

Beggars in Three Countries

Morocco, India and the United States

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Abstract

I became fascinated with beggars on a trip backpacking around Europe and North Africa when I was 20; during this trip while visiting Morocco, I sat in a sidewalk café watching a beggar, a “blind” man who appeared to always know whom to run into. After several days I realized that I was watching him perform so that he could beg more successfully. After that I started watching beggars: watching the performance. This became an interesting thing for me and I continued to do so when I returned to the United States and then again when I traveled through the Middle East and Asia a few years later. As I began to conceive of this idea for an honors thesis, many more aspects about beggars and begging began to fascinate me: their legal status, how society viewed and treated them generally, giving and receiving as related to them, how religious and secular ethics treated the issue of begging and many more. I used my own personal experiences with beggars in these three countries to construct this thesis; I also consulted a wide variety of sources, both academic and popular press. Begging is a desperate and dehumanizing act, and beggars are almost uniformly treated and viewed poorly. Though there were, of course, many differences due to culture and religion, I found that begging is performed, treated and viewed much more similarly than I expected in all three countries: Morocco, India and the United States.

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As I sat in the café sipping mint tea and people-watching in the main square of the medina of Marrakesh, I noticed a blind beggar; I had seen him before but had never paid him much attention. As I watched, I saw that his eyes moved behind his sunglasses. This by itself could have been meaningless, but as I watched him I saw that he ran into people—despite his cane—and the people he ran into were all foreign tourists or rich-looking Moroccans. The next day sitting in the same café, I watched him again only run into foreigners and wealthy people, which confirmed my suspicions from the day before that he had been pretending to be blind. I found this both diverting and worthy of admiration. This was the first time I saw begging as performance.

Since then, as I have traveled in other parts of the world and paid more attention here in the United States, I have noticed that almost all beggars seem to use some type of performance to solicit money. Most often it consists of demonstrations of how needy a person is in order to elicit pity; other times it's an attempt to be interesting or amusing in some way, and occasionally it's an offer of some small service. However all of these constitute some type of performance.

Of course there are people soliciting money on the streets who are more clearly performers: buskers and street acrobats for example. However, I will limit my analysis to people who simply appear to be beggars or panhandlers, rather than entertainers who presumably demonstrate some type of skill or talent to give amusement to their audience, while asking for money. Morocco, India and the United States are not only three quite different cultures with three different majority religions, but also the three places where

I've been most impressed by the beggars. Thus the contrast between them is quite intriguing.

Volumes could be written about the various aspects of begging and as interesting as many of these aspects are, this is only a single essay, so I am going to limit my inquiry to society's view of beggars, philosophy (including religion and giving and receiving), and begging as performance. As I am comparing and contrasting three diverse societies I thought it would also be interesting to look at three diverse aspects of begging. While there are quite a few differences, I have found many more similarities. For example, there seems to be almost universal negative attitudes towards begging and beggars; also while specific techniques tend to be culturally dependant, the general concept of the techniques seem to be similar across the three cultures, most relying on the same response from the potential givers. Without comparing many other cultures and religions as well, I cannot definitively say that any of these aspects are truly universal; however my findings of similarities cause me to wonder if there are universals or if it's simply coincidence that these three cultures should converge so much. However, despite the differences in religion and culture, begging is viewed, treated and performed similarly in Morocco, India and the United States.

Society's treatment of and attitudes towards beggars

Begging and the law

It's a truth universally acknowledged that beggars as a group are held in great contempt, treated with disdain and highly stigmatized. In order to understand how beggars are viewed in these three countries, it is perhaps helpful to first look at how they're treated under the law. I cannot count the number of times I've seen beggars harassed by the police. In the US the police tend to say, "move along now" to them. In India I occasionally saw the police beating beggars with their batons. In Morocco a policeman once threatened to beat some street urchins (unwantedly) on my behalf. Beggars are a vulnerable group, so the police harassment and legal actions against them seem much worse for this.

Begging is a criminal offence in all three of these countries. Unfortunately, despite the laws' seeming failure to eliminate begging, all three countries criminalize begging to varying degrees. The laws seem to be selectively enforced, as all three countries have substantial numbers of beggars. In Morocco begging is "punished by six months' imprisonment."¹ In India it varies by region; however many of the laws (including New Delhi's) are modeled after *The Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act*, which orders the detention of those found guilty of begging.² As in India, within the United States begging laws vary by region; however for example, in Los Angeles aggressive panhandling as well as begging in certain locations is prohibited.³ New York City, Denver and Boulder all have similar restrictions limiting the location and type of

begging.⁴ Many of the American laws—while not actually making begging illegal—make it difficult to find a reasonable location to beg.

Begging is extremely stigmatizing and degrading. No one says “I want to be a beggar when I grow up” or wakes up one morning and decides that begging would be a great job. Despite what much of the popular press would have us believe, it is not lucrative and it is not something that many people would choose given other options.⁵ Begging is a desperate act. Therefore, it cannot be a surprise that begging is closely linked to homelessness. Thus anti-homelessness legislation also affects beggars disproportionately. Because of this, I will look at some anti-homeless legislation as well.

Many of the restrictions against begging appear overly harsh and restrictive. While most of the American law review articles I read agree that banning begging outright violates freedom of speech and expression, there seems to be a consensus that bans of aggressive begging are constitutional.⁶ However many of the panhandling ordinances I looked at seem to be an attempt at outright bans without calling them such. For example in Denver it is illegal to

panhandle within 20 feet of public toilets... within 20 feet of an automated teller machine... within 20 feet of any bus, train or light-rail station or stop, or within the bus transit lane on the 16th Street Mall, or in any public parking lot or structure... within six feet of an entrance to a building... within 20 feet of a pay telephone... within 20 feet of any outdoor patio where food or drink are served.⁷

It seems clear to me that this law has criminalized panhandling along most (if not all) of the 16th Street Mall. Though this is obviously selectively enforced, as I have frequently encountered panhandlers along the 16th Street Mall who violate one or more of these provisions, it is disturbing that panhandling has been made de facto illegal in the place in Denver best suited for panhandling. While this may please many businesses and

pedestrians who are often opposed to or uncomfortable with panhandlers, this leaves them to beg illegally or in places where it will be difficult to earn any money or even more dangerously at intersections where the act of panhandling is a danger to both the motorists and the panhandlers. In Boulder the law allows for panhandling on some parts of the Pearl Street Mall; however there is one clause, which I found particularly ludicrous: “if one person begs or solicits, and a second person, who knew or reasonably should have known of a refusal by the individual addressed, begs or solicits from the same individual within one minute, the second person has committed the crime.”⁸ Are beggars required to observe those whom their fellow beggars have solicited money from within a minute’s walk in any direction? It’s not clear to me how anyone would be able to keep track of that or why he should be required to. Moreover, there are many reasons why someone might give to one person and not another. Perhaps one beggar looks more needy, or someone may prefer to give to women or not give to alcoholics. Refusing one beggar does not equate to refusing all beggars.

These laws are enforced. In 2010 Denver gave out 74 citations for aggressive panhandling and 406 citations for panhandling.⁹ While I do not have information on the number of panhandlers in Denver, a city of 600,000 people with a homeless population of 11,377 people and considering that the majority of homeless people do not panhandle, this seems a significant number of citations.¹⁰ Boulder is similar in its enforcement of these laws; with population of 97,000 people and a homeless population of 914, Boulder had approximately six citations for aggressive begging.¹¹

In Morocco and India the laws and penalties are even harsher: banning begging outright with much tougher penalties. In India, *The Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act*,

which has been extended to many other cities and states, includes in its definition of beggar those “having no visible means of sustenance and wandering about or remaining in any public place in such conditions or manner, as makes it likely that the person doing so exist soliciting or receiving alms.”¹² Therefore, to be a beggar in India you must only look like one. B.B. Pande gives an account of a man arrested for beggary because of his poverty and unkempt appearance.¹³ And for the crime of beggary, the punishment can include more than a year in prison.¹⁴ In Morocco begging “is punished by six months imprisonment.”¹⁵ The laws in Morocco seem a bit less draconian than the Indian laws; however it is clear that in these countries poverty is a crime.

Although the laws in the United States are less oppressive than those in India and Morocco, many of our laws are still quite harsh. The bans on aggressive begging, though on the face reasonable, are often vague and could easily be abused. I also wonder at the definitions of aggressive begging. Under New York City’s aggressive solicitation ban, which seems fairly typical, it reads “intentionally touching or causing physical contact with another person or an occupied vehicle” and “approaching or speaking to a person... if that conduct is intended or is likely to cause a reasonable person to (i) fear bodily harm... (ii) otherwise be intimidated into giving money or other thing of value or (iii) *suffer unreasonable inconvenience, annoyance or alarm.*”¹⁶ This seems sufficiently vague as to allow almost any begging to be categorized as aggressive. What may cause a reasonable person fear or intimidation seems to depend on her experience. Having lived in cities my entire life, I have almost never been fearful of or intimidated by a beggar even if she has touched me or is following me (and this happened frequently in India and Morocco, less so in the United States). However I have seen many suburban matrons

cringe in fear at the sight of homeless people sitting placidly against a wall. In this case who is the reasonable person? I think I am reasonable, but it's safe to assume that the suburban matron also feels herself to be a reasonable person. However the vagueness of the last clause, suffering "unreasonable inconvenience, annoyance or alarm" could apply to anyone who simply doesn't like beggars or is disturbed by images of poverty. It seems to me that this clause allows for an overly broad interpretation of what constitutes aggressive begging and could be used by unscrupulous persons as a blanket ban on begging.

In both India and the United States, bans on begging constitute violations of freedom of speech and expression. Law review articles in both countries discuss this issue in detail.¹⁷ As this essay is not meant to be a law review article, I will leave the in-depth discussion to the experts; however the case is made quite persuasively that due to freedom of expression guarantees, anti-begging laws are unconstitutional in both countries. Begging certainly conveys a message, namely "I'm poor and I need help, please help me." While a monetary transaction may or may not take place, the expression is still there. Furthermore, anti-begging laws, by giving the beggar a criminal record, make it even more difficult to escape this poverty. Thus, in actuality, these laws could be viewed as counterproductive. Instead of stopping begging, they can make poverty even more desperate for those with no other (or insufficient) sources of income.

Unfortunately these are not the only laws that harm beggars. Although homelessness and begging are not synonymous, they are closely linked; because of this relationship, laws against homelessness must disproportionately harm beggars. Here in Boulder we have a rather infamous anti-camping ban,

No person shall camp within any park, parkway, recreation area, open space or other city property... 'camp' means to reside or dwell temporarily in a place with shelter and conduct activities of daily living, such as eating or sleeping... 'shelter' includes without limitation, any cover or protection from the elements other than clothing.¹⁸

This makes homelessness in Boulder de facto illegal on cold winter nights. It is hard to imagine that someone could be safe from the elements, hypothermia, and frostbite just from wearing many layers of clothing. The City of Boulder argues that “turning public spaces into campgrounds would present problems concerning sanitation, public health, safety and environmental damage.”¹⁹ Despite what the City of Boulder claims, it is difficult to believe that this law is not targeted towards the homeless.²⁰ While these are legitimate concerns, they do not override the fact that homeless people living in Boulder do not have enough resources and that safety requires the use of blankets or sleeping bags on extremely cold nights. There are other ways to handle some of these valid concerns without this law. For example, Boulder already has a law banning public urination; it could also enact a law banning public defecation.²¹ Perhaps another law could make it illegal to cause environmental damage in parks. There are already laws against violent crimes. What makes this law especially cruel is the gap between the number of homeless people in Boulder and the number of shelter beds available. In January 2011, 914 homeless people in Boulder were counted; however, even on very cold winter nights an average of less than 300 shelter beds are available in Boulder, which leaves more than 600 people sleeping on the streets in subfreezing temperatures.²² It's ironic that a town such as Boulder, which prides itself on its liberal ideals, would have such illiberal laws and attitudes towards the poor. Unsurprisingly, this law is unpopular among the homeless and homeless advocates. A sleep-in protest near the Boulder Municipal Building was held in May of 2010; however only about 20 homeless people and some

advocates participated.²³ That protest draws an interesting parallel with the Occupy Wall Street Movement (OWS), which started more than a year later. The Occupy Boulder faction of the wider OWS movement does not call for people to camp during their occupation, perhaps because of this law, though this seems to have changed recently as people have begun to stay all night in their occupation.²⁴ Unfortunately the Occupy movement in general is mixed in how welcoming it is of homeless people according to Adam Nagourney's article in *The New York Times*.²⁵ While some homeless people have been welcomed, many of the organizers seem to wish the homeless away from the protests. Not surprisingly, many homeless people are fond of the movement because of the free food, safe places to sleep and so on. However, despite being the bottom one per cent of that 99%, as well as increasing the total number of protesters, they have not been welcomed with open arms at many of the protests. One man in Nashville complained that the homeless hurt the movement by keeping people away. Ironically one woman, homeless herself, complained that some of the homeless "are in the wrong place." In Zuccotti Park at the original protest, someone complained that many homeless "appeared to be opportunists looking for free food and clothes." How surprising that someone without a home and presumably little money or other resources would want to take advantage of opportunities for free food. Fortunately not everyone takes this attitude; one of the managers of the food tent in Los Angeles said: "'we don't turn anyone away. I don't care what your address is.'"²⁶ It seems to me that perhaps many of the protesters should instead be shouting, "we are the 98%" since they seem intolerant of the bottom one per cent as well as the top. It's ironic that people who are choosing to be homeless could be so intolerant of those who have no choice but to be homeless.

Sadly, rather than recognizing that punishing poor people for their poverty is inhumane, many cities—not just Boulder—have laws punishing people for their homelessness. Traditional loitering and vagrancy laws, which many states, including Colorado, have on the books, punish the poor for their status.²⁷ The Supreme Court has found punishing people for their status constitutes cruel and unusual punishment; however that has not stopped many places, including Boulder, from passing laws which do this very thing.²⁸ Unfortunately these laws, like the one in Boulder banning camping (often the laws ban any sleeping on the streets), instead of being considered violations of an involuntary status, have been upheld.²⁹ It baffles me that a law such as the one in Boulder, which punishes homeless people for trying to stay sufficiently warm and survive a cold winter night in a town without adequate shelter space, could be considered anything other than cruel and unusual punishment.

How the popular press views beggars

As we can see from the legislation concerning begging, society's attitudes towards begging are poor in all three countries. Many popular press articles illustrate the lack of compassion and even contempt towards begging as a means of earning money. Perhaps even worse there seem to be many articles which indicate that panhandlers earn a substantial sum of money, perhaps even equivalent to minimum wage.

Many of the articles not only offer contempt for panhandling, but also have hysterical tones about the evils of it. One article quotes a woman who claims that “a bank administrator once told her a panhandler deposited more than \$500 one day into an

account that topped \$21,000.”³⁰ Not only does this scream “urban legend”, it’s difficult to imagine that without a large donation(s) that anyone could earn that kind of money in one week panhandling, much less a single day as implied by the article. I also must wonder how the bank administrator knew the customer was a panhandler; had she seen him panhandling or did she merely stereotype him based on a presumably scruffy appearance? As a panhandler said in the same article: ““it’s a horrible way to live.””³¹

Unfortunately, the media seems to have an insistence that not only are many panhandlers making hundreds of dollars each day, but that many have homes and treat panhandling as a profession.³² This insistence ignores how degrading panhandling can be. I frequently see people ignore panhandlers, give them dirty looks, and even insult them. I have had panhandlers thank me for acknowledging them even without giving money. It’s difficult to believe that someone would choose a profession so dehumanizing that I could be thanked merely for acknowledging someone’s existence. I can’t imagine that many people who are not desperate would choose this as a profession. There are many reasons why someone with a home and even a car may be desperate enough to panhandle: unemployment, disability or illness, inadequate social security and so on. Yet somehow the belief seems to be that these poor people who may be hanging on by only a thread to their homes are not needy enough to beg. However, are these people not still poor and deserving of assistance? The contempt seems to be particularly for “professional panhandlers,” yet if someone’s primary or perhaps sole means of income is begging, does that not make that person a “professional”? It seems a modern update of the “deserving and undeserving poor;” unfortunately many of these judgments seem to be made with little information based on stereotypes and incomplete understandings of a situation. Not

many people would choose to be poor. Whatever the causes of the poverty are (cyclical, bad luck, mental illness, alcoholism etc) it appears to me that anyone who is poor is “deserving.” Someone’s background (i.e. coming from a poor family, low education level, illness and so on) is not his fault; there are many structures in the United States that can make it difficult to escape a cycle of poverty. Certainly disability or mental illness is almost never the individual’s fault. Even in cases of alcoholism or drug abuse, how are we—as casual observers—to know if the drug use caused the poverty or if the poverty caused the drug use? I’ve often thought that if I were homeless that I would probably become a drug addict, if only to escape the horrible reality of homelessness. Thus, the whole concept of deserving and undeserving poor is a faulty one.

The United States media is not alone in its hysterical portrayal of begging. Moroccan and Indian newspapers share this hysteria in their reporting about this subject. One Moroccan article asks: “must we believe the beggars?”³³ Does it really matter if beggars tell the truth? They’re poor, they need money; do the reasons or the details really matter? Following in the grand tradition of the American articles, the article suggests that professional beggars choose this life. Another article writes about a professional beggar who owned two houses and had \$14,000 in savings, a substantial sum of money in Morocco.³⁴ However, like the reports of panhandlers making hundreds of dollars a day in the United States I find this very difficult to believe.

Reports in Indian newspapers abound of beggar amputations, child beggar mafias and baby rentals. While I have no doubt there probably are some shocking things occurring, many Indians are desperately poor after all; I wonder if these scandalous things are really occurring so frequently.³⁵ While in India I was approached by different

woman beggars in short succession who were carrying the same baby; I guessed that they were members of the same family or at least trusted acquaintances—not baby renters. Child beggars also frequently approached me, but I never had the impression they were part of a child beggar mafia. Indeed one child beggar whom I befriended in Pushkar, a town in Rajasthan, told me that he was sent out by his parents to beg. While perhaps the town itself was not large enough for “beggary mafias”, it had a large tourist population (both Indian and foreign), perhaps even enough to support such a thing, and certainly there were nearby cities that could provide many beggars.

Furthermore this type of thinking has fueled even more drastic actions to be taken against beggars and the poor. In Delhi poor people, including beggars and the pavement dwellers, were banished for the Commonwealth Games, because it was felt that their existence gave India a poor reputation.³⁶ Yet, sweeping out the poor has done more to hurt India’s reputation than their existence has. While this sweep attracted a lot of international criticism, it did not stop the thinking that leads to this shame of the poor, this desire to sweep them under the rug and ignore their existence. Unfortunately this phenomenon of sweeping the poor under the rug is not limited to India; the same thing has occurred here in the United States.³⁷

Fortunately there are saner voices; those who see the destitution and feel compassion rather than hysteria. Harsh Mandar in an editorial in *The Hindu* reported that despite public hysteria about beggar mafias, amputations and child abductions, the Delhi police have found no evidence of these.³⁸ From time to time, more compassionate articles appear in the American press as well; a letter to the editor in *The New York Times* says, “whenever I pass a panhandler, I give. I don’t ask why they need the money or how

they will spend it; obviously they need it.”³⁹ I concur it doesn’t matter why or how it’s spent; if people are begging obviously they need money; as a guest columnist in another publication pointed out: begging is not easy and is of course “extremely demeaning.”⁴⁰ Despite conventional wisdom about how lucrative panhandling is, that there are professionals with homes who choose this life, to me, it doesn’t make sense that people would beg if they had other, better choices; after all how many people would choose to do something that is dehumanizing, degrading and demeaning?

Philosophy

Giving and receiving

It’s difficult to speak of begging without speaking of giving and receiving. To beg is to ask for something, so if the begging is successful the donor gives some type of donation to the beggar who consequently receives it. On surface it appears as a free gift without obligations. Yet this is too simplistic. As the cliché says: “there’s no such thing as a free gift.” Both the donor and the recipient derive benefit from this exchange and both may also have negative consequences. For each time that I’ve seen someone else happily reach into her pocket for a donation, I’ve seen someone grudgingly reach into his pocket with a “well if I must” expression on his face, and conversely each time I’ve seen a sincere thank you, I’ve seen a resentful “G-d bless.”

It seems simple that a beggar asks for money because she needs it and doesn’t have a better way of obtaining it. However that act of asking, of placing herself lower

than another person is degrading. It is not just simply asking—it is conveying a message of relative inferiority and who would want to choose that? In his famous essay *The Gift*, Marcel Mauss comes to the conclusion that there is no such thing as a free gift. All gifts are some type of exchange. Even the “free gift” is a type of exchange. Unreciprocated gifts in particular, such as a gift to a beggar “makes the person who has accepted it inferior.”⁴¹ This is clear when someone asks for money and then acts as he’s doing a favor by accepting that money, in such cases a “thanks” is almost never sincere. I saw this firsthand when walking down the 16th Street Mall in downtown Denver with a friend from the suburbs who insisted (despite my protests) on attempting to give money to homeless people who were not begging; when one man finally accepted, it was with antipathy. It is not surprising then, that such a gift would create feelings of resentment. It can, for example, be an exchange of increased superiority for decreased superiority or an exchange of alms for religious merit. For the giver there may be many reasons to choose to give: pity, religion and an unconscious desire to feel superior chief among them. Therefore it is not a free gift for either party. I usually feel uncomfortable when thanked profusely or blessed after giving someone a dollar, rupee or dirham;⁴² even on my student budget, one dollar is not a lot of money, so that type of reaction feels too strong. However for the person I am giving money to, the amount is more significant. Perhaps it is the forced inequality that makes me feel uncomfortable, or that I am reminded that I am giving out of pity (though I prefer to think it’s compassion). However, having also been the recipient of significant gifts (from my standpoint) of money to help pay for my education, at times I find myself feeling resentful that I owe

my family something for this education. Despite not actually owing them money, I still owe a debt to family, one that can probably never be repaid.

Jacques Derrida defined a gift as something without any obligations, debts or necessity of reciprocity and concluded that in some sense a real gift is impossible. A true gift does not involve exchange; however, clearly a gift without any obligations or debts, while a worthy ideal, is not possible unless the gift is not recognized as a gift by either the giver or the receiver.⁴³ As discussed above, giving without reciprocity forces an unequal situation between two people; so there must always be some type of obligation, even if it only exists in the mind. Giving can make the giver feel some sort of goodness coming from charity, but for the recipient, if there is not obligation there is likely resentment. So someone may give a beggar a dollar and then pat herself on her back saying “look at me, I did a good thing;” the beggar may feel thankful for the gift yet at the same time feel resentful that he must ask for it. Though a beggar may not owe a monetary debt to her donor, she owes a debt nonetheless.

Another possibility between the views of Mauss and Derrida is that a gift can be viewed as being without obligations by one party and as an exchange by the other. Perhaps the donor, without delving too deeply into her inner motivations gives a beggar a dollar, without any expectation of exchange or obligation, or even any expectation that she’ll ever see that particular beggar again, and perhaps from the recipient’s point of view he now owes her something for receiving a dollar from her, but he can offer nothing but a thanks and blessing, so although she had no expectations of any type of reciprocation she received gratitude and blessing in exchange for her gift. I don’t think I have ever given money to a beggar without receiving something in return, so although I have no

expectations, I receive thanks, a blessing, or some small service or form of entertainment—indeed these gratitudes often make me feel uncomfortable. It can also be looked at in an entirely different way. From my point of view, society owes something to the beggar for our ill treatment of him, for allowing him to fall between the cracks and experience such a degree of poverty. So when I give a beggar money, I feel as if I am repaying a debt rather than giving a pure gift, so conspicuous thank you's make me feel as if I've been given something in return that I am not owed, since my "gift" wasn't a gift as much as an obligation. This reaction increases my liberal guilt and leads to repetitions of this cycle. Unfortunately, however, this could easily lead to a situation in which I am patronizing the recipients with my gifts, which, if known, would certainly increase resentment on their part and feelings of shame on mine.

Although not much has been written specifically about giving as it relates to my topic in the United States and in Morocco (although giving and Christianity or Islam has been written about and will be discussed later), a great deal has been written about giving in the context of India. In India giving and receiving is regulated by caste, so to receive some types of gifts is to acknowledge that the giver has a higher position (either in caste or within the caste).⁴⁴ This ties directly into the idea of giving as conferring superiority on oneself and inferiority on another. Gloria Goodwyn Raheja found that gift giving transferred "inauspiciousness to the recipient."⁴⁵ Learning this, I wonder then, what does this mean for the beggar in India? Because he may take gifts from anyone, is he then lower (inferior) than everyone else: is his status as a beggar more important than his caste status? A survey of the beggars of Calcutta found that "all the castes sit side by side, beg and even take sacramental cooked rice."⁴⁶ From this example it would seem that at least

in some instances the low status of being a beggar overrides caste status when it comes to receiving gifts. Thus, in giving alms to a beggar, one can not only earn merit (discussed below); one may also confer superiority upon oneself, possibly from someone who would otherwise have a higher caste status.

Religion and Begging

As we can see from the Indian example, much about gift giving is clearly related to religion and other ethical principles. Indeed, most rationale for charitable giving is religious or ethical in nature. At this point it is difficult to further discuss giving without discussing religion, secular humanism and ethics. Each of these three countries has a different majority religion: Islam, Christianity and Hinduism, and much has been written about charity and almsgiving in these three religions. All three encourage almsgiving and in Islam it is required; it's one of the five pillars of Islam.

Zakat or almsgiving, one of the five pillars of Islam has specific injunctions in the Qur'an; one of these determines who should benefit from the alms particularly the poor and the very poor.⁴⁷ This also explains why, in addition to the busy *medinas* and tourist traps, I frequently saw beggars gather outside Mosques in Morocco. The Qur'an repeats this requirement many times, often mentioning that beggars and the deprived are the ideal recipients of alms.⁴⁸ Beggars usually fit both descriptions. Furthermore, as begging is closely associated with homelessness, and as a degrading act, it is, for the most part, only done by the truly desperate. Assuming that most Muslims have traditionally followed the Qur'an, it follows that giving alms to beggars is a very old tradition in the Muslim world.

Even if only one quarter of the Muslim world gives *zakat*, that is still a great deal of money given as charity. And given that the specific list includes giving “to their relatives, to orphans, the needy, travelers and beggars and to liberate those in bondage,”⁴⁹ it seems reasonable to assume that a significant amount of the alms were given to beggars. The almsgivers themselves are greatly lauded; those who give *zakat* are variously referred to in the Qur’an as believers, the righteous, the good, and those honored in the Garden of bliss.⁵⁰ All of these are appellations that many pious people would love to be labeled. Given this requirement of *zakat*, it is then not surprising that the “blind” beggar in Marrakesh would target Moroccans as well as tourists.

Though giving to beggars is encouraged in Islam, it seems that the act of begging may not be. The Qur’an is mostly quiet on this issue; however it describes the needy who do not beg persistently as “occupied in G-d’s way,” and thus, more deserving.⁵¹ Though I did not find any academic articles on this subject, several websites devoted to illuminating Islam explain that while begging is not permitted in Islam, because of the injunction of *zakat*, one is obligated to give money to beggars who ask directly nonetheless.⁵² This is an interesting paradox; though something is not permitted, someone who does that very banned thing must be helped. In Morocco this is well illustrated by the number of beggars who wait near mosques knowing they’ll be helped and the often almost abusive behavior displayed towards them.

While it is not as explicit a requirement as in Islam, Christianity also encourages almsgiving; for example, one verse describes a devout man giving “much alms to the people.”⁵³ Modern Christian literature and websites encourage almsgiving. Ed Wojcucki writes: “there is something callously unchristian about learning to ignore the poverty that

crosses our path every day. Just labeling it poverty rather than viewing panhandlers as persons makes them easier to ignore.”⁵⁴ However, other Christians have a different view arguing against giving money to beggars; one man, following in the footsteps of the popular press, claims that not only are many or most panhandlers not homeless, but that they may earn up to \$300 per day.⁵⁵ This claim of \$300 a day is even more ludicrous than the many newspaper claims of \$100+ a day. Moreover, John Milbank argues that giving alms to beggars, rather than helping actually perpetuates the cycle of begging.⁵⁶ In some sense this is likely true; however not giving could lead to quite negative immediate effects, such as going hungry or going into alcohol withdrawal. However, given the Christian ideal of poverty (which I discuss below), it seems that giving alms to the poor should be considered a good deed in Christianity.

The Christian ideal of poverty is perhaps best illustrated by Jesus himself, who chose to become poor, “For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.”⁵⁷ Following this example, for centuries Catholic priests, monks, and nuns have taken vows of poverty, often to the point of becoming mendicants and begging alms for their existence. So if people who choose to become poor are worthy of charity, does it not follow that those who are involuntarily poor should also be worthy of charity?

Like the requirement of *zakat* in Islam and the advocacy of almsgiving in Christianity, Hinduism also champions giving alms; Krishna lists it as part of the threefold path in the Bhagavad Gita.⁵⁸ Gift giving brings merit to the giver.⁵⁹ The Rig Veda states the wealth of those who give will “never waste away.”⁶⁰ Given the role of reincarnation in Hinduism and the belief that karma influences future reincarnations,

obtaining merit becomes quite important. This importance would logically lead to a society that is tolerant of and generous to beggars. Although likely many alms are given to priests and charitable and religious organizations, it seems that some substantial portion must also go to beggars. Everywhere I went in India I saw substantial numbers of beggars; in some places I couldn't walk more than a few steps without being asked for money and although the number of beggars is likely due more to poverty than tolerance, it stands to reason that without some success the beggars wouldn't continue begging, but would do other things to obtain food and money, perhaps illegal things. However the processes of merit and karma may ensure that beggars continue to receive alms.

Like Medieval Christianity, Hinduism has a tradition of voluntary poverty. All over India, but especially in holy places, I saw ascetics wondering around, sometimes begging, but more often receiving (to my eyes) unsolicited alms. As the *sadhus* are worthy of receiving alms, so too are the poor: the Rig Veda instructs giving to poor beggars.⁶¹ Giving alms to the poor is a universal good deed across these three religions; one that has probably saved millions from death and starvation over the last thousand years. However, it can also be argued that this should also be a human action without needing religion to instruct us to give.

Ethical and philosophical implications of begging

Like religious values, secular ethics and philosophy are also concerned about various aspects of begging. Many of the popular press articles I mentioned previously address the issue of whether or not to give; many ultimately suggesting not to because of

panhandlers who are not homeless and earn up to \$100 per day.⁶² The issue returns to the age-old question of the “deserving and undeserving poor.” One of the arguments against giving is dishonesty on the part of the beggar. The idea that a beggar may misrepresent himself in order to better earn money shocks and offends people. Sameera Ahmed writing for a youth website in India is outraged that begging is a performance, calling beggar scams operating in India “scandalous.”⁶³ Petula Dvorak cites one man’s brutal honesty by asking for money for alcohol, but how do we know that he is being honest?⁶⁴ I once met a man with a sign like that who told me he didn’t drink, yet people continually rewarded him for his perceived honesty. An article from Morocco asks if we must believe beggars.⁶⁵ Whether we believe beggars or not, it doesn’t follow that they need money (or not). The two are separate issues. More moral outrage in articles from India’s popular press write about child beggary mafias, child renting services and beggar amputations.⁶⁶ While perhaps some of this exists, it doesn’t discount that the people concerned are likely still poor, in need of money and are taking desperate measures to do so. Certainly I was approached by many disabled people in India whose disabilities could have conceivably been faked, but that doesn’t mean the disability isn’t real and the need for money not critical. And I saw many child beggars, but aside from one or two, I never knew if they were members of “beggar mafias” or if they were sent out by their parents, or even did it on their own. I also saw beggars with amputations, and as the doctor offering amputations for a price was caught on video in a sting, I must assume that this is true for this doctor. Nonetheless, we have no idea if this practice extends beyond him and perhaps a few others. It’s difficult to imagine that many doctors would be willing to do these amputations as it violates the ethics of their profession. Furthermore,

if someone is desperate enough to want a limb amputated in order to earn more money begging, it seems to me that he must really be needy and deserving money. Another moral outrage concerns how much money beggars are purported to earn. The American press cites upwards of \$100, even up to \$400; Indian articles cite an upwards of Rs200 a day, while the Moroccan press cites 100 dirhams a day.⁶⁷ These numbers seem ludicrous to me; to earn \$300 a day, a panhandler would need to receive one dollar every two minutes for ten hours, or for \$100, \$1 every six minutes. Even in a prime panhandling location this seems to be too high, I've never seen a panhandler earn money that quickly. Furthermore, not everyone gives dollars—some give spare change. Moreover, I wonder how many people would have the stamina to beg for ten hours a day. The Indian numbers would require one rupee every three minutes for ten hours, and the Moroccan statistics one dirham every three minutes for ten hours. The outrages at perceived truth-telling and purported money earned a day seem to be a way to decide that beggars are the “undeserving poor,” a decision that allows people to feel less guilt for not giving.

Some argue that helping the poor contributes to a cycle of poverty. Though writing about helping poor nations, it can easily be translated down to an individual human scale, Garrett Hardin argues against helping the poor as both a poor use of resources and as contributing to poor money management.⁶⁸ I find both of these arguments morally abhorrent; why should one group suffer or even die because of the greed of the other group? As to poor money management, again why should we let people suffer? Money problems are not always the individual's (or country's) fault, and even when they are why should individuals suffer? If someone cannot find a job and doesn't qualify for unemployment, welfare or disability should he be allowed to go

hungry and become homeless? What about people in countries without a social safety net? However this seems to be an argument commonly used by some conservatives to argue against a safety net. Others argue that giving to organizations is a better use of money than giving to individuals.⁶⁹ This may be true; organizations can have larger goals such as providing housing or advocating for a better social safety net. However one can give money to organizations and still sometimes give dollars (or rupees or dirhams) to individual beggars. However it's been argued that ignoring their existence "is dehumanizing to panhandlers."⁷⁰ I would take the argument even further—and unfortunately I've been guilty of this myself—ignoring the existence of panhandlers and the very poor is dehumanizing. A few years ago on the 16th Street Mall in downtown Denver, a panhandler thanked me for acknowledging him with a sorry rather than ignoring him completely. Contrary to Garret Hardin, philosopher Michael Walzer argues, "Men and women who appropriate vast sums of money for themselves, while needs are still unmet, act like tyrants, dominating and distorting the distribution of security and welfare."⁷¹ This assertion is especially strong today, with oligarchs, CEOs and bankers making ever more vast sums of money. The Occupy Wall Street protests discussed earlier are a response to this increasing inequality. Let us look at the example of Bill Gates; for a number of years he was the richest man in the world and many (including me) resented and disliked him, yet now that he's giving away vast sums of money he's earned a grudging respect from many (again including me). Even if helping the poor is somewhat ineffective, those of us who are able have a moral imperative to do so.

Begging as Theatre

What is theatre? If the simplest definition of theatre is a performance for an audience, then begging is certainly a form of theatre. Beggars use performance to increase donations. Surely, most people respond better to a plea for money inducing sympathy by showing a woman desperately poor with children than someone who nonchalantly says “please give me money.” It is that compassion, or perhaps entertainment that prompts people to give. Despite protestations from many saying they prefer honesty, I believe that most people do not want that and respond more to performances designed to elicit certain responses from them. That first time I saw begging as performance, the “blind” man in Marrakesh, I had a newfound respect and appreciation of beggars. Since then I have noticed that beggars are almost always performing in some way; even the so-called “honest” beggars are performing. After all, do we really know that the sign that says the money is for beer is telling the truth? The sign is used to tell people what that panhandler believes they want to hear, and given how often I’ve heard praise of the “honest” panhandlers, I think they’re correct—that is what many people want to hear. Marie Maclean describes a contractual relationship between the performer and the audience—as an audience we have certain expectations of a performance, and the performer has expectations of the audience.⁷² When beggars do not participate in this contract, it can leave us feeling cold and even used. For example, one nice day a friend of mine and I were sitting on a restaurant patio when a man approached us and asked for \$5. After he left I was annoyed and upset and I finally realized the reason I was upset was because there was not even effort of a performance or a story that would make me connect with him in any way, nor did his appearance tell a story; he

looked like any guy walking down a street in Colorado. Thus, not only do all of these successful beggars perform, they all have a story they perform. This story does not need to be complicated or even true, but it is this narrative which allows us as the audience to connect with the beggar.⁷³

I am not the only person to view begging as performance. I found it useful to categorize beggars by the techniques they use and the stories they tell, which tend to vary in the details, yet as a whole are similar across the three cultures. My three basic categories are: sympathy beggars (which includes many subtypes), personality beggars, and service-oriented beggars. Sympathy beggars include those who primarily used sympathy as a means of soliciting donations; a good example is a woman asking for money to help feed her children and aged, disabled mother. Personality beggars are those who rely on their personality to obtain donations, for instance the people who come on to New York City subway cars and tell wild stories about who they are and why they need money. Service-oriented beggars provide some type of service like washing a car windshield. I met all three types in all three countries. Works about beggars in both India and the United States discuss the various techniques beggars use.⁷⁴ For example, most of the techniques described by Sumita Chaudhuri in India are designed to elicit sympathy, while a few use religious symbols to obtain donations.⁷⁵ Many of these techniques are quite familiar to me, as I saw similar things during my time in India. I found two works about panhandlers from the academic press which also differentiate between various begging techniques; one by Brackette Williams focuses on what she calls character beggars in the New York subways and beggars using pity on street corners in Tucson, Arizona.⁷⁶ Although some of the terminology I would use is different, her

general analysis of the two different techniques agrees with my own. The other major work I found about different techniques is by Stephen Lankenau, based on fieldwork in Washington, D.C., he conceptualizes “five primary panhandling routines: the entertainer, the greeter, the servicer, the storyteller and the aggressor.”⁷⁷ His categories work well, but I find the ones I designed to be more helpful in my analysis. His categories do however have some general correlations and even overlap with my categories. For example, his storyteller is my beggar who utilizes pity, telling a story about her poverty or disability. The entertainer and the greeter fall into my category of those who trade on their personality; his servicer is the same as my category and I have left off aggressive beggars, because although I have run into people who fit the laws’ definitions of aggressive begging, I have never experienced what he and others seem to mean when they speak about aggressive beggars; I have never felt intimidated, nor have I ever been followed by a large man or been yelled at to donate.

Sympathy

Sympathy for poverty is by far the most frequently used technique; it is often combined with other repertoires that I discuss below. I have never seen a beggar not claim poverty. I can’t imagine someone saying, “well I don’t really need money, but will you please give me some anyway.” While some panhandlers explicitly say that they’re poor, many use implicit means solely or in addition. This includes clothing which indicates poverty, because it is old or worn, dirtiness of clothes and/or person, ragged and meager belongings displayed next to the beggar himself, and in Morocco and India a

malnourished appearance. These not only indicate poverty, but more extreme poverty: homelessness and hunger. For instance, in India I frequently saw bony beggars wearing rags with an outstretched arm and cupped hand, their appearance telling their story. However it seems that many don't find poverty to be sufficient and incorporate other techniques as well.

Disability and old age are also frequently used to obtain sympathy. For example in one town I visited: Pushkar, I regularly saw an older double amputee, who got around by way of a board on wheels not dissimilar to a skate board, use both compassion and religion as a way to obtaining alms. I saw him everyday and he would point to his amputations, even lifting his sarong to show me his stumps, while at the same time displaying religious icons prominently. Since Pushkar is a holy city in Hinduism and so is popular with Hindu pilgrims as well as foreign tourists, his double technique may have helped him with both groups. In Varanasi, I saw many widows using their status as indicated by the white saris in order to solicit donations. This is by no means limited to India. In Morocco the "blind" man I previously mentioned used compassion to elicit pity and money. In the United States I've seen many panhandlers in wheelchairs with signs identifying themselves as disabled veterans, using both sympathy and feelings of patriotism. While their disability may be one, and even the biggest reason that they're put in the position of having to beg, the disability can become useful for better success at begging, as not only do they use disability, but in all of these cases poverty was used as well. All of the beggars I mentioned above wore old, worn clothing, often with holes or tears in it; the clothes and the people were frequently dirty in addition.

Children are also commonly used to better obtain compassion. It's easier to ignore an able bodied man who many presume could find some type of physical labor than it is to ignore a woman with a child. It's almost always women with the children—I don't know that I've ever seen a man with children. I have seen women with children begging in the United States, but not frequently—however the sight of beggar women with children was common in both India and Morocco. In India I saw this daily; women approached me asking for money for milk for their babies or children. Often the children were crying, presumably from hunger, and were usually quite thin or malnourished. One woman at a beach town in Kerala called Varkala would pinch her child to make him cry. This made me not want to give her any money, yet I felt sorry for him, so I bought him biscuits and gave him the opened packet so it could not be returned to the shop (please see below for discussion of biscuits). Usually, though, I saw no overt signs of abuse of the children; rather they were a prop, “please help this child; she is hungry.” In Morocco, one woman in Marrakesh would wander the souk at night carrying a baby on her back begging for money. However, a closer look revealed that there was no baby, just cloth. I found this repulsive and at the same time extremely pitiful that she would be so desperate to beg with a fake baby, usually the pity won out and I would end up giving her a little money.

Children were not just used by adults to help them beg, but were often beggars themselves. Children, by virtue of being poor children, seem to elicit sympathy without having to use other means. Again in the United States I have not frequently seen children begging—however I do regularly see teens who appear to be minors begging, usually in downtown areas such as the 16th street mall in Denver. In Morocco and especially in

India, the sight of children begging was one I encountered frequently. While sometimes the children were disabled, and occasionally an older child would carry a baby, usually children seemed to simply rely on the fact that people are generally sympathetic to children in order to obtain money. In Morocco kids would usually follow me around and ask me for money or pens. I'm not sure if they really wanted pens or if they had simply been taught to ask for pens. In India children would also sometimes ask for pens, but also biscuits and money. One child I befriended in Pushkar told me his parents sent him out to beg and beat him if he didn't make a daily quota. I bought him chai almost every day, and he would sit and chat with me while we drank. After I got to know him, he rarely asked me for anything anymore, although once or twice he asked me for a few rupees to meet his daily "quota." He also told me some of his techniques. He asked for biscuits and then when someone bought him a pack he'd return it to the shop for a partial refund, a win-win situation for him and the shopkeeper who was able to resell them. The same technique was used by women with children and milk, which like biscuits, if unopened could be returned to the shop for a partial refund. He seemed to use his precociousness as a way to get money; he never asked for sympathy or compassion. Even when telling me his parents sometimes beat him, he didn't seem to use it to elicit pity from me—it was more matter-of-fact—this is my life. While I sometimes gave child beggars money, I sometimes gave them sweets (which were usually loved) or pens if they asked for them instead. This may be a bit naïve on my part, but it usually seemed to me that the children were equally happy to get money or cookies.

Personality

The final types of performance I'd like to discuss are those which do not primarily rely on pity for donations; this type includes those who trade on their personality (like the people who come onto New York City subway cars) or perform some type of service. I am specifically excluding those who would primarily be considered entertainers, such as jugglers or street theatre performers such as buskers. I ran across people like this in all three countries—the child in India that I wrote about previously could probably also be considered in this category, because he relied on his personality rather than compassion for donations. In India this sometimes took the form of someone who seemed to befriend me only to ask for money. Fortunately this was not common among those Indians who befriended me. In Morocco there was a man who wore a cast that shifted feet every few days, but rather than relying primarily on pity he used his personality and gossip about the souk to elicit donations. I don't know whether any of the gossip was true, but it was extremely amusing, as if I were trading dirhams for funny stories. In the U.S. I've run into big personalities most notably on the NYC subways, people who come into cars and tell stories, sometimes ludicrous tales about why they need money, and people give because they're amused. The panhandlers who carry the "honest" signs on street corners with slogans like: "I won't lie, I want money for beer" are also trading on their personality as interpreted by the sign.

Service

The other main type of beggar who doesn't primarily use pity is the person who offers some small service in hope of a "tip." In the U.S., I've not infrequently seen homeless people open doors to buildings or washing a car's windshield in hope of a tip or offer information about something like the location of a parking space. I used to live in a neighborhood where there was a very polite homeless man who kept track of where empty parking spaces were. He never asked for money outright, but the expectation was obviously there. In Morocco, when I got off the boat in Tangier I was immediately surrounded by a group of young men all begging to be my guide (for a price naturally) or money. I initially didn't want to hire a guide, but after being followed for several blocks I finally hired one just to make the others go away. Unfortunately, he didn't prove to be much of a guide, he didn't know much about Tangier, but he did take me to a rug shop (high pressure sales for commission) and left me alone at the bus station after I bought my ticket. Finally in India I was also offered tour services by people who seemed more like beggars; on one memorable occasion, a man who had been begging in front of a temple in Hampi came up to me and my companion and asked if we wanted to see an amazing view of the ruins for a few rupees. He led us to what was indeed an amazing view of the ruins, but unfortunately to get there we had to walk barefoot through an unused semi-ruined building with floors covered in several inches of guano. After he left he returned to his place begging in front of the temple.

As I mentioned above, using combinations of the different techniques is not uncommon; many of the beggars who offer services or trade on their personalities also rely on their appearance to clue you into their poverty and need of money. Even among

the beggars who rely primarily on sympathy, many use more than one technique, for example, an elderly woman carrying a child was not an uncommon sight in India.

While there may be some people who will give indiscriminately to any beggar, and others who may have specific criteria, it seems that most people would choose to give to someone who engages their interest through some means, likely one that I have listed above. Obviously there are beggars who don't fall neatly into one or more of my categories. For example, I sometimes find myself giving to alcoholics and drug addicts because I think they probably won't get much money from others and because detoxing on the street could be dangerous or even lethal. I am giving out of pity, but a different sort than what I described above. There are also, particularly in the U.S. those who say "will work for food." Much conventional wisdom says that these particular panhandlers will not work for food and don't even want food, but even if that is true some of the time, it is probably not true for each person. Although I have been asked for bus money and been rebuffed after offering bus tickets, so obviously in those cases the beggars really wanted money for some reason other than the bus, I've also been sold bus tokens and tickets at bus stops at discounted prices, presumably by those who asked for bus money but didn't want to take the bus. Another type of beggar in the U.S. who doesn't neatly fit into one of my categories is one who trades on his veteran status. Often those who do this emphatically do not want pity; they ask for respect for their service to their country and rely on feelings of patriotism to obtain donations. However sometimes these beggars are pitiful: alcoholics or people obviously suffering from mental illness presumably related to war. So despite their intentions many do rely on pity even if they would rather not. Finally another type of beggar not fitting into one of the above types are those who

rely on religious feelings for donations. I have most often seen this in Morocco and India; however I have seen beggars outside of urban churches on Sundays in the U.S., and indeed it's standard practice here to say "G-d bless" after receiving a donation. In Morocco seeing beggars outside mosques and invoking the name of All-h in asking and in thanks was a daily sight for me. In India beggars not only throng outside of temples, but also use religious iconography to solicit alms. They frequently had icons of Hindu G-ds conspicuously displayed.

It's clear to me that all of the beggars I've discussed use performance (even if it's not usually recognized as such) to solicit donations, and indeed using performance likely makes begging more successful. If someone is giving a performance it may also lessen the negative personal feelings associated with begging. This is not quite the same, but when I waited tables I often told myself that I wasn't a waitress—I was an actress playing a waitress; for me this lessened many of the indignities associated with food service and made it less personal if a customer didn't treat me well. I imagine a similar concept would allow beggars to feel less demeaned by the process of begging and how they are treated generally. So this performance may serve a positive purpose for the beggar and the donor.

Conclusion

The many similarities between beggars in these three countries intrigue me greatly. When I first conceived of this idea for an honors thesis I thought that because the cultures and majority religions are so different for these three countries, there would be

more differences in the beggars and society's responses to them. While I expected some similarities, the number that I found surprised me. The contradiction in each culture's resentment of beggars and each religion's support of almsgiving is fascinating and entirely human. The similarity in the different techniques used for begging took me by surprise as well, because, when I vaguely thought about it, it seemed that the beggars performed differently in each country, yet when I actually analyzed it, the techniques were actually shockingly similar, though many of the details were different.

Perhaps begging is a basic human activity that is similar across many cultures. Putting one's hand to his mouth and then holding it out for a coin seems as if it could be a universal gesture, but those are questions for a larger inquiry.

Notes

¹ (Section V de la Mendicité et du Vagabondage) translated by Adria Roblee-Hertzmark

² (The Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act, 1959)

³ (§41.59. Prohibitions Against Certain Forms of Aggressive Solicitation)

⁴ (§5-3-12 Begging in Certain Places Prohibited) (§5-3-7 Aggressive Begging Prohibited)(§38-132 - Panhandling) (Title 10 Public Safety §10-136 Prohibition against certain forms of aggressive solicitation)

⁵ Popular press articles often indicate that people can earn \$100 a day or more begging, for an example see (Dvorak B1), however academics have found the amounts to be much lower, in the range of \$10-30 per day (P. K. Smith 556-557).

⁶ For example see (Thomas 160, 174)

⁷ (§38-132 - Panhandling)

⁸ (§5-3-7 Aggressive Begging Prohibited; §18-9-112 Loitering - definition - legislative declaration)

⁹ (Dulacki)

¹⁰ (metro denver homeless initiative)(U.S. Census Bureau)

¹¹ I have data for 17 citations in a three-year period which averages to almost 6 per year. Each city gave out approximately one aggressive begging citation per 150 homeless people. (U.S. Census Bureau)(metro denver homeless initiative) (Spraggs)

¹² (The Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act, 1959)

¹³ (Pande 125)

¹⁴ =

¹⁵ (Section V de la Mendicité et du Vagabondage) translated by Adria Roblee-Hertzmark

¹⁶ Italics mine. (Title 10 Public Safety §10-136 Prohibition against certain forms of aggressive solicitation)

¹⁷ Unfortunately I was unable to find any law review articles about this issue in Morocco, but for examples in literature about both the United States and India see: (Goel) (Hershkoff and Cohen)

¹⁸ (§5-6-10 Camping or Lodging on Property Without Consent)

¹⁹ (Urie, Boulder judge rejects homeless man's appeal, upholds city's anti-camping law)

²⁰ The City of Boulder has repeatedly claimed that this law is not targeted specifically towards the homeless but towards anyone camping in public. However, I find it difficult to believe there are a significant number of non-homeless people camping in the parks of Boulder. See (Urie, Colo. Supreme Court declines to hear Boulder camping case) as an example.

²¹ (§5-6-7 Public Urination)

²² (metro denver homeless initiative)(Langland)(Atwood)(O'Rourke)(Ramirez)(Boulder outreach for Homeless Overflow)

²³ (Boulder sleep-in protests city's ban on camping)

²⁴ (Occupy Boulder)(Snider)

²⁵ (Nagourney)

²⁶ (Nagourney)

²⁷ (§18-9-112 Loitering - definition - legislative declaration)

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- ²⁸ (J. Smith) discusses this issue in a law review article about punishing the homeless for sleeping in the streets
- ²⁹ (J. Smith 322)
- ³⁰ (Santini B1)
- ³¹ (Santini B1)
- ³² (Crummy B-01) Yet academics found these numbers to be false. See (P. K. Smith 556-557)
- ³³ (Bernichi) Translated by Adria Roblee-Hertzmark
- ³⁴ (Zyad)
- ³⁵ (City declared child beggary-free)(In Kolkata, an 'agency' that supplies child beggars)(Kannan)
- ³⁶ (Ray)
- ³⁷ For example in Miami police would sweep homeless encampments before high profile events like the Orange Bowl, removing homeless people from public areas and even burning their belongings. (J. Smith 322-323)
- ³⁸ (Mandar)
- ³⁹ (Abrahams A26)
- ⁴⁰ (Zucker)
- ⁴¹ (Mauss 65)
- ⁴² The rupee is the currency of India, one dollar is worth approximately 50 rupees. The dirham is the Moroccan currency, one dollar is worth approximately 8 dirham.
- ⁴³ (Derrida)
- ⁴⁴ (Marriot)
- ⁴⁵ (Raheja 20)
- ⁴⁶ (Chaudhuri 29)
- ⁴⁷ (Benthall 30)
- ⁴⁸ 2: 177, 7:1, 23: 4, 51: 19 etc
- ⁴⁹ 2: 177 In other verses “the beggars and the deprived” are who are specified to be the recipients of *zakat*, for example 70: 24
- ⁵⁰ 2: 177, 23: 1, 51: 15, 70: 35
- ⁵¹ 2: 273
- ⁵² (Ansiklopedisi)
- ⁵³ Acts 10: 2
- ⁵⁴ (Wojcucki 14)
- ⁵⁵ (Bales)
- ⁵⁶ (Milbank 45)
- ⁵⁷ 2 Corinthians 8: 9
- ⁵⁸ 7: 2
- ⁵⁹ (Raheja 20)
- ⁶⁰ 117: 1
- ⁶¹ 117: 2-3
- ⁶² (Dvorak B01)(Bales)
- ⁶³ (Ahmed)
- ⁶⁴ (Dvorak B01)
- ⁶⁵ (Bernichi) Translation by Adria Roblee-Hertzmark

⁶⁶ (City declared child beggary-free)(In Kolkata, an 'agency' that supplies child beggars)(Sudworth)

⁶⁷ (Crummy B-01)(Kannan)(Bernichi 51)

⁶⁸ (Hardin 779, 783)

⁶⁹ (Bales)

⁷⁰ (Age-Old Conflict Over Panhandling...Prompts Soul-Searching, New Solutions)

⁷¹ (Walzer 76)

⁷² (Maclean 71)

⁷³ Uta Berne describes this relationship between narrative and performance. (Berne 96-97) For a more in depth look, J.L. Austin describes how narrative becomes performance or performativity, David Rudrum expands on this idea, (Austin)(Rudrum)

⁷⁴ (Chaudhuri)(Lankenau)

⁷⁵ (Chaudhuri 32,92-93)

⁷⁶ (Williams 25)

⁷⁷ (Lankenau 184)

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