

**Research Article** 

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# **Exploitation of Teenage Beggars in Lahore, Pakistan**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

**Objective.** The current study qualitatively explored the phenomenon of exploitation of teenage beggars. It sought to understand the nature and impact of exploitation and the coping strategies adopted. Gender differences were also investigated.

**Method.** Semi structured interview technique was used to collect data. Eight participants (four boys and four girls) were selected through convenience sampling. Teenagers who were being forced by their parents to beg and lived with them in homes were taken. The collected data was analyzed through thematic analysis.

**Results.** After conducting rigorous interviews, first superordinate theme, "deprivation and disempowerment" accompanied by subthemes i.e., lack of fulfillment of basic needs, no control over earnings, and absence of love, was developed. Second superordinate theme was emotional and physical abuse including subthemes sexual exploitation, physical abuse, social and psychological maltreatment. Inferior social status appeared as third most important matter of concern for beggars. Further, participants reported passive coping styles like fatalism, venting emotions, sacrificing etc. to cope out this trauma. The findings revealed that both boys and girls were deprived of their basic needs, stigmatized, and abused by their parents and society. To some extent, boys were in better condition than girls.

**Conclusion.** Begging status has adverse consequences on teenage beggars as their parents have med it a profession and they are using their children for this nasty purpose. Moreover, it is not a matter restricted to any gender; it is the matter of exploitation of human beings. Government needs to take proper steps to save the adolescents from any kind of exploitation; otherwise, the future of teenage beggars will be darker than present.

**Keywords:** Teenage beggars, Exploitation, Thematic Analysis.

#### Introduction

Human Poverty Index Line indicated that 33.4% of Pakistani people live below the poverty line which is an alarming proportion. This kind of situation has forced people to indulge in undesirable professions like import and export of drugs, robbery, prostitution, pornography, begging etc., The most affected victims in

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these circumstances are children and adolescents (Tristam, 2020). Unfortunately, in Pakistan, some parents are not only mistreating their children, rather they have compelled them to beg in front of people to fulfill their basic needs (Mohyuddin et al., 2022). According to International Labor Organization (ILO), there are approximately twenty-five million beggars in Pakistan. On average, a beggar earns 100-10,000 rupees per day (Azam, 2014).

Khan (2020) found that economic factors like inflation, poverty and unemployment were basic reasons of begging in Pakistan. There were some family factors like being forced by parents to beg or being motivated by older siblings. He also focused on personal factors. For instance, children often left home to get independent and then they became beggars to fulfill their necessities. Sometimes children left home to escape from the inhumane treatment of parents and adopted begging to earn money. There were Hijras (eunuchs) who often earned through begging. Igbal (2013) stated that poverty alone cannot be held responsible for beggary in Pakistan. It is a complex socio-economic issue. Social maladies like the breakdown of joint family, cultural conflict, community disorganization, faulty socialization etc. lead to beggary. Sickness or disease, physical disability or deformity, and mental infirmity can be described as biological causes of beggary. Sometimes famine or calamities compel people to beg. Parents' maltreatment often forces their children to leave home. Abro (2012) carried out a comprehensive study on teenage street beggars in Sindh, Karachi. He stated that teenage beggars were suffering from multiple life threatening diseases like tuberculosis, anemia, stomach problems, and even AIDS. They were using different coping strategies such as fighting, tolerating, trying to sleep, taking drugs and being involved in sexual activities. They were also involved in some recreational activities like playing cricket, watching television, films and electronic games.

Physical inability, mental derangement, personal or social maladjustment, custom of alms giving, unemployment, and disruption of joint family may produce a situation which results in beggary. Failure of government schools is an important cause of begging because children said that they do not go to school or have left school because they had a fight or were beaten or could not understand what was being taught. Obviously, government schools are unable to attract or keep these children in the school (Israr, 2015).

Ali and Muynck (2022) conducted qualitative research in Rawalpindi and Islamabad on child beggars. They found that child beggars were vulnerable to injuries, respiratory and skin infections, dermatological conditions and malnutrition. These children were also at increased risk of acquiring HIV/AIDS due to their exposure to high-risk sexual behaviors and were more likely to develop Hepatitis B and C. Tufail (2015) found that in Sindh, Pakistan 78% child beggars liked to take *pan*, *ghutka*, and cigarette. It had also been found that 57% of street children liked to take Glue, inhale Petrol and take other drugs, while 43% did not like to take these drugs. Beggars usually have less resources and social support to become an active member of society so, passive coping strategies are more likely to be adopted (Thrane et al., 2016).

The phenomenon of begging is not restricted to only developing countries. It is also found in developed countries where beggars are having different types of problems. Davies (2011) carried out qualitative research on homeless beggars in London. She did six semi-structured interviews with six beggars (5 males and 1 female). It was identified that homeless beggars were having low self-esteem, loss of self- identity, rejection, social isolation and poor psychological well-being. However, they developed resilience to cope with the problems with the passage of time. Tambuwal (2019) suggested that beggars who really want to work should be given proper opportunities to become an active member of society. It is important to hate begging not the beggars. They are waiting for a better future. Now, it is the responsibility of educated people to make it happen and play their role in creating a better Pakistan.

#### Significance of the Study

The present study focused on the sufferings and exploitation of teenage beggars living with parents in their homes, notably the focus is on teenagers. According to Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (1959), adolescence is the time period when a child begins to explore his or her own identity, develop negative or positive self- image and begins to observe the realities of the world. But it is awful for those

teenagers who are on the roads day and night, begging for money, and being humiliated by people. So, this study assessed their feelings, self-esteem, thoughts, physical and social problems in detail and showed their side of the picture. It investigated what types of coping strategies were used by teenage beggars. Another important feature was to highlight the gender differences and similarities.

In Pakistan, it has been estimated that the ratio of adolescent beggars is 78%. This issue needs to be addressed in detail by the researchers (Hamza, 2015). Most of the researches show the negative aspects of beggars. But this research will take an empathic approach to the predicament of teenage beggars in Lahore city of Pakistan.

# Objectives of the Study

- To investigate the phenomenon of exploitation of teenage beggars (boys and girls).
- To understand the impact of begging on teenage beggars (boys and girls).
- To find out how teenage beggars (boys and girls) cope with the problems which they face.
- To find out the gender differences in terms of the nature of exploitation, impact, and coping strategies.

# Research Questions

- How are teenage beggars (boys and girls) being exploited in Pakistan?
- How does the begging status of teenage beggars (boys and girls) affect them and their health?
- How do teenage beggars (boys and girls) cope with the problems that they face?
- What are the gender differences in terms of the nature of exploitation, its impact, and coping strategies adopted?

#### Method

The basic purpose of the study was to qualitatively explore the phenomenon of begging thorough Thematic Analysis. The description of key terms is being presented below:

# **Exploitation**

There is a considerable overlap between the terms "abuse" and "exploitation". Abuse is defined as "the process of making bad or improper use, or violating or injuring, or to take bad advantage of, or maltreat, the person," while exploitation literally means "using for one's own profit or for selfish purposes" (World Health Organization, 2020).

**Teenage beggars' exploitation.** The present study focused on those teenage beggars who lived in their homes and were mistreated by their parents. They are being deprived of their basic rights and compelled to beg by their parents. They face various kinds of problems at home and outside while asking for money, food or other things from strangers.

**Thematic Analysis.** It is a qualitative research design to analyze data and is applied to a set of texts, such as transcripts or interviews. Researchers closely evaluates the data to categorize themes, ideas and patterns of meaning that come up repetitively (Caulfield, 2022).

# **Study Method**

#### **Participants**

Four boys and four girls (beggars) were selected through convenience sampling. They belonged to the age group of 13-17. Unmarried baggers were taken. Beggars who were being forced by their parents to beg and lived in homes with them were selected. Beggars who begged in the middle class areas of Lahore were interviewed.

#### Instrument

Semi-structured interview technique was used to collect data.

#### Procedure

In the present study, two boys and two girls (beggars) on the basis of convenience sampling were taken. Initial screening was done to select the beggars who were forced by their parents to beg. Participants were taken from the under developed areas of Lahore. They were assured that all the collected information will be kept confidential. Semi-structured interviews were conducted which lasted for 45-60 minutes. After taking interviews, researchers gave eatables to the participants for their time and cooperation.

#### Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyze data. The recorded interviews were transcribed and then the themes were derived from the transcription. The themes were clustered to develop super ordinate themes for each interview. Then a narrative account of themes was developed which explained the phenomenon of "the exploitation of teenage beggars" in detail.

#### **Results and Discussion**

The current research was carried out to study the phenomenon of 'the exploitation of teenage beggars' in the Lahore city of Pakistan. The generated themes have been presented in the form of figures (see Figure 1 to Figure 6). A narration of the themes is being given below.

# Narration of Teenage Girls (beggars):

The first superordinate theme which fell in the category of dimensions of exploitation was "Deprivation [and disempowerment] accompanied by these subthemes: lack of fulfillment of basic needs, no control over earnings, and absence of love.

It was found that parents did not spend money on girls' education, treatment, clothing and other activities. First participant said: "Which expenditures are you talking about? We don't have a lot of expenditures" (Interview 1)

Participants were not allowed to use their earnings. Second interviewee said:

"My mother takes my whole income but she buys only 2 clothes in the whole year for me" (Interview 2).

#### She further said that:

Juwita and Anggraini (2013) conducted research in Indonesia on child beggars. The findings revealed that parents deprived their children (boys and girls) of their basic rights and children were being maltreated.

Girls (beggars) were the victim of almost all forms of abuse. Hence, another main theme "abuse" emerged. Participants were suffering from sexual exploitation the most. The condition was worst for the first participant. She was forced to go with her sisters to homes where weddings were taking place, they danced and sang songs to earn money. She told that her parents sell her elder sisters for nasty purposes. She lost eye contact with the researcher and her face blushed during the discussion. She said:

"baji......woman is not secure anywhere.....neither in home nor in darulaman (shelter home)" (Interview 1).

"To earn a reasonable amount, I am compelled to meet with men in privacy" (Interview 4).

Research also revealed that Pakistani parents were selling their daughters into domestic servitude and prostitution (Khawaja et al., 2016). The main reasons behind it were illiteracy, gender discrimination, poverty and greed. Mohiuddin (2022) found out that in Pakistan, girls were usually trafficked and gangs used them as prostitutes. They said that homeless girls (beggars) were at more risk of sexual exploitation than girls who live in homes.

Girls were also greatly affected by physical abuse. The first participant said:

"When I asked my parents, I want to study; they started beating me and pushed me. I fell on the ground and felt much pain" (Interview 1).

"If I don't earn enough money, my mother beats me by broom and shoes. My mother also pulls my hair, and punches me; when I don't go for work" (Interview 2).

In Albania and Greece, Delap (2009) also found that girl beggars were physically beaten by their mothers if they did not earn properly.

Excessive work was another important concern. Girls were asked to go for begging on regular basis. They had to beg for a long time. Parents were using their daughters for this purpose ever since they came into this world. For instance, a participant said:

"When I was born, my mother held me into her hands and asked people to give something to buy the infant's milk. And when I learned to speak, my mother taught me many ways to beg" (Interview 3).

Tristam stated that in Punjab, 5.88 million persons from 10 to 19 years of age group engaged in labor in 2020. No doubt, teenage beggars' working conditions cannot be equivalent to the children who work in mines, electrical workshops and factories but beggars are also suffering to a great extent.

However, in case of girl beggars, psychological abuse was the least severe as reported. Only one participant talked a little about it. The influence of economic, physical and sexual exploitation was the most on girls.

Another important point revealing lack of power and deprivation in girls was indignity and inferior social position which included the sub themes of humiliation at the hands of people, stigma, being mistrusted, and being perceived as lowly. Participants discussed that we feel nervous outside. People humiliate and stare at us. Rana and Chaudhry (2019) also found that in Pakistan, powerful and wealthy people feel pride in humiliating the less privileged people of the society. One participant said:

"Women taunt us; they don't allow their children to come close to us and men pass ridiculing sentences" (Interview 1).

"I don't remember that any woman ever saw me with love" (Interview 2). "Our friends are also beggars; rich people make friends with rich people only" (Interview 4).

"I realize we are inferior to others, we have dirty clothes; people hate us" (Interview 2).

Ahmadi (2021) also identified that beggars were having different psychosocial problems like low or weak self-concept, dependence on others, and feelings of unworthiness in Shiraz, Iran. However, social issues were less frustrating for girls than boys. Girl participants were more concerned about abuse and being deprived of basic needs.

Another important part of this study was to highlight the consequences of begging for teenage beggars. The first pertinent theme was "negative emotions and thought patterns". Participants were depressed, confused, felt helpless, and complained about what happened in the past and what is going on now. First participant said:

"I constantly worry about how I will collect money, I get irritated, my mind constantly wanders" (Interview 1).

"I feel I will die, have tears in my eyes, and my heart sinks. It is much better I die" (Interview 2).

Reda (2021) also revealed that in Nigeria shame, guilt feelings, fear, identity crisis, abuse, stress, depression, hopelessness and suspiciousness were some of the major psychological consequences associated with begging.

Participants felt helpless because they could not change their bad circumstances and did not see any positive change in their life ahead.

"I feel like I am going to be mad. I have constant fear in mind that I have to earn money" (Interview 3).

"I am a poor and helpless girl who cannot do anything to change her fate" (Interview 2).

Teenage girls (beggars) were not pleased with their begging status. They felt shame and discontent to beg in front of others. They were also hopeless and anxious about their future.

"I tried my level best to study, but I could not get education. What will happen in the future! I will be married to a beggar" (Interview 1).

In the category of the consequences of begging, another superordinate theme "effects on the sense of self" was generated. The emerging themes were feeling imprisoned, low self-esteem, felt vulnerability, and feeling of failure.

"I am just like a human being who cannot do anything; I just have to obey the orders which I receive, my hands are empty" (Interview 1).

"When I saw children going to school, wearing pretty clothes and shoes, having beautiful toys; I felt I am much far away from these children, I felt I have nothing when I compared myself with those children" (Interview 2). Begging was also affecting them physically. One participant said: "In summers, I have pimples on my body" (Interview 1).

"I get flu due to working in polluted environment. I have pain in my body especially in backbone and legs, I feel dizzy in summers" (Interview 4)

It was also examined that how teenage girls were dealing with exploitation. They were more likely to adopt passive/avoidant coping strategies. At times, they indulged in simple pleasures:

"I take tea which relaxes me; I often sit in a park and play" (Interview 1)

Girls were not actively coping with exploitation. However, they were soliciting social support (through their elder sisters) to change their bad circumstances which unfortunately did not work.

# Narration of Teenage Boys (beggars):

Teenage beggars (boys) were also the main part of the study. The first relevant theme was "burden". The sub themes were excessive work and imposition of duties. Results showed that boys were begging since childhood. They had long working hours and no holidays. There were also some other problems. One participant said:

"We wear cotton clothes in winter and woolen clothes in summers; it is not an easy thing to walk on roads without shoes in summers. But all these things are part of beggars' life" (Interview 5).

Boy beggars were having excessive responsibilities. Parents demanded that being a male child of the family they must go for earning to run the home expenditures. Boys were under pressure and compelled to earn as much money as possible. Sixth participant said:

"Boys are given more responsibilities than girls. They are born to fulfill the necessities of house. My parents say I have to arrange the dowry for sisters' weddings" (Interview 6).

Indignity and inferior social status was a serious issue in case of boys. They were more anxious about it than girls. Participants discussed the negative attitude of people in detail to show their concern.

"People humiliate us. We cannot sit and eat with rich people. Our relationships are limited to beggars only" (Interview 7).

"People mistreat us; they ridicule us. They humiliate us by saying, shut up! Don't irritate us" (Interview 8).

"In good or bad occasions of rich people, there are hundreds of people, but in the funerals of beggars nobody comes" (Interview 5).

Menka and Hassan (2018) also assessed the social problems of beggars in India. Beggars (65.1%) discussed the rude behavior of people and also complained that police often physically tortured them.

Participants (boys) were also worried about their negative image in society. They stated that people mistrust them and they are perceived as criminals, gangsters, and abusers.

"Yes, there are some beggars, who are offenders and involved in crimes. But we are not like them. It is necessary that people distinguish between us and them and do not usurp our rights" (Interview 6).

Girl participants were more worried about the non-provision of basic necessities. Boys were also experiencing it but to a lesser extent. "My father takes half of my earnings and I take the remaining half. Then, I fulfill my expenses from this income" (Interview 5). It seemed like somehow boys were enjoying some pleasures of life from their earnings. They were also not interested in studying. Jelili (2016) stated that the ratio of male beggars was more than girls in Nigeria. Beggars (82.6%) were not having any formal education while 14.2% beggars were educated till primary class only.

In the category of dimensions of exploitation, another superordinate theme "intimidation and harassment" was developed. They were threatened by parents and criminal gangs.

"My father uses abusive language and threatens to slap me whenever I don't go for work" (Interview 7).

One participant told that:

"Criminal gangs tried to trap me, such people kidnap us, I escaped from these gangs, I changed my places of begging" (Interview 8).

Participants (boy beggars) also discussed the deceiving and negative attitude of parents, close relatives, and health professionals. One participant said: "I have few cousins, who are rich. They do not meet us; their parents do not allow them to meet me. They feel embarrassment that we are their relatives" (Interview 5).

Parents were involved in emotional blackmailing of their children.

"Children who disobey their parents will be in fire" (Interview 6).

"My father says boys bear the burden of home expenses, children should support their parents" (Interview 5).

"When we go for treatment, doctors also pass insulting comments and don't give us much attention" (Interview 5).

Another pertinent part of the study was to assess the thought patterns and emotions of participants. It was found that boy beggars were having negative emotions, thoughts, and behavior patterns. Begging status was undesirable for boys. They were frustrated, sad, and displeased by their circumstances. Davies (2011) identified that homeless beggars in London (5 males and 1 female) were having low self-esteem, loss of self-identity, rejection, social isolation and poor psychological well-being. However, they developed resilience to cope with the problems with the passage of time.

Boy participants were also suffering from physical problems like bearing hot and cold weather, skin problems, fast heart- beat, dark complexion, and pneumonia.

"How can my health be better? It's very tough to bear winters. I got fever. Extremely hot weather is also painful. It's harsh to go outside in summers and beg. Once I lost consciousness" (Interview 7).

Kaushik (2014) identified that in India beggars (boys) were more vulnerable to developing HIV/AIDS. Other physical problems i.e. asthma, allergies, tuberculosis, rheumatism, eye diseases and leprosy were also found.

Boys were taking drugs to get rid of their troubles and distress.

"If something relaxes you, it means it is a good thing. Whenever I feel discomfort or have a headache; I take cigarettes with other drugs" (Interview 8).

Yizengaw and Gebiresilus (2014) also revealed that risky behaviors like criminal acts, substance use and sexual practices were more common among boys (beggars) than girls in Ethiopia.

Participants were also asked about the coping strategies which they adopt to curtail the troubles of life. The main theme "active coping" was developed. Participants were bold and courageous. They had succeeded in getting many rights through fighting or by taking daring steps. They escaped from physical torture and were also enjoying life to some extent by fulfilling basic needs.

"When I fought with my father, he began to give me half of my earnings" (Interview 5).

In case of personal self- identity, one participant was optimistic and said:

"I have many dreams; I wish to remove the stigma of "beggar" (Interview 5).

Participants were also having positive aims.

"I am working hard to earn enough money to do some constructive work such as a vendor" (Interview 6).

However, they were also using emotion focused coping/avoidant coping strategies i.e., distracting themselves, day dreaming, taking drugs, showing aggression, and blaming fate or luck.

"I watch movies and listen to songs. I have friends. We sit in a hotel and talk to each other" (Interview 5).

"I often think of having a big house and servants, that I am not a beggar, I do my own work and that people are respecting me" (Interview 8).

Abro (2012) also identified that beggars (boys) were using different coping strategies such as fighting, tolerating, trying to sleep, taking drugs and being indulged in sexual activities. They were also involved in recreational activities.

Participants were also using avoidant coping. They were taking drugs to avoid the unfavorable situations.

#### Conclusion

Begging status has adverse consequences on teenage beggars as their parents have med it a profession and they are using their children for this nasty purpose. Moreover, it is not a matter restricted to any gender; it

is the matter of exploitation of human beings. Government needs to take proper steps to save the adolescents from any kind of exploitation; otherwise, the future of teenage beggars will be darker than present.

# **Limitations of the Study**

- There was a probability of response bias. Beggars' illegal activities i.e., theft, drug abuse, sexual contacts, robbery etc. could be better evaluated through observational study.
- Disabled beggars, those working under gangs and homeless beggars were not studied.
- Analyzing the parents' perspective was an important part which has been neglected.

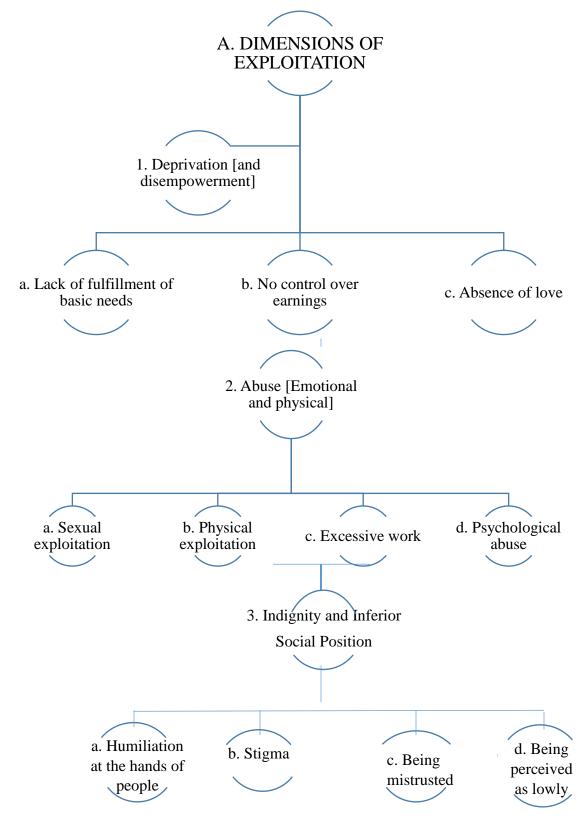
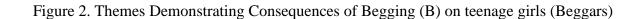
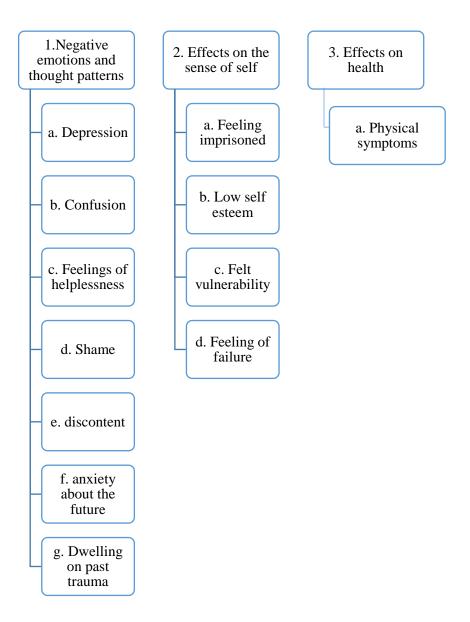


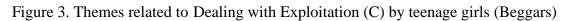
Figure 1. Themes related to Dimensions of Exploitation of teenage girls (Beggars)

*Figure 1.* Superordinate themes are numbered 1, 2 and 3. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.





*Figure 2.* Numbers 1, 2, and 3 are showing superordinate themes. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.



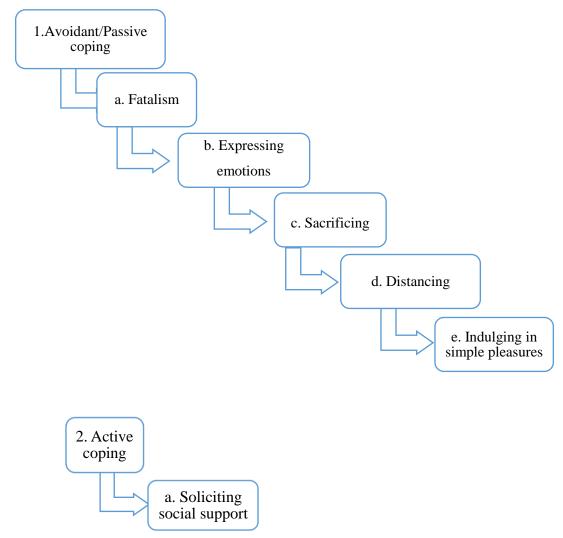


Figure 3. Numbers 1 and 2 showing superordinate themes. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.

# Master Table (Girls)

#### A. DIMENSIONS OF EXPLOITATTION

- 1. Deprivation [and disempowerment]
- a. Lack of fulfillment of basic needs
- b. No control over earnings.
- c. Absence of love and acceptance by the society
- 2. Indignity and Inferior Social Position
- a. Humiliation at the hands of people
- b. Stigma
- c. Being mistrusted
- d. Being perceived as lowly
- 3. Abuse [Emotional and Physical]
- a. Sexual exploitation
- b. Physical mistreatment
- c. Psychological abuse
- d. Excessive work

#### **B. CONSEQUENCES OF BEGGING**

# 1. Negative emotions and thought patterns

- a. Depression
- b. Confusion
- c. Feelings of helplessness
- d. Shame
- e. Discontent
- f. Anxiety about the future
- g. Dwelling on past trauma

#### 2. Effects on the sense of self

- a. Feeling imprisoned
- b. Low self esteem
- c. Felt vulnerability
- d. Feeling of failure
- 3. Effects on health
  - a. Physical symptoms

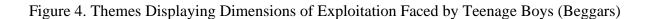
# C. DEALING WITH EXPLOITATTION

# 1. Passive Coping

- a. Fatalism
- b. Soliciting social support
- c. Expressing emotions
- d. Sacrificing

# 2. Active coping

- a. Distraction
- b. Indulging in simple pleasures



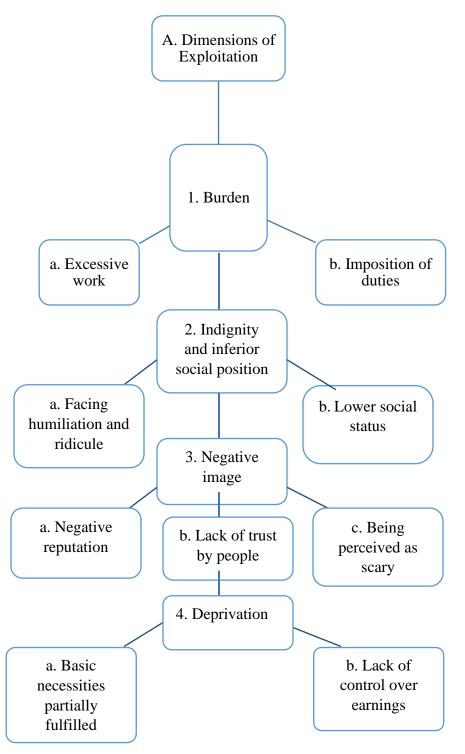
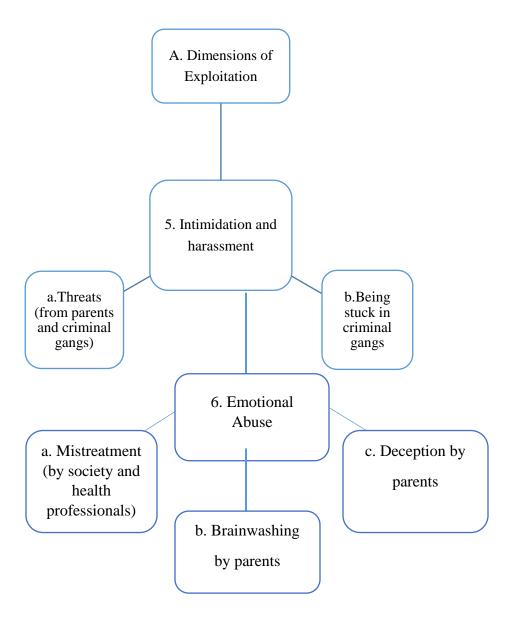


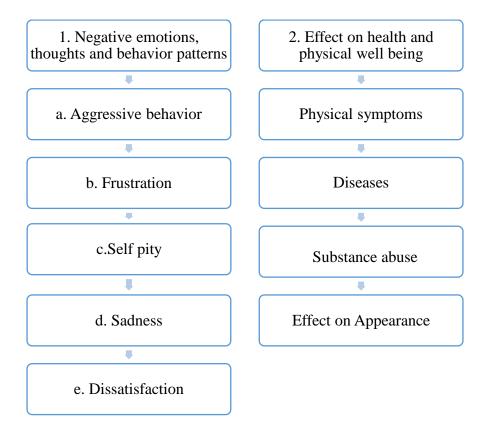
Figure 4. Superordinate themes are numbered 1 to 4. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.

Figure 4.1 Themes Displaying Dimensions of Exploitation Faced by Teenage Boys (Beggars)



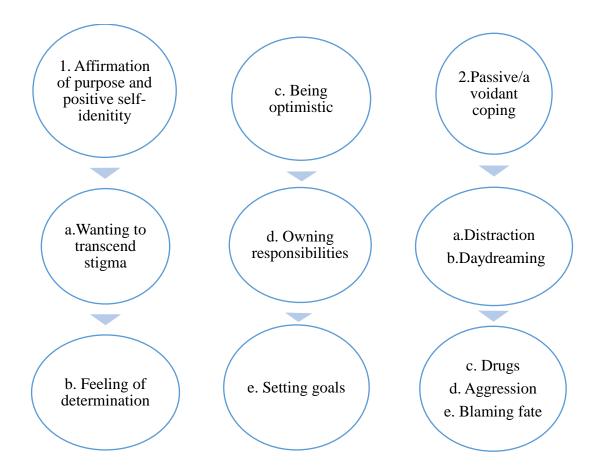
*Figure 4.1* Superordinate themes are numbered 5 and 6. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.

Figure 5. Themes Demonstrating Consequences of Begging (B) on Teenage Boys (Beggars)



*Figure 5.* Superordinate themes are numbered 1 and 2. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.

Figure 6. Themes representing Teenage Boys (Beggars) Dealing with Exploitation (C)



*Figure 6.* Superordinate themes have been numbered 1 and 2. The rest are emergent themes. All rights reserved.

# Master Table (Boys)

#### A. DIMENSIONS OF EXPLOITATION

# 1. Indignity and inferior social position

- a. Facing humiliation and ridicule
- b. Lower social status

# 2. Intimidation and harassment

- a. Threats (from parents and criminal gangs)
- b. Being stuck in criminal gangs

# 3. Negative image

- a. Negative reputation
- b. Lack of trust by people
- c. Being perceived as scary

#### 4. Burden

- a. Excessive work
- b. Imposition of duties

# 5. Deprivation

- a. Basic necessities partially fulfilled
- b. Lack of control over earnings

#### 6. Emotional Abuse

- a. Mistreatment (by society and health professionals)
- b. Brainwashing by parents
- c. Deception by parents

# B. CONSEQUENCES OF BEGGING

# 1. Negative emotions, thoughts and behavior patterns

- a. Aggressive behavior
- b. Frustration
- c. Self- pity
- d. Sadness
- e. Dissatisfaction

# 2. Effect on health and physical wellbeing

- a. Physical symptoms
- b. Diseases
- c. Substance abuse
- d. Effect on appearance

# C. DEALING WITH EXPLOITATTION

# 1. Affirmation of purpose and positive self-identity

- a. Feeling of determination
- b. Being optimistic
- c. Owning responsibilities
- d. Setting goals
- e. Wanting to transcend stigma

#### 2. Passive coping/Avoidant coping

- a. Distraction
- b. Daydreaming
- c. Drugs
- d. Aggression
- e. Blaming fate

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#### **Conflict of Interest**

Authors have no conflict of interest.

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