of providing relevant information on the past and current efforts of the Nigerian government on tackling the problem of street begging in general, and that of transnational street begging in particular. Similarly, they can shed more light on the negative effects of transnational street begging on Nigeria

3.4 Sampling procedure

The selection process essentially involved the researcher visiting different identified choice locations of transnational street beggars, such as the major streets, bus stops, motor-parks, road junctions, markets, and popular mosques in the two cities at several times in the peak hours of the day, particularly in the morning and afternoon. The selected areas for this study, Lagos and Ibadan metropolis, were purposively chosen because of the large presence of transnational street beggars in the two cities. Also, convenience sampling technique was employed for the selection of the 398 transnational street beggars that participated in the study. This means that no rigid procedure was adopted for their selection; only the available members of the study population were involved. The adoption of this approach was considered suitable because of the mobile nature of the respondents. Meanwhile, some transnational street beggars, who were observed to possess some unique information and attributes in relation to their life and lived experiences were purposively chosen for in-depth interviews and case studies. To forestall the possibility of sampling a given respondent more than once, an inclusive/exclusive criterion for eligibility to participate in the study was designed. Respondents were carefully screened to determine those who had previously solicited alms in the areas already covered by the researcher. In situations when such respondents were encountered, they were deliberately screened out from participating, regardless of whether or not they had previously been sampled. This step was taken as a way of guaranteeing the validity and reliability of the collected data. Furthermore, officials of some relevant agencies, which include: the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Nigeria Custom Service, the Nigeria Police Force, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters and Oyo State Ministry of Social Welfare and Community

Development, who yielded useful information on the target population were purposively selected.

3.4.1 Sample size

A total of 398 (male and female) transnational street beggars were covered in the two selected cities. Additionally, 7 key informants, comprising 3 officials of the Nigeria Immigration Service, 1 custom officer, 1 police officer, 1 NAPTIP official, and 1 official of Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare were purposively chosen.

Table 3.4.1: Target population, sampling procedure and sample size

Target population	Sampling procedure	Sample size
Transnational Street Beggars	Convenience/Purposive	398
Official of the Nigeria Immigration Service	Purposive	3
Official of the Nigeria Custom Service	Purposive	1
Official of the Nigeria Police	Purposive	1
Official of National Agency for Trafficking in Person and Other Related Matters	Purposive	1
Official of Oyo State Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development	Purposive	1

3.5 Methods of data collection

The research instruments adopted for the purpose of data collection in this study included: survey questionnaire, in-depth interview, key informant interview, and case study methods. Additionally, relevant materials were sourced in the library, from the Internet, scholarly journals, and newspaper reports. The table below shows the summary of the primary data collection instruments utilised.

Table 3.5.1: Methods of data collection and study population

Methods	Participants	No
Questionnaire	Transnational street beggars	382
In-depth interview	Transnational street beggars	13
Case study	Transnational street beggars	3
Key informant interview	Nigeria Police, NIS, NCS, NAPTIP and Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare	7

3.5.1 Questionnaire

A set of 382 copies of semi-structured questionnaire was administered on the identified and willing transnational street beggars. This quantitative research method of data collection was adopted to generate the desired data on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational street beggars, the reasons that informed their choice of Nigeria as the country of destination, their migration trajectory, as well as their network of relationships in their cities of residence. This method has a relative advantage of facilitating data collection from a large number of people, and it also provides a unique opportunity of subjecting respondents' responses to statistical test for a more elaborate and comparative analysis of findings. Prior to the commencement of the fieldwork, copies of a self-developed questionnaire were subjected to a rigorous pilot-test to ascertain its content validity and reliability. This step provided the opportunity to determine the suitability of the instrument for this study. Thereafter, its observed lapses were corrected before the real fieldwork commenced. This instrument was divided into four interrelated sections based on some of the objectives of the study.

Section A of the questionnaire covered the socio-demographic characteristics of the transnational street beggars, such as sex, age, religion, nationality, marital status, number of children, years of residence in Nigeria and level of education. While Section B contained questions on their reasons for the choice of Nigeria as their country of destination, Section C dealt with their migration trajectory to Nigeria. The network of relationships existing among transnational street

beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis was the issue addressed in Section D. All questionnaires were administered on the transnational street beggars through a face-to-face interview.

3.5.2 In-depth interview

A total of 13 in-depth interviews were conducted with both male and female transnational street beggars as a way of collecting data on their migratory trajectory to Nigeria, their reasons for the choice of Nigeria as their country of destination and the existing network of relationships among them. Respondents selected for in-depth interviews were not chosen arbitrarily. Rather, their selection was informed by the quality of their responses at the initial phase of interaction with them. In-depth interview method was employed to complement the data yielded by the survey questionnaire. The interviews were conducted with the aid of a tape recorder and field notes.

3.5.3 Case study

Case studies were conducted on three transnational street beggars with unique life and lived experiences. Two case studies were done in Ibadan, while the remaining one was done in the city of Lagos. A former transnational street beggar who had stopped street begging and was hawking sachet water at the Obalende motor-park in Lagos was selected for a case study analysis. Also, a case study investigation of a transnational street beggar who had been residing in Nigeria for close to 30years was done. Furthermore, the case of a young boy from Niger Republic who is skilful in singing Fuji music was intensively investigated. Case study was employed with the purpose of gaining significant insight into the existing network of relationships among the transnational street beggars. Like the in-depth interviews, the case studies investigations were conducted with the aid of tape recorder and field note.

3.5.4 Key informant interview

This method was used to generate qualitative data from personnel of some key government agencies which included: the Nigeria Police, Nigeria Immigration Service, Nigeria Custom Service, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters, and the Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare. These key informants provided relevant information on transnational street beggars as it

relates to their movement into the country, the security implications of their presence, as well as the challenges at combating their influx into the country. Information provided by these agencies further facilitated a holistic and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon studied. Key informant interviews were conducted with the aid of a tape recorder and field note.

Table 3.5.2: Objectives of the study, target population and methods of data collection

S/N	Objectives	Target Population	Methods of data collection
1.	Examine the socio-demographic characteristics of TSB in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis	Transnational street beggars	Questionnaire, IDI
2.	Investigate reasons that informed TSBs' choice of Nigeria as their country of destination	Transnational street beggars	Questionnaire, IDI
3.	Investigate the trajectory of TSB from their respective home-countries to Nigeria	Transnational street beggars	Questionnaire, IDI
4.	Examine the network of relationships that exist among TSB in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis	Transnational street beggars	Questionnaire, case study
5.	Examine the ways through which the presence of TSBs constitutes threat to Nigeria and the challenges at controlling their influx into the country.	Officials of Nigeria Police, NIS, NCS, NAPTIP and Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development & Social Welfare	KII

3.6 Data collection

The collection of data for this study spanned five months, covering the period between November, 2012 and March, 2013. At each of the selected cities, Lagos and Ibadan, the identified locations of transnational street beggars were visited several times, with Fridays essentially reserved for data collection at some selected popular central mosques where they were observed to usually converge in large numbers to solicit alms.

At each of the visited locations, both male and female transnational street beggars were strategically sourced. The assistance of available local people, who were observed to have established some forms of relationship or familiarity with some of them, were also sought at different times mainly to help allay their fears. As a result, the trust and confidence of some of them were gradually won after the initial ice was broken. Thereafter, the willing ones, who agreed to participate in the study, were engaged in informal interactions, and the desired data were subsequently generated from them. The researcher on several occasions had to give them a token, usually between ₦ 20.00 and ₦ 50.00 as a form of appreciation for their participation in the study. However, this gesture did not have any implication on the data collected because the participants were unaware that a token would be given at the end of the interaction.

Although the service of a field assistant who is fluent in spoken and written Hausa language was employed as a precautionary step for the easy conduct of the fieldwork, however, nearly all the interviews conducted with the transnational street beggars were done in either English or Yoruba language as all those interviewed remarkably demonstrated a good understanding and speaking of either one, or both of these languages.

3.7 Data analysis

Data generated through the administered questionnaires were coded, processed and analysed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17.0. The analysis was both in descriptive and analytical forms. While uni-variate techniques like frequency counts, simple percentages, bar chats and pie charts were adopted for the purpose of description, bi-variate analysis which comprised cross tabulation and chi-square were utilized to test the association and relationship between variables at 0.05 P-value. Specifically, the relationship and association between some important socio-demographic variables and some other responses of the transnational street beggars were considered across nationalities.

Qualitative data generated from the in-depth interviews, case studies and key informant interviews were processed through content analysis, ethnographic summaries and narrative techniques of reporting. This involved a careful transcription, detailed description and interpretation of the tape-recorded data and field-note. All interviews conducted in Yoruba

language were translated into English language. All categories of responses were compared and merged to draw out and/or create a clear picture of the emerging themes to further enhance a robust interpretation of the findings.

3.8 Challenges and limitation of the study

Some challenges were encountered in the field during the course of data collection. It proved to be an enormous task to convince the identified transnational street beggars of the intention of the researcher. The majority of them were initially wary and scared to interact with him because they thought he was an officer of the Nigeria Immigration Service or other form of Law Enforcement Agency. This challenge was particularly evident in Lagos metropolis where the current insecurity challenge in the country has necessitated the periodic evacuation of both local and foreign beggars from the street. This challenge was however surmounted through the assistance of the local people in whom some of the transnational beggars had some elements of trust.

Similarly, the bureaucratic bottleneck that characterised most of the government agencies involved in the study like other government agencies in Nigeria was another major challenge encountered on the field. Several visits had to be paid to these Law Enforcement Agencies before approval was given; this was despite the fact that a letter of introduction that clearly spelt out the objectives of the study was presented to them.

Also, the limitation of this study is that its findings may be difficult to generalise because the convenience sampling technique employed for the selection of transnational street beggars may not be adequately representative of the study population. However, the adoption of this sampling technique was inevitable because of the difficulty in accessing transnational street beggars as a result of their mobile nature. This also made the utilisation of a probability sampling technique impossible.

3.9 Ethical consideration

Throughout the data collection process, this study adhered strictly to the international ethical standard for research so as to protect the rights and integrity of the study population. The consents of the respondents were sought before their participation in the research, and the

objectives of the study were clearly explained to them. Furthermore, the research was guided by these ethical principles: respect for persons (this was done through the appropriate management of informed consent with participants involved), voluntariness (the decision to participate in the study was absolutely voluntary and no participant in the study was coerced into participation), non-malfeasance (no participant experienced any form of physical harm) confidentiality and anonymity (the identity of those who participated in the study shall remain protected). Participants were also given the chance to either accept or reject the use of a tape recorder during the discussion session.

3.10 Socio-economic situations in respondents' home countries

To ensure an adequate understanding of the general situation in the home-countries of the identified transnational street beggars, an overview of the socio-economic situations and environmental conditions of Niger Republic, Chad Republic, and Mali are provided:

Box I: Niger Republic

Niger Republic is a vast Sahelian country of 1.267.000 square kilometres with a population of 12.5 million in 2005 (Cornia and Deotti, 2008). About 65 per cent of the country is occupied by the Sahara Desert. It is one of the world's poorest countries. It ranks last on the United Nations Human Development Index in 2009, when it finished the year with a Gross Domestic Product of $5.34 billion and the per capita GDP of $360 (less than one dollar per day) (United Nations Conference, 2011). Traditional subsistence farming, herding, small trading, seasonal migration and informal markets dominate the Nigerien economy. Eight out of ten Nigeriens rely on agricultural and livestock sectors of the economy for a living, with 14% of the country's GDP generated from the production of livestock, including camels, goats, sheep and cattle. However, these sectors of the economy are under threat from frequent droughts, an increasing population and the encroaching Sahara Desert; thereby, contributing to the nation's food shortage (United Nations Conference, 2011). Over the period 2007-2009, the contribution of these sectors to the national economy is estimated to average 42.8% of GDP, with nearly 25% for the agriculture subsector, 12% for livestock, and close to 4.5% for forestry and fisheries. The Nigerien population, estimated at 16 million inhabitants in 2011, continues to grow at a very rapid pace with a rate of demographic change of 3.3% combined with a high total fertility index of 7.1

children per woman in 2006. At that rate, the population is expected to double every 23 years. The high fertility is due in particular to cultural and religious factors that often lead to a high degree of community reticence on the subject of spacing and limiting the number of births. This is associated with a low level of education and literacy that prevents people from mastering family planning methods (International Monetary Fund, 2013). Though the practice of slavery was banned in the country in 2003; yet, 43,000 individuals, according to international estimates, still live in servitude (Bertelsmann Stiftung Niger Republic Country Report, 2012). The recurring food crises in Niger Republic make rural populations highly subject to frequent food and nutritional vulnerability in which women and children are the most affected. Even in those years when production is balanced or yields a surplus, a significant segment of the population finds itself in a more or less severe situation of food insecurity. Drought, desertification, locust plagues, and rapid population growth have stifled the nation's economic growth. In December 2000, Niger Republic qualified for enhanced debt relief under the International Monetary Fund (IMF) program for Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) (United Nations Conference, 2011). Hunger has been a long-standing problem for the Nigerien public, and the problem has got worse in recent years. Since 2005, the country has struggled seasonally with food shortages, drought and locust infestations during the summer months. Most recently, a record-breaking heat wave in June, 2010 that reached 118.8˚F decimated Nigerien crops. As a result, several million citizens faced food shortages and famine, thereby, causing malnutrition, starvation, diarrhoea, gastroenteritis, and respiratory illnesses to spread (United Nations Conference, 2011). Cereal and cattle prices exhibit large seasonal fluctuations that affect the nutritional status of many Nigeriens. In a normal year, millet prices fall immediately after the harvest (September) and reach the lowest level in November when all harvests are in. However, starting from December, prices pick up as availability on collection markets decreases while demand starts rising. The intensity of these seasonal fluctuations varies across regions and is more marked in village markets where food producing households cannot arbitrage between low and high prices due to lack of finance, storage facilities, and cereal banks (Department of Homeland Security, 2006). According to United Nations and Government of Niger Republic (2005), the unfavourable climatic conditions, lack of resources and weak economic growth, weak food production, a high level of malnutrition, insufficient basic structures, weak industrial performance, demographic growth and performance of social sectors make Niger Republic one of the Highest Poor Indebted

Countries (HIPC). Between March and September 2005, 2.5–3 million people (a fourth of the total population) from low and middle income households living in agro-pastoral and some agricultural areas were affected by a severe food crisis (DHS, 2006). Between 2004 and 2005, the number of children and women begging on the streets in the country increased considerably (Konè and Touré, 2006). The situation in Niger Republic is reflected in the difficulties households face in meeting the needs of a relatively high number of infants and children to feed and educate. It also creates strong social pressure on the limited ability of the State and communities to improve living conditions (IMF, 2013). These pressures are primarily felt when trying to manage family budgets, and dealing with household autonomy expenditures like those related to health, nutrition, education, preference given to educating boys rather than girls, among others. Over the last 50 years, Niger Republic has often experienced grain deficit (IMF, 2013). This situation is often particularly dramatic for children under the age of five. About four out of every ten children are in a situation of chronic under-nutrition and one out of every ten is in a situation of acute under-nutrition. For instance, during the 2004-2005 food crisis experienced in the country, some 3.6 million people (more than 30% of the population) needed food assistance; and this figure practically doubled in 2009-2010 when about 7.1 million people experienced famine. A major coping strategy during periods of drought in Niger Republic, according to the Environmental Change and Forced Migration Scenarios (2007), is temporary migration of part or the whole household. In fact, 80 percent of working age males migrates seasonally from interior areas of South Sahara to coastal cities (Rural Migration News Agency, 2007). Furthermore, remittances are a major source of income for many poor Nigerien farmers. They are used for taxes, dowries, and are invested in cattle and luxury goods (World Bank, 1996). Traditionally, people used to migrate to Nigeria and coastal West Africa during the dry season (November to February), but they have recently extended their stay or migrated permanently, including to faraway places such as Libya, Algeria, Cameroon and Europe. Nearly 11 per cent of Niger's population migrated at least once in their life (Koné and Tourè 2006).

Box II: Chad Republic

Chad Republic is one of the largest countries in Africa. It is a landlocked country that spreads between the Sahara and the Sudan. It covers a surface area of 1,284,000 km^2, the northern half of which is desert (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2010). The country is one of the poorest in the world. It was ranked 171st out of 177 countries in the 2007 Global Human Development Report (International Monetary Fund, 2010). In 2007, the population of Republic of Chad was estimated at 10.8 million, 52% of whom were women. Between 2001 and 2007, her demographic growth was put at 3.4% (World Bank, 1997). The country has a very young population in which more than half are under 15 and just 4% are aged 60 or older. Its population is largely concentrated in the south, the area most apt for agriculture. However, more than 42% of the population lives in the northern rural Sahelian region. In the wake of civil unrest, growing land pressures and famine, the urban population has risen from 16 per cent of the total population in 1975 to 25% in 2009. More than 10% of the population lives in N'Djamena, the country's capital city (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2009). The level of economic diversification in Chad Republic is low and has been dominated until 2003 by the agricultural sector, which accounts for 40% of GDP and 80% of exports (IFAD, 2009). During the 1980s and 1990s, the nation's economy was virtually stagnant. The mediocre growth of the country at the period stemmed from an agriculture-based economy with low productivity, inadequate institutional framework, weakened human resources, insufficient basic economic infrastructure and isolation (IFAD, 2009). Though the recent opening of petroleum industry in Chad Republic has improved the public finances and also facilitated road financing, social and community infrastructure, the country's economy, however, continues to be characterized by a lack of any significant processing sector, fragmented services and a predominant primary sector employing close to 72% of the population. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in Chad Republic, estimated at US$421 in 2006, is one of the world's lowest (IFAD, 2009). The growth rate of the country has been steadily declining, it reached 33% in 2004, falling to 7.9% in 2005, 0.2% in 2006 and 0.6% in 2007 (World Bank, 2007). Climate change, particularly, the persistent drought of the past two or three decades, has depleted and silted up water bodies generally, and natural spawning grounds in particular. However, the opportunistic transhumance systems have proven highly effective in environmental, economic and social terms. They are characterized by high productivity and adaptation to climatic risks through mobility and opportunistic strategy, forge

links between transhumance and sedentaries, and generate fewer disputes than sedentary options (IFAD, 2009). Poverty is widespread in Chad, particularly, in rural areas. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) human development index, the country ranks among the least advanced nations; occupying the 170th of 177 countries surveyed in 2007, and 163rd out of 169 countries in 2010 (IFAD, 2009). Surveys of consumption and the informal sector in Chad conducted in 1995-1996 and 2002-2003 by the National Statistics Institute show that the incidence of absolute poverty remains high and is slightly more widespread. Based on the absolute poverty line (evaluated at CFAF 175,127 per year per adult in 2003 and CFAF 92,345 in 1994), the proportion of the poor population living below the poverty line rose from 43 per cent in 1994 to 55 per cent in 2003. In addition, 36 per cent of the population (and two thirds of the poor) live in situations of extreme poverty (below CFAF 109,000 per year) (IFAD, 2009). Chad has also had a turbulent history of religious and ethnic conflict and intermittent civil war in its 40 years of independence (Ploch, 2008). The lack of social trust is primarily the result of a society divided along ethnic and religious lines. Years of civil war, ending in 1982, have been followed by ongoing violent conflicts. Society and the political elite are deeply split into ethnic and religious communities. Ethnic rivalries in the country are complex and fluid, and they have also been compounded by conflict over land and limited natural resources such as water (Ploch, 2008). However, the most formidable constraints to development are extreme poverty, a highly deficient infrastructure in a landlocked country, adverse climatic conditions (environmental degradation, erratic rainfalls, sporadic droughts and flooding) and scant human resources (Bertelsmann Stiftung, Chad Republic Country Republic, 2012). Also, the presence of almost 260,000 refugees who fled the Darfur conflict in the east; in the south, the presence of approximately 96,000 refugees who escaped internal conflict in the Central African Republic, and in the South-east, of 180,000 internally displaced person add to the desperate socio-economic situation of the country. The Transparency International in 2007 also perceived Chad Republic to be one of the most corrupt countries in the world (Ploch, 2008).

Box III: Mali

Mali is a landlocked country covering about 1,240,278 square kilometers with a population estimated at about 14.2 million in 2011 (Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, 2011). With one of the largest total land areas located on the West African continent, the country is divided into the nomadic region of the Sahel and the Sahara and some agricultural regions. Close to 65 percent of its land mass is desert or semi-desert (Gerber, 2008). Despite the fact that about two thirds of Malians reside in the Sahara Desert, yet, somewhere between 70 and 80 percent of country's population are still engaged in an agricultural economy, the sector that is largely dominated by small-scale traditional rainfall-dependent farming (United States Agency for International Development, 2012). Since it is heavily dependent on agriculture, the country's economic well-being, therefore, requires consistent and sufficient rainfall. Although the humid inner Niger delta makes the country better off than its other neighboring states, yet it is highly vulnerable to climate changes. The Sahel region of Africa, which stretches from Senegal to Eritrea via a large part of Mali, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (2012), had not yet recovered from the drought and food insecurity of 2010, when it was hit by another food crisis in 2012. A combination of factors, including failed rains and rising food prices, placed 18.7 million people at risk of hunger and malnutrition across the region. Of these, 4.6 million were Malians; nearly one third of their entire country was at risk of malnutrition (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2012). Almost 75% of Malians live in rural villages of between some 150 and 600 inhabitants, surrounded by cultivated fields (Guo, 2013). About 48% of the total population is under the age of 15, and it is growing at a rate of 2.3% per year (Gerber, 2008). Approximately, 10% of the population is nomadic and 80% of the labour force is employed in the farming and fishing industries (Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, 2010). The main crops that are largely cultivated in Mali include sorghum, millet, maize, and rice. In periods of adequate rainfall, the country approaches food self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, droughts are recurrent and irrigated lands represent only 3 percent of total cropland and are limited to areas along the Niger River. Rainfall in Mali, as in most of the Sahel, has been marked by annual variability that increases northward (United States Agency for International Development, 2012). For example, though rain fell in abundance in the later part of 2012 in Mali, seed shortage prevented many farmers from cultivating vast areas of their land. Consequently, with the added threat of desert locust infestation, the livelihoods of 50 million people across the Sahel were put

in danger (Islamic Relief, 2013). The Republic of Mali is among the 25 poorest countries in the world that have historically suffered from droughts, rebellions and coups d´état. It is a country that is overwhelmingly dependent on gold mining and agricultural exports for revenue. Mali's mineral resources are extensive, including gold, lithium, uranium, tungsten, tin, lead, copper, and zinc. However, these resources are notably undeveloped and commercially unexploited, due to the country's sparse infrastructure, political and legal framework (Guo, 2013). Being poor in Mali is the norm, not the exception (Bertelsmann Stiftung Mali Country Report, 2012). Indeed, 77.1% of Malians, according to the World Bank, lived under the international poverty line in 2006 (earning less than $2 per day). In the same year, more than half of the population (51.4%) lived in extreme poverty (less than $1.25 per day). Above all, poverty is a factor of the economy rather than of primarily social exclusion. To date, the success of government and international efforts in reducing poverty in Mali has been limited. Despite the steady macroeconomic growth, poverty reduction in the country continues to be limited due to fast population growth (an annual rate of 2.4% between 2005 and 2009, with estimates of 3.0% per year between 2009 and 2015). Moreover, Malian society faces major structural obstacles since poverty is much worse in rural than in urban areas, and income distribution is very uneven. According to the World Bank data, the richest 20% of Mali's population control 46% of total disposable income, while the poorest 20% control only 5.6% (Bertelsmann Stiftung Mali Country Report, 2012). The large parts of Malian population are excluded from market-based socioeconomic development. In 2004, only 9% of farmers, out of approximately 800,000, traveled to markets to sell their products. One-third sold vegetables and livestock to other villagers, and half of farming families sold none of their products. In short, exclusion from market-based development is a serious problem, since approximately 70% of Malians work in agricultural sector. The rise in food prices worsened the Malian situation in 2008. Food provision remains one of the country's major problems. It was ranked 52nd out of 84 countries worldwide in the Global Hunger Index 2010 (Bertelsmann Stiftung Mali Country Report, 2012). Despite having improved overall human development between 1980 and 2007, Mali's Human Development Index (0.309 in 2009) score remains lower than the African average (0.389). Compared internationally, Mali's level of human development is one of the lowest worldwide. It occupied near the bottom of the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) in 2009, with the rank of 160 out of 168 countries. In the 21st century, Mali remains a country where opportunities for even primary education were extremely limited, especially in

rural areas or among the nomadic peoples of the North. The World Bank began to assist Mali in 2000 by providing credit so that the country could expand its educational system (Guo, 2013). However, in contrast to the state's ineffective social welfare system, private social welfare systems provided by the extended family are extraordinarily strong. Families generally provide support in the event of problems and form the core of a de facto safety net. The report of the African Peer Review Mechanism also highlights the high social capital existing in Malian society. There are several barriers to equal opportunity in Mali. The country is based on personal connections. Thus, social differences play an enormous role and shape prospects for economic success. Women lack many of the opportunities open to men; the structural inequality between men and women is legally anchored in the widely contested family law (Code de la Famille). However, girls' access to primary education improved in 2007 and 2008, with enrollment rising to 77.7% of the eligible population. Mali is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking. Women and girls are forced into domestic servitude, agricultural labour, and support roles in gold mines. Again, they are equally subjected to sex trafficking. Malian boys are also found in conditions of forced labour in agricultural settings, gold mines and the informal commercial sector. Malians and other Africans who travel through Mali to Mauritania, Algeria, or Libya, in hopes of reaching Europe are particularly at a risk of becoming victims of human trafficking (Guo, 2013). Desertification, water pollution and the impact of increasingly variable climate conditions are among the country's major environmental problems (Guo, 2013). River Niger, the country's most important source of livelihood with regard to agricultural activities and fishing, has been affected by a rise in water levels and overfishing. Additionally, while Malians were initially at risk because of natural dangers such as droughts and floods, human activities have further exacerbated the already difficult situation. The country has been struggling for a very long period of time to end the escalating militancy by the Tuareg nomads who took up arms to demand greater rights for their people. Since May 2006, the country has been engaging in a low-intensity internal armed conflict in the North of the country between the Government and a number of ethnic Tuareg non-state armed groups under the umbrella of the 23 May Democratic Alliance for Change (Guo, 2013). However, on the 22nd March 2012, a military coup in the capital of Mali, Bamako, saw dissident members of the armed forces seized the Presidential Palace, with rebels announcing the dissolution of the elected Government led by President Amadou Toumani Toure, while claiming

to be disgruntled by the state's inability to fight off Tuareg rebels in the North. The coup came in the aftermath of a series of losses suffered by Malian armed forces in the face of the Tuaregs' attackers, who had been newly armed, following an influx of weaponry from Libya. In November 2012, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), backed by the United Nations and African Union, agreed to launch a coordinated military expedition to recapture the north (Guo, 2013). The insecurity and conflict in the northern regions of Mali have displaced over 240,000 people, and the general human rights situation in the country remains dire (United States Agency for International Development, 2012).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter centres on the presentation and discussion of findings. It discusses the results of both the quantitative and qualitative data. While descriptive and inferential statistics involving frequency distribution, simple percentage, chart, cross-tabulation and chi-square were essentially employed for the presentation of quantitative data, the results of qualitative data were presented through content analysis and ethnographic summaries, and narrative technique of reporting. Findings of the study were presented in line with the specified research objectives. The results of both the quantitative and qualitative data were synergised to facilitate a comprehensive and an in-depth understanding of the subject of study.

4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

The common socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in the two study areas (i.e. Lagos and Ibadan metropolis) are presented in this section with the purpose of providing answers to the question: what are the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis? Information provided in this section served as an important foundation on which all other subsequent discussions were built.

4.1.1 Location

The numerical distribution of respondents as presented in table 4.1.1 revealed that a total of 382 respondents were covered in the survey conducted in the two study areas.

Table 4.1.1: Number of respondents by city

City	Frequency	Percent
Lagos	168	44.0
Ibadan	214	56.0
Total	382	100.0

Further distribution indicates that 214 respondents representing 56.0% were sampled in Ibadan metropolis, as against168 respondents (44.0%) that were sampled in Lagos.

4.1.2 Sex

The distribution of the respondents according to sex is presented in table 4.1.2.

Table 4.1.2: Sex distribution of respondents

City	Sex		
	Male	Female	
Lagos	75 19.6%	93 24.3%	168 44.0%
Ibadan	92 24.1%	122 31.9%	214 56.0%
Total	167 43.7%	215 56.3%	382 100.0%

The sex distribution of respondents as shown in table 4.1.2 above indicates that while female respondents constituted 56.3%, male constituted 43.7%. In a similar study conducted by Salami and Olugbayo's among migrant beggars in the city of Ibadan in 2013, 44.0% of their respondents were male while female constituted 56.0%. Furthermore, the recorded difference in the sex distribution may be viewed as resulting from the fact that female transnational street beggars were more opened to alms solicitation than their male counterparts. Indeed, the difference in the extent of men and women involvement in street begging has been observed to be culturally influenced in every society (Karacoskun, 2009; Bourgois, 1996; Gmelch and Gmelch, 1978).

4.1.3 Sex of respondents by nationality

The sex distribution of respondents according to their nationality was also done. It is depicted in table 4.1.3 below.

Table 4.1.3 Sex of respondents by nationality

Nationality	Sex		
	Male	Female	
Nigerien	146 48.0%	158 52.0%	304 100.0%
Chadian	21 36.2%	37 63.8%	58 100.0%
Malian	0 .0%	20 100.0%	20 100.0%
Total	167 43.7%	215 56.3%	382 100.0%

As indicated in the table, female respondents with 52.0% constituted the majority among Nigeriens, while male constituted 48.0%. Also, for the Chadians, while female constituted about 64%; the male respondents were 36.2%. However, all the respondents from Mali were females. This finding may indicate that unlike the other two countries, the practice of begging is more gendered in Mali, in which the involvement of female in the act is more acceptable than male.

4.1.4 Age

With regard to the age distribution of respondents, table 4.1.4 revealed that those who were between the ages of 15-19 were the most represented (26.4%), while those who were between the ages 35-39 (19.9%), and those who fell between the ages 30-34 (18.6%) were also fairly represented. Also, about 14% of the respondents were between the ages 20-24, while those who were between the ages of 25-29 constituted 11.5%. The least represented (9.7%) age category was those who were 40years and above.

Table 4.1.4: Age distribution of respondents

City	Age						Total
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & above	
Lagos	43	21	19	28	41	16	168
	11.3%	5.5%	5.0%	7.3%	10.7%	4.2%	44.0%
Ibadan	58	32	25	43	35	21	214
	15.2%	8.4%	6.5%	11.3%	9.2%	5.5%	56.0%
Total	101	53	44	71	76	37	382
	26.4%	13.9%	11.5%	18.6%	19.9%	9.7%	100.0%

This table indicates a large number of children among transnational street beggars soliciting alms in the two cities. The finding corroborates the submissions of Igbinovia (1991), Oyofo (1987) and the Sunday Times (1987) that children constitute a substantial proportion of migrant beggars soliciting alms in some of the major urban centres in Nigeria. This preponderance of children among the transnational street beggars can be explained as resulting from their recognition that their children have the potential for earning more money through alms solicitation, since passers-by would be more easily moved and/or readily sympathizes with children "in need", compared to the adults. Hence, the children were being exploited by their adult counterparts (parents and other relatives) to make more money. World Vision Australia (2009) and Delap (2009) have also observed that some parents usually force their children to engage in begging.

4.1.5 Nationality

The distribution of respondents as shown in table 4.1.5 below revealed that the bulk of the respondents were nationals of Niger Republic.

Table 4.1.5: Nationality of respondents

City	Nationality			Total
	Nigerien	Chadian	Malian	
Lagos	125	30	13	168
	32.7%	7.9%	3.4%	44.0%
Ibadan	179	28	7	214
	46.9%	7.3%	1.8%	56.0%
Total	304	58	20	382
	79.6%	15.2%	5.2%	100.0%

As shown in the table, respondents from Niger Republic, with a total of 79.6% were in the majority; followed by those who came from Chad Republic who constituted 15.2%. However, the respondents from Mali with only 5.2% had the lowest percentage. In all, the nationality of the respondents showed that they were citizens of some neighbouring countries that are considered underdeveloped in terms of physical, social and economic resources. This result validates the assertions of Adedokun (2003) and Igbinovia (1991) that the majority of foreigners conducting street begging in Nigeria are from other West African countries. The socio-economic and environmental conditions of the countries of the identified transnational street beggars are generally harsh, and are particularly unfavourable to the rural populations (see page 92 for an overview of the conditions in Niger Republic, Chad Republic and Mali). In addition, to further buttress the analysis, a map of Africa highlighting the three countries (transnational street beggars' countries of origin) and Nigeria (country of destination) is presented in page 105.

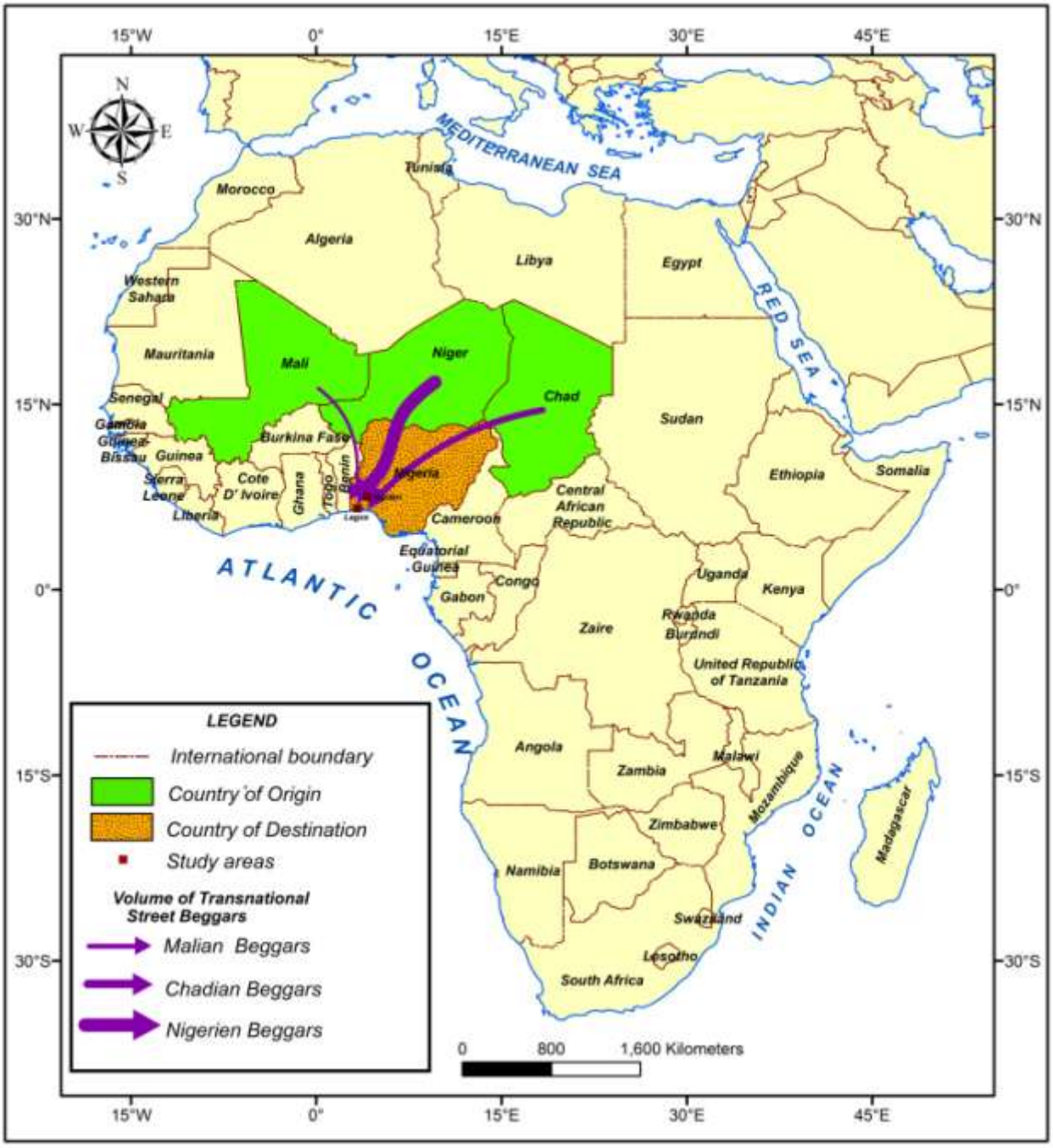


Figure 2: Map of Africa highlighting Mali, Chad Republic, Niger Republic and Nigeria

4.1.6 Religion

Table 4.1.6 presents the numerical distribution of the respondents according to their religion.

Table 4.1.6: Religious distribution of respondents

City	Religion			Total
	Christianity	Islam	Traditional	
Lagos	7	151	10	168
	4.2%	89.9%	6.0%	100.0%
Ibadan	2	198	14	214
	0.9%	92.5%	6.5%	100.0%
Total	9	349	24	382
	2.4%	91.3%	6.3%	100.0%

As evidenced in the table, the majority of the respondents (91.3%) identified Islam as their religion; 6.3% of the respondents stated that they were adherents of Traditional religion and the remaining 2.4% mentioned Christianity as their religion. The preponderance of adherents of Islam among the respondents covered in the study is unsurprising as all the respondents were nationals of countries (Niger Republic, Chad Republic and Mali) where Islam is the dominant religion practised by the majority of the citizens.

4.1.7 Marital Status

The marital status distribution of respondents is depicted in table 4.1.7

Table 4.1.7: Marital status of respondents

City	Marital status				Total
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	
Lagos	50 13.1%	111 29.1%	3 .8%	4 1.0%	168 44.0%
Ibadan	76 19.9%	125 32.7%	5 1.3%	8 2.1%	214 56.0%
Total	126 33.0%	236 61.8%	8 2.1%	12 3.1%	382 100.0%

The table revealed that while the majority of the respondents (61.8%) were married, respondents who were single constituted 33.0%; few of the respondents (3.1%) were widowed and very few of them (2.1%) were divorced. This finding shows that transnational street beggars conducting street begging in both the cities of Lagos and Ibadan generally cut across individuals of different marital statuses. However, transnational street beggars, who were married, far outnumbered those of other marital statuses in the two cities.

4.1.8 Marital status by nationality

The marital status of respondents was also considered according to nationality.

Table 4.1.8: Marital status of respondents by nationality

Nationality	Marital Status				Total
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	
Nigerien	124 40.8%	164 53.9%	8 2.6%	8 2.6%	304 100.0%
Chadian	2 3.4%	52 89.7%	0 .0%	4 6.9%	58 100.0%
Malian	0 .0%	20 100.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	20 100.0%
Total	126 33.0%	236 61.8%	8 2.1%	12 3.1%	382 100.0%

As table 4.1.8 indicates, the majority (53.9%) of the respondents from Niger Republic was married, while close to 41% of them were single. Those who claimed to be divorced or widowed had the same percentage with each having 2.6%. For the Chadians, while the overwhelming majority (89.7%) was married, about 7% of them were widowed, and less than 4% were single. However, all the respondents from Mali were married. In general, the findings indicate that while the single and married constituted the bulk of the respondents from Niger Republic, the overwhelming majority of the Chadians were married. Similarly, all the Malians were married.

4.1.9 Number of children

Table 4.1.9 below indicates the number of children born by the respondents.

Table 4.1.9: Number of children of respondents

City	Number Of Children				Total
	None	1-3	4-6	7 and above	
Lagos	58 15.2%	54 14.1%	46 12.0%	10 2.6%	168 44.0%
Ibadan	47 12.3%	86 22.5%	64 16.8%	17 4.5%	214 56.0%
Total	105 27.5%	140 36.6%	110 28.8%	27 7.1%	382 100.0%

As evidenced in table 4.1.9, respondents who had between 1-3 children with a total of 36.6% were the largest in proportion. Also, close to 29% of the respondents had between 4-6 children; about 28% of the respondents declared that they had no child. Only 7.1% of the respondents, however, had 7 children and above. A further comparison of the number of children of respondents by city indicates that while the larger percentage of the respondents (15.2%) in the city of Lagos had no child, the larger proportion of the respondents (22.5%) in Ibadan metropolis had between 1-3 children.

4.1.10 Years of residence in Nigeria

The distribution of respondents by years of residence in Nigeria is represented in table 4.1.10.

Table 4.1.10: Years of residence in Nigeria

City	Year of residence in Nigeria					Total
	Less than 1 year	2years	3years	4years	5years and above	
Lagos	117 30.6%	12 3.1%	19 5.0%	7 1.8%	13 3.4%	168 44.0%
Ibadan	129 33.8%	24 6.3%	25 6.5%	17 4.5%	19 5.0%	214 56.0%
Total	246 64.4%	36 9.4%	44 11.5%	24 6.3%	32 8.4%	382 100.0%

The majority of the respondents (64.4%) in the two cities, as shown in table 4.1.10 above claimed to have resided in Nigeria for less than a year, about 12% of the respondents reported that they had been living in the country for 3years. Few of the respondents (9.4%) declared that they had taken residence in Nigeria for 2years, and very few of them (8.4%) claimed that they had been residing in the country for a period of 5years and more. However, those who reported to have resided in Nigeria for 4years were the least represented (6.3%). The small proportion of respondents who reported to have taken residence in Nigeria for a period of 2 years and above that was recorded in the study was not unexpected and this is because, transnational street beggars due to their mobile nature hardly reside in a particular location for a very long period of time as they often prefer to move from one place to another.

4.1.11 Years of residence in Nigeria by nationality

Information on respondents' years of residence in Nigeria by their nationality is depicted in table 4.1.11.

Table 4.1.11: Years of residence in Nigeria by nationality

Nationality	Year of residence in Nigeria					Total
	Less than1year	2years	3years	4years	5years & Above	
Nigerien	200 65.8%	32 10.5%	40 13.2%	24 7.9%	8 2.6%	304 100.0%
Chadian	26 44.8%	4 6.9%	4 6.9%	0 .0%	24 41.4%	58 100.0%
Malian	20 100.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	20 100.00%
Total	246 64.4%	36 9.4%	44 11.5%	24 6.3%	32 8.4%	382 100.0%

As shown in table 4.1.11 above, the majority (65.8%) of the respondents who came from Niger Republic stated that they had lived in Nigeria for less than a year; 13.2% of them declared that they had been residing in the country for 3years. About 11% of them reported that they had taken residence in Nigeria for a period of two years; few of them (7.9%) maintained that they had been residing in the country for 4years, and very few of them (2.6%) claimed that they had lived in Nigeria for a period of 5years and above. For the Chadian respondents, while the majority (44.8%) declared that they had been residing in Nigeria for less than a year, 41.4% of them stated that they had been living in the country for a period of five years and above. All the Malian respondents covered in the survey, however, maintained that they had resided in the country for less than a year.

4.1.12 Educational level of respondents

The educational levels attained by the respondents are as shown in table 4.1.12 below.

Table: 4.1.12 Educational level of respondents

City	Level of education				Total
	No formal education	Quranic education	Primary	Secondary	
Lagos	72 40.0%	65 47.1%	23 44.2%	8 66.7%	168 44.0%
Ibadan	108 60.0%	73 52.9%	29 55.8%	4 33.3%	214 56.0%
Total	180 47.1%	138 36.1%	52 13.6%	12 3.1%	382 100.0%

As shown in table 4.1.12, the majority (47.1%) of the respondents had no formal education, but those who reported to have acquired Quranic education (36.1%) were substantially represented. Furthermore, few of the respondents (13.6%) had primary education and a very few of them (3.1%) had secondary education. The large number of no formal education recorded among the transnational street beggars might have been a strong factor that predisposed them to street begging. In addition, low level of education has been identified to be among the most important factors contributing to the problem of street begging in the society (National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute, 2001; Osiki, 1999).

4.1.13 Educational level of respondents by nationality

The educational levels attained by the respondents, according to their nationality, are presented in the table 4.1.13 below.

Table 4.1.13: Educational level by nationality

Nationality	Level of education				Total
	No formal education	Quranic education	Primary	Secondary	
Nigerien	156 51.3%	94 30.9%	48 15.8%	6 2.0%	304 100.0%
Chadian	24 41.4%	28 48.3%	4 6.9%	2 3.4%	58 100.0%
Malian	0 .0%	16 80.0%	0 .0%	4 20.0%	20 100.0%
Total	180 47.1%	138 36.1%	52 13.6%	12 3.1%	382 100.0%

The educational level of respondents by nationality as presented in table 4.1.13 reveals that a large proportion (51.3%) of the Nigeriens had no formal education; about 31% of them indicated that they had acquired Arabic education. Also, while close to 16% of them had primary education, a very few of them (2.0%) had acquired secondary education. For the Chadians, the majority (48.3%) claimed that they had acquired Quranic education, but a substantial proportion of them (41.4%) had no formal education. Also, about 7% of them had primary education, while only 3.4% had secondary education. Furthermore, the distribution of Malian respondents according to their level of education indicates that while the overwhelming majority (80.0%) declared that they had acquired Quranic education, 20.0% of them stated that they had acquired secondary education. It can be inferred from these findings that the level of literacy seems to be higher among the Malians and Chadians than the Nigeriens.

4.1.14 Respondents' means of livelihood

Information on respondents' means of livelihood in their home countries prior to their arrival in Nigeria was also obtained. This was done as a way of determining their occupation in their home countries. The picture that emerged from the survey is depicted in table 4.1.14.

Table 4.1.14: Respondents' means of livelihood

City	Means of livelihood						Total
	Farming	Pastorialism	Artisanship	Farming & pastorialism	Mining	Farming & fishing	
Lagos	33 8.6%	42 11.0%	32 7.1%	31 8.1%	16 4.2%	15 5.0%	168 44.0
Ibadan	75 9.7%	53 13.9%	21 4.2%	42 11.0%	15 3.9%	7 13.4%	214 56.0%
Total	108 28.2%	95 24.9%	53 13.9%	73 19.1%	31 8.1%	22 5.8%	382 100.0%

The distribution of the respondents according to their means of livelihood in their respective home-countries shows that the majority (28.2%) were farmers; a large proportion (24.9%) of them were pastoralists. Also, respondents who combined farming with pastoralism were fairly represented (19.1%); few of the respondents were artisans (13.9%) and very few of them (8.1%) were miners. Less than 6% of the respondents, however, claimed to have combined farming with fishing as their means of livelihood. Generally, it is clear from the findings that transnational street beggars were predominantly farmers and pastoralists in their respective countries of origin.

4.1.15: Means of livelihood by nationality

Table 4.1.15 below shows the distribution of respondents according to their means of livelihood in their individual home-countries prior to their immigration to Nigeria.

Table 4.1.15: Means of livelihood by nationality

Nationality	Means of livelihood						Total
	Farming	Pastorialism	Artisanship	Farming& pastorialism	Mining	Farming& fishing	
Nigerien	79 26.0%	78 25.7%	47 15.5%	65 21.4%	17 5.6%	18 5.9%	304 100.0%
Chadian	29 50.0%	3 5.2%	4 6.9%	7 12.1%	11 19.0%	4 6.9%	58 100.0%
Malian	0 .0%	14 70.0%	2 10.0%	1 5.0%	3 15.0%	0 .0%	20 5.2%
Total	108 28.3%	95 24.9%	53 13.9%	73 19.1%	31 8.1%	22 5.8%	382 100.0%

Table 4.1.5 indicates that the majority (26.0%) of the respondents from Niger Republic were farmers; a large proportion (25.7%) of them was also involved in pastoralism. However, 21.4% of them indicated that their means of livelihood included both farming and pastoralism, while 15.5% of the respondents claimed that they were artisans. For the Chadians, the majority (50.0%) disclosed that farming was their source of livelihood in their country of origin; 19.0% indicated that they were miners, less than 13% declared that they combined farming with pastoralism. Furthermore, while the majority (70.0%) of Malians claimed to be pastoralists, 15.0% of them mentioned mining as their means of livelihood in their home-country; 10.0% of them stated that they were artisans. Very few of the respondents (5.0%) indicated that they combined farming with pastoralism. Generally, it is clear from the findings that the transnational street beggars were predominantly farmers and pastoralists in their countries of origin.

4.1.16 Daily average proceeds of respondents by city

The reported daily average proceeds of respondents by city are presented in table 4.1.16.

Table 4.1.16: Daily average proceeds by city

City	Daily average proceeds							Total
	₦100-₦145	₦ 150-₦ 195	₦ 200-₦ 245	₦ 250-₦ 295	₦ 300-₦ 345	₦ 350-₦ 395	₦ 400& Above	
Lagos	31 18.5%	31 18.5%	42 25.0%	16 9.5%	15 8.9%	25 14.9%	8 4.8%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	53 24.8%	55 25.7%	34 15.9%	15 7.0%	15 7.0%	26 12.1%	16 7.5%	214 100.0%
Total	84 22.0%	86 25.5%	76 19.9%	31 8.1%	30 7.9%	51 13.4%	24 6.3%	382 100.0%

Table 4.1.16 shows that while the majority of the respondents in Lagos (25.0%) reported their average daily proceed to be between ₦200.00 and ₦ 245.00, the majority of the respondents in Ibadan (25.7%), however, stated that their daily average proceeds were between ₦150.00 and ₦195.00. In addition, ₦400.00 and above constituting 4.8% was the lowest daily average proceeds reported in Lagos metropolis by the respondents as against ₦250.00-₦295.00 and ₦300-₦395, constituting 7.0% each that were the lowest daily average proceeds reported by the respondents in Ibadan. It can however, be deduced from these findings, that there was no significant difference in the daily average proceeds of respondents in the two cities.

In all, though the average daily earnings reported by the respondents in both cities seem small, yet transnational street beggars, nonetheless, are still motivated to immigrate into Nigeria to beg because the value of the Nigerian naira is higher in exchange rate when compared to the local currency in their individual countries. Hence, it is still profitable for them to come to Nigeria to conduct street begging.

4.1.17: Daily average proceeds by nationality

Respondents' daily average proceeds according to their nationality are presented in 4.1.17.

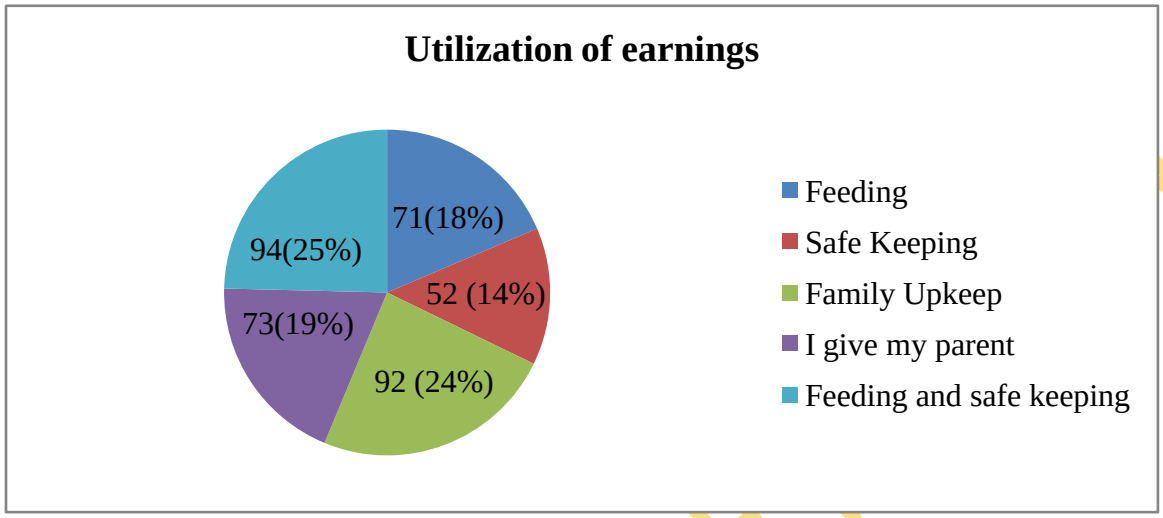
Table 4.1.17: Daily average proceeds by nationality

Nationality	Daily average proceeds							Total
	₦100-₦ 145	₦ 150-₦ 195	₦ 200-₦ 245	₦ 250-₦ 295	₦ 300-₦ 345	₦ 350-₦ 395	₦ 400 & above	
Nigerien	67 22.0%	70 23.0%	60 19.7%	23 7.6%	22 7.2%	40 13.2%	22 7.2%	304 100.0%
Chadian	14 24.1%	13 22.4%	11 19.0%	5 8.6%	6 10.3%	8 13.8%	1 1.7%	58 100.0%
Malian	3 15.0%	3 15.0%	5 25.0%	3 15.0%	2 10.0%	3 15.0%	1 5.0%	20 100.0%
Total	84 22.0%	86 25.5%	76 19.9%	31 8.1%	30 7.9%	51 13.4%	24 6.3%	382 100.0%

As evidenced in table 4.1.17, while the majority (23.0%) of the nationals of Niger Republic declared that their daily average proceed were between ₦ 150.00 and ₦ 195.00, the large proportion (24.1%) of Chadians confirmed their daily average proceed to be between ₦ 100.00 and ₦ 145.00. The majority (25.0%) of Malians, however, confirmed that their daily average proceeds were between ₦200.00 and ₦ 245.00. However, in spite of this disparity, there seems to be no general difference in the reported daily average proceeds across nationalities. For instance, only 7.2% of Nigeriens earned up to ₦ 400.00 and above daily, while only 1.7% of Chadians and 5.0% of Malians reported the same amount as their daily average proceeds.

4.1.18 Utilization of earnings

The numerical distribution of respondents according to their utilization of proceeds is presented in figure 3.



As represented in figure 3 above, the majority of the respondents (25%) stated that they used part of their earnings to buy food and also keep the rest. Also, while 24% of them reported that they only utilised their earnings for family upkeep, 19% claimed that they gave their earnings to their parents. Furthermore, 18% of the respondents stated that they only utilised their earnings to buy food. The remaining 14%, however, confirmed that they were saving their earnings. These findings have shown that transnational street beggars essentially utilised part of their begging proceeds to cater for their immediate needs and also kept some of it, with the plan of taking it back to their home-countries. The implication of this is that transnational street beggars will always come to Nigeria to solicit alms as long as they are convinced that they can always earn money in the country through street begging.

4.1.19 Utilization of earnings by nationality

Respondents' reported utilisation of earnings according to nationality is represented in table 4.1.18 below.

Table 4.1.18: Utilisation of earnings by nationality

Nationality	Utilisation					Total
	Feeding	Safe Keeping	Family Upkeep	I give my parent	Feeding& Safe Keeping	
Nigerien	61 20.1%	35 11.5%	73 24.0%	55 18.1%	80 26.3%	304 100.0%
Chadian	5 8.6%	14 24.1%	14 24.1%	18 31.0%	7 12.1%	58 100.0%
Malian	5 25.0%	3 15.0%	5 25.0%	0 .0%	7 35.0%	20 100.0%
Total	71 18.6%	52 13.6%	92 24.1%	73 19.1%	94 24.6%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 18.400$; df =8; P=0.018

As shown in table 4.1.18, while the majority of Nigeriens (26.3%) declared that they were using their earnings to buy food and also keep part of it, the majority of Chadians (31.0%) claimed that they gave their earnings to their parents. For the Malians, the majority (35.0%) submitted that they bought food with their earnings and also kept part of it. Generally, there was an observed similarity in the responses given by the respondents regardless of their country of origin. This was demonstrated in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2$= 18400; P> 0.05) as shown in table 4.1.18 above.

4.2 Reasons why transnational street beggars selected Nigeria as country of destination

Discussions in this section are geared towards answering the research question: why did transnational street beggars' choice of Nigeria as their country of destination? The four major reasons given by the respondents as informing their decision are presented in table 4.2.1 below.

Table 4.2.1: Reasons for the choice of Nigeria by nationality

Nationality	Reasons for the choice of Nigeria				Total
	Nearness to my country	Better opportunity	Presence of contacts	I like Nigeria	
Nigerien	44 14.5%	162 53.3%	76 25.0%	22 7.2%	304 100.0%
Chadian	3 5.2%	34 58.6%	13 22.4%	8 13.8%	58 100.0%
Malian	7 35.0%	8 40.0%	1 5.0%	4 20.0%	20 100.0%
Total	54 14.1%	204 53.4%	90 23.6%	34 8.9%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 18.947$; df= 6; P= 0.04

As shown in table 4.2.1, the majority of the respondents (53.3%) from Niger Republic claimed that they selected Nigeria as their country of destination because they believed they stood the chance of gaining access to better opportunity in the country, 25.0% of them maintained that they chose Nigeria because they had established contacts in the country; close to 15% of them linked the reason for their choice of Nigeria to her proximity to their country. Less than 10% of them, however, gave their reason for the choice of Nigeria as resulting from their liking for the country. Similarly, for the respondents from Chad Republic, while close to 59% stated that their reason for the choice of Nigeria was as a result of their belief that they could gain access to better opportunity in the country; 22.4% maintained that they decided to come to Nigeria because they had contacts in the country; about 14% of them linked their reason for the choice of Nigeria to the fact that they liked the country; and lastly, less than 6% of them mentioned the nearness of their country to Nigeria as the reason that informed their choice. Furthermore, 40% of the

respondents from Mali cited the reason for their choice of Nigeria as their country of destination as resulting from their desire for better opportunity in the country, 35% of them maintained that they came to Nigeria because of her proximity to their country; 20% of the respondents adduced their reason to their liking for the country. Only 5% mentioned the presence of contact in Nigeria as their reason for choosing the country.

In all, it can be established that the major reasons that informed transnational street beggars' choice of Nigeria as their country of destination include the quest for better opportunity, the presence of their contacts in the country, the proximity of their countries to Nigeria, as well as their liking for the country. In addition, though the majority of the respondents from the three countries identified better opportunity as the reason that informed their choice of Nigeria, however, a slight disparity was observed in their responses. While substantial proportions of the Nigeriens (25.0%) and Chadians (22.4%) claimed that they came to Nigeria because they had contact(s) in the country, a considerable proportion of Malians (35.0%) stated that they selected Nigeria because of her nearness to their country. The observed difference in the reasons given was demonstrated in the significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 18.947$; $P<0.05$) as depicted in table 4.2.1. The remarks of the respondents covered in the in-depth interviews further corroborated the above quantitative data. In the words of a respondent:

> I have been living here since the time of Babangida. Do you think it is because I like Nigeria? No, it is because of the need for survival. This place is better than Niger Republic because we have access to food and water that are lacking in Niger. The government of our country and even your President Jonathan know we are here but they are not ready to help us (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Kara Area, Ibadan/18/12/2012).

The above narrative shows that the problem of transnational street begging in Nigeria is not a recent phenomenon. This respondent had been conducting street begging in Nigeria as a means of survival since the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, a former Nigeria Head of State, who ruled the country between 1985 and 1993. Also, his response suggests that both the government of his country of origin (Niger Republic) and country of destination (Nigeria) were not doing enough to alleviate their condition.

Another respondent stated thus:

> I decided to come because of certain problems. To earn a living in Mali is difficult for me and my family. I came to Nigeria to solicit alms temporarily. My plan is to get as much money as possible and then go back to my country to take care of my family (Malian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Obalende Motor Park, Lagos/8/1/2013).

The submission of this respondent indicates that the lack of access to basic necessities of life as a result of poverty was the driving force that informed her decision to migrate from Mali to Nigeria for the purpose of alms solicitation. She planned to take temporary residence in Nigeria and to return to her country later after her condition of livelihood might have improved.

In the words of another respondent:

> We are from Telemsis, but some of us are from Jemkins in Niger Republic. We came to solicit alms in Nigeria because of the problems in Niger Republic; there is food and water shortage in our communities because there was lack of rainfall (Nigerien Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Agbowo, Ibadan/11/12/2013).

Essentially, the position of this particular respondent was similar to those given by the other two discussed above. From her account, it is clear that some of the transnational street beggars from Niger Republic migrated to Nigeria to solicit alms to counter problems of drought and famine that had ravaged some communities in their country.

The above findings show that Nigeria is susceptible to the continual influx of transnational street beggars from some neighbouring countries, who believed that they can improve their standard of living by coming to Nigeria to solicit alms. Swanson (2005) also observed a similar pattern among rural women and children from the Andes who migrated to Ecuador and Colombia for survival needs. In the same vein, the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project (2006) also observed the influx of foreign beggars to Bangkok, Thailand from some neighbouring impoverished countries. Meanwhile, it is necessary to note that the desire for a better condition of living has also been identified as one of the most important factors promoting internal street

begging in Nigeria (Adedibu and Jelili, 2011; Aderinto, Akinwale, Atere and Oyenuga, 2007; National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute, 2001; Jibia, 1991).

4.2.2 Reasons for leaving home-country by nationality

Since the decision to migrate from one's country of origin to another country is not often a simple one, it was, therefore, considered important to investigate the push factors that were responsible for the emigration of the transnational street beggars from their country of origin. The reason(s) identified by the respondents are presented in table 4.2.2.

Table 4.2.2: Reasons for leaving home-country by nationality

Nationality	Reasons for leaving home-country				Total
	Drought	Famine	Poverty & war	Drought& famine	
Nigerien	81 26.6%	117 38.5%	54 17.8%	52 17.1%	304 100.0%
Chadian	31 53.4%	11 19.0%	11 19.0%	5 8.6%	58 100.0%
Malian	7 35.0%	3 15.0%	8 40.0%	2 10.0%	20 100.0%
Total	119 31.2%	131 34.3%	73 19.1%	59 15.4%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 26.568$; df =6; P=0.000

Table 4.2.2 above indicates that the majority (38.5%) of Nigeriens linked the reason for leaving their country of origin to famine, while close to 27% of them identified drought as responsible for their decision; about 18% cited poverty and war, and 17.1% stated that they left their country as a result of drought and famine. Unlike their Nigerien counterparts, a large proportion of Chadians (53.4%) claimed that they left their home-country as a result of drought; 19.0% each attributed the causes of leaving their country to famine and poverty and war. However, close to 9% of them disclosed that they left their country due to the problems of famine and drought. For Malian transnational street beggars, the majority (40.0%) claimed that they left Mali because of

poverty and war; 35.0% attributed their reason for leaving to drought. While few of them (15.0%) linked the cause of leaving their country to famine, very few of them (10.0%) declared that drought and famine were their reasons for leaving. The difference in the factors identified as causing their emigration, according to their nationality, was reflected in the significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 26.568$; $P<0.05$) in table 4.2.2.

Generally, the major reasons identified by the respondents as informing their decision to leave their respective home countries included famine (34.3%), drought (31.2%) and poverty and war (19.1%). The outcomes of the in-depth interviews further supported the survey. One of the respondents interviewed stated:

> We had to leave Niger Republic because there was severe drought and famine in our land. All our animals have died and our farmlands are bad; only birds now occupy our villages. Everybody had left because we did not want to die of hunger and thirst. If you do not believe me, you can check this (he brought out a mobile phone from his pocket and showed me this website: www.tnrewl.com. which could not be accessed) (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Kara, Ibadan/12/12/2012).

The above respondent's defence has clearly reflected the precarious condition that some of the transnational street beggars, particularly those from Niger Republic, were exposed-to in their country before coming to Nigeria. They lost their domestic animals and farmlands to drought. However, to reduce the social stigma that is usually associated with street begging, he was quick to support his claim by presenting a website that purportedly discusses the situation of his country.

In the words of another:

> I had to leave my country with my children because things became very difficult after the death of my husband. The drought and famine problems that also ravaged Chad at that time did not help because we did not have food to eat and that is why we decided to come here for survival (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggars/IDI/ Ajegunle, Lagos/19/3/2013).

The account of the respondent above indicates that multiple problems, including drought and famine in her country of origin (Chad Republic), as well as the death of her husband were responsible for her decision to migrate with her children to Nigeria for the purpose of taking to street begging.

It has been established from the above findings that different factors were responsible for the emigration of the respondents. Afolayan, Ikwuyatum and Abejide (2008) have also contended that the decision of people to move out of a location is often determined by different socio-economic inadequacies (push factors) that include lack of employment opportunities and lack of access to better life existing in the source region, but which are believed to be available (pull factors) in the choice destinations. Veale (1993) has similarly observed that several factors which include the failure of rural livelihoods, displacement due to drought, famine, war, harmful traditional practices and uncaring environments at home can force people into begging. The decision of transnational street beggars to migrate to Nigeria for the purpose of alms solicitation validates the proposition of one of the theories adopted for this study: Anomie-strain theory, which states that certain group of people responds to the strain condition resulting from the disjuncture that exists between the societal goal and institutionalised means by innovating new ways of reconciling their aspirations with their limited opportunities.

To further buttress the discussion, a cross-tabulation of transnational street beggars' reason(s) for leaving home-country and their reasons for the choice of Nigeria as their country of destination was done. This is presented in table 4.2.3.

Table 4.2.3: Cross-tabulation of reasons for leaving home-country and reasons for the choice of Nigeria

Reasons for leaving home-country	Reasons for the choice of Nigeria				
	Nearness to my country	Better opportunity	Presence of contacts	I like Nigeria	Total
Drought	13 3.4%	61 16.0%	31 8.1%	14 3.7%	119 31.2%
Famine	13 3.4%	89 23.3%	20 5.2%	9 2.4%	131 34.3%
Poverty and war	11 2.9%	35 9.2%	21 5.5%	6 1.6%	73 19.1%
Drought and famine	17 4.5%	19 5.0%	18 4.7%	5 1.3%	59 15.4%
Total	54 14.1%	204 53.4%	90 23.6%	34 8.9%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2$ =30.147; df= 9; P= 0.000

As evidenced in table 4.2.3, there was a difference in respondents' responses relating to their reasons for leaving their home countries and why they came to Nigeria. Although regardless of the reasons given for their emigration, better opportunity was identified by the majority (53.4%) of the respondents as influencing their choice of Nigeria as the country of destination. However, there was an observed disparity in their responses. Unlike in the other three push factors (famine, poverty and war, drought and famine) where liking for Nigeria was the least reason given by the respondents as responsible for their choice of Nigeria as their country of destination, the smallest proportion of the respondents (3.4%) that mentioned drought as the cause of their emigration identified nearness of Nigeria to their countries of origin as the factor that influenced their selection. The observed difference was further established in the significant value of the chi-square analysis ($\chi 2 = 30.147$; $P<0.05$) as reflected in table 4.2.3.

4.2.3 Family members' awareness of their involvement in street begging in Nigeria by nationality

Scholars have asserted that street begging is often considered a condemnable act in different societies and street beggars are often regarded as deviants (Ramanathan, 2009; Osagbemi and Adepetu, 1999; Erskine and McIntosh, 1999). Hence, the transnational street beggars were therefore, asked if their family members were aware of their alms solicitation in Nigeria. Table 4.2.4 presents their responses by their nationality.

Table 4.2.4: Awareness of family members on involvement in street begging

Nationality	Awareness of family members		Total
	Yes	No	
Nigerien	279 91.8%	25 8.2%	304 100.0%
Chadian	53 91.4%	5 8.6%	58 100.0%
Malian	17 85.0%	3 15.0%	20 100.0%
Total	349 91.4%	33 8.6%	382 100.0%

As evidenced in the table, the majority (91.4%) of the respondents confirmed that members of their families were aware of their involvement in street begging in Nigeria, as against the remaining 8.6% who maintained that their family members were unaware of their involvement in alms solicitation in the country. The non-significant value of the chi-square (X^2=1.092; P>0.05) also buttressed the observed similarity in the responses of the respondents from the three countries.

4.2.4 Family members' disposition to their involvement in street begging

The responses of the transnational street beggars, who claimed that their family member(s) were aware of their involvement in alms solicitation, when asked about the disposition of their relatives to it is shown in table 4.2.5.

Table: 4.2.5 Disposition of family members to their involvement in street begging in Nigeria

Nationality	Disposition of family members				Total
	Nothing	I do not know	They are also begging	They are aware of the problem	
Nigerien	49 17.6%	84 30.1%	93 33.3%	53 19.0%	279 100.0%
Chadian	12 22.6%	11 20.8%	21 39.6%	9 17.0%	53 100.0%
Malian	5 29.4%	4 23.5%	6 35.3%	2 11.8%	17 100.0%
Total	66 18.9%	99 28.4%	120 34.4%	64 18.3%	349 100.0%

As evidenced in table 4.2.5, the majority (34.3%) of the respondents claimed that their family members were also involved in street begging, but 28.4% stated that they did not know their family members' disposition to their involvement in alms solicitation. Also, while close to 19.0% of the respondents disclosed that their relatives were indifferent to their involvement in street begging in Nigeria, 18.3% submitted that their relatives were aware of the problems in their country.

Since the majority of the respondents from the three countries, as deduced from the findings, confirmed that members of their family were aware of their involvement in street begging in Nigeria, and with most of them also maintaining that their relatives were involved in alms solicitation themselves, it can, therefore, be inferred from this finding that transnational street beggars are more likely to be encouraging one another to engage in alms solicitation. Also, the fact that they are nationals of Islamic countries that are permissive of begging might have generally influenced their favourable disposition to it.

4.3 The trajectory of transnational street beggars from home-country to Nigeria

Attention in this section is directed at describing the migration process of the transnational street beggars with the sole purpose of achieving another objective of the study which is centered on investigating their migration trajectory from their respective home-countries to Nigeria. Issues covered in this section border on the person that introduced transnational street beggars to the idea of coming to Nigeria to solicit alms, the involvement of smugglers(s) in facilitating their migration, their mode of transportation, their encounter with law enforcement officers, their months of arrival, as well as their state of entry into the country.

4.3.1: The icon of progress who influenced respondents to migrate to Nigeria

Information on respondents' icon of progress was sought to determine the persons that introduced them to the idea of migrating to Nigeria for the purpose of soliciting alms by nationality is presented in table 4.3.1.

Table: 4.3.1: The icon of progress who influenced respondents to migrate to Nigeria

Nationality	Icons of progress in migratory decision			Total
	Family member	Friend	Nobody	
Nigerien	174 57.2%	94 30.9%	36 11.8%	304 100.0%
Chadian	26 44.8%	8 13.8%	24 41.4%	58 100.0%
Malian	0 .0%	1 5.0%	19 95.0%	20 100.0%
Total	200 52.4%	103 27.0%	79 20.7%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2$ =98.472; df = 4; P= 0.000

As evidenced in the table, the majority of the respondents from Niger Republic (57.2%) identified family member as the person that influenced their coming to Nigeria for the purpose of engaging in street begging. Close to 31% of them mentioned friend as the persons that influenced them, while about 12% maintained that they decided to come to Nigeria on their own. For the respondents from Chad Republic, close to 45% of them opined that it was their family member who influenced their migration to Nigeria to solicit alms, while 41.4% maintained that nobody influenced them; 14% mentioned friends as the persons that influenced their coming to Nigeria for alms solicitation. Of all the respondents from Mali, 95.0% of them declared that nobody influenced their migration to Nigeria to beg, but 5% maintained that they were influenced by friends.

In all, the majority of the respondents (52.4%) from the three countries claimed that their family members influenced their coming to Nigeria; this was followed by 27.0% who declared to have been influenced by friends. However, about 21% maintained that nobody influenced their migration to Nigeria. Meanwhile, the responses of the respondents according to their nationality differ a little. While the majority of the respondents from Niger Republic (52.4%) and Chad Republic (44.8%) mentioned family members as the persons that influenced their migration to Nigeria to conduct street begging, the majority (95.0%) of those from Mali declared that nobody influenced them. The result of the chi-square ($\chi 2=98.472$; $P<0.05$) in table 4.3.1 further established the observed difference in their responses. Some outcomes of the in-depth interviews corroborated the result of the survey. A respondent had this to say:

> It was when rain did not fall and we started experiencing severe drought in our community that my husband decided that we should come to Nigeria to solicit alms (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Agege Pen-cinema, Lagos/20/3/2013).

The account of this respondent reveals that her husband was the icon of progress that influenced her decision to migrate to Nigeria for alms solicitation to cushion the effects of drought they were experiencing in their country of origin, Chad Republic.

Another respondent said:

> I came to Nigeria with my friends who had been coming to Lagos before; she was the person who encouraged me to come to solicit alms (Malian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Obalende Motor Park, Lagos/8/1/2013).

It is obvious from the above response given by a Malian transnational street beggar that her friend was the icon of progress who influenced her decision to come to the city of Lagos in Nigeria in order to take to alms solicitation.

These findings have shown that family members and friends played a pivotal role in the decision of transnational street beggars to migrate to Nigeria for the purpose of engaging in alms solicitation. Generally, one's kinship and social networks are key determinants in one's important life decisions. In this particular case, transnational street beggars were receptive to the idea of coming to Nigeria to beg because they were influenced by the people they were closely attached to. This finding is in line with the study conducted by the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project among migrant beggars in Bangkok, Thailand in 2006, where some of the beggars interviewed claimed that they decided to migrate from their home countries after they had discussed with their friends and relatives. Equally, it validates migrant network theory proposition that fits individual decision makers within groups and interposes groups between macroscopic social/economic conditions and actual migration.

4.3.2: Smuggler(s)' Involvement in Migration Process by Nationality

The process of migration, especially illegal migration from one country to another is often not easily accomplished, especially for first time immigrants. Hence, transnational street beggars were asked about how they facilitated their immigration into Nigeria, and the experiences they had on their way to the country. Table 4.3.2 below presents the involvement of smuggler(s) in the migration process of the respondents by their nationality.

Table 4.3.2: Smuggler (s)'s involvement in migration process by nationality

Nationality	Payment to facilitate migration		Total
	Yes	No	
Nigerien	54 17.8%	250 82.2%	304 100.0%
Chadian	9 15.5%	49 84.5%	58 100.0%
Malian	2 10.0%	18 90.0%	20 5.2%
Total	65 17.0%	317 83.0%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 0.910$; df =2; P= 0.635

As evidenced in table 4.3.2, the majority of the respondents (83.0%) declared that smugglers were not involved in their migration process to Nigeria as against 17.0% who confirmed that smugglers were involved. A further breakdown of the analysis shows that while the majority of the respondents (82.2%) from Niger Republic stated that they did not pay anyone specially to bring them to Nigeria, a large proportion (84.5%) of Chadians also opined that they did not pay anyone to facilitate their migration. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of Malians (90.0%) stated that they came to Nigeria on their own. The observed similarity in the submission of the large proportion of the respondents from the three countries that smugglers were not involved in their migration process to Nigeria was indicated in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 0.910$; $P>0.05$) as depicted in table 4.3.2. The result of the survey was also reflected in the in-depth interviews conducted. One of the respondents stated thus:

> Except for the money that I paid as my transportation fare, I did not give money to anybody to bring me to Nigeria. I did not need to pay anybody specially to bring me here. This is not my first time of coming to Nigeria (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Ijora Under-Bridge, Lagos/9/1/2013).

The above narrative of a Nigerien transnational street beggar indicates that he was an experienced migrant who facilitated his movement to Nigeria on his own without relying or paying money to any other person for that purpose.

In the words of another:

> Coming to Nigeria was not difficult since I have my entry permit. I did not pay money to anybody to bring me here because I came into Nigeria through the border in Borno (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Ajegunle, Lagos/19/3/2013).

From the claim of this respondent, she seems to be a legitimate migrant who negotiated her way into Nigeria by presenting an important international travelling document to law enforcement officials stationed at the border through which she gained entry into Nigeria.

Another respondent, however, submitted thus:

> It was a man who took us to Cotonou from Niger Republic after we paid money to him. We did not give money to the driver; it is the man that we know, and he was the one who made arrangement for our transportation, and we later came to Nigeria on our own (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iwo-Road, Ibadan/29/3/2013).

It is clear from the submission made by this Nigerien transnational street beggar that some human traffickers are illegally transporting people across some countries in the West African sub-region for the purpose of engaging in alms solicitation in the country of destination.

It can be inferred from these findings that transnational street beggars in Nigeria either facilitated their entry into Nigeria by taking the advantage of the Economic Community of West African States protocol on free movement which guarantees the movement of citizens of member countries across the sub-region or they illegally entered the country on their own without involving smugglers in their migration process. However, those of them, who were brought to the country by smuggler(s), were more likely to be coming to Nigeria for the first time. The migration process of this group of transnational street beggars would essentially involve the payment of an agreed sum of money which served as the facilitation fee to the smugglers, who arranged for their transportation to Nigeria, and also helped them meet their contact(s) in the country. In addition, the low involvement of smugglers in the migration process of the transnational street beggars covered in this study contradicts the result of the study conducted by the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Project (2006) which discovered a heavy

involvement of a group of persons that specialised in facilitating the inflow of migrant beggars into Bangkok from Cambodia.

4.3.3 Migration to Nigeria with family member(s) by nationality

The transnational street beggars were also asked if they came to Nigeria alone or with the member(s) of their family. Table 4.3.3 shows the distribution of their responses to the question according to their nationality. As indicated in the table, the majority (65.7%) of the respondents confirmed that that they migrated to Nigeria with member(s) of their family, as against the remaining 34.3%, who maintained that they came alone.

Table 4.3.3: Migration to Nigeria with family member (s) by nationality

Nationality	Migration with Family Member (s)		Total
	Yes	No	
Nigerien	218 71.7%	86 28.3%	304 100.0%
Chadian	28 48.3%	30 51.7%	58 100.0%
Malian	5 25.0%	15 75.0%	20 100.0%
Total	251 65.7%	131 34.3%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 27.391$; df =2; P= 0.000

With respect to nationality, the majority (71.7%) of Nigeriens confirmed that they migrated to Nigeria with their family member(s), while the remaining 28.3% maintained that that they came to the country alone. However, for the Chadians, about 52%, constituting the majority, declared that they migrated to Nigeria alone as against 48.3% who disclosed that they came with their relative(s). Furthermore, the large proportion (75.0%) of Malians submitted that they migrated to Nigeria alone as compared to the remaining 25.0% who declared that they travelled to Nigeria with member(s) of their family. In addition, the observed difference in the responses of the respondents according to their nationalities was established in the significant value of the chi-square value ($\chi 2=27.391$; $P<0.05$) in table 4.3.3.

4.3.4 Accompanying family members

The family members (s) that accompanied respondents to Nigeria are depicted in table 4.3.4

Table 4.3.4: Accompanying family members

Nationality	Accompanying family members								
	Husband	Wife	Father	Mother	Child/ children	Husband & children	Wife & children	Uncle	Total
Nigerien	0 .0%	18 8.3%	39 17.9%	20 9.2%	74 33.9%	33 15.1%	27 12.4%	7 3.2%	218 100.0%
Chadian	1 3.6%	3 10.7%	9 32.1%	3 10.7%	6 21.4%	2 7.1%	2 7.1%	2 7.1%	28 100.0%
Malian	0 .0%	1 20.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 60.0%	1 20.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	5 100.0%
Total	1 .4%	22 8.8%	48 19.1%	23 9.2%	83 33.1%	36 14.3%	29 11.6%	9 3.6%	251 100.0

The majority (33.1%) of the respondents reported that they migrated to Nigeria with their child/children; a substantial proportion (19.1%) also maintained that they came with their father. Furthermore, while 14.3% of the respondents confirmed that they travelled to Nigeria with their husbands and children, about 12% of them reported that they came with their wives and children. Other persons identified by the respondents as the family member(s) that came with them to Nigeria included mother (9.2%), wife (8.8%), uncle (3.6%) and husband (0.4%).

The above findings have established that adult transnational street beggars prefer to take children along with them whenever they embark on migration to other countries for the purpose of soliciting alms. Consequently, children are more susceptible to being constantly moved by the adults from one country to another to engage in begging; this may negatively impact on their physical development and mental well-being. Different international organisations like the International Labour Organization (2006), International Office for Migration (2004b), US Department of States (2008) and Surtees (2005b) have observed that children are being trafficked across countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America for the purpose of engaging in begging. The finding further validates the submissions of Levett (2000) and Osa-

Edoh and Ayano (2012) that children draw sympathy from passers-by who are usually moved with pity to give generously so as to help the mothers cater for them.

4.3.5: Mode of transportation to Nigeria

All the 382 (100.0%) respondents covered in the survey maintained that they were transported to Nigeria by road. This distribution is demonstrated in table 4.3.5. The fact that all the transnational street beggars in this study claimed to have been transported to Nigeria by road clearly indicates that the proximity of their countries played a significant role in facilitating their immigration.

Table 4.3.5: Mode of transportation to Nigeria by nationality

Nationality	Mode of transportation to Nigeria	Total
	Road	
Nigerien	304 79.6%	304 79.6%
Chadian	58 15.2%	58 15.2
Malian	20 5.2%	20 5.2%
Total	382 100.0%	382 100.0%

This result further shows that some of the transnational street beggars who might have found it difficult to gain entry into Nigeria through official borders could have illegally entered the country through some other illegal routes.

4.3.6: Mode of entry by nationality

To further determine if the transnational street beggars gained entry into Nigeria legally or illegally, the analysis of their mode of entry by nationality was done. This is presented in table 4.3.6.

Table 4.3.6: Mode of entry by nationality

Nationality	Entry through official border		Total
	Yes	No	
Nigerien	247 81.2%	57 18.8%	304 100.0%
Chadian	50 86.2%	8 13.8%	58 100.0%
Malian	17 85.0%	3 15.9%	20 100.0%
Total	314 82.2%	68 17.8%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 0.931$; df =2; P=0.628

Table 4.3.6 shows that the majority (82.2%) of the respondents claimed they gained entry into the country through official border posts as against 17.8% who disclosed that they did not. Similarly, the majority (81.2%) of Nigeriens claimed that they gained entry into Nigeria through the officially recognised border-posts. Also, only about 14% of the respondents from Chad Republic stated that they entered into the country through some other routes apart from the official posts, as against the larger proportion (86.2%) who opined they entered through the designated border-posts. For Malians, the majority (85.0%) contended they gained entry into Nigeria through the nation's official border-posts. The similarity in the responses of the respondents as shown in table 4.3.6 was further established in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 0.931$; P>0.628).

4.3.7 Mode of entry into Nigeria and encounter with law enforcement officers

The analysis of respondents' mode of entry into Nigeria and encounter with law enforcement officers on their way to the country is presented in table 4.3.7.

Table 4.3.7: Mode of entry into Nigeria and encounter with law enforcement officers

Entry through official border	Encounter with law enforcement officers		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	200 52.4%	114 29.8%	314 82.2%
No	46 12.0%	22 5.8%	68 17.8%
Total	246 64.4%	136 35.6%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 0.381$; df =1; P= 0.537

As evidenced in table 4.3.7, close to 30% of the respondents, who claimed that they entered Nigeria through the official border-posts declared that they did not come across law enforcement officers on their way. Also, 12% of the respondents, who confirmed that they did not come to Nigeria through official border-posts of the country, declared that they came across law enforcement officers on their way. It can be observed from the analysis that there was no connection between respondents' modes of entry into Nigeria and their encounter with law enforcement officers on their way to the country. This was also indicated in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 0.381$; $P>0.05$) as demonstrated in table 4.3.7. The results of the qualitative data further buttressed these findings. A respondent has this to say:

> You people always look at us as if we are…my family and I were forced to leave Niger Republic because of the problem there. We did not come into Nigeria through bush path; we entered through the border because we have our papers (Nigerien Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Bodija, Ibadan/11/12/2012).

The above response given by one of the respondents alludes to the fact that she and other members of her family migrated to Nigeria with ease because they possessed necessary travelling documents that made their entry into and/or living in Nigeria legal.

However, in the words of another respondent:

> No, we did not encounter them, our town is very close to *Baaki*, so we passed through there. It was from *Baaki* we boarded a vehicle to Maiduguri (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Agege Pen-Cinema, Lagos/20/3/2013).

The above submission indicates that this respondent illegally gained entry into Nigeria by capitalising on the proximity of her town in Chad Republic to a town known as *Baaki* in Borno State, North Eastern Nigeria, to facilitate her migration to Maiduguri from where she later moved to the city of Lagos.

From the above findings, it can be inferred that transnational street beggars gained entry into Nigeria both legally and illegally. The large proportion of respondents (35.6%), who reported not to have encountered law enforcement agents on their way to Nigeria, implies that some of them illegally gained entry into Nigeria through some unrecognised routes. This submission is essentially predicated on the fact that migrants who followed the official borders into Nigeria would have come across the immigration officials and/or some other law enforcement officers at the border stations. However, some of them who declared that they did not pass through the recognised borders but encountered law enforcement officers on their way were more likely to have been granted entry into the country on compassionate ground. These findings agree with the submissions of Adedibu and Jelili (2012), and Igbinovia (1991) that street begging in Nigeria is a syndrome of uncontrolled inter-city and international migration.

4.3.8 Encounter with law enforcement officers on the way to Nigeria by nationality

Respondents' encounter with law enforcement officers on their way to Nigeria was also considered to determine if a difference exists in their pattern of entry according to their countries of origin. Table 4.3.8 indicates that the majority (65.7%) of Nigeriens stated that they had encounter with law enforcement officers on their way to Nigeria as against 34.2% who claimed that they did not. Also, close to 59% of the respondents from Chad Republic maintained that they encountered law enforcement officers on their way to Nigeria as compared to 41.4%, who

claimed that they did not. While 60% of Malian respondents submitted that they came across law enforcement agents on their way to the country, 40% stated that they did not.

Table 4.3.8: Encounter with law enforcement officers by nationality

Nationality	Encounter with Law Enforcement Officers		Total
	Yes	No	
Nigerien	200 65.7%	104 34.2%	304 100.0%
Chadian	34 58.6%	24 41.4%	58 100.0%
Malian	12 60.0%	8 40%	20 100.0%
Total	246 64.4%	136 35.6%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2$ =1.270; df =2; P = 0.530

From the analysis, it therefore means that a similarity generally existed between the modes of entry adopted by the transnational street beggars from the three countries. While some of them gained entry into the country legally, others entered illegally. This similar pattern was also indicated in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2$=1.270; P>0.05) shown in table 4.3.8 above.

4.3.9 How it happened

When probed further, respondents who confirmed that they had encounter with law enforcement officers on their way to Nigeria explained how it happened; and this is presented in table 4.3.9. The table reveals that the majority of Nigeriens (77.1%) stated that law enforcement officers checked their entry permit into Nigeria, while the remaining 22.9% of them confirmed that they were stopped and searched at border-posts.

Table 4.3.9: How it happened

	How it happened		Total
	They checked my permit	They stopped and searched our vehicle	
Nigerien	158 77.1%	47 22.9%	205 100.0%
Chadian	30 88.2%	4 11.8%	34 100.0%
Malian	4 57.1%	3 42.9%	7 100.0%
Total	192 78.0%	54 22.0%	246 100.0%

Similarly, 88.2% of Chadians, constituting the majority, claimed that law enforcement officials checked their entry permit to Nigeria, as against 11.8% who disclosed that they were stopped and searched by law enforcement personnel. For Malians, the majority (57.1%) also claimed that the law enforcement agents they encountered on their way to Nigeria checked their entry permit, but the remaining 42.9%% stated that the law enforcement officers stopped and searched them.

4.3.10 State of entry by nationality

Transnational street beggars were also asked about their state of entry into Nigeria when they arrived the country. The distribution of their state of entry is depicted in table 4.3.10. The table shows that the majority (29.3%) of the respondents reported that they gained entry into Nigeria through Sokoto State; about 13% of them mentioned Lagos as their State of entry. Also, close to 16% of them identified Borno as their State of entry into Nigeria.

Table 4.3.10: State of entry by nationality

Nationality	State of entry										
	Ada-mawa	Niger	Katsina	Lagos	Osun	Sokoto	Kwara	Yobe	Kebbi	Borno	Total
Nigerien	30	15	8	33	31	105	6	22	17	37	304
	9.9%	4.9%	2.6%	10.9%	10.2%	34.5%	2.0%	7.2%	5.6%	12.2%	100.0%
Chadian	5	6	1	1	0	7	1	13	2	22	58
	8.6%	10.3%	1.7%	1.7%	.0%	12.1%	1.7%	22.4%	3.4%	37.9%	100.0%
Malian	1	0	1	14	1	0	1	0	1	1	20
	5.0%	.0%	5.0%	70.0%	5.0%	.0%	5.0%	.0%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Total	36	21	10	48	32	112	8	35	20	60	382
	9.4%	5.5%	2.6%	12.6%	8.4%	29.3%	21.%	9.2%	5.2%	15.7%	100.0%

$\chi 2 = 122.022$; df=18; P = 0.00

Other States included Adamawa (9.4%), Yobe (9.2%), Osun (8.4%), Niger (5.5%), Kebbi (5.2%) and Katsina (2.6%). Kwara with 2.1% was the least identified State of entry. Furthermore, there was an observed disparity in the respondents' state of entry according to their nationality; while the majority (34.5%) of Nigeriens mentioned Sokoto as their State of entry, a large proportion of those from Chad Republic indicated that they gained entry into Nigeria through Borno State. Also, Lagos was the State identified by the majority (70.0%) of Malians as their state of entry into Nigeria. This identified difference was reflected in the chi-square value ($\chi 2 = 122.022$; $P<0.05$) shown in table 4.3.10. The qualitative data shed more lights on their states of entry into Nigeria. A respondent stated thus:

> It was through Sokoto that we entered into Nigeria and it was from there we came to Ibadan (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Agbowo, Ibadan/11/12/2012).

The account of this transnational street beggar from Niger Republic indicates that Sokoto State in Northern Nigeria was their point of entry into Nigeria. It is important to point out that Sokoto is among the border-states in Nigeria that share boundaries with some neighbouring countries.

A respondent in another in-depth interview conducted said:

> We did not come to Nigeria through the North; we came directly from Cotonou (Benin Republic) where we solicited alms for some months before entering into Nigeria through Osogbo and we later settled in Ilorin. It was from Ilorin that we came to Ibadan (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iwo-Road, Ibadan/29/3/2013).

From the submission given above, it is clear that this particular transnational street beggar was a highly mobile migrant who frequently moved from one place to another for the purpose of alms solicitation. His street begging activities began in Cotonou, the capital of Benin Republic, from where he later came to Nigeria and started moving from one city to another.

Another respondent said:

> From Mali, we travelled to Cotonou in Benin Republic where we boarded a vehicle coming to Nigeria and we finally arrived in Nigeria through the Seme border here in Lagos (Malian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Obalende Motor Park, Lagos/8/1/2013).

The claim of this Malian transnational street beggar further confirmed that the city of Cotonou in Benin Republic is an important location in West Africa where migrant beggars also favoured for the purpose of engaging in street begging.

In the words of another:

> We entered Nigeria through Katsina and it was from there that we travelled to Lagos (Nigerien Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Giwa Area, Ijora, Lagos/9/1/2013).

From the account of this Nigerien transnational street beggar, it is obvious that though Katsina State was her point of entry into Nigeria, she however, moved to the city of Lagos in South Western part of the country to solicit alms. This could be as a result of the fact that the city of Lagos has multiple economic opportunities which often make one of the most favoured migrant destinations in Nigeria.

The implication of the above findings is that the pattern of migration of transnational street beggars from their countries to Nigeria is complex and cannot be traced to any particular State of

Nigeria, because while some of them came to Nigeria directly from their country of origin, others also entered Nigeria from some other neighbouring countries other than their own. However, it is important to interrogate their responses as regards State of entry into Nigeria further. For instance, transnational street beggars who declared that they gained entry through Osun State were either insincere in their responses or they misinterpreted the question to be their first city of residence in Nigeria. This skepticism is logical because Osun is not among the border-states in Nigeria.

4.3.11 First city of residence in Nigeria

Table 4.3.11 presents respondents' first city of residence in Nigeria when they arrived the country. The table indicates that the majority (21.7%) of the respondents submitted that Ilorin was the first city they settled when they arrived in Nigeria; this was closely followed by the city of Lagos with 21.5%.

Table 4.3.11: First city of residence in Nigeria

Nationality	First city of residence in Nigeria								Total
	Lagos	Sokoto	Ilorin	Maidu-guri	Ibadan	Osogbo	Yola	Kano	
Nigerien	51 16.8%	65 21.4%	80 26.3%	0 .0%	52 17.1%	36 11.8%	11 3.6%	9 3.0%	304 100.0%
Chadian	20 34.5%	9 15.5%	3 5.2%	1 1.7%	16 27.6%	2 3.4%	5 8.6%	2 3.4%	58 100.0%
Malian	11 55.0	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	9 45.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	20 100.0%
Total	82 21.5%	74 19.4%	83 21.7%	1 .3%	77 20.2%	38 9.9%	16 4.2%	11 2.9%	382 100.0%

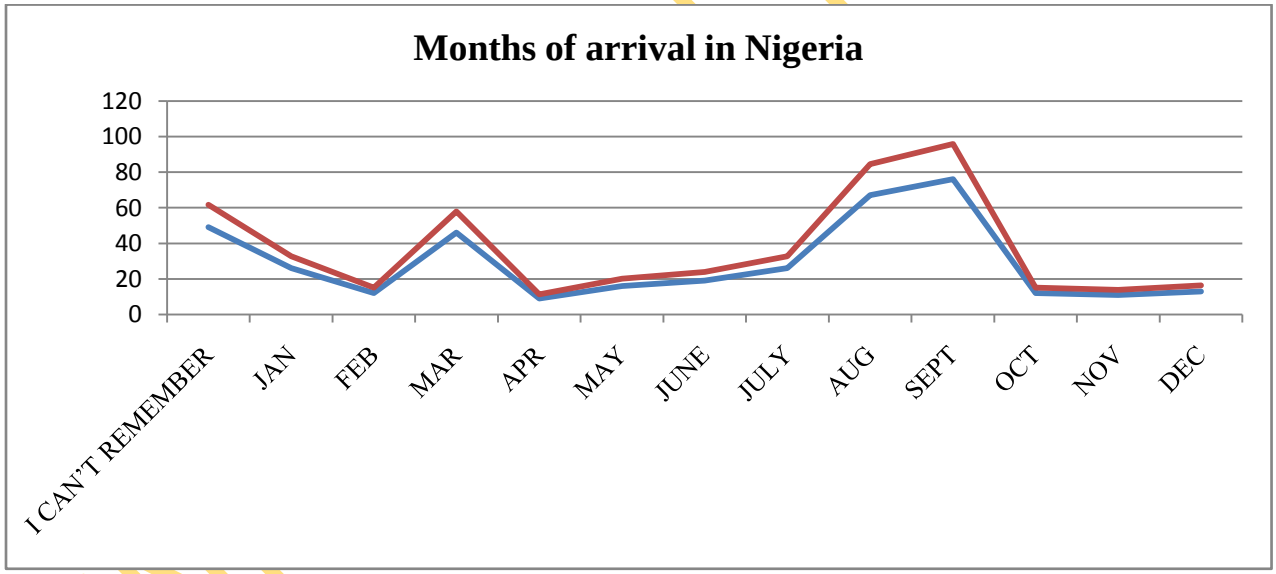
Also, a substantial number of them (20.2%) disclosed their first city of residence to be Ibadan. Similarly, 19.4% of the respondents confirmed that they settled in the city of Sokoto after their arrival in Nigeria. Furthermore, close to 10% of the respondents declared that they first resided

in Osogbo. Few of them first settled in Yola (4.2%), Kano (2.9%), and a very few of them (0.3%) first settled in the city of Maiduguri.

The above findings indicate that the city in which transnational street beggars first resided in Nigeria might not necessarily be determined by their state of entry into the country. Rather, this might have been influenced by some other factors such as the locations where they believed they would have opportunity of making much money or where they would also have established contacts whom they could reside with. This explanation is logical considering the fact that many of the transnational street beggars migrated inwards after gaining entry through the northern part of the country.

4.3.12 Months of arrival in Nigeria

The distribution of respondents by months of arrival in Nigeria is presented in figure 4 below.



With the exception of about 13% of the respondents, who claimed that they could not remember their actual month of arrival in Nigeria, the above distribution indicates that transnational street beggars came into Nigeria every month of the year. About 20% of the respondents, constituting the majority, mentioned September as their month of arrival in Nigeria, while close to 18% identified their month of entry into Nigeria as August. Also, 12% of the respondents declared

March to be their month of arrival in Nigeria. The month of April with only 2.4%, was the least mentioned by the respondents, as their month of arrival in the country.

The findings above indicate that transnational street beggars immigrated into Nigeria all months of the year, while their influx is particularly higher in the months of September and August. This observed variation in their months of arrival in Nigeria may be largely due to the dictates of the prevailing environmental and general climatic conditions in their countries. Although the general climatic conditions in Mali and Chad Republic vary widely across the geographical areas in the countries (United States Agency for International Development, 2012; International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2009), the months of August and September, however, are among the harshest months in terms of climatic condition and weather pattern in Niger Republic (Department of Homeland Security, 2006). Hence, the preponderance of respondents from Niger Republic may be responsible for the high percentages recorded for the two months. Also, the higher influx of transnational street beggars recorded in the two months may have been influenced by the fact that the last four months of the year are generally period of celebration and merry-making in different parts of Nigeria when more money is usually generated from alms solicitation.

4.3.13 Involvement in street begging in some other countries by nationality

Apart from immigrating to Nigeria to solicit alms, the involvement of transnational street beggars in street begging in some other countries was also considered. It was discovered that their activity is spread across different countries, particularly, within the West African sub-region. The distribution of respondents in table 4.3.12 below, according to their involvement in street begging in some other countries other than Nigeria shows that the majority (55.5%) declared that they have never migrated to any other country, apart from Nigeria, to conduct street begging, while 44.5% of them confirmed that they had solicited alms in some other countries before.

Table 4.3.12: Begging in other countries by nationality

	Begging in other countries		
	Yes	No	Total
Nigerien	134 44.1%	170 55.9%	304 100.0%
Chadian	26 44.8%	32 55.2%	58 100.0%
Malian	10 50.0%	10 50.0%	20 100.0%
Total	170 44.5%	212\ 55.5%	382 100.0%

A further breakdown of the distribution of their responses by nationality indicates that a large proportion of respondents from Niger Republic (55.9%) disclosed that they had never solicited alms in any other country apart from Nigeria, as against 44.1% of them who claimed that they had. Similarly, the majority (55.2%) of Chadian respondents submitted that they had never solicited alms in any other country apart from Nigeria; the remaining 44.8%, however, declared that they had conducted begging in some other countries. For Malian respondents, there was no difference in the percentage of those who claimed to have begged in some other countries apart from Nigeria and those who maintained that they have not, as the two constituted 50.0% each. This finding further established the internationalisation of the practice of street begging as a way of maximising opportunity of accruing more money from it. Azam (2011), Adewuyi (2000) and The Punch (2012) have also asserted that street beggars now travel out of their country of origin to solicit alms in some other countries perceived to be better.

Furthermore, the analysis of other countries where some of the respondents claimed to have conducted street begging apart from Nigeria is shown in table 4.3.13. The large proportion of the respondents (35.3%) mentioned Benin Republic as the other country where they had conducted street begging apart from Nigeria. Also, while 30.6% of the respondents claimed that they had engaged in street begging in Ghana and Benin Republic, 18.8% of the respondents mentioned Burkina Faso as the other country where they had solicited alms apart from Nigeria.

Table 4.3.13: Other countries

Nationality	Frequency	Percent
Benin Republic	60	35.3
Ghana and Benin Republic	52	30.6
Burkina Faso	32	18.8
Cameroon and Chad	12	7.1
Mali and Niger Republic	14	8.2
Total	170	100.0

Close to 8.2% of the respondents confirmed that they had engaged in street begging in Mali and Niger Republic; 7.1% of them, mentioned Cameroon and Chad Republic as the other countries where they had engaged in street begging apart from Nigeria.

4.3.14 Street begging in other countries by nationality

Transnational street beggars' involvement in street begging in some other countries apart from Nigeria was also done. Their distribution by nationality is depicted in table 4.3.14 below.

Table 4.3.14: Street begging in other countries by nationality

Nationality	Other countries					Total
	Benin republic	Ghana& Benin republic	Niger Republic & Burkina Faso	Cameroon & Chad	Mali & Niger Republic	
Nigerien	40 29.9%	44 32.8%	26 19.4%	11 8.2%	13 9.7%	134 100.0%
Chadian	12 46.2%	6 23.1%	6 23.1%	1 3.8%	1 3.8%	26 100.0%
Malian	8 80.0%	2 20.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
Total	60 35.3%	52 30.6%	32 18.8%	12 7.1%	14 8.2%	170 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 13.999$; df = 8; P= 0.082

As evidenced in the above table, the large proportion (32.8%) of Nigeriens stated that they had also solicited alms in Ghana and Benin Republic; this was followed by those who claimed to have also engaged in street begging in Benin Republic (29.9%). While 19.4% of the respondents identified Burkina Faso as the other country where they had engaged in alms solicitation, close to 10% of them mentioned Mali and Niger Republic as the countries where they had conducted street begging apart from Nigeria.

Furthermore, the majority (46.2%) of Chadians claimed to have also engaged in begging in Benin Republic; 23.1% of them mentioned Ghana and Benin Republic as the other countries where they had solicited alms apart from Nigeria. The same proportion (23.1%) of the respondents confirmed that they had engaged in alms solicitation in Niger Republic and Burkina Faso. For Malians, while the majority (80.0%) submitted that they had equally begged in Benin Republic, 20.0% identified Ghana and Benin Republic as other countries where there they had solicited alms apart from Nigeria.

In all, while the majority of Nigeriens (32.8%) declared that they had equally conducted street begging in Ghana and Benin Republic, the majority of Chadians (46.2%) and the overwhelming majority of Malians (80.0%) disclosed that they had also solicited alms in Benin Republic. This observed similarity in their responses was further established in the non-significant value of the chi-square (X^2=13.999; P>0.05) as reflected in table 4.4.1.

The above findings have clearly demonstrated that some of the transnational street beggars did not only come to Nigeria to solicit alms but they also migrated to some other countries within the West African sub-region. Since all the respondents covered in this study were nationals of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) countries, it therefore means that some of them are maximising the opportunity for the freedom of movement provided for the citizens of member nations as enshrined in the ECOWAS treaty to make more money through transnational street begging.

4.4 The existing network of relationships among transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis

Here, the central focus is to provide an answer to the question: what network of relationships exists among transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis? This is embarked upon with the aim of providing useful information on their pattern of living, how they sustain their presence in their cities of residence, and the way they are generally organised.

4.4.1 Existence of contact(s) in Nigeria prior to arrival by city

The existence of contact(s) at the point of destination is considered imperative for an immigrant, especially a first time immigrant, to facilitate easy adaptation to the new environment. In this wise, it was therefore investigated if transnational street beggars had contact (s) in Nigeria prior to their arrival. Their response on the existence of contacts by city is depicted in table 4.4.1.

Table 4.4.1: Existence of contact(s) in Nigeria prior to arrival

City	Existence of contact(s)		Total
	Yes	No	
Lagos	137 81.5%	31 18.5%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	173 80.8%	41 19.2%	214 100.0%
Total	310 81.2%	72 18.8%	382 100.0%

The table shows that the majority of the respondents (81.2%) in the two cities confirmed that they had contacts in Nigeria prior to their arrival in the country, as against the remaining 18.8% of them who claimed that they did not have any contact in Nigeria prior to their arrival.

4.4.2 Types of contact(s)

The types of contact(s) mentioned by the respondents when questioned further are presented in table 4.4.2.

Table 4.4.2: Types of contact(s) in Nigeria prior to arrival

Existence of contact in Nigeria prior to arrival	Types of contact(s)			Total
	Family member	Friend	Acquaintance	
Yes	160 51.6%	90 29.0%	60 19.4%	310 100.0%
Total	160 51.6%	90 29.0%	60 19.4%	310 100.0%

The table reveals that while close to 52% of the respondents mentioned their family members as their contact in Nigeria prior to their arrival in the country, 29.0% of them identified their friends as the contact they had in Nigeria before they came. However, 19.4% of the respondents confirmed that they had acquaintance in Nigeria prior to their arrival in the country. The qualitative analysis further corroborated this finding. One of the interviewees had this to say:

> Yes, some of my relatives are residing in Maiduguri and I spent some few weeks with them over there so as to raise some money for the transportation of myself and my children to Lagos where we came to join our people who are living here (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Ajegunle, Lagos/19/3/2013).

The above response given by one of the Chadian transnational street beggars indicates that some of her relatives were already living in the city of Maiduguri; it was with these people that she initially took residence before finally moving to Lagos metropolis where she was accommodated by some of her acquaintances residing there.

In the words of another respondent:

> People from our town are living at *Alabaragbo* and it is in their place we have been staying since we came to Lagos (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iyana-Iba, Lagos/22/3/2013).

The above statement made by a respondent from Mali further stressed the important roles early migrants usually play in migration pathway of new migrants in the process known as chain migration. This particular transnational street beggar and the other people she migrated-with to Nigeria were accommodated by their compatriots from Niger Republic upon their successful arrival in the city of Lagos.

From the above findings, it can easily be discerned that most of the transnational street beggars had established connections in the form of family members, friends and acquaintances residing in Nigeria prior to their arrival in the country. These findings brought to bear the relevance of another theory adopted for this study, migration network theory, which opined that social networks which connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin help to increase the likelihood of international movement by lowering the costs and risks of movement and increasing the expected net returns to migration.

4.4.3 Residence in the first few days of arrival in Nigeria

Although it was discovered that the majority of the transnational street beggars had established contacts in Nigeria before immigrating into the country, it was, however, considered important to investigate their place of residence in the first few days of arrival in the country.

Table 4.4.3: Place of residence in the first few days of arrival by city

City	Placed resided in the first few days of arrival				Total
	Family member's home	Acquaintance's home	Church/mosque's yard	Friend's home	
Lagos	89 53.0%	18 10.7%	19 11.3%	42 25.0%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	101 47.2%	42 19.6%	24 11.2%	47 22.0%	214 100.0%
Total	190 50%	60 16%	43 11%	89 23%	382 100.0%

Table 4.4.3 above shows that while the majority (50%) of the respondents mentioned their family members' home as the place they resided in their first few days of arrival in Nigeria, 23% of them stated that they resided in their friends' home. Also, while 16% of the respondents opined that they stayed with their acquaintances in the first few days of their arrival in Nigeria, less than 12% of them maintained that they resided in Church/Mosque yards. This finding was further corroborated by some of the responses generated in the in-depth interviews conducted. A respondent in one of the interviews stated:

> This is not my first time here in Lagos, there are some of our people who are residing at Giwa; it is with them I have been staying since I came (Nigerien Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/ Ijora Under-Bridge, Lagos/9/1/2013).

The position of this Nigerien transnational street beggar shows that some of her relatives already residing in the city of Lagos provided accommodation for her and other members of her family that migrated with her to Nigeria.

In the words of another respondent:

> We have been staying with our people at Tolu here in Ajegunle since we came to Nigeria (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Ajegunle, Lagos19/3/2013).

Just like her Nigerien counterpart, the above respondent from Chad Republic also indicated that she was residing with some of her acquaintances who were already living in the city of Lagos prior to her arrival in Nigeria.

It is clear from the above that most of the transnational street beggars benefited from the relationship they shared with their significant others, especially their family members and friends, upon their arrival in Nigeria. Transnational street beggars' family members, friends and acquaintances, who are also most likely to be conducting street begging in Nigeria, played host and/or provided accommodation to the newly arrived ones. Migrants, as espoused by the migration network theory, are inevitably linked to non-migrants, from whom they draw upon obligations implicit in relationships, such as kinship and friendship to gain an access to employment and assistance at the point of destination.

4.4.4 Existence of begging assistant(s) by city

The responses of the transnational street beggars to the question that sought to know if they had begging assistant(s) is presented in table 4.4.4 below.

Table 4.4.4: Existence of begging assistant(s) by city

City	Begging assistant(s)		Total
	Yes	No	
Lagos	87 51.8%	81 48.2%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	122 57.0%	92 43.0%	214 100.0%
Total	209 54.7%	173 45.3%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 1.036$; df =1; P= 0.309

As evidenced in table 4.4.4, the majority of the respondents (51.8%) in the city of Lagos confirmed that they had people soliciting alms for them, while the remaining 48.2% declared that nobody was engaging in street begging for them. Similarly, the majority (57.0%) of the respondents covered in Ibadan claimed that some other persons were conducting street begging for them, as against 45.3% of them who maintained that nobody was soliciting alms for them. The observed similarity in the responses generated in the two cities was established in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 1.036$; $P>0.05$) as demonstrated in table 4.4.4.

4.4.5 Types of begging assistant(s)

As regards the types of begging assistant(s), the majority of the respondents (69.4%) covered in the two cities, as indicated in table 4.4.5 below, confirmed that it was their children that were acting as their begging assistants.

Table 4.4.5: Types of begging assistant(s)

Existence of begging assistant(s)	Types of Begging Assistant(s)		
	My Child	My Children& Wife	Total
Yes	145 69.4%	64 30.6%	209 100.0%
Total	145 69.4%	64 30.6%	209 100.0%

Also, close to 31% of the respondents mentioned their wives and children as the people soliciting alms for them. This finding is supported by the in-depth interviews. In the words of one of the respondents:

> Yes, my child is also soliciting alms for me; but I do not tell her any certain amount of money to bring for me as the daily return (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Challenge, Ibadan/27/3/2013).

The submission of this respondent clearly indicates that he was using his child to solicit alms from passers-by. However, he claimed that he did not usually compel her bring a specific amount of money as the target daily return.

In the words of another:

> My two children are also begging people so that we can have enough money to cater for ourselves. People usually give more money to children because they like them (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Agege Pen-Cinema, Lagos/20/3/2013).

The above response made by a Chadian transnational street beggar indicates that she believed that members of the society usually prefer to give alms to child beggars rather than their adult counterparts. Hence, she encouraged her children to engage in street begging as a way of making more money.

The implication of these findings is that children of transnational street beggars are at a great risk of being forced to engage in street begging by their parents and/or other members of their family because they were recognised as having the potential for earning more money through begging

than their adult counterparts. Other scholars and different international organizations (Olaniyi, 2009; Levett, 2005; World Vision Australia, 2009) have similarly contended that children are being exploited by adults who used them as begging baits. Furthermore, the use of children for street begging contravenes the provisions of the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund and Nigerian Child Right Acts 2003 which stipulate that no child should be subjected to physical, mental or emotional injury, abuse, neglect and maltreatment.

4.4.6 Involvement of other family members in street begging in Nigeria

Apart from the existence of begging assistants, the general involvement of any other family member (s) in street begging in Nigeria was investigated. Table 4.4.6 presents the distribution of the respondents by city.

Table 4.4.6: Involvement of other family members in street begging by city

City	Involvement of other family members In street begging		Total
	Yes	No	
Lagos	134 79.8%	34 20.2%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	174 81.3%	40 18.7%	214 100.0%
Total	309 80.6%	73 19.4%	382 100.0%

As evidenced in table 4.4.6, the majority of the respondents (80.9%) in both cities stated that some other members of their family were involved in street begging in Nigeria. Furthermore, the large proportion of the respondents (79.8%) in Lagos submitted that some other members of their family were involved in street begging in Nigeria, as compared to only 20.2% who claimed that no other member of their family was involved in it. In the same vein, the majority (81.3%) of the respondents in Ibadan maintained that some other members of their family were also involved in street begging in Nigeria as against only 18.7% who stated that no other member of their family was involved in alms solicitation in the country.

4.4.7 Other family member(s) involved in street begging in Nigeria

Table 4.4.7 presents the distribution of the respondents, who confirmed the involvement of other member(s) of their family in street begging in Nigeria.

Table 4.4.7: Other family member (s) involved in street begging

Involvement of other family members	Other family member(s) involved								Total
	Father	Mother	Husband	Wife	Child/ children	Wife & children	Sibling	Uncle	
Yes	9 2.9%	39 12.7%	35 11.4%	34 11.0%	75 24.4%	35 11.4%	50 16.2%	31 10.1%	308 100.0%
Total	9 2.9%	39 12.7%	35 11.4%	34 11.0%	75 24.4%	35 11.4%	50 16.2%	31 10.1%	308 100.0%

Table 4.4.7 indicates that 24.4% of the respondents, constituting the majority, mentioned child/children as their other family member(s) involved in street begging in the country. Also, while 16.2% of the respondents claimed that their siblings were involved in alms solicitation in Nigeria, about 13% of them respondents stated that their mothers were involved in street begging in Nigeria. Less than 3% of the respondents mentioned their father as their other family members involved in street begging in Nigeria. This finding is supported by the in-depth interviews. In the words of one of the respondents:

> It was my father that brought me and my sister to Ibadan. He is the one that tells us where to conduct begging and from whom to solicit alms (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iwo-Road, Ibadan/24/3/2013).

The above narrative indicates that children of transnational street beggars do not have a chance to decide on whether or not they wish to partake in street begging because their parents and other adult family members usually introduce them into the act at a very tender age.

Also, one of them also stated thus:

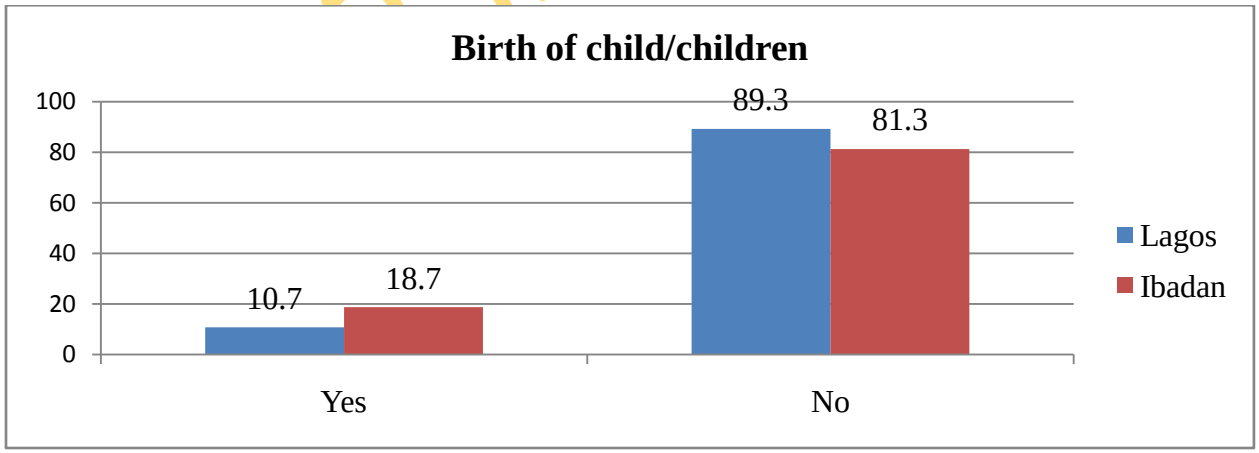
> I came to Nigeria from Niger Republic with my father and mother; but it is my mother who usually brings us to Iyana-Iba in the morning to come and beg people for money (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iyana-Iba, Lagos/22/3/2013).

The account of the respondent above shows that his parents brought him to Nigeria from Niger Republic. He usually conducts alms solicitation alongside his mother. His father is also likely to be begging in another part of the city.

It can be deduced from these findings that different members of the family of transnational street beggars were engaging in alms solicitation because they realised that they stand greater chance of earning more money if many of them were involved. It, therefore, means that the higher the number of family members that emigrated to solicit alms in Nigeria, the higher the opportunity for earning more money for the household.

4.4.8 Birth of child/children in Nigeria by city

With regard to the birth of child or children in Nigeria, figure 5 indicates that the majority of the respondents in the two cities submitted that they had not given birth in Nigeria.



In Lagos, a very large proportion of the respondents (89.3%) claimed that they had never given birth in Nigeria as against only 10.7%, who stated that they had given birth in the country.

Similarly, majority of the respondents in Ibadan (81.3%) claimed that they had not given birth in Nigeria compared to only about 18.7% who claimed that they had given birth in the country.

4.4.9 Years of residence in Nigeria and birth of child/children

The analysis of respondents' years of residence in Nigeria and birth of child/children was done to determine if a connection exists between transnational street beggars' duration of residence and their birth of children in Nigeria. Table 4.4.8 shows the distribution of respondents' year of residence by birth of child/children in Nigeria.

Table 4.4.8: Years of residence and birth of child/children

Years of residence in Nigeria	Birth of children		Total
	Yes	No	
Less than1 year	35 14.2%	211 85.5%	246 100.0%
2years	5 13.9%	31 86.1%	36 100.0%
3years	10 22.7%	34 77.3%	44 100.0%
4years	2 8.3%	22 91.7%	24 100.0%
5years and above	6 18.8%	26 81.3%	32 100.0%
Total	58 15.2%	324 84.8%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 3.356$; df = 4; P= 0.500

Table 4.4.8 indicates a similarity in the responses of the respondents, and this is demonstrated in the non-significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 3.356$; $P>0.05$) shown in the table above. The majority (85.8%) of the respondents who had stayed in Nigeria for less than a year declared that they had not given birth in the country, while the remaining 14.2% confirmed that they had. Similarly, a large proportion (86.1%) of the respondents who confirmed to have been living in

Nigeria for two years maintained that they had not given birth in the country, as against about 14% of them who claimed to have given birth. Furthermore, 77.3% of those who stated that they had been residing in Nigeria for three years disclosed that they had not given birth in Nigeria; but the remaining 22.7% confirmed that they had. For those who reported to have been living in the country for 4years, the majority (91.7%) claimed that they had not given birth in Nigeria, but the remaining 8.3% stated that they had. In addition, while 81.3% of those who declared to have been residing in Nigeria for more than 5years claimed that they had not given birth in the country, about 19% of them stated that they had.

The small percentage (15.2%) of the respondents, who had not given birth in Nigeria that was recorded in the study, may be explained as resulting from the fact that a considerable number of the transnational street beggars were single, while a substantial proportion of them were children. However, the case studies of some transnational street beggars were done with regard to giving birth to child/children and/or the raising of family in Nigeria. The first was that of a Nigerien boy who was born and who grew up in Ibadan, Nigeria. His case-study is presented below:

Box IV: Transnational street beggar with Fuji music talent

Ibraheem (not real name) is a 16year old Nigerien transnational street beggar who was born in Nigeria. He lived in a rented apartment known as *Iya-Elegbo's* house at *Amuda-Oojere* area in the city of Ibadan with his family. He had four sisters and two brothers; and they all grew up in Ibadan. Ibraheem started conducting street begging alongside his parents since he was a toddler; and he is still actively involved in it. His favourite begging location was at the entrance of a Total Filling Station located near Ife Motor-Park at the Iwo-Road area. Although Ibraheem is a street beggar, he possesses an exceptional talent that clearly makes him unique among the transnational street beggars in Ibadan. He is skilfully talented in composing and singing Fuji, a music genre that is very popular among the Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria. Ibraheem's exceptional Fuji-singing ability has made him very popular at Amuda area in general and has endeared him to the people in his neighbourhood. His daily activity essentially involves going to Iwo-Road central motor-park in the morning with the other members of his family to solicit alms till late in the afternoon. Sometimes when they returned to their rented apartment in the evening, Ibraheem usually performs for the people in his neighborhood in a form of organised pseudo-

musical show that is locally known as 'jump''. Members of the audience, who are impressed by his musical dexterity, usually give him money in appreciation of his skills. Ibraheem's unique Fuji-singing ability is widely gaining attention in Amuda area. And he has always been given opportunity at different times to perform at public functions in his neighbourhood. In fact, there is this video of him where he performed at a musical show alongside Saheed Osupa, one of the first class Fuji-musicians in Nigeria, at a house-warming ceremony in Ibadan. Like his siblings, Ibraheem did not have the opportunity to acquire any form of formal education. Begging is the major source of livelihood for his family. However, Nigeria is not the only country where Ibraheem and his family have migrated to for the purpose of alms solicitation. They occasionally travel to Ghana, Benin Republic and Burkina Faso. Ibraheem and his family usually go to Niger Republic to celebrate Muslim's Eid-il-Kabir festival with their relatives. His future plan is to save enough money from his street begging earnings, return to Niger Republic permanently to engage in a legitimate work, and find a beautiful girl to marry.

The case of Ibraheem shows that transnational street beggars, just like any other immigrant, who takes residence for a considerable period of time at a point of destination, are likely to be influenced by the prevailing popular cultures in their new environment, and this is especially true for child immigrants. Similarly, a case-study investigation of a Nigerien transnational street beggar, who had been soliciting alms for nearly three decades in major urban centers in Nigeria, is narrated below:

Box V: The veteran transnational street beggar in Ibadan

Versehn (not real name) is a 48-year-old Nigerien transnational street beggar, who has been conducting street begging in Nigeria, for close to 30years. He first emigrated from Niger Republic to Nigeria to solicit alms in the early 1980s when a series of violent conflicts broke out between members of his community and members of a neighbouring village over some pieces of grazing lands which led to loss of lives and destruction of properties, including farmlands and herds. This civil strife forced many people, including the household of Versehn, to flee their community and sought solace elsewhere. While some of the villagers migrated to other places within Niger Republic, Versehn came to Sokoto, a city in Northern Nigeria, with his parents to solicit alms for some months. When the situation abated in their village, they returned there.

However, earning of livelihood became very difficult for them because they lost their animals to the war, and their farmlands were also becoming less productive as a result of the persistent drought problem that periodically ravaged Niger Republic. The persistent food crisis in the country, occasioned by drought, forced Versehn to come to Nigeria for the second time for the purpose of alms solicitation. However, rather than staying in Sokoto, just like he and his family did in his first time in Nigeria, he moved to Lagos and started conducting street begging in the city. After some months in the country, Versehn travelled back to Niger Republic to visit his family and later returned to Lagos with his wife. They have given birth to four children in Nigeria. All members of his family are involved in street begging. His family together with him have relocated from Lagos to Ibadan, and they are currently living in a wooden apartment at the Kara area of Ibadan metropolis. Though Versehn and his family live in Ibadan, they often travel from one city to another for the purpose of alms solicitation. Some other cities where he and his family had conducted street begging, apart from Lagos and Ibadan, were Minna, Ilorin and Osogbo, among others. Like their father, the children of Versehn have not obtained any form of formal education. However, they can all speak Yoruba, Hausa and English languages. Versehn and his family members still travel to their home-country periodically to visit their relatives; his future plan, however, is to earn as much money as possible through street begging which he would use to purchase cattle, sheep and goats that his family and himself will be rearing when they eventually return permanently to their country of origin, Niger Republic.

From the case of Versehn, it is clear that some of the transnational street beggars may find it difficult to return to their country of origin even if the situations in their countries get better. Though they claimed to be soliciting alms in Nigeria as a result of the very dire situations in their nations, some of them still prefer to continue living in the country despite the recorded improvement in the socio-economic conditions of their countries as a result of the money they are making from begging. It, therefore, means that since the exchange value of the Nigerian Naira is higher than the national currencies of these transnational street beggars, (the exchange rate of the Nigerian naira to a dollar is $1USD= ₦ 158.955, while that of Nigerien and Malian West African CFA francs is $1USD=482.3805 XOF; and the Chadian Central African CFA is $1 USD= 481.864 XAF), it may seem rational to some of them to continue alms solicitation in Nigeria than to go back to their previous occupation. Furthermore, the case of a former Nigerien

transnational street beggar who quit street begging for sachet water hawking was also investigated. Her case is presented thus:

Box IV: A former transnational street beggar turned to a sachet water hawker

Saadahtu (not real name) is a 16-year-old Nigerien former transnational street beggar who was born in Lagos, Nigeria. She was the first child in her family and had five younger sisters. Her parents migrated to Nigeria a long time ago because of the pervasive famine and drought problems ravaging their home-country. She had only been to her country of origin once. Saadahtu's family's source of livelihood in Nigeria is street begging; all members of her family contribute to their upkeep through alms solicitation. She started street begging with her parents at Agege area of Lagos metropolis at a very young age. However, as she grows older, she was allowed to go to Obalende Motor-Park every morning with two of her sisters to solicit alms, as a way of augmenting her family's resources. Saadahtu found street begging a demeaning activity as she got more mature and started attracting the interest of boys at the motor-park and in her neighbourhood. Also, the fear of being arrested by law enforcement personnel for engaging in alms solicitation contributed to her decision to stop begging people for money. Consequently, she ventured into a legitimate business. From her street begging proceeds, Saadahtu was able to raise some money which she used to start a small-scale business. She currently sells sachet water at Obalende Motor-Park. People at the motor-park, who knew her when she was engaging in street begging, were impressed by her worthy decision and they are usually eager to encourage her by always patronising her. As a result, Saadahtu usually makes a brisk sale more than her Nigerian counterparts who are also hawking sachet water at the same motor-park. However, in spite of Saadahtu's decision to quit street begging for a more legitimate business, all other members of her family are still actively involved in alms solicitation in the street of Lagos. Saadahtu did not acquire any form of formal education, but she expressed her desire to go school if she had the opportunity. She hoped to make enough money which would enable her venture into other more profitable business as a way of improving her family's living condition. Saadahtu's future plan is to get married to a Nigerian and start raising her own family. She did not plan to relocate to her home-country permanently, as she wished to continue living in Nigeria because her parents were also residing in Lagos.

The decision of Saadahtu to quit street begging for sachet water hawking indicates that some of the transnational street beggars, especially the younger ones, may be willing to quit street begging for a legitimate business once they have accrued enough money from it. In addition, this particular case indicates that the current ban of street begging in Lagos State may be influencing some of the transnational street beggars to decide to abandon street begging for other street-level informal economy.

Generally, an important deduction that emanated from these findings is that there are two broad categories of transnational street beggars in Nigeria. The first category includes those that have taken semi-permanent residence and/or raising their families in the country, while those who occasionally immigrate into Nigeria to solicit alms temporarily, constitute the second.

4.4.10 Place of abode by city

Since shelter is one of the most essential human needs, transnational street beggars were, therefore, probed about their place of abode. Table 4.4.9 depicts their identified place of abode by city.

Table 4.4.9 Respondents' place of abode in Nigeria by city

City	Place of abode				Total
	Acquaintance's house	Rented apartment	Family member's house	Friend's home	
Lagos	12 3.1%	18 4.7%	94 24.6%	44 11.5%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	12 3.1%	39 10.2%	71 18.6%	92 24.1%	214 100.0%
Total	24 6.3%	57 14.9%	165 43.2%	136 35.6%	382 100.0%

As evidenced in table 4.4.9 above, while the majority (24.6%) of the respondents in the city of Lagos submitted that they were residing in their family member's home, about 12% of them stated that they were living in their friend's home. About 5% of them identified rented apartment

as their place of residence; few of them (3.1%) disclosed that they were staying in their acquaintance's place. However, in the city of Ibadan, while the majority (24.1%) of the respondents declared that they were residing in their friend's home, about 17% claimed they were staying with members of their family. Also, 10.2% of them confirmed that they were living in their rented apartment. Only 3.1% indicated that they were staying in their acquaintance's house.

In all, the majority (43.2%) of the respondents claimed that they were residing in their family members' home; close to 36% of them declared that they were living in their friends' house. Furthermore, while close to 15% of the respondents mentioned rented apartments as their place of residence, less than 7% of the respondents claimed they were residing in their acquaintances' house. In one of the in-depth interviews conducted, a respondent stated:

> No, why would we be sleeping on the street? We have an apartment that we are staying at Kara in Berger area; it is very close to Opic Factory (Malian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Obalende Motor-Park, Lagos/8/1/2013).

The above submission by a Malian transnational street beggar indicates that she and other people she migrated with to Nigeria rented an apartment of their own in the suburb of Lagos where they usually return to sleep at night after conducting street begging around the city in the day.

In the words of another respondent:

> I do not sleep in this place at night; I only come here with my child every morning to solicit alms. We are living with our people somewhere around Bodija Area (Nigerien Female Transnational Street Beggar, /IDI/Sango-Junction, Ibadan/13/12/2013).

From the narrative above, it is clear that it was some early migrants from the country of origin of this transnational street beggar, with whom she shared some forms of social ties that accommodated her and her children in the city of Ibadan.

Another respondent stated:

> We did not rent an apartment of our own. We are currently staying with other people from our place (Niger Republic) at Oja-oba

(Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Challenge, Ibadan/27/3/2013).

Just like the other Nigerien discussed above, this transnational street beggar like his compatriot did not rent a room of his own in Ibadan. Rather, he was accommodated by his countrymen with whom he had established some form of relationship.

It can be deduced from these findings that some transnational street beggars who had taken semi-permanent residence in Nigeria rented apartments of their own and also played host to those who migrate to Nigeria occasionally, by providing them with accommodation, for the period of their alms solicitation in the country. These findings contradict Naalir's (2010) submission that beggars live in streets, parks, and under trees. It is, however, in consonance with the observation made by the Friends-International and UN Inter-Agency Projects (2006) in Bangkok, Thailand where certain people from the country of origin of migrant beggars rented houses for them in different locations in the city.

4.4.11 Maintenance of contact with family members in home-country by nationality

Transnational street beggars in Nigeria are soliciting alms far away from their respective countries of origin. Thus, it was deemed necessary to know if they still maintained contact with their family members in their home-country. The distribution of respondents by nationality as regards the maintenance of contact with family members is presented in table 4.4.10.

Table 4.4.10: Maintenance of contact with family member(s) by nationality

Nationality	Maintenance of contact		Total
	Yes	No	
Nigerien	261 85.9%	43 14.1%	304 100.0%
Chadian	44 75.9%	14 24.1%	58 100.0%
Malian	15 75.0%	5 25.0%	20 100.0%
Total	320 83.8%	62 16.2%	382 100.0%

The table indicates that the majority (85.9%) of Nigeriens confirmed that they were maintaining contact with their relatives in their country of origin, as against 14.1% who declared that they were not. Similarly, about 76% of Chadians, constituting the majority, confirmed that they still maintained contact with their relatives in Chad Republic, as opposed to 24.1% of them, who disclosed that they did not. Also, the majority of Malians (75.0%) claimed that they still got in touch with their family in their home-countries, while the remaining 25.0% submitted that they did not. In all, the majority (83.8%) of the respondents stated that they were maintaining contact with their family members in their home-country as against only 16.2% who claimed that they were not. The non-significant value of chi-square (X^2=0.125; P>0.05) further confirmed the similarity in the submission of the respondents irrespective of their country of origin.

4.4.12 Means of maintaining contact with family members in home-country

The distribution of the respondents according to their responses on means of maintaining contact with family members in home-country is presented in table 4.4.11.

Table 4.4.11: Means of maintaining contact with family members in home-country

Contact with family members in home-country	Means			Total
	Telephone	Acquaintance	Telephone & acquaintance	
Yes	162 50.6%	89 27.8%	69 21.6%	320 100.0%
Total	162 50.6%	89 27.8%	69 21.6%	320 100.0%

Out of the 320 respondents, who declared that they still maintained contact with their relatives in home-country, about 51% of them submitted that they kept contact with their family member(s) in home-country through telephone. Close to 28% of the respondents claimed that they sustained contacts with their family members in their home country through their acquaintances returning to their countries. However, about 22% of the respondents confirmed that they maintained contact with their family members in home-country by telephone and through their

acquaintances. The result of the survey was further buttressed by some of the responses generated in the in-depth interviews conducted. In the words of a respondent:

> It was only me that came with my father to Nigeria, but we always phone my mother and my siblings at home (Niger Republic) (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iyana-Iba, Lagos/22/3/2013).

The account of this respondent shows that some of the transnational street beggars in Nigeria were maintaining contact with members of their family left behind in their country of origin through mobile telephone service.

Another respondent similarly stated:

> It was my friend I came with to Nigeria. My husband and my child are in still in Mali, but we keep in touch with each other through telephone (Malian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Obalende Motor-Park, Lagos/8/1/2013).

The Malian transnational street beggar discussed above, like some of her counterparts, who migrated to Nigeria for purpose of engaging in alms solicitation, was keeping in touch with her family members in Mali through the use of telephone.

These findings have clearly demonstrated that most of the transnational street beggars maintained contacts with their relatives in their individual countries of origin with the aid of telephone and through their acquaintances. This points out the importance and/or influence of globalisation (technological advancement) on transnational street begging. With the emergence of the Global System for Mobile Telecommunication services in Nigeria and some other countries in Africa, transnational street beggars easily maintain contact and exchange information with their significant others in their home-countries on where an opportunity to make money through street begging abounds.

4.4.13 Remittance of earnings to family members in home-country

Remittance of earnings is an important element of migration. Immigrants usually transfer part of their earnings in their destination countries to their relatives in home-country. Transnational street beggars were therefore asked if they sent money to their relatives in their countries of origin. The analysis is presented in table 4.4.12.

Table 4.4.12: Remittance of earnings to family members in home Country

Remittance of earnings	Means		
	Through Acquaintance returning home	Whenever any of us returns	Total
Yes	78 57.4%	58 42.6%	136 100.0%
Total	78 57.4%	58 42.6%	136 100.0%

As shown in table 4.4.12, close to 57.4% of the respondents maintained that they usually send money to their family members in home-country whenever any member of their immediate family was returning there. About 43% claimed that they usually send money to their relatives in their country of origin through their acquaintances. The mixed responses of some of those interviewed further buttressed this finding. One of the respondents stated:

> Only my father and I came to Nigeria. My mummy is in Niger Republic. We do send money to her through our people returning to Niger Republic so that she will not suffer (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iwo-Road, Ibadan/24/3/2013).

The submission of the respondent above shows that some of the transnational street beggars did not only maintain contact with their relatives in home country, but were also sending money to them through their acquaintances returning there.

However, another respondent interviewed said:

> We cannot send money to them because we are only using the money that people give to us to buy food and take care of our children (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Challenge, Ibadan/27/3/2013).

From the account of the transnational street beggar above, it is obvious that the proceeds he and his family members realised from alms solicitation in Nigeria was essentially being used for the upkeeps.

These findings indicate that the kind of family members left behind in home country by the transnational street beggars and the availability of acquaintance(s) returning there, influence their decisions on whether or not to send money to their family members in their countries. Transnational street beggars who came with their immediate family members, such as wife, children and husband may not consider sending money to their other relatives in their home-country. Similarly, transnational beggars who do not have an acquaintance returning to country of origin may find it impossible to send money to their relatives left behind in their home-country.

4.4.14 Remittance of earnings to home-country by years of residence in Nigeria

Respondents' years of residence in Nigeria by remittance of earnings to home-country was also considered. Table 4.4.13 depicts the distribution of respondents. As indicated in the table, the majority (62.6%) of those who claimed to have been residing in Nigeria for less than a year maintained that they did not usually send money to their relatives in their home-country, as against 37.4% who confirmed that they usually did. Similarly, the large proportion (88.9%) of those who had lived in the country for two years stated that they did not usually send earnings to their family members as compared to the remaining 11.1% who indicated that they did. As regards those who had resided in Nigeria for three years, the majority (77.3%) claimed that they did not send earnings to their people in home-country; only about 23% indicated that they usually did. Meanwhile, 50.0% of the respondents who confirmed that they had been living in Nigeria for 4years confirmed that they usually sent earnings to their relatives in their country of origin; 50.0% of them also maintained that they did not. In addition, while the majority (56.3%)

of those that had resided in Nigeria for five years submitted that they did not usually send money to their relatives in their home-countries, the remaining 47.3% maintained that they did not.

Table 4.4.13: Remittance of earnings by years of residence

Years of residence	Earnings' repatriation		Total
	Yes	No	
Less than 1 year	92 37.4%	154 62.6%	246 100.0%
2years	4 11.1%	32 88.9%	36 100.0%
3years	10 22.7%	34 77.3%	44 100.0%
4years	12 50.0%	12 50.0%	24 100.0%
5 years and above	18 56.3%	14 43.7%	32 100.0%
Total	136 18.6%	246 35.6%	382 100.0%

$\chi 2 = 21.0.66$; df= 4; P= 0.000

The observed difference in the submission of the respondents was reflected in the significant value of the chi-square ($\chi 2 = 21.066$; $P<0.05$). The increase in the percentage of respondents who confirmed that they usually send money to their relatives in their country of origin as the duration of residence in Nigeria increases (from four years and above) implies that respondents who had been soliciting alms in Nigeria for a considerable number of years are better positioned to send money to their significant others in their home-country than those who have not resided in the country for a long time.

4.4.15 Encounter with law enforcement officers by city

Since street begging is officially proscribed by sections 249 and 250 of the Criminal Code of 1958 and section 21 (e) of 1963 of the federal constitution of Nigeria, transnational street beggars were, therefore, asked if they had had an encounter with law enforcement officers since they started begging in the country. Table 4.4.14 shows their response by city.

Table 4.4.14: Encounter with law enforcement officer(s) by city

City	Encounter with law enforcement officer(s)		Total
	Yes	No	
Lagos	19 11.3%	149 88.7%	168 100.0%
Ibadan	52 24.3%	162 75.7%	214 100.0%
Total	71 18.6%	311 81.4%	382 100.0%

Table 4.4.14 indicates that while the majority (88.7%) of the respondents covered in the city of Lagos maintained that they had not had any encounter with law enforcement agents since they started begging in Nigeria, 11.3% of them, however, confirmed that they had had an encounter with them. Similarly, a large proportion (75.7%) of those sampled in the city of Ibadan declared that they had not had an encounter with law enforcement agents since they started soliciting alms in Nigeria, as against 24.3% who confirmed that they had. In all, the larger proportion of respondents (81.4%) covered in the two cities confirmed that they had not had an encounter with law enforcement as compared to about 18.6% who maintained that they had had an encounter with them. Some of the responses generated through the in-depth interviews corroborated these findings. In the words of a respondent:

> No, I have not experienced any threat or actual arrest by the law enforcement agents here in Ibadan, but I was once detained with my sisters in *Osogbo*, but they later released us (Nigerien Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Agbowo, Ibadan/11/12/2012).

The above response indicates that the level of enforcement of anti-street begging law varies widely across the major cities in Nigeria. While some state governors pay some attention to the social problem, others do not.

In the words of another respondent:

> I have not been arrested by the police because I do not engage in begging whenever I see them (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Iyana-Iba, Lagos/22/3/2014).

From the above statement, it could be deduced that some of the transnational street beggars were aware of the illegal status of street begging in Nigeria and therefore, deviced a means through which they could successfully engage in it without being arrested.

Another respondent stated:

> Yes, I am aware they are raiding people who engage in begging, but I do not have any other means to fend for myself. I will leave Nigeria for Mali very soon (Malian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Obalende Motor-Park, Lagos/8/1/2013).

It is clear from the above submission that this Malian transnational street beggar takes to street begging in Nigeria while believing she can make enough money from it and return to Mali without being arrested by Nigerian law enforcement officials.

The large size of the respondents that had not had an encounter with law enforcement officers is a pointer to the fact that street begging is not accorded serious attention by law enforcement agents in Nigeria. Besides, in some states such as Lagos where effort is made to tackle the phenomenon, street beggars, including the transnational ones, still device ways to escape the dragnets of the law enforcement agents. This finding supports Ojo's (2005) assertion that in spite of the efforts geared towards combating the menace of street begging by the government and concerned parties in Nigeria, it is still very difficult to get the urban street cleansed of them.

4.4.16 Future plan of respondents

Although the transnational street beggars were making money through alms solicitation, it was considered germane to find out about their future plan. Table 4.4.15 presents the numerical distribution of their responses. As the table indicates, the majority of the respondents (48.2%) stated that their future plan was to raise enough money here in Nigeria and then returned to their country. About 20% of them maintained that they did not have any concrete plan at the moment; 15.2% of them planned to travel to another place.

Table 4.4.15: Future plan of respondents

Future plan	Frequency	Percent
To raise enough money and go back to my country	184	48.2
To travel to another place	58	15.2
To work in Nigeria	27	7.1
I do not know at the moment	76	19.9
To stop begging	37	9.7
Total	382	100.0

However, about 10% of the respondents confirmed that they wished to stop begging; only 7.1% stated that they would like to quit begging and start working in Nigeria. The submissions of the respondents interviewed supported these findings. In the words of one of them:

> I do not know at the moment, it depends on whatever my husband says; we may go back to Niger Republic or go to another place (Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Bodija Market, Ibadan/11/12/2013).

From what this respondent said, it is crystal clear that she is not likely to stop alms solicitation in the street anytime soon. Her decision on whether to migrate to another country to beg or return to her country of origin is not for her to make. Rather, this would be made by her husband, who is the head of their household. This further reflects the patriarchal nature of most of the African societies.

Another respondent stated:

> I hope to quit street begging and start working when we get back to Chad Republic later (Chadian Female Transnational Street Beggar/IDI/Ajegunle, Lagos/19/3/2013).

The position of this respondent shows that she believes she will stop alms solicitation with the hope of engaging in a legitimate work in future. However, she was not certain on how soon this step would be taken.

In the words of another respondent:

> I wish to start working, but it is not now. When I have enough money, I shall go back to Niger Republic to start my own business, but it is not now (Nigerien Male Transnational Street Beggar/Iwo-Road, Ibadan/ 24/3/2013).

The submission of this respondent implies that he would continue soliciting alms in Nigeria for a long time. His main goal was to make as much money as possible from street begging; this is with the hope of using it to establish his own business when he returns to Niger Republic in future.

From these findings, it can be deduced that it is unlikely that the majority of the transnational street beggars soliciting alms in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis would stop conducting street begging soon. As shown in the findings, only a very few of them categorically expressed the desire to engage in a legitimate work in the nearest future.

4.5 Effects of transnational street begging on Nigeria

Transnational street beggars in Nigeria were identified by the key-informants as posing threat to the country in multiple ways. One of the recognised ways in which they constitute threat is that their presence is capable of worsening the current security challenges in the country. Transnational street beggars can actively conspire with the enemy of the State to pursue causes that may be inimical to the peaceful co-existence of the country. Transnational street beggars were recognised by the key-informants as potential instruments that can be used to fuel the problems of insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria. In the words of a key-informant:

> There is a direct correlation between transnational street begging and terrorism. Their presence has added to the security challenges we are facing in this country. These people usually come into the country as if their mission is peaceful; but on their arrival, they are always mobilised by the fanatics to engage in nefarious activities because of their poor economic status. For instance, since the outbreak of Boko-Haram problem, close to 3,000-4,000 of them have been deported to their countries (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The submission of this respondent confirms that some of the transnational street beggars soliciting alms in Nigeria are being used to perpetrate acts of terror by members of the Boko Haram sect terrorising people in the North Eastern part of the country.

Another respondent corroborated further:

> Actually, the current security challenges in the country have been linked to them (transnational street beggars). Most of them are linked to Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda and other international terrorist organisations (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

This key informant also established the fact that members of some globally recognised terrorist organizations are adopting street begging as part of their overall strategies for perpetrating their acts of terror. In some countries like Pakistan and Iraq, suicide bombers often disguise like street beggars to reach their targets (Salaheddin, 2011; Jihad Watch, 2008; Meyer, 2006).

In the words of another respondent:

> Security wise, the influx of transnational beggars may constitute threat to the peaceful co-existence of Nigeria. They are foreigners who have nothing at stake and thus, can afford to do anything, because they have no family names to protect (Custom Officer/KII/ Oyo/Osun Area Command, Ibadan/14/3/2013).

From the observation made above, it is clear that this respondent believed that transnational street beggars, soliciting alms in Nigeria, may find it easy to perpetrate acts inimical to the existence of the country because they are foreigners who have little or nothing at stake in Nigeria. Hence, their presence is a security risk to Nigeria as a nation.

These findings have clearly established the fact that transnational street begging in Nigeria was considered a threat to the peaceful and corporate existence of the Nigerian nation because of the involvement of some of the local and transnational street beggars in the acts of terrorism and insurgency. This finding equally supports the observations of Azam (2011) and Salaheddin (2011) that suicide bombers have, in recent time, continued to disguise as beggars to gain access to some highly valued sites to detonate bombs and/or explosives. Olaniyi (2009), Bambale (2008) and Yau (2000) have also decried the role that street beggars usually play in times of riots and civil unrests in Nigeria.

Transnational street beggars in Nigeria were also identified as contributing to the increase in criminal activities in the country. Nearly all the key-informants maintained that transnational street beggars engage in different forms of criminal activities, such as trafficking in drugs, arms and ammunitions, armed banditry, thuggery, mugging, kidnapping and prostitution, among others. One of the respondents stated that:

> It is not uncommon to find foreigners who purportedly came into the country to solicit alms or beg, engaging in criminal activities. They are prone to violence and records have shown that they now engage in a whole lot of negative activities in active collaboration with Nigerian criminals. They engage in thuggery, mugging, and kidnapping, amongst others (Social Welfare Officer/KII/Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare/5/3/2013).

This key informant contended that some of the transnational street beggars who migrated to Nigeria for the purpose of alms solicitation had been discovered to be involved in some criminal acts at different points in time.

In the words of another respondent:

> Most of them do a lot of funny things apart from their street begging. They are involved in criminal activities like prostitution, thuggery and armed banditry; this is why there is a very high criminal activity in the border areas of the country. Some Nigerians also pay them a token, as little as ₦1,000.00 to perpetrate criminal acts. For instance, in Benue State, due to their involvement in criminal activities, the state government requested the service of the Nigeria Immigration Service to raid them, in which close to about 2,000 of them were deported to their countries (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/7/3/2013).

The reference made to the incident in Benue State in North Central Nigeria where over 2, 000 transnational street beggars were deported to their countries of origin because of their involvement in crime by this respondent clearly reveals the criminal dimension of transnational street begging.

Another respondent corroborated further:

> Some of them can be criminals. Begging can be used as an avenue to commit crime because they are always obstructing the traffic. They have opportunity to do all sort of things. They can threaten one's life with short pistols at night and collect one's car. When I was at the border station, my Area Comptroller would always tell me to search any crippled-person on wheel chair very well. We did that at Idi-Iroko and Seme borders several times and discovered many pistols and live ammunitions. In fact, a beggar that we have been sympathizing with for many years, and usually allowed to enter Nigeria was, in the process, discovered to have been supplying arms and ammunitions to criminals at border stations (Custom Officer/KII/ Oyo/Osun Area Command, Ibadan/14/3/2013).

Like the two previous key informants, the response of this respondent also confirms the involvement of transnational street beggars in crimes. It was revealed that some supposedly

transnational street beggars coming to Nigeria to solicit alms had been caught several times by officials of the Nigeria Custom Service at the border posts while trying to smuggle arms and ammunitions into Nigeria.

It can be deduced from these findings that begging, in general, and transnational street begging, in particular, can serve as an avenue for the individuals involved, to perpetrate a wide range of criminal activities. Cheng and Kumar (2012), Adedibu and Jelili (2011) and Alawi (2011) have also maintained that street begging might be a cover for perpetrating some other criminal activities.

Transnational street beggars in Nigeria were also recognised as contributing to the population increase in most of the major urban centres in Nigeria and thereby, leading to an over-stretching of the essential public facilities or utilities that were provided for the use of Nigerians. In addition, the transnational street beggars, together with their local counterparts, according to the key-informants, also constituted economic burden to Nigerians because they are often 'coerced' into giving money to them. One of the key-informants' submission goes thus:

> Whether formally or informally, the Nigerian government is always forced to make provisions for the need of these people; they are, more or less, a burden to the government (Social Welfare Officer/KII/Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare/5/3/2013).

The above submission indicates that transnational street beggars constitute socio-economic burden to the people and government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria because they are forced to provide their needs. Nigerians are forced to give them alms as a result of persistent begging, which could sometimes be done in an aggressive manner.

Another respondent observed thus:

> The presence of transnational street beggars in Nigeria further adds to the burden of the Nigerian populace, directly or indirectly (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/7/3/2013).

Just like the social welfare officer's discussed earlier, this respondent further confirmed that transnational street beggars constitute a burden to the Nigerian populace. Street begging is a deviant act that holds little or no economic values to a nation. It is not taxable and adds nothing to the economy.

A key-informant further stated:

> Our natural resources and other social amenities (water and electricity) are being over-stretched due to their presence in the country; this is because these facilities are only meant for a particular number of people. As long as they are coming into the country, they will continue to increase the number of the people and consequently, affect the economy (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The above observation made by an official of the Nigeria Immigration Service indicates that some essential public amenities and infrastructures provided by the Nigerian government are being overworked as result of the constant influx of transnational street beggars immigrating into Nigeria to engage in alms solicitation.

It is clear from the above findings that transnational street begging further compounds the increasing population size in Nigeria and also brought to bear many of its attendant socio-economic consequences. This finding also supports Reddy's (2013) and Adedibu's (1989) assertions that the higher the number of the people involved in begging, the heavier the burden on others. Consequently, leading to an under utilisation of human resources for a constructive development.

Another way through which transnational street beggars constitute threat to Nigeria, as mentioned by the key-informants is that their presence in the country could also lead to environmental and health problems. Transnational beggars were identified to be potential carriers of viral infections and contagious diseases which are capable of leading to an outbreak of infections that may put the health and physical well-being of the Nigerian citizenry at risk. Similarly, they were also indicted as contributors to the defacement of the environment through their activities. In the words of a respondent:

> When they come to Nigeria en-masse like that, they may come into the country with viral infections and other communicable diseases. Their presence also diminishes the aesthetic value and beauty of our city centres by creating unsavoury sights; they are always defacing the environment and consequently making it unappealing to visitors and foreigners (Social Welfare Officer/KII/Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare/5/3/2013).

This finding is in consonance with Salami and Olugbayo's (2013) and Ndubuisi's (1986) submissions that migrant beggars are potential carriers of communicable diseases from one country to another. Indeed, unregulated movement has been identified as one of the factors responsible for the recent spread of Ebola Virus Disease across some countries in West African sub-region (Adepegba, Olokor and Ajaja, 2014; Aborisade, Adebayo, and Nnodim, 2014). Furthermore, it confirms the submissions of Igbinovia (1991) and Adedibu (1989) that street beggars constitute a social and environmental menace to the Nigerian society.

4.5.1 Challenges at controlling influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria

Different challenges, both institutional and non-institutional, were mentioned by the respondents as militating against the control of the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria. A major challenge identified is the porous nature of the Nigerian borders. The key-informants opined that transnational street beggars easily gained access into Nigeria as a result of the porous state of most of the nation's borders. A key-informant captures the situation this way:

> In the Northern part of the country, anywhere goes in the dry season. Even Immigration and Custom officers cannot effectively control the illegal movement of people into Nigeria at the border stations. You only stay at your duty post to carry out your statutory duties (Custom Officer/KII/ Oyo/Osun Area Command, Ibadan/14/3/2013).

The response of this key-informant clearly shows that the spatial arrangement and topographical landscape of some parts of Nigeria, particularly in the North, are contributing to the porous nature of some of the Nigerian borders, thereby aiding illegal immigration and influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Another key-informant stated:

> Most of them especially Nigeriens usually trek into Nigeria along the border either as transhumance Fulani herdsmen or as fishermen. When they arrived in Nigeria, especially in the north, they mix freely and easily with the local people. In fact, there is a town known as Kagaru in Niger State where armed bandits from Niger Republic often come to perpetrate crime with impunity and thereafter return to their country unchallenged (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/7/3/2013).

The above respondent laments how the proximity of Nigeria to some neighbouring countries is aiding some foreign nationals to migrate and/or take residence in some cities in Nigeria, with little or no hindrance, for the purpose of soliciting alms or perpetrating different kinds of crime.

In the words of another key-informant:

> The big challenge is the issue of porous borders in the country which has been an age-long problem. The onus is on the

> government to find a more appropriate measure to strengthen the security of the country. The gap between the manned and unmanned borders is very wide in Nigeria (Social Welfare Officer/KII/Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare/5/3/2013).

The submission made by this respondent further demonstrates the fact that the porous state of most of the borders in Nigeria is a condition that calls for urgent redress. There are a lot of illegal points of entry into the country. Hence, transnational street beggars and other illegal migrants gained entry into Nigeria with ease.

Another key informant submitted thus:

> According to our records, most of them came into the country through what is called illegal routes. The Nigerian borders are not fenced; we have porous borders. There are 147 recognised border-posts in Nigeria but because of the nature of our environment like in the arid desert where everything is opened, it is difficult to control their influx. They do not pass through appropriate border post, because they do not have valid documents, passport, travelling certificate or what is known as L'cest Visae in French language (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The above statement made by personnel of the Nigeria Immigration Service shows that porous borders constitute an important factor aiding illegal entry of undocumented migrants into Nigeria. In spite of the fact that a total of 147 borders are officially recognised in Nigeria, there are some other points of entry that are unknown which are being used by illegal migrants, including transnational street beggars.

These findings clearly reveal that nationals of some neighbouring countries usually take advantage of the proximity of their countries to Nigeria and/or the porous nature of most of the Nigerian borders to illegally gain entry for the purpose of engaging in street begging. Igbinovia (1991) had also made an allusion to this fact. Recently, the Nigeria Immigration Service declared that it uncovered about 1,487 illegal routes into the country (Adepegba, 2013; Vanguard, 2013).

Another major challenge that was mentioned was the problem posed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) policy on the free movement of citizens of West African countries in the sub-region to which Nigeria is a signatory. According to one of the provisions contained in Article 3 of the ECOWAS protocol ratified in 1980, cited in Afolayan (1988:5):

> A citizen of the community visiting any member state for a period not exceeding 90 days shall enter the territory point free of visa requirements. Such citizen shall, however, be required to obtain permission for an extension of stay from the appropriate authority if after such entry that citizen has a cause to stay for more than (90) days.

One of the key-informants also observed:

> The ECOWAS regional policy has a role to play in the influx of transnational street beggars into the country because it facilitates liberal policy of movement across the ECOWAS border (Social Welfare Officer/KII/Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare/5/3/2013).

The observation made by the respondent above reveals that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) policy which Nigeria is a signatory is playing a crucial role in the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Another key-informant stated thus:

> The ECOWAS policy tends to reduce border lines across the West African sub-region to such an extent that there is little check at our borders; and consequently, this gives room for easy movement of people from one country to another across the sub-region (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/7/3/2013).

This key-informant's position also points out that some transnational street beggars freely gained entry into Nigeria because the policy of ECOWAS on free movement has greatly reduced the border lines among the nations located in the West African sub-region. Hence, people with ulterior motives are also exploiting the opportunity to further their goals.

A key–informant corroborated further:

> The government is always cautious in going about this issue because they do not want to be seen as going against ECOWAS treaty because of some Nigerians living in other countries. They may also retaliate against our people living in their country (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The position of this official of the Nigeria Immigration Service clearly reflects the inability of the Nigerian government to effectively deal with problems of illegal entry into Nigeria and undocumented migrants living in the country because of the provisions of the ECOWAS policy which guarantee citizens of West African certain rights in the countries in across the sub-region.

These findings have clearly established that transnational street beggars capitalized on the free movement granted by the ECOWAS treaty to move from one country to another in the West Africa sub-region for the purpose of engaging in street begging. The relevance of migration network theory's proposition that certain immigration policies work at cross-purposes against the control of immigration flows was demonstrated by this finding.

A key challenge that was mentioned by nearly all the key informants was the lack of statutory empowerment that directly confers authority on them to deal with the transnational street beggars. According to one of the key-informants:

> Statutorily, this ministry is not empowered to deal with the issue of transnational street beggars; but recognising our limitation, we have a good working relationship with the Nigeria Immigration Service in information sharing and the designing of action plans (Social Welfare Officer/KII/Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare/5/3/2013).

The response given by this respondent essentially confirms that personnel of Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare did not consider transnational street begging a part of their responsibility because the agency is not constitutionally empowered to deal with the problem.

In the words of another respondent:

> The control of the transnational street beggars does not fall directly on the Nigeria Police. Our mandate does not cover street begging in general, because it is a social problem that is best tackled by the state government (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/7/3/2013).

The submission of the key-informant above shows that officials of the Nigeria Police Force, an important law enforcement agency in Nigeria, viewed transnational street begging and street begging in general as a problem that can be better handled by State governments because it is not in his organization's mandate.

Another respondent stated:

> This agency does not directly deal with the problem of street begging and street beggars but we are particularly concerned with the human trafficking victims. It is when it is exploitatively done in such a way that some individuals are living off the earnings of beggars that we have the authority to intervene (NAPTIP Official/KII/Lagos Zone Command/25/2/2013).

This key-informant contended that in spite of the fact that the agency he represents, National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters, is directly concerned with problem of human trafficking, transnational street begging is not really a part of direct concern to them.

From the above, it is obvious that, apart from the officials of the Nigeria Immigration Service that are concerned with addressing the problem of illegal entry of immigrants into Nigeria, other relevant government agencies did not view transnational street begging as falling within the remit of their mandates. However, these submissions of the key informants seem surprising because street begging, generally, is officially proscribed by sections 249 and 250 of the Criminal Code of 1958 and section (21e) of the 1963 federal constitution of Nigeria. The implication of this finding is that relevant government agencies are waiting for a specific order before they act.

Also, the common language which some of these transnational street beggars share with the Hausa people of northern Nigeria was identified by some of the key-informants as one of main

challenges militating against the control of their influx into the country because it plays a significant role in facilitating their entry into the country through the Northern axis from where they often move into the interior. A key-informant has this to say:

> Most of them took the advantage of the common language they share with the Hausas and Fulanis in the North especially in those villages that share boundary with neighbouring countries such as Niger Republic and Chad to migrate into the country from where they move into Southern part of the country (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The above statement shows that the Hausa language commonly shared by the Hausa/Fulani of Northern Nigeria and some of the transnational street beggars often make it difficult to effectively distinguish between the native and non-Nigerian speakers of the language.

In the words of another immigration official:

> Most of the foreign beggars here are Nigerien; if one is not very careful they would tell one that they are from Sokoto, and because of the Hausa language they speak, it takes somebody who is well trained to be able to differentiate them from our people from the North (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The statement of this key-informant shows that most of the transnational street beggars in Nigeria are nationals of Niger Republic who are mainly Hausa language speakers like the people of Northern Nigeria; thereby, making it difficult to easily identify them.

The above findings have confirmed that the Hausa language, which some of the transnational street beggars share in common with some of the people of Northern Nigeria, is also posing a serious challenge to the law enforcement officers at regulating their movement into the country because it is very difficult to distinguish between a Nigerian Hausa speaker and a non-Nigerian speaker of the language.

Human trafficking networks that specialise in illegal acts of conveying or smuggling people from one country to another, which operate across some countries in the West African sub-region and beyond was also mentioned as contributing to the challenges being encountered by the law

enforcement agencies to effectively tackle the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria. In the words of a key-informant:

> Of particular note is human trafficking network. This cannot be ruled out; but government is looking at it, and some other ways to address the menace (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

The above statement made by a key-informant indicates that human trafficking networks are likely to have a hand in the continuous influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria for the purpose of engaging in alms solicitation in the street of major urban centres in the country.

Another key-informant submitted thus:

> Human trafficking networks along the border line are aiding people for the purpose of engaging in some dehumanising jobs, including street begging. The police do not condone this because it is a form of slavery (Police Officer/KII/Sango Police Station, Ibadan/7/3/2013).

The position of this respondent clearly established a link between human trafficking networks operating in some countries across the West African sub-regions and the involvement of some migrants in different forms of dehumanising jobs, including street begging.

A key-informant however, stated:

> For Lagos zone, we have not been able to establish a linkage between human trafficking and street begging, but we are closely studying the trend to confirm if children or any other persons are purposely brought to engage in street begging. However, we are currently looking into the reported case of a Nigerian girl that was trafficked to Libya for the purpose of alms solicitation (NAPTIP Official, Lagos Zone Command/25/2/2013).

It is obvious from the contribution of this respondent that though a clear link has not been established between human trafficking and street begging in Nigeria, the prevailing situation in some major urban centres in the country is making NAPTIP to embark on a careful observation of the trend. Also, it can be deduced from what he said that some Nigerians are equally being trafficked abroad for the purpose of conducting street begging.

These submissions of the key-informants show that people from other countries are not only being trafficked into Nigeria to engage in street begging, but some Nigerians are also being trafficked abroad for the purpose of alms solicitation. A link between human trafficking networks and street begging had been established in different parts of the world (Cherneva, 2011; IOM, 2004b; Azam, 201; Annuska, 1998).

Another key challenge mentioned by some of the key-informants is the problem of inadequate facilities needed for an effective discharge of their statutory duties. The submission of a key-informant adequately captured this:

> Our officers at the border-stations need to be encouraged; most of them do not have accommodation and good mobility. There is problem of paucity of fund and inadequate functional vehicles for the repatriation of illegal immigrants back to their countries (Immigration Officer/KII/Zone 'F' Headquarter, Ibadan/12/3/2013).

This finding reveals that some internal problems are also contributing to the challenges of controlling the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria. Necessary facilities, such as fund, functional vehicles, and good accommodation for the officers at border-stations, that are required to effectively carry out their designated duties, which include the control of illegal immigrants, were said to either be inadequate or in a very poor condition, and consequently, affecting their overall job performance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section contains a synopsis of the major findings of the study. The second section covers the conclusion reached based on the findings, while the third and final section proposes some recommendations that can be employed to address the social problem of street begging in Nigeria in general and transnational street begging in particular. These recommendations are suggested based on the findings of the study.

5.1 Summary of the major findings

5.1.1 Socio-demographic profiles

The results of the study indicated that transnational street beggars on the street of Lagos and Ibadan metropolis were from three major countries, namely, Niger Republic, Chad Republic and Mali; but there was a preponderance of Nigeriens amongst them. Also, the sex distribution of the transnational street beggars revealed that females were more represented than males. The result also showed that the majority of the respondents were between the ages of 15 and 19, while those who had attained the age of 40 and above, constituted the least represented.

On religion, while the majority of the respondents (91.3%) were adherents of Islam, others were adherents of Christianity and Traditional religion. Similarly, the majority of the transnational street beggars were married; but those who were single also had a considerable representation. The distribution of respondents by the number of children they had indicated that those who had between 1 and 3 children were in the majority, but those who had between 4 and 6 children and those who had no child were also high in the sample.

With respect to the years of residence, the findings of the study indicated a preponderance of respondents who had resided in Nigeria for less than a year. Also, of considerable importance is the educational level of the transnational street beggars. In this instance, a large number of the respondents (47.1%) did not obtain any form of formal education, but a substantial proportion of them had acquired Arabic education. In addition, the result of the respondents' means of

livelihood in home-countries showed that farming was essentially the occupation of the majority of the respondents and a considerable proportion of them were pastoralists.

Also, the result of the study revealed that there was no substantial difference in the recorded daily average proceeds of the transnational street beggars in the two cities. While the majority of the respondents declared their daily average proceeds to be between ₦150.00-₦195.00, the highest amount recorded as the average daily proceeds of the respondents was ₦400.00 and above. The findings further indicated that the transnational street beggars essentially utilised their earning for family upkeep and to meet other basic needs, especially food. They also saved their earnings. The children among them essentially gave their earnings to their parents.

In all, the transnational street beggars in the city of Lagos and Ibadan were mostly nationals of Niger Republic, Chad Republic and Mali. They were largely composed of individuals who were single and those who were married, with varying numbers of children. Those who fell between the ages of 15 and 19 were in the majority. Again, a large proportion of the respondents had not acquired any form of formal education, and most of them were essentially farmers and pastoralists. The majority of them had taken residence in Nigeria for less than a year.

5.1.2 Reasons for the choice of Nigeria

As regards the choice of Nigeria, the results of the study revealed that a large percentage of the transnational street beggars (53.4%) mentioned access to better opportunity as their reason for choosing Nigeria as their country of destination. Other reasons given included the nearness of Nigeria to their country of origin, presence of contacts in Nigeria and their liking for Nigeria. The reasons given for their decision to leave their respective countries of origin included problems of famine, drought, poverty and war.

5.1.3 Migration process

With respect to the migration process of the transnational street beggars from their countries of origin to Nigeria, the study established that their family members and friends played a strong role in influencing their decision to migrate to Nigeria for the purpose of engaging in street begging. There was a very low involvement of smugglers in the migration process of the transnational

street beggars, as the majority of them (83.0%) migrated to Nigeria on their own. It was also established that transnational street beggars gained entry into Nigeria through different states of the country. Though the majority (29.3%) entered through Sokoto State, there was a difference in their states of entry when considered in relation to their nationality (X^2=122.022; P<0.05). Furthermore, while all the transnational street beggars came to Nigeria by road, some of them entered the country legally and others gained entry illegally. Additionally, the months of August and September were the months in which most of the transnational street beggars migrated to Nigeria to conduct street begging.

5.1.4: Network of relationships

The study also examined the network of relationships that exist among transnational street beggars, and came up with illuminating findings. The study showed that most of them relied on the ties they shared with some other people to facilitate their migration to Nigeria and sustain their presence in the country. The majority of the transnational street beggars (81.2%) had contacts in Nigeria in form of family members, friends and acquaintances prior to their arrival in the country. And these are the people who provided the transnational street beggars with the basic necessities, most especially food and accommodation, in their first few days of arrival in Nigeria.

On the existence of begging assistant(s), the findings of the study revealed that most of the adult transnational street beggars in the two cities, apart from soliciting alms themselves, were also using their children as begging assistants. The adults coordinated the street begging activities of the children by essentially taking them to locations where to conduct street begging, and by also informing them on the kind of persons from whom to solicit alms. The results of the study equally indicated that most of the transnational street beggars did not migrate to Nigeria alone, as the majority (80.6%) came with some other member(s) of their household, ranging from their father, mother, wife, husband, child or children, sibling to uncle.

The findings also showed that only few members of the transnational street beggars had given birth in Nigeria. As regards their place of abode in Nigeria, it was discovered from the study that most of them took residence with their family members, friends and acquaintances, with whom

they shared some forms of established relationship. Some of them, however, took residence in rented apartments in some lower class neighbourhoods. Similarly, the study established that nearly all the transnational street beggars conducting street begging in both metropolis maintained contact with their family members in their respective home-countries, and the majority (50.6%) utilised telephone service to keep in touch with them.

With regard to the remittance of earnings to family members in home-country, the study established that most of the transnational street beggars did not send money to their relatives in their home-countries. Findings further revealed that most of them had not had encounter with law enforcement officers since they started street begging in Nigeria. The results of the study, as regards the future plan of the transnational street beggars, indicated that the majority (48.2%) planned to raise enough money and return to their country of origin.

5.1.5 Threat to Nigeria and the challenges of control

The findings of the study revealed that the involvement of transnational street beggars in street begging in Nigeria constitutes threats to the country in multiple ways. Apart from constituting potential human resources that can be used to further aggravate the current security problem in Nigeria, some of the transnational street beggars do engage in some criminal activities such as trafficking in drugs and arms, kidnapping, armed robbery, amongst others. Also, it was revealed from the results of the study that transnational street beggars directly contributed to the population explosion and its associated problems, such as environmental pollution, and the overstretching of public utilities in Nigeria. They were also identified to be potential vectors of communicable diseases from some other countries to Nigeria. Some other studies on local beggars in Nigeria had also confirmed the association between some of these identified problems and street begging.

With regard to the challenges at controlling the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria, a wide range of institutional and non-institutional factors were identified in the study as militating against an effective containment of the problem. Some of the identified challenges included the porous nature of most of the Nigerian borders, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) policy on free movement of citizens of West African countries across

the sub-region, the lack of specific order directing relevant agencies to act, the Hausa language commonly shared by the transnational street beggars and the Hausa people of northern Nigeria which often makes it difficult to distinguish them from the non-Nigerian-speaker of the language, the problem posed by human trafficking networks which sometimes facilitate their movement into the country and also the inadequacy of necessary facilities needed by officers of the Nigeria Immigration Service for effective job performance.

5.1.6 Theoretical efficacy

The results of the study validated some of the propositions of the two theories adopted as the research guides. First, the findings of the study which revealed that transnational street beggars decided to leave their countries of origin for the purpose of coming to Nigeria to engage in street begging, as a result of different problems they had experienced in their countries, confirmed the proposition of Anomie-strain theory which states that certain group of people in the society will respond to the strain condition resulting from the existing disjuncture between the societal goal and institutionalised means of achieving it, by innovating new ways of reaching their desired goals.

Similarly, the findings of the study also confirmed the efficacy of the migration network theory. It was established that transnational street beggars were able to successfully come to Nigeria from their respective home-countries by building on the ties that connected them with their family members, friends and acquaintances. Also, the efficacy of the migration network theory was also brought to bear in the result of the study that revealed that transnational street beggars capitalised on the Economic Community of West African States policy on free movement to facilitate their migration into Nigeria and as well as for sustaining their presence in the country.

5.2 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study:

1. Transnational street beggars in Lagos and Ibadan broadly cut across different groups in terms of nationality, age, sex, religion, marital status, years of residence in Nigeria. A common characteristic among them is low level of formal education.

2. Limited opportunity as a result of drought, famine, poverty and war that transnational street beggars experienced in their country of origin served as the push factors responsible for their decision to migrate, while the perceived better opportunity, the nearness of Nigeria to their country of origin, the presence of contacts in Nigeria and their liking for Nigeria served as the pull factors responsible for the choice of Nigeria as their country of destination.

3. The migration pattern of transnational street beggars to Nigeria is complex and did not follow a single pattern. While some of them gained entry into Nigeria legally, others entered the country illegally. There was a very low involvement of smugglers in their migration plans and they migrated to Nigeria all year round through different states of the country.

4. There are essentially two types of transnational street beggars in Nigeria; these include those who have taken semi-permanent residence in the country and those who occasionally come to Nigeria from their countries of origin or from some other neighbouring countries to conduct street begging. The occasional transnational street beggars in Nigeria essentially banked on the ties they shared with those who had taken semi-permanent residence in Nigeria to sustain their presence in the country.

5. Adult transnational street beggars often do not migrate to Nigeria alone. Rather, they preferred to come with, at least, one other member of their household, as a way of maximising the chances of making more money in Nigeria. In this instance, a child is the most preferred family member to migrate with.

6. In spite of the fact that transnational street beggars are conducting street begging in Nigeria, most of them were not totally cut off from their family members in their countries of origin as they often mitigate the physical barrier by utilising telephone service and by also sending their acquaintances to their relatives.

7. The presence of transnational street beggars in Nigeria posed multiple problems to the country in a variety of ways, including social, environmental, health and economic.

8. A wide range of institutional and non-institutional challenges are currently frustrating efforts geared towards controlling the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

5.3 Recommendations

The recognition that transnational street begging, as established from this study, is increasingly contributing to the social problems in Nigeria and the fact that the unrestrained activities of transnational street beggars is capable of adversely affecting the well-being of the nation makes it pertinent to suggest ways to effectively curtail the problem. Therefore, the following recommendations are put forward based on the findings of the study:

1. The porous state of most of the Nigerian borders was revealed as contributing to the influx of transnational street beggars into the country. Therefore, the Federal Government should consider as a matter of urgent national importance, the need to identify most, if not all illegal points of entry into Nigeria. This step, as daunting as it seems, is achievable through the active involvement of the local people at the border towns, who are familiar with the terrains and geographical landscapes of their environment. This will definitely go a long way in solving the problem of influx of transnational street beggars and by extension, that of the illegal immigration into Nigeria.

2. Another closely related problem in the control of the transnational street beggars as established in the study is that of the ill-equipped officials of the Nigeria Immigration Service stationed at the nation's different border-posts. Therefore, the Nigerian Government is urged to adequately motivate personnel of this agency and other relevant ones by making available to them adequate funding, good accommodation at the border-stations, functional vehicles and even helicopters to enable them effectively carry out their responsibility of checking illegal immigration into Nigeria.

3. Furthermore, the Federal Government of Nigeria is urged to put in place a mechanism through which refugees who are genuinely in need can be distinguished from those whose migration goal is fraudulently-driven. The Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be charged with this responsibility. In addition, the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs should actively collaborate with their counterparts in the countries of origin of the identified transnational street beggars in Nigeria as a way of developing and/or putting in

place far reaching measures on ways to better control the untoward practice of some of their nationals who usually immigrate into Nigeria for the purpose of street begging.

4. Similarly, it was also established in the study, that though the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Developments at both the Federal and State levels in Nigeria are charged with the responsibility of controlling street begging, relevant law enforcement agency in the country did not consider street begging to be a part of their mandates. Therefore, the Federal Government needs to empower relevant law enforcement agencies, especially the Nigeria Police and National Agency for the Prohibition Trafficking in Person and other Related Matters (NAPTIP) to include street begging in their mandates. Furthermore, officials of the Ministry of Women Affairs, Social Welfare and Community Development are urged to be more proactive in the discharge of their responsibilities by developing measures that would be geared towards preventing Nigerians from engaging in street begging. This step can go a long way in addressing the problem of transnational street begging because migrant beggars may find it difficult to solicit alms in the country, if begging by their local counterparts is not condoned.

5. Lastly, there is a need for the Federal Government to look into ways of putting in place necessary frameworks that will make sure personnel of the Nigeria Immigration Service, particularly those who are stationed at the border-posts, are trained by linguists who are versatile in Hausa language. It is believed that this will equip them with techniques of knowing the difference between the native Hausa speakers and the non-Nigerian speaker of the language as a way of addressing the common language challenge posed to the officers of the agency as evident in the findings.

5.4 Contributions to Knowledge

This study has contributed to knowledge in the following ways:

a. It has expanded the scope of research to a distinct group of beggars in Nigeria on whom little information previously existed.
b. It has revealed the overt and covert factors facilitating the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria, and suggested multiple approaches that can form the baseline for policy development in relation to the problem in future.
c. It has unraveled the socio-political and health implications of transnational street begging on Nigeria, and recommended ways through which the problem can be addressed.
d. It has successfully demonstrated the utility of Strain and Migration Network theories as suitable theoretical frameworks for explaining push and pull factors of transnational street begging.
e. Methodologically, this study has laid a framework in which future research on migrant street beggars can build-on.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan metropolis

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is designed to examine the dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. The study is being undertaken for the award of Ph.D. degree in Sociology. Information supplied will be strictly used for an academic purpose and will be held in strict confidence. I implore you to give honest and accurate answers. Thank you very much.

Instruction: Kindly answer the questions below. Mark [X] where appropriate in the given options, and where necessary, write your responses in the space provided.

City:……

Location:…….....

Section A: Socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars

S/N	Question	Response	Code	Skip to
1.	Sex	Male [ ] Female [ ]	1 2	
2.	Age	15-19 [ ] 20-24 [ ] 25-29 [ ] 30-34 [ ] 35-39 [ ] 40 and above [ ]	1 2 3 4 5 6	
3.	Religion	Christianity [ ] Islam [ ] Traditional [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3	
4.	Nationality			
5.	Marital status	Single [ ] Married [ ] Divorced [ ] Cohabiting [ ] Widowed [ ] Separated [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

6.	Number of children			
7.	Years of residence in Nigeria	Less than 1year [ ] 2 [ ] 3 [ ] 4 [ ] 5 and above [ ]	1 2 3 4 5	
8.	Level of education			
9.	What means of livelihood did you have in your home country?	Farming [ ] Pastoralism [ ] Artisanship [ ] Other[ ]	1 2 3 4	

Section B: Reasons for the choice of Nigeria

S/N	Question	Response	Code	Skip to
10.	Why did you come to Nigeria?	Nearest to my country[ ] Better opportunity [ ] Ease of entry [ ] Presence of Contacts in Nigeria [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3 4 5	
11.	Who introduced you to the idea of coming to Nigeria?	Family Member [ ] Friend(s) [ ] Nobody [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3 4	
12.	Why did you leave your country?	Drought [ ] Famine [ ] War [ ] Poverty [ ] Disease epidemic [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3 4 5 6	
13.	Did you decide before you left your country that you would engage in begging in Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If yes, skip to 15
14.	What was your initial plan?	To be a labourer [ ] To be a maid [ ] To be a night-guard [ ] Other[ ]	1 2 3 4	

15.	Is street begging lawful in your country?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	
16.	Why did you come to Nigeria?			
17.	Are your family members aware of your involvement in street begging in Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]		If no, skip to 19
18.	What is their disposition to your involvement in begging?			

Section C: Trajectory to Nigeria

S/N	Question	Response	Code	Skip to
19.	Have you ever engaged in begging in other country apart from Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 21
20.	Which other country or countries?			
21.	Did you pay someone to facilitate your migration to Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	
22.	How many times do you normally come in a year?			
23.	In which month(s) did you come?			
24.	Why?			
25.	What was your mode of transportation to Nigeria?	Land [ ] Water [ ]	1 2	
26.	Did you enter the country through official border-post?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	
27.	Through which State of Nigeria did you enter?			
28.	How did you gain entry?	Through bush path [ ] Through illegal water -ways [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3	
29.	In which of the Nigerian cities did you first settle on your arrival?			

30.	Did you have an encounter with the Nigerian law enforcement agents on your way to the country?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 32
31.	How did it happen?			

Section D: Network of Relationships among transnational street beggars

S/N	Question	Response	Code	**skip to**
32.	Did you know anybody in Nigeria before coming?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 34
33.	Who is the person(s)?	Family member(s) [ ] Friend(s) Other [ ]	1 2 3	
34.	Do you have a leader who coordinates your begging activities?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 36
35.	How much do you give to your leader as your daily return?			
36.	Do you have people solicitir alms for you?	Yes [ ] No [ ]		If no, skip to 38
37.	Who are they?			
38.	How much is their daily return?			
39.	Did you come to Nigeria with any of your family member (s)?	Yes No	1 2	If no, skip to 40
40.	Which of your family member(s)?	Husband [ ] Wife [ ] Father [ ] Mother [ ] Children [ ] Other[ ]	1 2 3 4 5 6	

41.	Where did you reside in the first few days of your arrival?	Public Space [ ] Motor Park [ ] Streets [ ] Church/Mosque yard [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3 4 5	
42.	Is any other member (s) of your family involved in street begging in Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 44
43.	Who?	Father [ ] Mother [ ] Husband [ ] Wife Child or children [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3 4 5 6	
44.	Have you and your wife or husband given birth in Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	
45.	Where do you sleep at night?	Patrons house [ ] Public space [ ] Motor park [ ] Street [ ] Rented apartment [ ] Other[ ]	1 2 3 4 5	
46.	Do you still get in touch with your family at home?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 48
47.	Through which means?	Telephone [ ] Acquaintance returning home [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3	
48.	On the average, how much do you make daily?			
49.	What do you do with your earnings?			
50.	Do you send money to your people at home?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no skip to 52
51.	By what means?			

52.	Have you ever had an encounter with the Nigerian law enforcement agent (s) since you started begging in Nigeria?	Yes [ ] No [ ]	1 2	If no, skip to 54
53.	For what offence?	Begging [ ] Obstructing traffic [ ] Other [ ]	1 2 3	
54.	What is your future plan?			

Appendix 2

In-depth interview guide for transnational street beggars

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street begging in Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Date----------

City----------

Location----------

Local Government Area----------

1. Socio-demographic characteristics

   Probe for:

   a. Age

   b. Sex

   c. Religion

   d. Nationality

   e. Marital Status

   f. Number of Children

   g. Year of Residence in Nigeria

2. Why did you leave your home-country?

Probe for:

a. Cause(s) of emigration

b. Reason(s) for not engaging in begging in home-country

3. Why did you choose Nigeria as your country of destination?

Probe for:

a. Proximity to home-country

b. Presence of contacts

c. Ease of entry

d. Success story of previous emigrants

4. How did you go about your emigration from your country to Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Existence of patrons

b. Patterns of movement

c. Payment to smuggler (s)

d. Process of border-crossing

5. How did you get to this city?

Probe for:

a. First city of residence

b. Fixed abode

c. Living arrangements

d. Presence of relatives

6. How do you conduct alms solicitation in the street?

Probe for:

a. Favourite methods of attracting donors

b. Language spoken or extra-linguistic actions

c. Average earning per day

d. Choice locations of begging

7. How is street begging in Nigeria?

Probe for:
a. Attitude of the public to them
b. Reaction of Nigerian beggars to them
c. Threat of or actual arrest by law enforcement agents

8. Aside from street begging, do you have any other source of income?

Probe for:
a. Existence of other source(s) of income
b. Taking money to vote during general elections
c. Possibility of being contacted by Nigerians for criminal acts

9. Are you currently suffering from any form of illness?

Probe for:
a. Existence of communicable diseases
b. Adopted forms of treatment

10. What plans do you have for the future?

Probe for:
a. Plan to quit begging
b. Plan to migrate to another country
(c.) Plan to return to country of origin

Appendix 3

Case Study Guide for Transnational Street Beggars

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street in Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Give general bio-data

A. Reasons for choosing Nigeria as country of destination

a. Why did you leave your home-country?
b. What makes you choose Nigeria as your country of destination?
c. Were you involved in street begging in your country?
d. If not, what was your former occupation?
e. Did you decide from your country that you would engage in street begging on getting to Nigeria?
f. If no, what was your initial plan?

B. Trajectory from home-country to Nigeria

a. Who introduced you to the idea of migrating to Nigeria?
b. When did you decide to migrate to Nigeria?

c. How did you facilitate your movement from your country to Nigeria?
d. Did you come to Nigeria with any other member of your family?
e. Tell us about your traveling experiences from your country to Nigeria?
f. Did you have an encounter with security personnel at the Nigerian border?
g. If yes, please tell us your experiences?
h. Did you know anybody in Nigeria before you came?
i. How did you negotiate your ways around in the first few days of your arrival?
j. Is this city your first place of destination in Nigeria?
k. If no, which other parts of the country have you been?
l. How many years have you spent in this city?

C. Network of relationships that exist among transnational street beggars

a. Where do you normally sleep at night?
b. Are you married?
c. Did you come to this city with your wife (or husband)?
d. Is your wife (or husband) also involved in street begging?
e. If no, what does he or she do for a living?
f. Have you given birth in Nigeria?
g. If yes, what plans do you have for your child or children?
h. Do you know of other people from your country, who are also involved in street begging in this city?
i. How much do you make per day?
j. What do you do with the money realized from begging?
k. Do you keep your earnings with someone else?
l. If yes, with whom?
m. Do you still make contact with your people at home?
n. If yes, by what means and how often?
o. Do you solicit alms alone or in the company of others?
p. If yes, why?
q. If no, why?
r. How do you get along with Nigerians who are also involved in street begging?

s. Have you been involved in quarrel with beggars of Nigerian extraction?
t. Have you ever had an encounter with law enforcement officials in Nigeria?
u. If yes, tell us your experiences with them.
v. What would you do, if the Nigerian government decides to ban street begging?
w. Do you plan to quit street begging in the nearest future?
x. If yes, what is your future plan?
y. When do you intend to return to your country?

Appendix 4

Key-Informant Interview Guide for Personnel of the Nigeria Immigration Service

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street begging and the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Date----------

Location----------

1. Socio-demographic information

a. Age:

b. Sex:

c. Religion:

d. Cadre:

2. What can you say about the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Entry into Nigeria

b. Border crossing

c. Residency status

d. Nationality of transnational beggars

3. How does the Nigerian government view the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

a. Probe for:

b. Recognition as a problem

c. Government's will to control it

4. What implications does the phenomenon of transnational street begging have for Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Security implication

b. Link with terrorism

c. Stretch of natural resources

d. Population explosion

5. What specific effort has the government made to address the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Existence of law and/or policy banning the influx of transnational beggars

b. Year of formulation

c. Provisions of such Laws

6. What step has this agency taken in the past to tackle the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Modes of operation

b. Border security

c. Collaboration with the governments of transnational beggars' countries of origin

7. What are the existing challenges at combating the influx of transnational beggar into Nigeria? Probe for:

(a.) ECOWAS policy as impediment

(b.) Non-availability of necessary facilities

(c.) Human trafficking networks

Appendix 5

Key-informant interview guide for personnel of the Nigeria Custom Service

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street begging and the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Date----------

Location----------

1. Socio-Demographic Information

a. Age:

b. Sex:

c. Religion:

d. Cadre:

2. What can you say about the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Entry into Nigeria

b. Border crossing

c. Countries of origin

d. Favourable states of entry into Nigeria

3. What implications does the phenomenon of transnational street begging have on Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Socio-political implications

b. Security implications

4. What specific effort has the government taken to address the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Existence of law and/or policy on transnational street beggars

b. Year of formulation

c. Provisions of such laws

5. What effort has this agency made in the past to tackle the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Collaboration with other related agencies

b. Border security

c. Future strategy

6. What are the current challenges at combating the influx of transnational beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. ECOWAS policy as impediment

b. Non-availability of necessary facilities

c. Human trafficking networks

Appendix 6

Key-informant interview guide for personnel of the Nigeria Police

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street begging and the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Date----------

Location----------

1. Socio-Demographic Information

a. Age:

b. Sex:

c. Religion:

d. Cadre:

2. What can you say about the involvement of transnational street beggars in street begging in Nigeria?

   Probe for:

   a. Entry into Nigeria

   b. Border crossing

c. Residency status

3. How does this organization view the involvement of transnational beggars in street begging in Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Recognition as a problem

b. Recognition of begging as problem

c. Arrest of transnational beggars in the past

4. What implications does the phenomenon of transnational street begging have on Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Socio-economic implications

b. Security implications

c. Link with terrorism

d. Involvement in criminality

5. What step has this agency taken in the past to tackle the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Arrests of identified transnational beggars

b. Border security

c. Collaboration with other agencies

d. Future strategy

6. What are the existing challenges at combating the influx of transnational beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

(a.) ECOWAS policy as impediment

(b.) Non-availability of necessary facilities

(c.) Human trafficking networks

Appendix 7

Key-informant interview guide for the official of National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street begging and the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Date----------

Location----------

1. Socio-Demographic Information

a. Age:

b. Sex:

c. Religion:

d. Cadre:

2. What can you say about the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Entry into Nigeria

b. Border crossing

c. Link with human traffickers

3. What implications does the phenomenon of transnational street begging have on Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Socio-economic implications

b. Security implications

4. Is there any law that addresses the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Existence of law and/or policy on transnational street beggars

b. Year of formulation

c. Provision of such Laws

5. What effort has this agency made in the past to tackle the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Modes of operation

b. Arrest and/or deportation

c. Collaboration with other related agencies

6. What are the existing challenges at combating the influx of transnational beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. ECOWAS policy as impediment

b. Non-availability of necessary facilities

c. Human trafficking networks

Appendix 8

Key-informant interview guide for personnel of the Oyo State Ministry of Women Affairs, Community Development and Social Welfare

Introduction

Good day, my name is Ojedokun, Usman .A. I am a student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan. I am conducting a research on dynamics and patterns of transnational street begging in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. This study is being conducted to generate information on the socio-demographic characteristics of transnational beggars in Lagos and Ibadan Metropolis, why/how they migrated to Nigeria, their networks, the implications of their presence in Nigeria, as well as challenges at controlling them. Information gathered will go a long way to address the perennial problem of street begging and the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria.

Confidentiality and informed consent

I want you to know that all information generated from this discussion will be used for research purposes only. All information given will be kept confidential and no reference will be made to your name. Please feel free to make your contributions. Do I have your permission to continue? Yes ( ) No ( )

Date----------

Location……

1. Socio-demographic information

a. Age:

b. Sex:

c. Religion:

d. Cadre:

e. Nature of duty:

2. How does this ministry view the involvement of transnational beggars in street begging in Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Its recognition as a social problem

b. Will to tackle it

3. In your own opinion, what are the factors promoting the influx of transnational street beggars in Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Presence of indigenous beggars
b. Porous borders
c. Urbanization

4. In your own opinion, what implications does the influx of transnational street beggars have on Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Health implications

b. Environmental implications

c. Socio-economic implications

d. Security implications

5. What specific measures has the government put in place to address the phenomenon of transnational street beggars?

Probe for:

a. Availability of law or policy

b. Provisions of such a law(s)

c. Year of enactment

6. What is this ministry doing to tackle the problem of transnational street beggars?

Probe for:

a. Methods adopted

b. Collaboration with other concerned agencies (NGO, Police etc)

c. Future plans

7. In your own opinion, what are challenges being encountered at controlling the influx of transnational street beggars into Nigeria?

Probe for:

a. Inadequate border security

b. ECOWAS regional policy