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M.A. SOCIOLOGY, SEMESTER - IV
PAPER : SOC 0942 (SOCIAL PROBLEMS)

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INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Dear Students

This is your 4th and last semester of your M.A. and this paper named Social Problems is going to be a real test for your sociological knowledge. As how far you may see and understand the social problem from a sociological lens. Since you had studied sociological perspectives in semester 1st, 2nd and 3rd therefore this paper will proved to be a field for your mental exercise for application and analytical sociology.

Students, India is one of the developing nations of the modern world. It has become an independent country, a republic, more than a half century ago. During this period the country has been engaged in efforts to attain development and growth in various areas such as building infrastructure, production of food grains, science and technology and spread of education.

The life expectancy has increased and many diseases have been controlled. However, there are many areas in which Indian society is experiencing a variety of problems. Some of these problems have their roots in our colonial past while others are related to demo- graphic changes, socio-political conditions and cultural processes. This paper tries to acquaint you with some of the problems and the social factors involved in them. You will learn about some of the possible ways in which some interventions can help in dealing with the problems.

Best Regards

Yours Course Leader

Dr. Rajni

SOC- 0942: SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Unit-I

Concept and Sociological Perspectives:

- Definition

- How and When an Issue becomes a Social Problem

- Subjective Definition and Objective Condition

- Stages in its Development

- Assumptions of Social Problems.

Perspectives on Social Problems:

- Functional Perspective

- Conflict Perspective

- Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

Unit-II

Socio-Cultural Problems:-   Corruption, Sex-Deviation, Dowry

Unit-III

Socio-Economic and Structural Problems

- Poverty, Unemployment, Drug-addiction

Unit-IV

Socio-Demographic Problems:

- Child Labour and Child Abuse, Problems of the Elderly, Differently Abled

Suggested Readings

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Additional Readings

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SOCIAL PROBLEM

Structure

1.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of social problem
- Explain the characteristics, concept of social problem
- Describe and criticize the Sociological perspective of social problem
- Mention the causes of social problem

1.1   Introduction

In this lesson meaning & concept of a social problem is discussed. Students you will get to know why & how a problem is become a social problem. What is the importance of a social problem? Whom to blame for a social problem? What is the difference between a problem & a social problem? This lesson revolves around all these queries & surely answers your all anxieties and confusions.

1.2   Meaning of Social Problems

A social problem is any condition that harms a society. A problem becomes a social problem when it affects society as a whole in some way or the other. A social problem is a social condition and a behavior pattern. A social problem causes public concern and there is a collective action for change. C. Wright Mills made a distinction when trying to define a social problem that looked at personal problems versus public issues. Personal problems are things that affect individuals and those around them. If someone in a family attempts suicide, that is a problem for the family. Public issues, on the other hand,

involve much larger numbers of people. Although some public issues might intersect with personal problems, not all personal troubles is a public issue. Mills (1959) describes how personal troubles occur within the "character of the individual and within the range of his immediate relationships with others", whereas public issues are a "public matter: some value cherished by publics is felt to be threatened". As a result, the resolution of a trouble can be accomplished by the individual and/or those he or she is in contact with, but the resolution of an issue requires public debate about what values are being threatened and the source of such a threat.

In his essay, Mills (1959) makes this connection in the case of unemployment. One man unemployed is his own personal trouble. Resolving his unemployment involves reviewing his current situation, reassessing his skills, considering his job opportunities, and submitting his resumes or job applications to employers. Once he has a new job, his personal trouble is over. However, what happens when your city or state experiences high levels of unemployment? What happens when there is a nationwide problem of unemployment? This does not affect just one person, but thousands or millions. A personal trouble has been transformed into a public issue. This is the case not just because of how many people it affects; something becomes an issue because of the public values it threatens. Unemployment threatens our sense of economic security. It challenges our belief that everyone can work hard to succeed. Unemployment raises questions about society's obligations to help those without a job. For an issue to become a social concern, it needs to have an influential group define it as so. An influential group is a group that can have a significant impact on public debate and social policy.

Another factor that defines an issue as a social problem is that it needs to be produced by social conditions and it needs to be remedied by collective human action. Natural disasters such as tornados are not social problems because they are not produced by society and cannot be prevented by collective action.

The values and norms of a society or culture play an important role in defining a social problem. **Values** are a group's ideas about what is acceptable or not acceptable behavior. **Norms** are more specific. They are rules of conduct that guide people's behaviors in social situations. Taken together, values and norms serve as a script for how to behave in society. Most people willingly adhere to their culture's values and norms. Thus, values and norms offer stability and order to a society. Not everyone conforms to the values and norms of society. Some people engage in behavior that is rejected by the larger society. This means they are engaged in "deviant" behavior. When people engage in **deviant behavior** that violates the values and norms of the larger culture, it can create a strong reaction. Some social problems such as prostitution and drug abuse are examples of how some people are unwilling to conform to the norms of the larger society.

As more and more people travel and disperse around the globe, societies become more diverse. This diversity means that people in culturally diverse societies come in contact with norms and behaviors that differ from their own. The values of one group may clash with the values of another group. This means that society needs to look at social issues and see if they meet the criteria to be labeled as a social problem or are they just a problem to a particular subculture.

Another element to defining an issue as a social problem is the concept of power. **Power** refers to the ability of one group to realize its goals even over the resistance of other groups. The exercise of power is related to social problems in that it is a necessary component in either creating social problems or solving them. Which solutions are settled on in solving social problems often depends on which groups can utilize the power available to them.

Finally, the mass media plays an important role in defining an issue as a social problem. The mass media is especially influential in the modern, global world. People's perceptions of social problems are often fashioned and influenced by the mass media. Groups that have access to the mass media are going to have a better chance at influencing public opinion than groups that do not.

Definitions of Social problem changes over time (global warming). Many but not all social problems can't be ultimately solved (crime, violence, poverty). Various social problems are economy related (poor economy leads to Spouse abuse, drug addiction etc) and sometimes solving one problem creates a new problem. There is a whole list of social problems like Drug Abuse, crime poverty, untouchability, racism, unemployment, drunken driving etc. The final list would depend to a large extent on what part of the nation we live in and what issues affect our lives most immediately. But most members of society agree that there are situations in the society that ought to be remedied. When most people in a society agree that a condition or situation exists that threatens the quality of their lives and values and also agrees that something should be done to remedy that condition. Sociologists say that the society has defined that condition as a social problem. In other words members of society have reached a broad consensus that a condition that affects some members of the population is a problem for the entire society not just for those who are directly affected. For the proper understanding of social problem Sociologists study it at Micro and Macro level. At the micro level applied to social problem includes taking a close look at social relations and social structure focusing on details.

The macro level relates to the totality of society. The social definition of a social problem refers to looking at people's behaviour and attitudes in context of social forces that shape them. Social definition is an emphasis on how the changes in society influence our lives profoundly, and how the longer events swirling around us influence and how we think feel and act.

The sociological perspective invites us to look at our lives afresh. The sociological imagination or perspective asks us to understand how social context shapes and influence our ideas, attitudes behaviour and even our emotions. The social context encompasses historical periods and broad events such as an era in which we grew up, war tension, turmoils etc. It also includes our social locations, the broad and narrower factors that also influence our lives profoundly such as gender race, ethnicity, religion and social class. Then there are smaller social locations in which we find ourselves, such as age, health, jobs and associates. Finally there is the intimate level, our relationships with people who are close to us, our parents, siblings, friends children and Spouses. Together many levels combine to make up social context that shapes the way we look at life.

1.3   Concept of Social Problem

Social problem has been defined as a condition which is defined by a considerable number of people as a deviation from some social norms which they cherish. (Fuller T Myers (1941). Reinhardt) has explained a social problem as a situation confronting a group or a section of society which promises or inflicts injurious consequences that can be handled collectively. This means that no single individual is responsible for the emergence of socially problematic situation and the control of this situation is also beyond the ability of one person or a few persons. This responsibility is placed upon society at large. Merton & Nisbet (1971) hold that a social problem is a way of behaviour that is regarded by a substantial part of social order as being in violation of one or more generally accepted or approved norms. This definition may apply to some problems like alcoholism, corruption but not to population explosion. Some problems are created not by abnormal & deviant behaviour but by normal and accepted behaviour.

According to <u>Raab & Selznick (1959)</u>: Social problem is a problem in human relationships which seriously threatens society or impedes the important aspirations of many people.

<u>Carr (1955)</u>: Social problem exists whenever we become conscious of a difference, a gap between preference & reality.

A Social problem also involves value judgement, a feeling that a condition is detrimental and requires change. Domestic violence came to be viewed as a social problem only in 2005, though it was prevalent in our country earlier too. Weinberg (1960) has defined social problem as behaviour pattern or conditions which arise from social processes and are considered so objectionable or undesirable by many members of a society that they recognize that corrective policies, programmes and services are necessary to cope with them. He gives 6 characteristics:

1. Social problem arise by being collectively defined as objectionable by many members of the community. Thus adverse conditions not defined by the community as reprehensible are not considered as social problems. For example, if taking alcohol is not regarded as objectionable by society, it is not considered a social problem. But as the society recognizes and discusses the problems inherent in alcohol consumption, studies its consequence and devises a plan of correction action to control it, it comes to be defined as a social problem even though the original situation may not have changed.

2. Social problems changes when the concerned behavioral patterns are interpreted differently. For example, mental illness few decades ago as viewed as insanity, was considered disgraceful and family used to keep it a secret. Now mental illness is seen only as one type of deviant behaviour which requires psychiatric and social treatment. Thus this problem of mental illness today is met with realistically and effectively.

3. Mass media (like Newspapers, TV, magazines, Radio, movies, network sites etc.) play an important role in creating awareness about the scope and urgency of social problems.

4. Social problems have to be viewed in the context of the society's values and institutions. For example, the problem of racial conflict in U.S is different from the problem of untouchability in India.

5. Social problems need to be analyzed in terms of the influences upon them by group processes and social relationships.

6. Some social problems vary historically. Contemporary social problems are the society's concern, i.e. the same problem varies in intensity and solution from time to time.

On the basis of above definitions we can identify the following characteristics of social problems:-

1. All social problems are deviations from the ideal situations.
2. All social problems have some common basis of origin.
3. All social problems are social in origin.
4. All social problems are interconnected.
5. All social problems are social in their result that is they effect the total society.
6. The responsibility for social problem is social; they require a collective approach for their solution.

A social problem should have the following four components:

1. They cause physical or mental damage to individuals or society.

2. They offend the values or standards of a large segment of society.

3. They persist for an extended period of time.

4. They generate competing proposed solutions from different groups which delays reaching consensus on how to solve the problem.

The **definition of a social problem** then is when an influential group defines a social condition as threatening its values, and when this condition affects large numbers of people, and where the condition can be solved by collective action.

In the field of sociology there is a difference in opinion on a definition of a social problem. Some theorists emphasize the **subjective nature of social problems**. They believe that what is defined as a social problem differs by audience and by time. For example, global warming has not always been considered a social problem. Theorists in this camp believe that we should look at how groups of people actively influence the definition of a social problem.

A second group of sociologists sees an **objective reality of social problems**. These theorists believe there are structural conditions in society such as poverty, racism, sexism that cause material or psychological suffering for parts of the population. They prevent members of society from developing and using their full potential. This sort of suffering exists regardless of personal or cultural opinion. Those conditions are, therefore, social problems in any social setting.

The difference in opinion between the subjective and objective between sociologists demonstrates that it is difficult to escape making value judgments and that the study of social problems cannot be value free.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE DYNAMIC:- As society changes, so do these two essential elements: objective conditions and subjective concerns. In other words, social problems are dynamic. For example, abortion was illegal in the United States until 1973. In that year, the U.S. Supreme Court made a landmark decision known as *Roe v. Wade,* by which the Court legalized abortion. Before this decision, the social problem of abortion was quite unlike what it is today. The primary *objective condition* was the illegality of abortion. The *subjective concerns* centered on women who wanted abortions but could not get them, as well as on the conditions under which illegal abortions took place: With most abortions performed by untrained people, many women died from botched, underground surgeries. As growing numbers of people became concerned, they worked to change the law. Their success transformed the problem: Large numbers of people became upset that abortion had become legal. Convinced that abortion is murder; these people began their own campaigns to make their subjective concerns known and to change the law. Those who favor legal abortion oppose each step these people take. It shows that how social problem are dynamic, how they take shape as groups react to one another**.**

SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE RELATIVE:- As you can see from the example of abortion, what people consider to be a social problem depends on their values. *A social problem for some is often a solution for others*. While some were pleased with the *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973, others found it a disaster. In the same way, nuclear power is not a social problem for the corporations that use it to generate electricity.

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COMPETING VIEWS:- Since we live in a pluralistic world of competing, contrasting, and conflictive groups, our society is filled with competing, contrasting, and conflictive views of life. This certainly makes life interesting, but in such a dynamic world, whose definition of a social problem wins? The answer centers on **power,** the ability to get your way despite obstacles. After abortion became legal in 1973, most observers assumed that the social problem was over—the opponents of abortion had lost, and they would quietly fade away. As you know, this assumption was naive. Feelings were so strong that groups which had been hostile to one another for centuries, such as Roman Catholics and Baptists, began to work together to oppose abortion. Shocked at what they considered the killing of babies, they took to the streets and to the courts, fighting pitched battles over this issue that lies at the heart of social divisions in U.S. society.

1.4   Causes of Social Problems

The ultimate cause of social problem is a failure of socialization. Society through its socializing agents has the responsibility of transmitting moral norms to each generation. Sometimes however the socialization effect is ineffective. An early classification of deviants in the social pathology perspective portrayed them as defective, dependent or delinquent. Defectives can't be taught. Dependents are handicapped in receiving instructions and delinquents reject the teachings. For later pathologists, social problems are the result of wrong values being learned. In this perspective's tender mood, the people who contribute to the social problem are viewed as sick; in its tough mood, they are viewed as criminals. Behind both moods, however is the notion that the person or the situation is at heart 'immoral'. (Rubington & Weinberg).

Social problem arise out of pathological social conditions. They occur in all societies simple (small, isolated, homogeneous with group solidarity and change slowly) as well in complex (which are characterized by impersonal secondary relations, anonymity, loneliness, high mobility and extreme specialization where change is rapid.)

Three factors are important in the understanding of casual factors in social problem:-

1. The casual conditions are numerous which we can divide among hereditary & acquired traits.
2. Social problem provide a strong basis of common casual factors.
3. Social problems are interrelated and interdependent in the sense that they are cumulatively promotive and provocative i.e. they encourage & foster each other.

1.4.1   The Natural History of Social Problems: Four Stages

Sociologists have found that social problems go through four stages, which they call *the natural history of a social problem*.

The First Stage: Defining the Problem, the Emergence of Leaders, and Beginning to Organize

The Second Stage: Crafting an Official Response.

The Third Stage: Reacting to the Official Response

The Fourth Stage: Developing Alternative Strategies

1.   The First Stage: DEFINING THE PROBLEM:- As you have just seen, for a social problem to come into being, people have to become upset about some objective condition. This involves a shift in

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outlook, a questioning of something that had been taken for granted. This change in perspective can come about in several ways. For example, if values change, an old, established pattern will no longer look the same.

THE EMERGENCE OF LEADERS:- As people discussed their concerns about the problem, leaders emerge who help to crystallize the issues.

ORGANIZING AROUND THE ISSUE:- Once the leader emerges: understands the use of power—and the value of arousing a concerned public. The movement against the issue is organized.

2.   The Second Stage: Crafting an Official Response

The stages of a social problem don't have neat ending and beginning points. Their edges are blurry, and they overlap. Thus, the stages of defining the social problem and officially responding to it are intertwined.

The turning point comes when Public forums and legislative hearings are held, generating huge amounts of publicity. This publicity served as a vital bridge between the public at large and the advocates of social problem.

3.   The Third Stage: Reacting to the Official Response

As sometimes happens, the official response to a social problem becomes defined as a social problem. Besides inspiring new opposition, official response also can change the definition of the social problem that is held by those who promoted the reform in the first place.

4.   The Fourth Stage: Developing Alternative Strategies

Advocates of Social problem are not a single, organized group. Rather, it has swept up people from every background, some of whom are moderate, others radical, and most somewhere in between. The moderates choose moderate alternative strategies. They call their friends, run newspaper ads, and write their representatives. Radical activists, in contrast, lean toward radical methods. Those who are against the issue have altogether different opinion. Part of the alternative strategy of each side is to point the finger at the other. As it promotes its own point of view, each side paints the other as grotesque, uncaring, and evil. For example, Proabortionists accuse antiabortionists of being concerned about fetuses but not about pregnant women. They also point to the killing of physicians as evidence of hypocrisy—people who say they stand for life kill others. For their part, antiabortionists accuse proabortionists of suppressing information about the health risks of abortion—and of murdering helpless, innocent, unborn children.

The activists in this ongoing social problem illustrate how interest groups develop alternative strategies as they line up on opposing sides of a social issue. In the case of abortion, the final results are still unclear—and perhaps they never will be final. On both sides are highly motivated people. Each side considers the other unreasonable. Each is rationally and emotionally dedicated to its view of morality: One talks about killing babies, the other about forcing women to bear unwanted children, even those conceived from incest and rape. With no middle ground to bridge the chasm, there is no end in sight to this bitter, determined struggle.

1.5   Sociological Perspectives on Social Problems

Contemporary sociology is forwarded on three basic perspectives or sets of ideas, that offer theories about, why societies hang together and how + why they change. These perspectives are not the

only sociological perspectives to social problems but they can be extremely powerful tools for understanding social problems. Each of these perspectives – Functionalism, Interactionism and conflict give rise to number of distinctive approaches to the study of social problems.

Perspective	View of Society & Social Problems	Origin of Social problems	Proposed solutions
Functionalist	Views society as a vast organism whose parts are interrelated; social problems are disruptions of this system. Also holds that problems of social institutions produce patterns of deviance or that institutions must address such patterns through strategic social change.	Social expectations fail, creating normlessness culture conflict and breakdown. Social problem also remit from the impersonal operations of existing institutions both now and in past.	Engage in research and active intervention to improve social institutions.
Conflict	Views society as marked by conflicts due to inequalities of class, race, ethnicity, gender, age and other major divisions. These often produce conflicting values. Defines Social problems as conditions that do not conform to society's values.	Groups with different values and different amounts of power meet and compete.	Build stronger social movements among groups with grievances. The conflicting groups may then engage in negotiating and reach mutual accomodation.
Symbolic Interaction	Hold that definition of deviance or social problems are subjective; separates deviant and non-deviant people not by what they do but by how society reacts to what they do.	Society becomes aware that certain behaviour exists and labels them as social problems.	Resocialize deviants by increasing their contacts with accepted patterns of behaviour make the social system rigid change the definition of what is considered deviant. (KORN BLUM & JULIAN)

1.6   Assumptions about Social Problems

Regardless of the basic perspective from which they approach the study of social problem, Sociologists make certain basic assumptions about why things happen the way they do. These

assumptions are starting point for studying some very complicated problems. The following are some of the basic premises of sociologists who study social problems:-

1. Social Problems are, to some extent a result of indirect and unexpected effects of acceptable patterns of behaviour. Different social problems may arise not because of bad deeds, bad people or bad luck but as unintended consequences of accepted ways of doing things, particularly as these interact with subsequent technological change. For example- use of pesticides which was once a boon to farmers and consumers, as they destroyed insects and helped preserve crops. There was more food production at less cost. But recently ecologists have discovered that some insecticides destroy the soil, plants and taint food produced from these plants. So there are new problems for the farmers, consumers and the governing bodies as well as the scientists. Once again a beneficial innovation has created new and unexpected problems.

2. A certain social structure and culture induce most people to conform but can cause some to deviate. Property rights, a major element in social structure can serve as an example. It is legitimate to become the owner of land, money or other goods of society and ownership confers the right to keep the property or dispose of it as we choose, subject to certain socially determined limitations. Many ways of acquiring property are socially approved- wailing to earn money, buying a car from dealer, growing vegetables on one's own land, writing a book and copyrighting it etc. Other ways of acquiring property such as stealing or fraud are considered deviant. Some people are unable to acquire property by approved means. They may be unable to find a job with an adequate salary or they may have many children, high medical bills or other expenses which make it difficult for them to make their ends meet. These people may report to deviant means to obtain money and goods. Thus we have the shop lifter, the embezzler, the burglar, the mugger and armed robber all are deviant from cultural norms, yet in a sense all are created by them.

3. Every society is composed of different categories of people who are similar in income education, ethnic background and occupation. These various groups constitute 'Strata' or layers. People in different strata experience the same problems differently and therefore are likely to understand them differently. One's attitudes are influenced by one's background, education, income, occupation and personal experience. Thomas and Znamiecki in their study of Poles in Chicago considered Poles (poorly paid immigrants), a threat to law, order and middle class morality since they had an unusually high rate of delinquency and crime. But later when these same Poles had acquired well-paying jobs, suburban homes and social respectability they were similarly hostile toward the poor blacks who now lived in ghetto areas. The same thing happened to other ethnic groups- Italians, Irish and Russians to assess people's attitudes toward social problems, therefore one should consider their backgrounds and previous experiences. These factors not only affect the understanding of a particular problem but also influence the solutions proposed.

4. People in different social strata propose different solutions to social problems. Since these solutions usually favour their own interests and values, it is often difficult to agree on or implement a solution to a given problem. Any number of events that are common in today's world illustrate this premise. If the problem is one of improved housing for the poor, it is likely that the poor will favor public financing and dispersion of public housing in middle class neighborhoods. Residents

of these neighborhoods fearful of crime new taxes and decline of property values will advocate private financing and rebuilding of slum areas. Minority groups may demand open admission to a college for their members regardless of academic qualifications as a means of raising. Their status, whereas the colleges administrators maintain that the same purpose will be accomplished by holding minority students to the same standards as everyone else.

This assumption implies two vital points:-

1. Every social structure can generate social problems, creating new problems and new forms of deviance.
2. People's behaviour, perceptions and attitudes are influenced largely by their social problems. The environment and background of the groups involved therefore are significant factors in the origin and elimination of social problem.

1.7   Who Do We Blame for Social Problems?

Whether a sociologist or a lay person, people will use one of two explanations in assessing blame for a social problem. One viewpoint is the **person-blame** approach. This in an individualistic perspective or a micro view. Someone who believes in the person-blame approach will blame a poor person for their poverty without regard to the unequal distribution of wealth, will blame the dropout for leaving school without looking at how the educational system is failing, or will blame an unemployed person for not having a job without looking at the economic effects of globalization. To sum up, those who believe in the person-blame approach have a strong tendency to blame social problems on individuals rather than on the social system. A consequence of a person-blame approach is that it promotes the idea that anything that happens to someone is due to a control individuals have over their own fate. It justifies Social Darwinism, the placement of people in a stratification system based on their ability and effort.

Another viewpoint is the **system-blame** approach. This viewpoint believes social problems develop from the existing social structure. System-blamers will lay blame on the shortcomings of social institutions that are dysfunctional. For example, a person-blamer when looking at the issue of inner city poverty will blame the individual for pathologies such as teenage pregnancy, illegitimacy, and crime, whereas the system-blamer will find fault with the social institutions (the economy not providing enough jobs, the schools under funded, the government uninterested in solving problems, the lack of access to health care).

The reality that we should recognize is that social problems are highly complex phenomena that possess both individual and systemic factors. Although it is likely that it is desirable to avoid the extremes, system-blame will be emphasized in the course. Since most people tend to interpret social problems from an person-blame or individualistic perspective, a balance is needed and so attention to looking at the how the social structure influences social problems will be emphasized.

1.8   Summary

From the above description we can conclude that social problems refer to the problems which affect people living together in a society. These social problems vary from society to society and from time to time. All social problems are deviations from the expected patterns of behaviour. Sociologists blame faulty socialization to be the ultimate cause of social problem or wrong values being learned. Other reasons could be impersonal relations, greater anonymity, higher social mobility, and greater

heterogeneity and so on. Subjective and objective definitions are helpful in the proper understanding of social problem which means that objective conditions which are subjectively perceived to be undesirable and considered as a problem. There are three perspectives to understand social problem which are:-

1. Functionalist Perspective which views society and its parts to be interrelated and any deviations in one part will have an effect on functioning of other parts. Functional perspectives are also of the view that social problems are also functional for the society.

2. The conflict perspective views society to be marked by conflicts due to varied inequalities. For example, racial, poverty and ethnic discriminations which in term produce conflicting values which leads to the formation of social problem.

3. Symbolic Interactionists view social problem as subjective and societies reaction to their behaviour by putting positive and negative labels in their lives.

To sum up we can say that it is the structure and culture of the society which is responsible for creating social problems. Sociologists use what is called the *sociological imagination* to view the social problems that affect people's lives. This means that they look at how social locations shape people's behavior and attitudes. A *social problem* is some aspect of society that people are concerned about and would like changed. It consists of *objective conditions,* things that are measurable, and *subjective concerns,* the feelings and attitudes that people have about those conditions. Social problems are relative—one group's solution may be another group's problem. Social problems go through a *natural history* of four stages that often overlap: defining the problem, crafting an official response, reacting to the official response, and pursuing alternative strategies. The sociological understanding of a social problem differs from a commonsense understanding because the sociological perspective is not based on emotions or personal values. Instead, sociologists examine how social problems affect people, view the causes of social problems as located in society rather than in individuals, and use scientific methods to gather information about social problems.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

I. Sociologists have found that social problems go through _____ stages, which they call the natural history of a social problem.

_____

_____

II. According to Symbolic Interactionist, origin of social problem is_____.

_____

_____

1.9 Further Readings

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1.10 Model Questions

1. Define social problem. What are its causes?
2. What are the assumptions of a social problem? Who do we blame for social problems?

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Four

2. Society becomes aware that certain behaviour exists and labels them as social problems.

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FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Structure

2.0   Objectives

2.1   Introduction

2.2   Emile Durkheim

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2.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Functional perspective on social problem

- Explain the Durkheim's views on social problems

- Describe Merton's approach to social problem

2.1   The Functionalist Perspective

Functional Perspective as it is often called, is based on the "organic analogy." This is the idea, developed by early social philosophers such as Comte and Durkheim, that society is like the human body. Just as the body is made up of various parts that need to function together and properly for it to be healthy, so is society. Each part needs to be in a state of *equilibrium,* or balance. Just as the human body has evolved over time, so has society. Comte introduced "positivism"—the view that social science should be based on empirical observations— into social thought. He focused on terms that later became popular in functional theory— solidarity and consensus, which refer to the interconnectedness of social life and the source of its unity. Durkheim was also concerned with how social systems are integrated and hold themselves together (Kingsbury and Scanzoni 1993).

The writings of social anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1952) were pivotal in establishing a field of comparative sociology, with structural functionalism as its most important tool. His essay on understanding the role of the mother's brother in certain societies helped to supplant social Darwinism with the new and, at the time, relatively sophisticated framework of structural/functionalism.

The leading thinker of functionalism in America was Talcott Parsons (1951), who believed that behavior was driven by our efforts to conform to the moral code of society. The purpose of such codes is to constrain human behavior in ways that promote the common good. The purpose of an organism is to survive. In order for a society to survive, the subsystems (the family and other institutions) must function

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in ways that promote the maintenance of society as a whole. This is similar to how a person's organs must function in interrelated ways in order to maintain a healthy body.

For Parsons, the key to societal survival was the shared norms and values held by its individual members. Deviation from those norms leads to disorganization, which threatens the survival of the system. Since the family is the key system in society, divorce, teen rebellion, non-marital sex, and single parenthood all threaten the structure or the functions of the family and therefore need to be avoided.

The Functional Perspective looks at the way major social institutions like family, marriage, military, health, police judiciary actually operates. According to this perspective the role is attached to each status which remits in proper functioning of society. There are expectations for each role, about its performance and these expectations are reinforced through societal values and norms. Societies are ever changing and have to adapt to new conditions and failure to adapt successfully leads to social problem. From the functionalist perspective all societies produce their own unique forms of crime and their own ways of responding to it. All sociologists recognize that there are causes within the society that help explain why one person becomes a criminal while another who may have experienced the same conditions does not. The functional perspectives answer these questions by saying that societies fear that most of the crimes that seem to threaten their members the most cherished values and individuals who dare challenge these values will receive the more severe punishments. Functionalist theorists see crime and deviance resulting from structural tensions and lack of moral regulation within society.

The Functionalist perspectives argue that **deviance is a necessary part of all societies** and that it performs positive functions for all social systems. After all functionalists emphasis on the importance of shared norms and values as the basis of social order it would appear that deviance is a threat to social order. All functionalists agree that social control mechanism such as police and courts are necessary to keep deviance in check and to protect social order. However many argue that certain amount of deviance has positive functions, that it ever contributes to the maintenance and well-being of society. In this perspective we will discuss the major contributions of Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton on functionalist theory of perspective.

2.2   Emile Durkheim

Among the theorists most associated with the functionalist perspective is French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Borrowing from biology, Durkheim likened society to a human body. As the body has essential organs, each with a specific function in the body, he theorized that society has its own organs: the institutions of the family, economy, politics, education, and religion. These organs: or social structures have essential and unique functions. For example, the institution of the family maintains the health and socialization of our young and creates a basic economic unit. The institution of education provides knowledge and skills for women and men to work and live in society. No other institution can do what the family or education does.

Durkheim proposed that the function of society was to civilize or control individual actions. He wrote, "It is civilization that has made man what he is; it is what distinguishes him from the animal: man is man only because he is civilized" (Durkheim 1914/1973:149). According to Durkheim, every society has shared values and if these values are not constantly reaffirmed and passed on from one generation to another then it would lead to collapse of society.

According to him there are two ways to understand there is some problem somewhere. Firstly, a limited amount of deviance or crime in necessary and beneficial for society so much so that society

cannot exist without some form of deviance. On the other hand too much deviance is bad for society and it can help bring about its collapse. This state he calls anomie i.e. a state of normlessness.

The social order can be threatened during periods of rapid social change, such as industrialization or political upheaval, when social norms and values are likely to be in transition. During this state of normlessness or **anomie**, Durkheim believed society was particularly prone to social problems. As a result, social problems cannot be solved by changing the individual; rather the problem has to be solved at the societal level. Durkheim used the concept of anomie in his introduced the concept of anomie in his book *The Division of Labor in Society*, published in 1893.

In *The Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim proposed two concepts. First, that societies evolved from a simple, nonspecialized form, called mechanical, toward a highly complex, specialized form, called organic. In the former society people behave and think alike and more or less perfom the same work tasks and have the same group-oriented goals. When societies become more complex, or organic, work also becomes more complex. In this society, people are no longer tied to one another and social bonds are impersonal.

Anomie thus refers to a breakdown of social norms and it a condition where norms no longer control the activities of members in society. Individuals cannot find their place in society without clear rules to help guide them. Changing conditions as well as adjustment of life leads to dissatisfaction, conflict, and deviance. He observed that social periods of disruption (economic depression, for instance) brought about greater anomie and higher rates of crime, suicide, and deviance.

He advances his theory of social transition where he argues that social order is maintained through social integration and regulations in a social equilibrium. All nations develop normative behavior patterns and belief systems in the evolutionary change process. During the transitional period, such as the transition from a rural society to an urban society, the diffusion of new norms and values disrupts the equilibrium of traditional societies and breaks down sacred-religious institutions, traditional beliefs and ascribed status relationships. The new organic social relationships enable individuals to challenge old cultural values and social rules, resulting in the rapid increase of anomie. Durkheim is specifically concerned with the social transition from a rural society with mechanical solidarity to an urban society with organic solidarity and the spread of anomie during this unique period.

Durkheim also made an association of the kind of solidarity in a given society and the preponderance of a law system. He found that in societies with mechanical solidarity the law is generally repressive: the agent of a crime or deviant behaviour would suffer a punishment that in fact would compensate collective conscience neglected by the crime-the punishment acts more to preserve the unity of consciences. On the other hand, in societies with organic solidarity the law is generally restitutive: it aims not to punish, but instead to restitute normal activity of a complex society.

The rapid change in society due to increasing division of labor thus produces a state of confusion with regard to norms and increasing impersonality in social life, leading eventually to relative normlessness, i.e. the breakdown of social norms regulating behavior; Durkheim labels this state anomie. From a state of anomie come all forms of deviant behavior, most notably suicide. The Anomie exists when there are no clear standards to guide the behaviour in a given area of social life. Under such circumstances Durkheim believed people feel disoriented and anxious. And Anomie is one of the social factors influencing dispositions to suicide. People at this stage return to their natural state of greed and self interest and thus Anomie is then dangerous and harmful to all.

Durkheim's main argument was that suicide is not an individual act, as was previously thought by leading scientists of his time. According to him, suicide was a social fact that was tied to social structures. He defined suicide as a social fact because it was something that happened driven by social causes, however hidden they were. Durkheim believed that social forces would affect the overall suicide rate - these forces became his independent variables. Durkheim's major independent variables were religious affiliation, marital status, military/civilian status, and economic conditions. Durkheim's data came from government statistics (secondary data). When Durkheim collected his data he found that suicide was higher among Protestants than Catholics, and lowest among Jews. It was higher among single people than married people and lowest among married people with children. The rate of suicide declined with each additional child a parent had. Suicide was higher among soldiers than among civilians. It was higher for officers than enlisted men, and among enlisted men, it was higher for volunteers than draftees. The suicide rate was higher in times of economic depression and economic booms than during more stable periods.

Durkheim's analysis led him to identify four distinct patterns of suicide; the three patterns most commonly referred to are egoistic suicide, altruistic suicide and anomic suicide. Egoistic suicide is committed by people who aren't strongly supported by membership in a cohesive social group. As outsiders, they depend more on themselves than on group goals and rules of conduct to sustain them in their lives and, in times of stress, they feel isolated and helpless. Altruistic suicide is committed by people who are deeply committed to group norms and goals and who see their own lives as unimportant; basically these suicides involved dying for a cause. Anomic suicide is committed by people when society is in crisis or rapid change - in such times customary norms may weaken or break down and, with no clear standards of behaviour to guide them, many people become confused, their usual goals lose meaning, and life seems aimless. Thus, Durkheim concluded that the force that determines the rate of suicide is social and related to the amount of integration or regulation in society – too much or too little regulation and too much or too little integration lead to suicide – and as such he rejected both biological (hereditary) and psychological explanations of suicide.

He suggests two ways in which societies reaffirm their values and ensure continuing social cohesion. These are Education and Religion. Durkheim believed that social life was impossible without the shared values and moral beliefs that form the collective conscience. In their absence there would be no social order, control, solidarity or cooperation. In short, there would be no society. Religion reinforces the collective conscience. The worship of society strengthens the values and moral beliefs that form the basis of social life. By defining them as sacred, religion provides them with greater power to direct human action. In a worshipping society, people are in effect, recognising the importance of the social group and their dependence upon it. In this way, religion strengthens the unity of the group: it promotes social solidarity.

Durkheim treats moral phenomena as conditioned both socially and historically. Each society creates over time its own set of moral rules, which can vary dramatically from one society to the next, with each society creating for itself moral principles that are more or less adequate to its existential needs.

Durkheim claims, morality begins only when an individual pertains to a group. Moral rules have several unique characteristics that separate them from other rules that might be found in society. These special features lie in morality's obligatory nature and in its desirability. According to Durkheim, at the heart of morality is a central moral authority that commands to its adherents its moral precepts. Through

this central authority the individual feels an external constraint to conform to a society's moral code. Obligation is thus a fundamental element of morality.

Within this dual obligatory-desirability element of morality, Durkheim views to a large extent the influence of religion. According to Durkheim morality and religion are intimately linked, and goes so far as to say that the moral life and the religion of a society are intimately intertwined. Wherever one finds a religion, one will find with it an accompanying moral doctrine and moral ideals that are commanded to believers. Moral authority is, thus, born out of religious life and draws its authority from the power of religion, which, is merely society's collective force.

Durkheim was keen to distinguish two elements of morality, both equally important to moral behaviour. On the one hand, there is the morality of the group, which exists objectively and outside of the individual. On the other hand there is the individual's way of representing this morality. Indeed, there are moral rules created by society that exert a pressure on the individual, but each individual expresses the morality of their society in their own way. It is impossible for any individual to exactly translate the moral conscience of society, which means that even where moral conformity is the most complete, the individual still retains an individual moral conscience and has a hand in adding elements of their personality to society's moral codes. This allows the individual to create, at least in part, their own morality. In this way, morality has both an extra-individual element and an individual element, as is the case with all other social facts.

According to Durkheim, moral rules do not need to be blindly followed by individuals. If the individual finds reason to object, critique, or rebel against the moral principles of society, not only is this possible, but it is perhaps even beneficial to society. For example, it is possible that changes take place within a society that can either cause a moral principle to be forgotten, or produce a schism between a traditional moral system and new moral sentiments that have not yet been recognized by the collective conscience. When this happens, an individual is correct to show the relevance of the forgotten moral principle or to illuminate what these new moral sentiments are exactly .

Durkheim also gave a surprising statement that there is nothing abnormal about deviance. In fact it performs four essential functions:-

1. Deviance affirms cultural values and norms. As moral creatures people must prefer some attitudes and behaviour to others. There can be no good without evil and no justice without crime. Deviance thus is needed to define and sustain morality.

2. Deviance promotes boundary maintenance between good and bad in society. For example, a college marks a live between academic honesty and cheating by punishing students who plagiarize.

3. Deviance has an adaptive function i.e. by introducing new ideas and challenges into society, deviance is an innovative force. It brings about change. As he puts it today's deviance can become tomorrow's morality.

4. Responsing to deviance promotes social unity- People typically react to serious deviance with collective outrage. So according to Durkheim, it is the moral ties which bind them.

Deviance can also be a safety valve, providing a relatively harmless expression of discontent. In this way social order is protected. Durkheim also imagines a society of saints where there will be no

murder or robbery but there would still be deviance. The standards of behaviour would be so high that the slightest mistake would be regarded as serious offence and such individual will attract strong disapproval.

2.3   Criticism of Durkheim

He does not explain why certain people are more likely to commit crime than others. He appears not concerned with this problem; he was most interested in the nature of the relationship between deviance and order in society.

Durkheim made an important contribution by pointing out the functions of deviance. However evidence shows that a community does not always come together in reaction to crime sometimes fear of crime drives people to withdraw from public life.

Durkheim ideas on crime and deviance were influential in shifting attention from individual explanations to social forces.

2.4   Robert K. Merton

Robert Merton published his "Social Structure and Anomie" in 1938. Merton argued that it was the rigid adherence to conventional American values that caused high rates of crime and deviance. In essence, he believed that the widespread conformity to American culture in general, and the American obsession with economic success in particular, produced high levels of serious crime.

Merton noted that, as opposed to other Western industrialized nations, the United States places an unusual emphasis on economic success. All members of American society, from the well-to-do to the impoverished, ascribe to the "American dream" that if one were simply willing to work hard enough, one would inevitably reap the economic rewards of such labours. The problem, according to Merton, is that despite the widespread belief in the possibility of upward social mobility, the American social structure limits individuals' access to the goal of economic success through legitimate means. For example, while the probability of attaining economic success would be enhanced by getting a college education, not all members of American society are able to do so. Those lower on the socio-economic ladder are particularly vulnerable due to their relatively disadvantaged starting point in the race toward affluence.

In essence, Merton's work contained a discussion of how culture and social structure could cause high crime rates. Merton noted that the American culture, as stated above, places economic success at the pinnacle of social desirability. The emphasis on attaining economic success, however, is not matched by a concurrent normative emphasis on what "means" are legitimate for reaching the desired "goal." This problem is then exacerbated by the social structural component discussed by Merton, which highlights the structural barriers that limit individuals' access to the legitimate means for attaining the goal of economic success. This disjunction between culturally ascribed goals (i.e., economic success) and the availability of legitimate means to attain such goals (i.e., social structural limits) in turn puts pressure on the cultural norms that guide what means should be used to achieve the culturally prescribed goal.

Merton referred to this weakening of cultural norms as "anomie." His adoption of the term "anomie" is based on Durkheim's (1897) reference to the weakening of the normative order in society, or, put differently, how institutionalized social norms may lose their ability to regulate individuals' behaviour. In particular, Merton noted that institutionalized norms will weaken, and anomie will set in, in societies that place an intense value on economic success. When this occurs, the pursuit of success is no longer guided by normative standards of right and wrong. Rather, Merton (1968: 189) noted, "the sole significant

question becomes: Which of the available procedures is most efficient in netting the culturally approved value?"

Merton was careful to note that there were a number of ways in which individuals may adapt to the "strains" brought on by the inability to secure pecuniary success, and not all of these adaptations are deviant. In his famous typology, Merton proposed that there were a number of adaptations possible in response to social systems that have anomie and blocked opportunities. These adaptations are:

innovation, in which the goals are pursued but legitimate means are eliminated and illegitimate means are used;

ritualism, in which the goals are abandoned but the legitimate means are pursued;

retreatism, in which the goals are abandoned as well as the means;

and rebellion, in which the social structure – both goals and means – is rejected and a new structure is advocated.

A fifth adaptation is conformity, in which the goals are accepted and pursued, along with the legitimate means.

Although Merton failed to articulate what factors determine which deviant adaptations will be adopted (as he acknowledges in his 1938 article), his theory predicts that rates of deviance will be greater when the level of anomie is higher and when the extent of blocked opportunities is greater. Conversely, conformity will be common in social systems when goals and legitimate means are clearly articulated and promoted and when opportunities are equal across individuals and social groups.

Because "there is not a strict identity in the conception of a social problem held by all sociologist", Merton lays out different criterion or ingredients that can be used to identify social problems:

1. discrepancy between social standards and social actuality

2. sense that social problems have social origins

3. judges of social problems

4. manifest and latent problems

5. social perceptions of social problems

6. corrigibility of unwanted social problems

7. hazards of subjectivism

8. question of value-free sociology

Standards v Actuality Discrepancy

According to Merton the "first and basic ingredient of a social problem consists of a substantial discrepancy between widely shared social standards and the actual conditions of social life". However, he acknowledges that the difficulty often arises when we attempt to measure or determine what qualifies as a discrepancy and how substantial it is. As an example he discusses the difficulty in measuring something as simple as homicides where the definition of homicide might be considered by some to be unlawful killings, which would omit killings that occur during war or even during a simple police shootout, because killings that occur in those situations are considered by some to be "lawful", just as killing

someone in self-defense might be. He also discusses the difficulty in comparing the numbers of killings. The same number of killings occurring in a city of 1000 people might be considered as a more substantial number than that same number of killings in a city with 1 million people. He concludes that "there are no agreed-upon bases of rigorously appraising the comparitive magnitude of different social problems" (p. 50). In essence like beauty, social problems are in the eye of the beholder.

Origins of Social Problems

Merton argues that definitions of social problems which require them to have social causes are incorrect. While he agrees that social problem can have social causes, it asserts that it is not the only cause because, "social problems are defined by their consequences, whatever their origins" (p. 51). Certainly the looting and other crimes that occurred in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, were social problems, but their cause was external to the social system.

Who is to Judge?

Another problem with identifying or delimiting a social problem is determining who should judge it to be so. Because the first requirement for identifying a social problem is that there is a disconnect between a social norm and the actual conditions found in the given society, a social problem requires that an accepted norm be socially agreed to. Because norms, by their very nature require a group or portion of a society's members to come to agreement and accept the norm's conditions, it is also likely that there will be another group or section who will not accept the norm. Thus "one group's problem will be another group's asset". For example one group's problem being another group's asset might be the issue of abortion. One group views it as violating their norm of "right to life" while another group considers their 'norm' of a woman's "right to choose" as being more important. The judgement of whether a social problem exists might be further confused when the potential social 'problem' of legalized abortion is found to have unexpected beneficial side-effects such as a drop in the crime rate (Levitt & Dubner, 2005). In the end Merton warns that we "must be prepared to find that the same social conditions and behaviors will be defined by some as a social problem and by others as an agreeable and fitting state of affairs" (p. 53).

Manifest and Latent Social Problems

Manifest problems are "social conditions identified by problem-definers as at odds with the values of the society" while latent problems are "not generally recognized as being so" (p. 55). The key idea here is not that it is simply a matter of publicizing or making a problem known. Rather the problem, and by extension is undesirable attributes in the actuality of society, have to be accepted as being unacceptable by a majority of the society, a problem can be considered manifest. For example, early abolitionists certainly considered slavery a social problem, however it was not until a sizeable portion of their society adopted or accepted those same beliefs that it became a manifest problem and the society began to act to resolve the problem.

Social Perception

According to Robert Merton manifest functions are those that are intended and recognized. These are functions which people assume and expect the institutions to fulfil. For example schools are expected to educate the children in the knowledge and skills that they need. The manifest functions are obvious, admitted and generally applauded. Latent functions are unrecognized and unintended functions. These are the unforeseen consequences of institutions. For example schools not only educate young they also provide mass entertainment. Latent functions of an institution or partial structure may support the

manifest functions for example the latent functions of religious institutions in the modern society include offering recreational activities and courtship opportunities to young people. Latent functions may be irrelevant to manifest functions for example the big functions organized by schools may not impact the purpose of the education. Latent functions may even undermine manifest functions. For example the manifest function of civil service regulations is to secure a competent dedicated staff of civil servants to make government more efficient. But the civil service system may have the latent function of establishing more rigid bureaucracy. The distinction between manifest and latent functions is essentially relative and not absolute. A function may appear to be manifest for some in the social system and latent for others.

According to Merton there is a link between manifest and latent problems and the public's perception of the magnitude of those problems. This link also exists between different manifest problems. His examples include the discrepancy between the public's perception of the dangers of plane crashes and their perception of the dangers of driving a car. He points out that according to 1979 figures more than 52,000 had been killed in auto accidents as compared to 350 in plane crashes, however, the level of news coverage and public interest was far greater for the plane crashes then it was for the much deadlier automobile fatalities.

Corrigibility of Social Problems

According to Merton the sixth element or requirement for a social problem is that if people consider it to be corrigible, that is they must feel that they can do something about it (p. 61).

Subjectivism

"The discrepancies between social standards and actual social conditions that are defined as social problems have both subjective and objective components" (p. 65). Essentially if we look only at the problem through the subjective lenses of those involved in or interested in the problem, we risk seeing and understanding the impact that real constraints such as biological limitations, technology or natural systems have on the problem.

Myth of Value-free Sociology

Merton asserts that the concept of value-free sociology is little more than a myth, "because scientists, like everyone else have values. And, of course, those values influence their selection of problems for investigation" (p. 65). Merton argues that instead of being value-free science should be considered as having the personal values of the scientist counter balanced by the values, norms and interests and desires of the institutions and society at large.

Classes of Social Problems

There are two "broad classes" that social problems can be categorized into: "social disorganization and deviant behavior" (p. 67).

Social Disorganization problems are those in which "inadequacies within a social system…keep people's collective and individual purposes from being as fully realized as they could be" (p. 68). There are four sources of social disorganization, all of which are relative (p. 68-69):

1. Conflicting interests and values: Different social groups have different interests and values and those values may create friction between different groups.

2. Conflicting status and role obligations: social problems that arise from competing expectations placed on individuals who belong to different groups with conflicting interests and values.

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3. Faulty socialization: are social problems that have their origins in a failure in transmitting or learning "the attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge needed to fulfill social roles" (p. 69).

4. Faulty social communication: social problems that result from "structural inadequacies or partial breakdown in channels of communication between people in a social system" (p. 69).

Deviant Behavior

While "social disorganization refers to faults in the arrangement and working of social statuses and roles, deviant behavior refers to behavior that departs significantly from the norms set for people in their social statuses" (p. 70). There are generally two variants of deviant behaviors: non-conforming and aberrant behavior. They are distinguished from each other on a variety of aspects.

"First, nonconformers announce their dissent publicly; they do not try and hide their departures from social norms" (p. 72). For example someone who openly grows and uses medical marijuana. The next aspect in which nonconforming behavior is different from aberrant behavior is that nonconformers publicly announce their belief that the norms are wrong and thirdly nonconformers may also actively seek to change those norms, such as those who seek to legalize the use of marijuana. A fourth way in which nonconforming behavior can be distinguished from aberrant behavior is that nonconformers are "acknowledged, however reluctantly, by conventional members of society to depart from prevailing norms for disinterested purposes and not for personal gain" (p. 73). The last way in which nonconformers different from those whose behavior is considered aberrant is that they generally call upon or cite higher beliefs or rights as trumping the societal norms.

Attributes of Social Norms

There are six attributes of norms:

1. Norms vary in their degree of "normative control" and may be seen along a continuum between the "4 P's": prescription vs proscription and preferred or permitted. (p. 75).

2. Norms vary in the degree to which the members or groups within a society agree with or accept them.

3. Norms vary in the "intensity" of people's commitment to them.

4. Norms differ in the level and type of societal control that exists to enforce them from informal sanctions and scorning to formal, legally mandated punishment.

5. Norms have differing requirements for "the kind of adherence they require" (p. 75). Are people required to follow the norm or merely give it lip service?

6. Norms also vary in the "extent of their elasticity" (p. 75) or the amount of leeway that an individual is allowed before their failure to follow or accept the norm is considered to be deviant.

Institutional Deviants

Merton raises the issue of how deviant behavior is not necessarily limited to individuals but can also be attributed to institutions. He provides various examples of situations where institutional norms, primarily in the forms of laws or regulations, have been ignored or worked around by the institutions that were tasked with enforcing or following them. These situations typically occur when the established norms, in the form of the exisiting laws, is no longer in synch with the norms of the larger society. Or inversely they may occur when the societal norms are not in synch with newly established laws. As

example he discusses the early civil rights and desegregation laws. Passed in 1964 the Civil Rights act was intended to prohibit discrimination against people because of their race or sex. However, while the law mandated equal consideration for jobs and employment opportunities, many businesses continued to discriminate.

Merton modified the concept of anomie to refer to the strain put on individual's behaviour when accepted norms conflict with social reality. Merton argued that deviance results not from pathological personalities but from the culture and structure of society itself. He begins from the standard functionalist position of value consensus- that is all members of society share the same values. However, since members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure, they do not have the same opportunities of realizing the shared values. This situation can generate deviance. In his words 'The social and cultural structure generates pressure for socially deviant behaviour upon people variously located in that structure.

In American society and in some of the industrial societies generally hold values emphasize material success; and the means of achieving success are supposed to be self discipline and hard work. Accordingly, people who really work hard can succeed, no matter what was their starting point in life. This idea is not in fact valid, because most of the disadvantaged are given only limited conventional opportunities for advancement or none at all. Yet those who don't succeed find themselves condemned for their apparent inability to make material progress. In this situation there is great pressure to try to get ahead by any means, legitimate or illegitimate. According to Merton their deviance is a by product of economic inequalities and the lack of equal opportunities. Merton identifies five possible reactions to the tensions between socially endorsed values and limited means of achieving them.

1. The first and most common response is conformity. Members of society conform both to success, goals and the normative means of reaching them. They strive for success by means of accepted channels.

2. Innovations continue to accept socially approved values but use illegitimate or illegal means to follow them. Criminals who acquire wealth through illegal activities exemplify this type.

3. Merton uses the term situalism to describe the third possible response. Those who select this alternative are deviant because they have largely abandoned the commonly held success goals. Lower middle class are pressurized more to adopt this response. They are low grade bureaucrats; ultra respectable but stuck in a rut. They are stickless for the rules, follow the book to the letter, conform to all the outward standards of middle class respectability but have given up stirring for success. Ritualists are deviants because they have rejected the success goals held by most members of society.

4. He terms the fourth and least common response, ret realism. It applies to psychotics, artists, pariahs, outcasts, vagrants and drug addicts etc. They have strongly internalized both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means, yet are unable to achieve success. They resolve the conflict of their situation by abandoning both the goals and means to reach them. They are unable to cope, defeated and resigned to their failure. They are deviant in two ways; they have rejected both cultural goals and institutionalized means.

5. The fifth response to failure is rebellion. Like retreatists rebels reject both the cultural definition of success and the normative means of achieving it. Rebels such as radical survivalists go one step

further by forming counter culture and advocating alternatives to the existing social order. Those who adopt this alternative wish to create a new society.

To summarize Merton claimed that his analysis showed how the culture and structure of society generate deviance. The overemphasis upon cultural goals in American society, at the expense of institutionalized means, creates a tendency toward anomic. This tendency exerts pressure for deviance, a pressure which vanes depending on a person's position in the class structure.

2.5 Criticism

Merton's strain theory has been criticized for explaining some kinds of deviance (theft –for example) far better than others. Moreover not everyone seeks success on the conventional terms of wealth, as the strain theory implies. Critics have also attacked Merton's work for neglecting power relationships in society as a whole within which deviance and conformity occur i.e. who makes the law and who benefits from them. He has also been criticized as being to deterministic because it fails to explain why some people who experience the effects of anomic do not become criminals or deviants. He has also not mentioned about politically motivated people (Freedom Fighters) who break the law because of the commitment to their cause rather than effects of anomic. A final criticism is that all functional theories imply that everyone who breaks the rules is labelled deviant. Being deviant however is actually a highly complex process. Despite the criticisms Merton theory remains the more plansible attempts to explain crime in majority of societies.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

   I.   Manifest and latent problems.

           _____

           _____

   II.   The Adaptations according to Merton's Strain's Theory are _____.

           _____

           _____

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2.7 Model Questions

1. Critically discuss the functionalist approach of social problem

2. How Merton explains the concept of social problem?

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Manifest Problems are "social conditions identified by problem – definers as at odds with the values of the society" while latent problems are "not generally reorganized as being so".

2. Conformity, Innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

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CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE

Structure

3.0   Objectives

3.1   Introduction

3.2   Marxian views on crime

3.3   Value-conflict Perspective

3.4   Summary

3.5   Criticisms

3.6   Further Readings

3.7   Model Questions

3.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of conflict perspective on social problem

- Explain the Marxian views on crime

- Describe the value-conflict theory

3.1   Introduction

The functionalist perspective views society as composed of different parts working together. In contrast, the conflict perspective views society as composed of different groups and interest competing for power and resources. Conflict theory is a theoretical framework that views society as being in a constant struggle over a limited amount of resources.

Conflict theorists would examine how and why the rift between the rich and the poor affects the quality of education, health care, and living conditions of those groups. The wealthy can afford better housing and tend to live near people of the same status. Because of this, the values of these homes increase, and the poor who originally lived there are forced into separate areas. It's no surprise that individuals who can afford to live in more expensive neighborhoods can also afford better schools for their children, thereby increasing the chances that their offspring will also be more successful.

Conflict theorists suggest that once inequality begins to take root, those at the top are unlikely to push for social change. This is because the elite set standards and rules that benefit themselves, not the individuals or groups below them. These standards also help keep the wealthy and powerful in prominent positions.

Conflict theory can be applied to many institutions, not just social class. Conflict theorists apply their principles to age, gender, race, religion . . . any social construct in which inequality can be viewed as a social problem.

The conflict perspective explains various aspects of our social world by looking at which groups have power and benefit from a particular social arrangement. The conflict perspective refers as to how social inequality leads to crime and deviance and vice versa. That is who or what is labelled deviant depends on which category of people hold power in society.

The conflict perspective has become popular over and over again throughout history, with roots that can be traced back to German philosopher George Hegel (1770–1831).The conflict perspective typically looks for sources of conflict and causes of human behavior in the economic and political arenas, and more recently in the cultural arena. In sociology, the conflict perspective has two traditions: a utopian tradition that foresees a society in which there is no longer a basis for social conflict, and a second tradition that sees conflict as inevitable in social life.

The roots of contemporary conflict theory are usually traced to the works of Karl Marx and his collaborator Friedrich Engels. Marx and Engels focused on economic structures, suggesting that the capitalist economic system is divided into capitalists and workers. Capitalists decide what is to be done and how to do it, and they own the products produced by the workers as well as the means of production. Capitalists pay workers as little as they can get away with, and they, not the workers, reap the benefits of exploiting natural resources .According to Marx, this system produces *false consciousness:* Neither capitalists nor workers are aware that the system is based on exploitation; workers think they are getting a fair day's pay, and capitalists think workers are fairly rewarded.Marx proposed, however, that workers are capable of recognizing the exploitation and achieving *class consciousness,* but capitalists are incapable of recognizing the exploitation in the system.

Marx suggested that all societies go through stages of economic development. As societies evolve from agricultural to industrial, concern over meeting survival needs is replaced by concern over making a profit, the hallmark of a capitalist system. Industrialization leads to the development of two classes of people: the bourgeoisie, or the owners of the means of production (e.g., factories, farms, businesses); and the proletariat, or the workers who earn wages. The division of society into two broad classes of people—the "haves" and the "have nots"—is beneficial to the owners of the means of production. The workers, who may earn only subsistence wages, are denied access to the many resources available to the wealthy owners.

According to Marx, the bourgeoisie use their power to control the institutions of society to their advantage. For example, Marx suggested that religion serves as an "opiate of the masses" in that it soothes the distress and suffering associated with the working-class lifestyle and focuses the workers' attention on spirituality, God, and the afterlife rather than on such worldly concerns as living conditions. In essence, religion diverts the workers so that they concentrate on being rewarded in heaven for living a moral life rather than on questioning their exploitation.

Social conflict theory explains Crime in three ways:-

➢ First the norms and especially laws of any society generally reflect the interests of the rich and powerful. People who threaten the wealthy, either by taking their property or by advocating a more egalitarian society are defined as 'common thieves' or 'pro radicals'.

➢ Even if their behavior is called into questions the powerful have the resources to resist deviant labels some but not many of the corporate executives involved in some recent scandals have faced arrest on criminal charges. Those who end up going to court, have the means to employ the best lawyers available.

> The widespread belief that norms and laws are natural and good masks of their political character. For this reason, although we may condemn the unequal application of the law, We give little thought to whether the laws themselves are inherently unfair (Quinney, 1977).

From the conflict perspective, social problems are the natural and inevitable outcome of social struggle. No matter what a social problem may look like on its surface, at its essence lies conflict over limited resources between the more and less powerful. As the more powerful exploit society's resources and oppress the less powerful, they create such social problems as poverty, discrimination, and war. As those who are exploited react to their oppression, still other social problems emerge: street crime, escapist drug abuse, suicide, homicide, riots, revolution, and terrorism. To study social problems, we need to penetrate their surface manifestations and expose their basic, underlying conflict.

Conflict theory relating to social problems can be divided into Marxist and Value-conflict. The Marxist theory focus on the social conflict that result from economic inequalities which subsequently result in the emergence of social problems. Value conflict theorists focus on social conflict that results from competing values and interests among social groups which lead to problems. We will be talking about them one by one.

3.2   Marxist Conflict Theory

Karl Marx (1818–1883), the founder of **conflict theory,** witnessed the Industrial Revolution that transformed Europe. Cities grew as farmers and laborers left rural areas to seek work in factories. The new factory owners put these migrants to work at near-starvation wages. As poverty and exploitation grew, political unrest followed, and upheaval swept across Europe.

Shocked by the suffering and inhumanity that he saw, Marx concluded that the hallmark of history is a struggle for power. In this struggle, some group always gains the top position, and, inevitably, it oppresses those groups under it. Marx also concluded that a major turning point in this historical struggle occurred when **capitalism** became dominant in the Western world—that is, when a small group of people gained control over the means of production and made profit their goal. As machinery replaced workers' tools, the **capitalists** (owners of the capital, factories, and equipment) gained the power to exploit workers.

Because tens of thousands of people from farms and villages had crowded into the cities in a desperate search for work, the capitalists, who owned the means of production, were able to impose miserable working conditions. They paid workers little and fired them at will. The capitalists also controlled politicians. When workers rebelled, they could count on the police to use violence to bring them under control. "This misery," said Marx, "is going to lead to a bloody day of reckoning when the workers overthrow their oppressors. The workers will establish a classless society in which the goal will be not profits for the few but, rather, the good of the many."

In Marx's time, workers were at the mercy of their bosses. Workers lacked what some take for granted today—a minimum wage, 8-hour workdays, 5-day workweeks, coffee breaks, paid vacations, medical benefits, sick leave, unemployment compensation, pensions, social security, even the right to strike. Conflict theorists remind us that the workers who enjoy such benefits today have them not because of the generous hearts of the rich but because workers at an earlier period fought for them— sometimes to the death.

According to this perspective power is seen to be held by those who own and control the means of production. The superstructure reflects the relationship between powerful and relatively powerless, the

ruling and ruled classes as part of the superstructure, the state, the agencies of social control, the law and definitions of deviance in general, reflect and serve ruling class interests. As an instrument of ruling class the state passes law which support ruling class, interests, maintains its power and coerces and controls the subject class. Laws are not the expression of value consensus but a reflection of ruling class ideology. This means that law benefits the ruling minority. **There are three main questions which need to answered to understand the rule of power and creation of social problems:-**

1. Who makes the Law? Who benefits

   According to Marxism perspective, laws are made by state which represents the interests of ruling classes. Here we can discuss the example given by Mannheim in terms of laws passed in England and many other countries in favour of the protection of property (Mannheim 1960). According to Chambliss such laws were largely unnecessary in feudal society where land and unmovable property was the main source of wealth and land owners were the undisputed masters of economic resources of country. With the increasing impulant of trade and commerce and replacement of feudalism with Capitalism it resulted in vast number of laws protecting the new emerging capitalist class. Snider 1993 notes that capitalist states are often reluctant to pass laws which regulate large capitalist concerns and might threaten their profitability. But some laws are threaten also passed which appear to be designed to protect the consumer against private enterprise. For example, laws on pollution and protection of the environment but Pearce is of the view that many laws which appear to benefit only the subject class in reality benefit the ruling class as well. Just as important as law that are passed are laws that are not passed. Non decision making is as important as decision making. Powerful groups make sure that only safe decisions are taken. Chambliss suggests that much of what takes place in the creation of rules in non decision making. He gives examples of situations which might well be legally defined as criminal and the ruling class did not control beliefs about what should and should not be 'The real criminals in this society are not the people who populate the prison across the state but those people who have stolen the wealth of the world from the people' (Taylor, Walton and Young 1973).

2. Who breaks the law? Who get benefit

   Sociologists who have been strongly influenced by Marxism tend to argue that crime is widespread in all social strata. The new social problems arise with the growing illegal behavior by white collar criminals and corporations. Snider argues that in the modern world most serious problems arise due to the antisocial and predatory acts committed. She says that corporate crimes does more harm than street crimes such as burglary, robbery and murder which are usually seen as most serious types of crime. Despite the enormous costs of corporate crime both the penalties and chances of prosecution for those involved in it are usually small. Prosecutions are normally used as a last resort and are most likely that small businesses are taken to count rather than big corporations which do most harm. Chambliss here is of the view that power in the form of money and influence is the key factor which determines who get arrested and who does not. He says that in developed countries like Seattle in America; leading business, Political leaders and law enforcement officers form a syndicate which organizes illegal gambling, book making, prostitution, sale and distribution of drugs etc. Everyone in the top position slot helped them carrying on their activities and if challenged were murdered or tortured. Complaints from the middle or low income classes were ignored relating to their unlawful activities by the powers existing in society.

3. Who breaks the law? Why enforce the law

Many Marxists see crime as a natural outgrowth of capitalist society. They argue that a capitalist economic system generates crime and adds to the social problems- Greed, selfish interests hostility generated by the capitalist system motivate many crimes at all levels within society. Members of each strata use whatever means and opportunities, their class position provides to commit crimes. Gordon argues that crime is rational it makes sense in this highly competitive world and in all capitalist societies crime share a single important similarity i.e. rational responses to the competitiveness and inequality of life.

According to Marx social problem of mad societies arise from capitalism. An inevitable outcome of capitalism is class conflict, especially conflict between those who own the means of production (factories, land and the like) and those who sell their labor for wages. In such a system workers are exploited by their bosses, for whom the profit motive outweighs any humanitarian impulse to take care of their employees. In the capitalist system as Marx described it, the capitalist is driven by the profit motive to find ways to reduce labor costs, for example through the purchase of new machinery that can do the work of several people or by building factories in places where people will work for less money. These actions continually threaten the livelihood of workers. Often they lose their jobs, and sometimes they result to crime or even begin revolutions that seek to overtime the system in which they are the have nots and the owners of capitals are the haves. In other words for Marx and wisdom sociologists social problems may be attributed to the ways in which wealth and powers are concentrated in the hands of a few people and to the many forms of conflict that these inequalities engender.

Marxian conflict theory can be powerful tool in the analysis of contemporary social problems. For example, let us look at how Marxian conflict theorists explain criminal deviance in rich and well developed countries. Top organized criminal groups, have the money and power to influence law enforcement officials or to hire best advocates when they are arrested. Street drug dealers or local prostitutes on the other hand are relatively powerless to resist arrest. From the Marxian conflict perspective, the rich and powerful are able to determine what kinds of behavior are defined as social problems because they control major institutions like the government, the education and judiciary. They are able to shift the blame for the conditions that produce those problems to groups in society that are less able to defend themselves, that is the poor and working class. Now anyone who directly challenges the capitalist system of working is labelled as a criminal. In this category we can give the example of labor organizers, radical environmentalists and anti war activities. Spitzer points out that society condemn using drugs of escape (Marijuana, psychedelics, heroin) as deviant, but endorse drugs (alcohol and caffeine) that promote adjustments to the capitalist status quo. The capitalist system also strives to control people who do not fit the system. The elderly people with mental or physical disabilities and Merton's retreatists (people addicted to alcohol or other drugs) are a costly yet relatively harmless burden on society. Such people, claims Spitzer are subject to control by social welfare agencies. But people who openly challenge the capitalist system, including the inner city underclass and revolutionaries. Merton's innovations and rebels are controlled by criminal justice system and in times of crises, military forces. It is important to note that criminal justice system and social welfare blame the individuals not the system for social problems. Welfare recipients are deemed unworthy freeloaders, poor people who vent their rage at their plight are labeled rioters, anyone who challenges the government is branded a radical and those who attempt to acquire illegally what they cannot obtain otherwise are rounded up as common criminals.

Conflict theory's also focus on power and coercion and also highlights the role that social threat plays in the formulation of law and operation of criminal justice system. According to conflict perspective, "The greater the number of acts and people threatening to the interests of the powerful; the greater the level of deviance and crime control (Liska 1992). Members of minority groups the poor youth pose a real or symbolic threat to the interests of the more powerful groups generating a greater fear of crime and increased crime reputing, especially by non minority citizens, more restrictions laws and increases in law enforcement activity, count processing and punishments. This creating mere subsequent social problem to take place.

Conflict theory also contend that social threat presented by the under less affects the decision making of criminal justice officials who use their discretionary power to impose more punitive responses on offenders belonging to threatening groups and more lenient responses on offenders belonging to more powerful groups.

Bonger, a Dutch criminologist examined the lives of primitive people and observed that they are characterized by altruism. They are social; they help one another and this altruistic way of life based on mutual help can only be explained by the social environment, which is determined by the mode of production among these people, Production is for personal consumption and not for exchange. Further, neither property nor wealth exists. When there is abundance, all are fed. When food is scarce, all are hungry. People are subordinate to native. As a result of these three characteristics, said Bonger, people are not egoistic. Society is characterized by social solidarity and there are no social problems and this is because of result of economic system.

In the capitalist system to the contrary people concentrate only on themselves and this leads to selfishness. They are interested only in producing for themselves, especially in producing a surplus that can be exchanged for profit. They are not concerned with the needs of others. Capitalism thus breeds social irresponsibility and leads to crime which in turn results in various social problems. Bonger did not say that Capitalism creates an egoistic tendency that forces people to become criminals, but he did say that it makes them more capable of becoming criminals. The economic system thus provides a climate of motivation for social problems to arise and prosper.

Scholars who adopt a Marxian perspective tend to be critical of proposals to reform existing institutions. Since they attribute most social problems to underlying patterns of class conflict, they do not believe that existing institutions such as prisons and courts can address the basic causes of social problems. Usually, therefore, their research looks at the ways in which the material conditions of society, such as inequalities of wealth and power, seem to account for distribution of social problems in populations or they conduct research on social movements among the poor and the working class to understand how those movements might mobilize large members of people into a force that could bring about major changes in a way society is organized.

Taylor, Walton and Young 1973 the new criminologist drew on the elements of Marxian thought to say that deviance is deliberately chosen and often political in native. They are also of the view that social problems arise from the vary material basis of society. For them Capitalist societies are characterized by inequalities in wealth and power between individuals and these inequalities lie at the root of the crime.

The new criminology was developed by new sociologists who held the structure of society and preservation of power of ruling classes to be responsible for development of social problems. Straut Hall gives the example of 'Mugging' as portrayed by media as one of the most dangerous street crimes

committed by Black migrants. He and his colleagues argued that the moral panic about mugging was encouraged by both the state and the media as a way of deflecting attention away from growing unemployment, declining wages, and other deep rooted flaws in the structure of society.

3.3   Value Conflict Theory

The Marxian theory of class conflict cannot explain all the kinds of conflict that occur around us every day. We see conflict within families, for example that may range from seemingly trivial arguments over television programmes to intense disputes over issues like drinking, or drug use; in our neighborhoods we may see conflict between landlords and tenants, between parents and school administration; or between groups of parents who differ on matters of educational policy such as sex education or the rights of female athletes. Such conflicts often form not on deep seated class antagonisms but on differences in values. Value conflict theorists define social problems simply as, "conditions that are incompatible with group values" (Rubington and Weinberg). In 1925 Lawrence Frank advocated the value conflict approach to the study of social problems. Applying this perspective to housing problems, he showed a variety of social interests were entangled in housing questions and how changes introduced to solve the problem of the urban slum would entail a hose of groups in endless conflicts of interests.

The major formulation of value conflict approach to social problems was accomplished by Fullers and Myers. They held that conflict of values usually figure in all phases of social problems regardless of the specific issues involved. They said that all problems have a natural history with three stages namely- Awareness, Determination and Reform, and that at each of these stages the values and interests of different groups clash. Social problems are social conditions that are incompatible with the values of some group whose members succeed in publicizing a call for action. The root causes of social problems are conflict of values or interest various groups, because they have different interests, find themselves in opposition. Once opposition, crystallizes into conflict, a social problem is born. When two or more groups are in competition and in participation type of contact with one another, a conflict cannot be avoided. A number of different kinds of social problems have arisen under these conditions. And once the problem has arisen, the competing groups can also be in conflict over how to resolve the problem.

Various sociologists have pointed out that social problems consist of objective condition and subjection definition. The objective condition is contact and competition. The subjective definition reflects different ways of defining and evaluating contact competition and distribution of goods and rights. The social problem then emerges out of volatile mixture of objective condition and subjective definitions.

Fullers and Myers the two main theorists of value conflict perspective talk of **three kinds of social problems**; the physical then ameliorative and the moral. The distinctions resolved around within or not people agree on undesirability of the condition and on what actions should be taken. With physical problems (such as tornadoes or hurricanes) people agree that the condition is undesirable and that nothing can be done about the physical cause of the problem. With ameliorative problems (such as crime and poverty) people agree that the condition is undesirable and that the condition can be corrected, but they disagree about action should be taken. With moral problems (such as abortion or gambling) people do not agree about whether the condition is undesirable or about what action, if any should be taken. As society changes, problems can shift from one category to another so they maintain central to all social problems are, "conflicts in the value scheme of the culture."

They have also discussed about **three stages of social problems**. These are awareness, policy determination and reform. In the first stage, groups begin to see a particular situation as a threat to

important values. In the second stage, people choose sides, redefine values and offer proposals for action. In the third stage, some groups succeed in rallying action on behalf of their values. Thus Fuller and Myers argue values are clearly involved in all phases of the history of social problems. In the complex society there are many groups whose interests and values are bound to differ. Social problems according to value conflict theory occur when groups with different values meet and compete. For example if we talk about criminal deviance, value conflict theorists would say that deviance from society's rules results from the fact that some groups do not agree with those rules and therefore feel free to break them if they can. Like if society prohibits substances like alcohol or drugs there will be some groups that will break the rules to obtain the substance. This stimulates the development of criminal organization that employ gangsters and street peddlers to supply the needs of those who deviate, the underlying cause of the problem is conflicting values regarding the use of particular substances.

From the value conflict viewpoint, many social problems need to be understood in terms of which groups hold which values and have the power to enforce them against the wishes of the other groups. Once this has been determined the value conflict approach leads to suggestions regarding adjustments, settlements, negotiations and compromises in existing organizations that will alleviate the problem. These compromises may result in such policies as civilian review boards, arbitration of disputes, open hearings on issues and adjustments in existing laws to reflect a diversity of opinion and behavior (Gusfield 1966-1981).

Solutions to the problems that are generated by competing values may involve ensuring that conflicting groups understand each other's views, resolving differences through negotiation or mediation or agreeing to disagree. Ideally solutions should be when both conflicting groups are satisfied with the solution. However outcomes of values conflict are often influenced by power. The group with more power may use its position to influence the outcome of value conflicts.

3.4 Summary

Conflict theory states that society is a complex system with inequality which results in conflict that can lead to social change. This theory is based on the idea that within a society there are limited resources such as power, wealth, education and prestige etc. As a result people compete for these resources for survival and to improve their position in society. This competition causes conflict and sometimes results in social change. From this conflict perspective social problems are natural and inevitable outcome of social struggle. Under each social problem lies at its essence a conflict of limited resources between the more or less powerful sections of society. The social problems which result due to the conflict are racism, ethnic, gender, class and on some other types of discrimination. While social change does not always occur in response to conflict. This theory does explain much of the social changes and is often used to explain criminal behavior and other types of deviance.

Marx suggests a solution to solve the growing inequality and conflicts in the capitalist economy i.e. by creating a social economy where all property would be jointly owned by people. He was inspired by such a change in China and Cuba which underwent revolution and created a socialist economy and then governments evolved into communist systems. Today the economic systems of many countries are a mixture of capitalist and socialist policies. For example Canada and Great Britain, both use socialism for medical care and capitalism for business. In U.S economic conflict between workers and business owners resulted in creation of unions which served to balance the power of business owners yet the ideas of Marx was used during the Great Depression to create a limited form of socialism in the form of social security, Medicare and mediaids etc. for elderly and poor. We can summarize this conflict

perspective also by focusing on the meanings and importance of money, property and power has in society. These reflect the meanings and are used by a society to define values, norms and social position and it is meaning assigned to an object that causes conflict.

3.5 Criticism

Critics of conflict perspective point to its overly negative view of society.

- This theory ultimately attributes humanitarian efforts, altruism, democracy civil rights and other positional aspects of society to capture designs to control the masses and not to the inherent interests in preserving society and social order.

- It presumes that everything only benefits the ruling class in society.

- It presumes that working class does not realize their subordination.

- There is a misconception that working class does not rebel against the norms and values set by ruling class.

- It is very deterministic.

- It does not explain social stability and social order and stresses only on two polar opposites i.e. winners and losers, but it is not always true. Societies can allocate resources, compromise and negotiate also.

Value Conflict perspective is also criticized:-

1. First it is class based. It simply accepts the judgments of more powerful social classes in defining what auditions are social problems.

2. The value conflict perspective does not contribute to a theoretical understanding of society. It tells us nothing about the structure of society, how it works and what it produces in the way of social problem.

3. This perspective does not tell us how to resolve social problems. He suggests however that the sociologists can overcome these shortcomings by studying various social organizations cross culturally.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

I. What is the major cause of a social problem according to Conflict Perspective?

_____

_____

II. Proposed solutions for social problems by conflict perspective _____.

_____

3.6 Further Readings

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3.7 Model Questions

1. Outline the Marxian conflict view of deviance.

2. Describe value conflict theory and give examples.

Answers for the Self-Assessment Questions

1. Groups with different values and different amounts of power meet and compete.

2. Build stronger social movements among Groups with grievances. The Conflicting Groups may then engage in negotiating and reach mutual accommodation.

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SYMBOLIC INTERACTION

Structure

4.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Symbolic Interaction perspective

- Explain the views of Mead, Cooley and Blumer

- Describe use of labelling theory in understanding social problem

4.1   Introduction

Symbolic Interaction

Both functionalist and conflict theorists assume that social problems are the product of society. In contrast symbolic interaction theory views a social problem as a symbolic interaction between individuals, without the problem and others with the problem. Generally speaking symbolic interaction is the interaction between a person and others that is governed by the meanings that they impute to each other's action and reactions. The interaction could be pleasant and friendly or unpleasant or unfriendly. This is because people react to others not in accordance with the other's behavior but instead with their own interpretation of other's behavior. To symbolic interaction then the meaning is variously referred as a symbol, significant gesture, interpretation, definition or label that people attach to an act in a given situation is more important than an act itself, because our reaction to others depends on the meanings we ascribe to their behavior rather than the behavior itself.

The interactionalist perspective is a major framework of sociological theory. This perspective relies on meanings that people develop and rely upon in the process of social interaction. It analyses the society by addressing the subjective meanings that people impose on objects, events and behavior. The interactionist perspective offers an explanation that gets us closer to the individual level of behavior. This perspective looks at the processes where by different people becomes part of the situation that the larger society defines as a social problem. This perspective focuses on the ways in which people actually take on the values of the group of which they are the members. It also explores how different groups define their situation and in doing so construct a version of life that provides certain values and behaviors and discourages others. Subjective meanings are given primary because it is believed that people behave, based on what they believe and not just on what is objectively true. What does it mean to say that social problems are socially constructed? This means that social problems do not have independent existence. Social problems do not exist until some condition of society is called social problem until then that condition is simply a characteristic of society like any other one.

The major assumptions of Symbolic Interaction are:-

1. People are unique creatures because of their ability to use symbols.

2. People become distinctively human through their interaction with others.

3. People are conscious and self reflective beings who actively shape their own behavior.

4. Human society consists of people engaging in symbolic interaction.

5. The social act should be fundamental unit of symbolic interaction analysis.

6. To understand people's social acts, we need to use methods that enable us to discuss the means they attribute to the acts.

The society is also thought to be socially constructed through human interpretation. People interpret each other's behavior and it is these interpretations that form the social bond which is also called definitions of social situations. The significance of this perspective is that we see the world through symbols, things to which we attach meaning and that we use to communicate with one another. As we use symbols which our culture provides to communicate, we share and reinforce the ways we look at life. How we talk, our tone of voice, our food habits, words, gestures, rules and roles all are symbols by which we communicate views of life and these views of life include what we consider to be a social problem. Because symbols change, so do social problems. For example- earlier in our history, when most people died young some people survived the odds and reached the advanced age. At that time, if they had problems because of their age, those problems were matters for them or their family to handle. Old age was personal problem not a social problem. Today in contrast with so many people reaching old age we perceive elderly people as a group and we consider social action (Laws and Policies) to be appropriate for solving their problems. A major transition has occurred and what was once a personal problem had become a social problem. Example, of old age and society, In 1800 old people were valued and thought of as- Productive, wise, generous, kind. The Emergence of Industrial and Urban & means of old age as uselessness rather than usefulness, Foolishness rather wisdom- from asset to burden. So in other words according to this perspective social problems are whatever people in a society define as a social problem.

In symbolic interaction perspective there are at least two ways a social problem can arise i.e. the positive meanings given to some deviant, criminal or delinquent behavior. One way to understand it

through differential association, the process of acquiring through definitions unfavorable to the violation of law (Sutherland 1939). This means that an individual is likely to commit a crime if he or she interacts more frequently with people who define the crime positively (It's okay) than with those who define it negatively (It's wrong). Another way for a social problem to emerge is through labeling individuals as deviants usually by convicting and imprisoning them as criminals or treating them as disreputable characters. Once a person has been labelled a thief or a smuggler, he or she may be struck with that label for life and rejected and isolated as a result. So the person is forced to continue committing such acts or may commit increasingly deviant acts. We will not discuss these two ways in detail one by one.

4.2   George Herbert Mead (1863–1931)

George H Mead taught at the University of Chicago, where symbolic interactionism flourished. At one point, from the 1920s to 1940s, this department of sociology and this perspective were so intertwined that the term **Chicago School of Sociology** was used to refer to both. He has also done extensive work on interactionist perspective. He focused on symbols, self concept and social life. Mead focused on the role of symbols in social life. Symbols are so important, he said, that without them we couldn't even have social life, for it is symbols that allow us to have goals, to plan, to evaluate, even to know what love is. Mead concluded that even our self-concept, which evolves during childhood, is based on symbols. One of the major means by which we develop our self-concept is learning to **take the role of the other.** That is, as children we gradually become capable of putting ourselves in someone else's shoes, able to empathize with how that person feels and thinks and to anticipate how he or she will act. After learning to empathize with a few individuals, we learn to take the role of people in general—which Mead called the **generalized other.**

According to him:

- Development of self through taking the role of significant others
- Development of self through taking the role of generalized others or society
- Symbols and social life are created
- Social construction of reality as the process of making sense out of social life.

Mead's Theory indicates that the self is built up of initiative practices, gestures and conversations over time. He conceptualized the term 'generalized others' which he defines as an organized and generalize attitude of a social group. The individual defines his or her own behavior with reference to generalized attitude of social groups they occupy. This means when the individual can view himself from the standpoint of generalized other, self consciousness in the full sense of the term is attained. He is also known for his concept of 'I' and 'Me'. According to him self has two sides. The 'me' represents the expectations and attitudes of others (generalized others). It is the organized set of attitudes of others that the individual assumes the 'I' is the response to the 'me' or the person's individuality. 'I' is the individual's self conception and the subjective self or the image of self seen in other people's reaction. According to Mead the generalized other is the major instrument of social control, for it is the mechanism by which the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members.

G H Mead and C H Cooley saw self developing in response to the expectations and judgements of others in their social environment.

4.3 Charles Horton Cooley (1864–1929)

Who taught at the University of Michigan, analyzed how the self develops through interaction with others. He said that *people come to view themselves as they think others perceive them*. He summarized this principle in the following couplet: "Each to each a looking-glass/Reflects the other that doth pass." Cooley postulated the 'looking glass self' to explain how a person's conception of self arises through reflection about relationships to others. The development of looking glass self emerges from:

1. How we think we appear to others
2. How we think others feel about us
3. How we feel about this image

The looking glass self involves perception and effect, the perception of how others see us and effect of other's judgement on us. This means the formulation of self is fundamentally a social process that is based on the interaction people have with each other as well as human capacity for self reflection. One unique feature of human life is the ability to see ourselves through other's eyes. People can imagine themselves in relationships to others and develop a definition of themselves accordingly. From symbolic interaction process is key to development of self. In other words Cooley and Mead realized that although we learn our basic values and ways of behaving early in life, especially in our families we also participate throughout our lives in groups of people like ourselves, known as peer groups. From these groups we draw much of our identity, our sense of who we are and within these groups we learn many of our behaviors and values. Through our interaction in peer groups be they teams, adolescent friendship groups or work groups, we may be taught to act in ways that are different from those our parents taught us. Thus when interactionists study social problem like crime, they focus on the ways in which people are recruited by criminal groups and learn to conform to the rules of those groups.

So symbolic interaction researchers investigate how people create meaning during social interaction, how they present & construct the self or identity and how they define situations of co presence with others. One of the perspective central idea is that people act as they do because of how they define situations.

4.4 Herbert Blumer

The chief proponent of symbolic interaction is of the view that there is an interaction between deviant and conformist which is governed by meanings that they impute to each other's actions and reactions. It also involves interpretation or ascertaining the meaning of actors or remarks of the other person and definition or conveying indicators to another person as to how he is to act. It means that the meaning that people attach to an act is much more important than the act itself. Blumer came up with three core principles to his theory. Meaning, language and thought. These core principles lead to conclusion about the creation of a person's self and socialization into a larger community (Griffin 1997).

1. The first core principle of meaning states that human act toward people and things based upon the meanings that they have given to those people or things. Symbolic interaction holds the principle of meaning as central in human behavior. The meaning of a thing resides in the action that it elicits for example, the meaning of grass is food to cow, shelter to fox and the like.

2. The second core principle is language. Language gives human means by which some meaning is negotiated through symbols. It is by engaging on speech acts with others that humans come to identify meaning or naming and develop discourse.

3. The third core principle is that of thought. Thought modifies each individual interpretation of symbols.

Thought based on language is a mental conversation or dialogue that requires role taking or imagining different points of view. Based on these three premises and building upon the essential of meads penetrating and profound analysis of group life, Blumer's human society is made up of individual who have selves. Individual action is a construction built up through interpreting features in which, the individual acts. An collective action consists of alignment of individual actions. The cardinal principle is that society exists in individual action. Blumer following mead claimed that people interact with each other by interpreting each other's actions instead of merely reacting to it. Their response is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on meaning which they attach to social actions. Thus human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols and signification by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's action.

4.5   Labelling Theory

The other way to understand interactionist perspective is to have an understanding of labelling perspective. The labelling perspective has its origins in the work of Mead and Cooley in the sociological theory of symbolic interactionism.

The labelling theorists apply the symbolic interactionist idea to deviant behavior. As kit-use puts it, "Forms of behavior per se do not differentiate deviants from non deviants; it is the responses of the conventional and conforming members of the society who identify and interpret behavior as deviant which sociologically transforms persons into deviants." Symbolic Interactionism also stresses the significance of labelling which means people categorize things and puts labels or tags on other people or events and then act accordingly. The label affects our views on social problems and affects our reaction to social problems. Social reactions are viewed as the key in determining what a social problem is and who is deviant (Eitzen 2009). In other words labelling theory interpret deviance not as a state entity whose causes are to sought out but rather as dynamic process of symbolic interaction between deviants and non deviants. Labelling theorists do not ask the questions 'What causes deviant behavior'. Instead they ask three major questions:

1. Who applies the deviant label to whom?

2. What consequences does the application of this label have, for the person labelled and for the people who apply the label?

3. Who interprets whose behavior as deviant?

Howard Becker is hailed as the founder of modern labelling theory. He also developed the term "moral entrepreneur" to describe certain persons in power who campaign to have certain deviant behavior outlawed (Becker, 1963). As he claims that many laws are established for such purposes, the actual criminal behavior is dynamic and changes throughout time. Therefore, the actual criminal behavior is irrelevant. What really matters is which outlaws are arrested and processed by the criminal justice system (Becker, 1963).

Becker's work pays particular attention to the way society reacts to people with "criminal" labels. He proposes that this label becomes a person's master status, in that in the eyes of others, the status people use to identify and classify a person is always that of the criminal. In other words, the others

statuses a person occupies are no longer heeded. A person could be a parent, employee, spouse, etc to many, but the first status that will come to mind is that of the criminal (Becker, 1963).

Sometimes this new status may force a person to conform more closely to society's norms in an attempt to show others that the person may have made mistakes in life, but such mistakes will not happen again. Henceforth they will act in a fashion deemed "normal" (Foster & Dinitz & Reckless, 1972). But it is believed that in most cases secondary deviance will occur, an identity change will take place in which the person now accepts the label of criminal. Because this new criminal identity is in place, there is subsequent pressure to behave accordingly. Such an identity change could be signaled by a person losing contact with their former conformist friends and beginning to associate with other criminal labeled deviants (Becker, 1963).

In 1938, Frank Tannenbaum presented his own approach to labelling theory in response to his studies of 'Juvenile participation in street gangs'. He described the process of defining deviant behavior as different among juvenile delinquents and conventional society causing a tagging of juveniles as delinquent by mainstream society. The stigma that accompanies the deviant "tag" causes a person fall into deeper non conformity (Pfohl 1994).

4.5.1 Edwin M. *Lemert*

Lemert's Theory is considered to be the original version of labelling theory. He describes social construction of deviance and describes deviance as the product of society's reaction to an act and the affixing of a deviant label on the actor.

He made distinction between two forms of behavior. He called the first one **primary deviation** and second **secondary deviation**. He sees primary deviation as committed for the first time. This means primary deviance is the initial incidence of an act causing an authority to label the actor deviant. This initial labelling of a deviant act will remain primary as long as the actor rationalizes with the process as a function of a socially acceptable role. For example, an adolescent who smokes cigarettes with other adolescents is not at risk of being labelled a deviant among his peers since they all smoke. Even though adolescents who smoke are considered deviants by larger society but teenager's actions go relatively unnoticed, unpunished and therefore unchanged so primary deviation is of little consequence. He talks of secondary deviance as repeated deviant behavior that is bought on by other people's negative reactions to the original act of primary deviance. For example- the same adolescent moves to a new school or college where his peers never smoke and where smoking is considered a deviant behavior. The other students call him names and exclude him from all of their social activities. Now he feels outcasted and begins to smoke more and perhaps engages in other deviant activities such as alcohol or drugs. This repeated deviance results in adolescents having a deviant identity. So he describes the secondary deviance to be a continued or repeated act. The behavior become secondary deviance only when the person comes to agree with the society's definition of the behavior as a deviant and sees him or herself as a deviant.

4.5.2 Howard Becker

Howard Becker's approach to the labelling was christened in a book by Becker **'Outsiders'** which appeared in 1963. He views deviance as the creation of social groups and not the quality of some act or behavior. According to him, studying the act of the individual is unimportant because deviance is simply rule breaking behavior that is labelled deviant by persons in positions of power.

According to him, "Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitute deviance and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view deviance is not a quality of the act, the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied and deviant behavior is the behavior that people so label." He uses the term outsiders to describe a labelled rule breakers or deviant that accepts the label attached to them and view themselves as different from mainstream society.

Deviants may consider themselves more 'outsiders' than others similarly labelled. Deviant outsiders might view those rule making or abiding members of a society as being the outsiders of their social group. Becker has also talked of the process or steps how these deviant outsiders become involved in Secondary deviance. Primary deviance is the first step and primary act may be either intentional or unintentional. The second step on the way to secondary deviance and a carrier of crime involves acceptance of deviant label. He explains that how certain rule breakers come to accept the label of deviant as their master status. The rule breaker that identifies with master status becomes an outsider and is denied the means of carrying on with their everyday lives, and the outsider turns to illegitimate means to make a living. The final step is the creation of career delinquent involves the movement of a rule breaker into deviant subculture. He now explains how those involved in an organized crime may learn new forms of deviance through differential association.

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Becker also observed that not everyone who breaks the rules get labelled deviant and moreover the definitions and enforcement of moral rules and political acts and the meaning of a deviant act can change over time for the people involved. For him the enforcement of society's rules is an enterprising act. The enforcement of a rule occurs when those that want a rule enforced, usually to some sort of gain to their personal interests, bring the rule infraction to the attention of public. The enforcement of the rule may involve the mediation of conflicts between many different interests groups by those in positions of power. The enforcer is armed with a great deal of discretion and may use his power to label even an innocent person in order to gain respect. This misuse of labelling process by enforcers may create a deviant out of a person who otherwise would not prove to rule breaking behavior. He recognizes four types of people according to the behaviors of those in society and successful attachment of the deviant label. The members of society that rule abiding and free of labels are described as conforming citizens, while those who are labelled without breaking a rule are termed as falsely accused. Those citizens that

exhibit rule breaking behavior and are labelled deviants are referred to as pure deviants, while those that break rules yet avoid labelling are called secret deviants.

Becker suggested that secondary deviance should not be the main focus of labelling researchers; instead, the process of action–reaction–counter reaction was the most important aspect of the labelling approach. Becker noted that the labelling perspective was also not as consumed with the label as critics have argued. In a later interview, Becker argued that the inclusion of societal reactions to deviance stemmed from his sociological past:

"If we study a hospital . . . we study doctors, patients, nurses, aides, and so on. We may focus on one category of people, but we know that the actions of the others are important as well" (p. 166). Thus, the focus on only the offender in criminological theory is an incomplete picture of the entire criminal event; society's views and opinions must be taken into account.

4.5.3 Chambliss- Saints and Roughnecks

He studied two groups of high school boys to find out how strongly labels affect them. Eight boys in the group were called saints who came from middle class families. Society expected them to do well in life. The six boys in the other group; The Roughnecks came from lower class families in poor neighborhood. The society generally expected them to fail. Both groups engaged in deviant behavior, skipping school, fighting and vandalizing property, but suffered different consequences. The teachers, the police and community excused the saints behavior because they believed that saints were good boys overall. The same people saw the roughnecks as bad and prosecuted them for their behavior more often. Chambliss in his study found out that boy's social class had much to do with the public's perception of them and ways the public perceived their acts of deviance. He also hypothesized that a deviant label can become self fulfilling prophecy. Roughnecks were so used to the negative labels and responses of society that they continued behaving like one.

Who Labels whom:

According to the labelling perspective people who represent the forces of law and order as well as conventional morality apply the deviant label to those who have allegedly violated that law and morality. Examples of the labellers are the police, judges prison guards, Jail wardens, psychiatrists and some other social control agents. On the other hand examples of labelled are criminals, Juvenile delinquents, drug addicts, prostitutes, homosexuals mental patients, physically handicapped etc. Generally the rich, powerful are more able others than as to label deviants. On the other side, poor, blacks, and powerless are more likely to be labelled deviants. People who represent the forces of law and order are able to impose definitions of conventional morality on others do most of the labelling. The label that creates categories of deviance thus expresses the power structure of society.

Consequences of Labelling

Labelling a person deviant may have some consequence for the person so labelled and also for the labellers.

For the Labelled:-

According to labelling theory being labelled deviant produces negative consequences for the individual so labelled. The major consequence is that once people are labelled deviant, they tend to see themselves as deviant, which in term leads them to continue the so called problematic behavior. The

negative consequences could be, being ridiculed, humiliated, degraded, harassed, beaten, imprisoned or dehumanized. The deviant as in Becker's words is "More sinned than sinning."

For the Labellers:

Erikson here talks about the positive consequences for the community, groups or individuals those who apply the label. This means that when some individuals or groups are labelled deviants, there will then follow some positive consequences for the labellers, such as community; the most important consequence being the preservation and strengthening of social cohesion and social order.

Solutions to social problems

According to labelling theory lie in changing the definitions of what is considered deviant (Rubington + Weinberg 1971). In the view of labelling theorists, accepting a greater variety of acts and situations as normal will automatically eliminate those acts or situations as objects of concern. Similarly, discouraging the tendency to impose labels for personal gains or satisfaction reduces the whole of labelling process and can cause former problems to become less significant. Labelling theory is only one of the various applications of interactionist perspective to social problem. Another common approach on the process of socialization that occurs in groups and explores the possibility of resocialization through group interaction is the solution to the social problem.

4.6   Criticism

Many criticisms have been levelled against the labelling perspective by criminologists who looked at labeling as an attack on prior theoretical thought. Labelling theory has been criticized as being too simplistic: The label affects self-concept, which leads to a change in self-concept, and this change in self-concept leads to a change in behaviour (Wellford, 1975, p. 342). The labelling perspective has been argued to be nothing more than a small part of a much larger overall theory.

1. Interactionist perspective has been criticized for their over emphasis on individual and very less conception of social structure which we create and sustain.

2. There is little attempt to explain how the social relationships that we create reflect back upon our behaviour to forces into behaving in ways that gives us real choice.

3. Symbolic Interaction perspective do not mention about social order and social change. The examples used by interactionists are not adequate enough to explain as to Why societies change? What is the process of change? What happens after the change?

4. Labelling theory has been criticized for not taking account of structure and society as whole i.e. Labelling theory tends to focus on everyday activities of individual and groups and ignore the structure conditions such as inequality and poverty within which these activities take place.

5. Labelling theory can also be criticized that they neglect the processes that lead to acts defined as deviants. For Labelling, certain activities as deviant is not arbitrary, differences in socialization, attitudes and opportunities influence how far people engage in behavior likely to be labelled deviant.

6. The labelling theory is not clear on the causation. It does not answer the simple questions. What causes deviance' Why some people deviate and others do not'. But only focus on the responses of people or society and shifts the responsibility for my action from me to you or they.

4.7 Summary

Symbolic interactionists view social problems not as objective conditions but as broadly held views that some matter is a social problem; that is, if people view something as a social problem, it is a social problem. If they do not, it is not. As people's views (or definitions or symbols) change, so do their ideas about social problems. Labelling theory argues that social groups create deviance by agreeing on rules and laws and by applying these laws to individuals. In this perspective, the reaction to criminal behavior is just as crucial to the study of crime as an individual criminal's behavior. The labelling perspective posits a dynamic process whereby an individual is labelled either a deviant or a criminal, internalizes that behavior by coming to view himself or herself as deviant or criminal, and then continues in behavior that is consistent with the applied label.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

III. Assumptions of Symbolic Interaction on Social Problem.

_____

_____

IV. Proposed solution by symbolic interaction on social problem.

_____

_____

4.8 Further Readings

- John I. Kituse + Aaron V. Cicourel: - "A note on the uses of official statistics", Social problems 11 (Fall 1963).

- G.H.Mead- 'Mind, self and society' from the standpoint of social behaviorist Chicago; University of Chicago press 1934

- Edwin M. Lemert- Social pathology: A systematic approach to the theory of sociopathic behavior (New York: Mc Graw Hill 1951)

- Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance (New York, The free press of Glencoe, 1963).

- Schur, E. M. Labelling deviant behavior: Its sociological implications. New York: Harper & Row,1971

- John Kituse, "Societal Reaction to deviance: Problems of Theory method, "Social Problems", 1962).

- Rubington, Earl and Martin S. Weinberg eds. Deviance: The interactionist perspective, New York 1973.

4.9 Model Questions

1. Critically discuss the symbolic Interactionist perspective on social problem.

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Deviance of social problems are subjective, separates deviant and non-deviant people not by what they do but by how society reacts to what they do.

2. Resocialize deviants by increasing their contacts with accepted patterns of behaviour make the social system rigid change the definition of what is considered deviant.

★★★★

CORRUPTION

Structure

5.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Corruption
- Explain the causes and forms of Corruption
- Discuss its consequences
- Describe the remedial measures

5.1   Introduction

Corruption is a universal phenomenon. It is not something new either. Corruption in one form or another existed since time immemorial. A review of penal codes utilized in various ancient civilizations clearly demonstrate that bribery was a serious problem among the Jews, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Greeks, the Romans as well as the Aztees of the New World (Thakur, 1979:7). In ancient India large-scale corruption dominated public life (Thakur, 1979:12). As has been observed "corruption prevailed on a larger scale in India during the ancient period and the ones that followed" (Padhay 1986:26).

From this, one can assume the nature and scale in the increase of corruption from medieval to the present time in the countries of the Indian sub-continent. One of the greatest evils of medieval administration in India was the extortion of perquisites and presents (Sarkar, 1935:83). Corruption was evident during the British rule in India. There was almost regular and systematic corruption involving almost all officials at different levels in the political and administrative hierarchy. There was an underlying belief among officials of "making hay while the sun of British Raj shone" (Dwivedi and Bhargava, 1967:7). why there is so much concern at the present time with corruption. The reasons are First, "there is a

widespread perception that the level and pervasiveness of corruption is not only much greater but may well be increasing" (Harris-White, and White 1996:1). Harris-White and White state that both political and administrative corruption is doggedly entrenched in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia and very much part of newly-industrialized countries (NICs) of South East Asia, has touched the very highest levels of political office in many Latin American countries and has quickly reached alarming proportions in the post-communist transitional countries including the former Soviet Union and China (1996:1).

Second, developments in the 1980s and 1990s against the backdrop of increasing economic liberalization, 'third wave of democratization' and floating of good governance agenda have heightened expectations that an effective and root-and branch cure of corruption may be found (Harris-White and White, 1996:2).

Third, the coming into prominence of such concepts as decentralization, accountability and transparency, human rights, rule of law and sustainable development have considerably influenced efforts to minimize political and administrative corruption in many countries..

5.2   Defining Corruption

Defining corruption is also important in the context of global efforts to reduce its influence in public life. But that is not an easy task. In its 1998 corporate policy paper entitled 'Fighting Corruption to Improve Governance', UNDP defined corruption as 'the misuse of public power, office or authority for private benefit — through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, speed money or embezzlement'. This definition is limited because it considers corruption a sin of government and public servants, and does not take into account the fact that corruption also prevails in the private sector. More recently, UNDP began to use the broader definition of corruption to accommodate corruption in the private sector. Corruption is now commonly defined as the 'misuse of entrusted power for private gain'.

Section 7 of the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988 defines corruption as:

"Whoever being or expecting to be a public servant, accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept, or attempts to obtain gratification whatever, other than legal remuneration as a motive or a reward or for bearing to do any official act or for showing or for bearing to show, in the exercise of his official functions favour or disfavour to any person with the Central or State Government or Parliament or Legislature of any State or with any public servant as such."

Corruption is a social, legal, economic and political concept enmeshed in ambiguity and consequently encouraging controversy. The ambiguity and controversy result from the fact that a number of competing approaches to understanding corruption are available. Naturally, definitions of corruption focus on one of several aspects of the phenomenon. Various approaches to corruption can be placed into five groups. These are public-interest-centered, market-centered, public-office-centered, public-opinion-centered and legalistic.

Proponents of the public-interest-centered approach believe that corruption is in some way injurious to or destructive of public interest (Rogow and Laswell, 1970:54). Market-centered enthusiasts suggest that norms governing public office have shifted from a mandatory pricing model to a free-market model, thereby considerably changing the nature of corruption (Tilman, 1970:62-64).

Public-office-centered protagonists stress the fact that misuse by incumbents of public office for private gain is corruption (Theobald, 1990:2). Those who believe in public-opinion-centered definitions of corruption emphasize the perspectives of public opinion about the conduct of politicians, government and

probity of public servants (Leys, 1970:31-37). Others have suggested looking at corruption purely in terms of legal criteria in view of the problems inherent in determining rules and norms that govern public interest, behaviour and authority (Scott, 1972).

The five approaches, as discussed above, have concentrated on the nature of corruption. Though the approaches throw some light they do not clarify the meaning of corruption to any satisfaction. Now there are four divergent views on the definition of corruption. The definitions have come from moralists, functionalists, social censurists and social constructionist realists.

The moralists view "corruption as an immoral and unethical phenomenon that contains a set of moral aberrations from moral standards of society, causing loss of respect for and confidence in duly constituted authority" (Gould, 1991:468). One of the well-known proponents of this view, Nye, portrays corruption as "a behaviour that deviates from the formal duties of a public role (elective or appointive) because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) wealth or status gains, or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (Nye, 1997:417). But this way of defining corruption suffers from a number of limitations. It tends to individualize a societal phenomenon and attempts to dichotomize as to what is good and what is bad. In the process societal contexts are ignored and the gap between formal norms and the underlying practice-girded norms are not analysed (Caiden and Caiden, 1977).

The functionalists usually look at corruption in terms of the actual function that it plays in socio-economic development. Claims are made by functionalists that corruption flourishes as a substitute for the market system; offers an acceptable alternative to violence; increases public participation in public policy (Leff, 1979; Gould, 1980). Some functionalists believe that political and bureaucratic leaders may see a national interest in actively pursuing or tolerating a certain degree of administrative corruption (Klitgaard, 1988). The major criticisms against functionalists are that they ignore the political significance of deviance and lack any consideration of power, interest and social structure in their analyses and at the same time the whole question of the origins of corruption is not considered (Lo, 1993:3).

The two comparatively recent perspectives, i.e., social censure and social construction reality, view corruption radically differently from the other two approaches, i.e. moralists and functionalists. Both the approaches tend to look at corruption from a broad societal perspective. The proponents of social censure believe that in understanding corruption one should take into consideration the capacity of the state to produce a particular form of social relations and shift the theoretical emphasis to the interplay of law, ideologies and political economy (Lo, 1993:5). On the other hand, social construction reality views corruption as problematic and the actors involved can be studied by relating them to contextual information on their social positions, interests and stakes in the system as well as on the political, economic and social conditions within which they function (Pavorala, 1996:25).

In view of the multitude of approaches and views on corruption it is not easy to agree on a unanimous definition of the term. Two definitions of corruption can prove handy. The shorter definition of corruption includes "abuse of authority, bribery, favouritism, extortion, fraud, patronage, theft, deceit, malfeasance and illegality" (Caiden, 1991a). The broader definition of corruption refers to "use of one's official position for personal and group gain and that includes unethical actions like bribery, nepotism, patronage, conflict of interest, divided loyalty, influence-peddling, moonlighting, misuse or stealing of government property, selling of favours, receiving kickbacks, embezzlement, fraud, extortion, misappropriation, under- or over-invoicing, court tempering, phony travel and administrative documents and use of regulation as bureaucratic capital (AAPAM, 1991).

5.3   Causes of Corruption

Corruption is a phenomenon that takes place due to the presence of a number of factors. An understanding of such factors require, among other things, a kind of general framework for a clearer understanding of the causes of corruption, especially from a broader perspective.

Genesis of corruption can be explained by looking at three levels - international, national and individual institutional levels (Goudie and Strange, 1997). Competitiveness of international markets provides multinational companies of various sizes with an incentive to offer bribes to gain an advantage over competitors. At the national level basic development strategy of any government moulds opportunities and incentives for corruption. At the same level three relationships – between the government and the civil service, between the government and the judiciary and between the government and the civil society - also affect the nature and discussions of corruption. Three areas of government activity - customs administration, business regulation and management of foreign aid - act as sources of corruption at the level of individual institutions.

Corruption also results from the presence of a number of factors. These include: rapid economic and social change, strong kinship and ethnic ties, new institutions, overlapping and sometimes conflicting views about what is proper public behaviour, governmental monopoly over economic activities, political softness, widespread poverty and socio-economic inequalities, ignorance, lack of knowledge about individual entitlements, communal bonds, ambivalence towards legitimacy of governmental organizations, asymmetric relationship favouring those in control of state power, economic shortages in which public officials assume extraordinary control over scarce goods and services, greed, patronage and systematic maladministration (Gould and Amar-Reyes, 1985; United Nations, 1990).

Most of the above-mentioned factors contributing to corruption can be categorized into "six-fold typology". This typology contains ideological, external, economic, political, socio-cultural and technological variables (Caiden, 1991a).

Some of the major reasons as to why people "collude in different ways, rationalise corrupt practices and tolerate corruption in a large scale" are because of the presence of number of factors. These are: governments act as monopolies in many respects, discretion that government and its monopolistic public agencies enjoy in their decision making and allocative roles, lack of effective accountability in government except in the nominal sense of presenting annual audited accounts and reports to parliament or answering questions in the parliament, citizens have limited information about the rules of the game and the standards of service they can expect from public agencies, and exposure of the average citizen to corruption in the public sector tends to be episodic (Paul, 1997a:1350-1351).

5.4   Forms of Corruption

Corruption takes many forms. These forms are: acceptance of money and other rewards for awarding contracts, violation of procedures to advance personal interests, kickbacks from developmental programmes or multi-national corporations, pay-offs for legislative support, diversion of public resources for private use, overlooking illegal activities, intervening in the justice process, nepotism, common theft, overpricing, establishing non-existing projects and tax collection and tax assessment frauds (UN, 1990).

These many varieties of corruption can be categorized further in terms of their nature. Corruption can be foreign-sponsored, institutionalized, outcome of political scandal and administrative malfeasance (Caiden, 1988). In foreign-sponsored corruption the main actors are public officials, politicians,

representatives of donor and recipient countries. Bureaucratic elites, politicians, businessmen and middlemen are responsible for political scandal. Corruption becomes institutionalized as a result of the support provided by bureaucratic elites, politicians, businessmen and white-collar workers. In administrative malfeasance petty officials and interested individuals play major role.

Corruption has been differentiated into three types - collusive, coercive and non-conjunctive (Arora, 1993). In collusive corruption the corruptees themselves are willing and active participants in the process and use of corruption as an instrument for inducing wrong action or inaction on the part of authorities, deriving benefit greater than the costs of corruption on their part. Those in the position of power and authority force corruption upon the corruptee in coercive corruption. In non-conjunctive corruption benefits are obtained at someone else's cost and victims are unaware of their victimization. Five major strategies - mystification, distancing, folklore, colonization and pacification - have been used by the beneficiaries to protect, promote and sustain corruption in diverse contexts (Arora, 1993).

The most common forms of corruption

Bribery is the act of offering someone money, services or other inducements to persuade him or her to do something in return. Among the common synonyms for bribes are kickbacks, baksheesh, payola, hush money, sweetener, protection money, boodle and gratuity.

Fraud is a misrepresentation done to obtain unfair advantage by giving or receiving false or misleading information.

Money laundering involves the depositing and transferring of money and other proceeds of illegal activities, to legitimize these proceeds.

Extortion is the unlawful demand or receipt of property, money or sensitive information through the use of force or threat. A typical example of extortion would be when armed police or military men demand money for passage through a roadblock. It is also called blackmail, bloodsucking and extraction.

A kickback is a form of bribe referring to an illegal secret payment made as a return for a favour or service rendered. The term is often used to describe in an 'innocent' way the returns of a corrupt or illegal transaction or the gains from rendering a special service.

Peddling influence occurs when an individual solicits benefits in exchange for using his or her influence to unfairly advance the interests of a particular person or party. The aim of transparency and disclosure laws is to expose such agreements.

Cronyism/clientelism refers to the favourable treatment of friends and associates in the distribution of resources and positions, regardless of their objective qualifications.

Nepotism is a form of favouritism that involves family relationships. Its most usual form is when a person exploits his or her power and authority to procure jobs or other favours for relatives.

Patronage refers to the support or sponsorship by a patron (a wealthy or influential guardian). Patronage is used, for instance, to make appointments to government jobs, facilitate promotions, confer favours, and distribute contracts for work. Patronage transgresses the boundaries of political influence and violates the principles of merit and competition because providers of patronage (patrons) and receivers (clients) form a network bypassing existing lawful systems, through which access to various resources is obtained.

Insider trading involves the use of information secured by an agent during the course of duty for personal gain.

Speed money is paid to quicken processes caused by bureaucratic delays and shortage of resources. It normally occurs in offices where licences, permits, inspection certificates and clearance documents are processed

Embezzlement is the misappropriation of property or funds legally entrusted to someone in their formal position as an agent or guardian.

Abuse of public property refers to the inappropriate use of public financial, human and infrastructure resources. For example, public labour might be diverted to individual use while public properties get hired out for private gain. Such abuse is more common with respect to services offered freely or at subsidised rates by the state and its subsidiaries where such services are either scarce or beyond the reach of the majority of the people. It also tends to be more prevalent where there is no citizens' oversight facilities and where there is obvious monopoly of power by public officials, which is exercised with impunity.

(Source: Matsheza (2001); UNDP (2008)

5.5 Consequences of Corruption and how it leads to Social Problem

Over the past two decades, the negative impact of corruption on development has been increasingly recognized. Economic research shows that although corruption occurs both in rich and poor countries, its impact is often greater in developing countries where the problem is endemic at every level and hurts the most vulnerable sections of the population. According to GTZ (2004),'[…] empirical studies prove that the more widespread corruption, the worse the per capita income, and that poor sections of the population—are disproportionately affected.'

More specifically, research shows that corruption regularly has one or more of the following consequences.

1. **Corruption exacerbates poverty and negatively affects economic growth.** It is generally accepted that corruption deepens poverty and inequality by increasing the price of public services and lowering their quality, as well as generally distorting the allocation of public expenditure. Studies by the World Bank in 2000 suggest that poor households spend a higher share of their income on bribes than rich households and that small businesses pay over twice as much in proportion to their annual revenue in bribes than large businesses. Looting of state resources is common and well-documented, with a number of high profile cases having been reported in the press worldwide (e.g., Ferdinand Marcos, former president of the Philippines, Mobutu Sese Seko, former president of Zaire, and Sani Abacha, former president of Nigeria). According to a World Bank Institute estimate, more than $1 trillion is paid in bribes every year, just over 3 percent of world income in 2002 (World Bank, 2004). These resources could have made a huge difference if ploughed back into those economies. More than 70 percent of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in transition economies perceive corruption as an impediment to their business (World Bank 2000).

   Corruption also creates uncertainty in the market through discretion in decision-making and the continuous change of rules. Corruption undercuts government capacity to collect revenue and reduces its ability to deliver social services. Corruption increases costs of bureaucracy through

wasted time in negotiating contracts and also leads to lowering of production standards, for example in manufacturing, drugs and construction.

Corruption reduces spending on health care and education, and redirects this spending towards the wealthy (Mauro 1997; Lash 2003). Corruption has a negative impact on health indicators such as infant and child mortality (Vian 2002).

2. **Corruption has a disproportionate impact on women.** Factors such as class, ethnicity and caste all influence people's experiences of corruption. Since women comprise the majority of the world's poor, they are particularly susceptible to the negative impacts of corruption (Khadiagala 2001).

   Certain types of corruption such as sexual exploitation in the workplace and human trafficking also affect women more than men and exacerbate existing forms of discrimination (GTZ 2004). The findings of the 2000 survey by the Asian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) on the impact of corruption on women in Nepal's criminal justice system show various levels of discrimination in the handling of cases of human trafficking or rape, the victims of which are for the most part female. In many of these instances, corruption would very likely have played a role.

   - 21 percent of the victims reported that the suspects were released before the completion of the investigations. In most of these cases, the testimony of the victims was simply ignored.

   - In almost 60 percent of the cases, the victims were not told when to appear in court. A considerable number of interviewees claimed to have been threatened with violence if they appeared in court and testified against the defendants. Complaints about this were not dealt with by the officers in charge.

   - If the victims did nevertheless appear in court, 56 percent of the interviewees reported offensive interrogations, intimidation by police, judicial personnel and local politicians, and unfair treatment by judges (GTZ 2004).

     The trafficking of women and girls is more likely to flourish in a corruption-ridden environment, particularly when such states have weak enforcement mechanisms against human trafficking. In Bosnia, for example, local corruption and the complicity of international officials has allowed a trafficking network to flourish, in which women are tricked, threatened, physically assaulted and sold as chattel. Local Bosnian police officers create false documents, visit brothels to partake of free sexual services, and sometimes engage directly in trafficking (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

3. **Corruption has a debilitating effect on development in countries rich in natural resources.** Some countries, despite their potential for prosperity, 'are nonetheless mired in poverty and poor government because the public revenues earned from selling these resources have been squandered through corruption and lack of government accountability to citizens' (Global Witness 2007). There is substantial and increasing evidence that countries with vast reserves of natural resources such as oil and natural gas are particularly prone to corruption and the illicit enrichment of elites. Global Witness and other advocacy organizations have documented the violation of regulations governing the use of natural resources.

4. **Corruption encourages conflict and is an obstacle to consolidating peace.** Corruption has often been seen as a key factor in undermining the stability of states (Le Billon 2008). It is widely accepted that countries and regions involved in ongoing or frozen conflicts, or threatened by conflict, are particularly prone to certain kinds of corruption, such as the smuggling of goods and military supplies.

    Moreover, corruption is increasingly recognized as a barrier to reconstruction and consolidation in post-conflict countries.

5. **Corruption undermines the delivery of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance for regions affected by natural disasters,** a fact which has received attention in particular in the aftermath of the 2004 Asian tsunami. For example, after the tsunami, over $7 billion was pledged to aid devastated areas in Indonesia's Aceh province, but the anti-corruption group Gerakan Anti-Korupsi estimates that 30 percent to 40 percent of tsunami aid money provided was stolen. Others estimate that a quarter of the 50,000 homes constructed for victims are already collapsing and will have to be rebuilt because 70 percent of the wood used did not meet building codes (U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 2007).

6. **Corruption shares a nexus with organized crime in its various forms, in many countries.**

    Organized crime groups often attempt, through bribery, to co-opt key officials in the police or other relevant institutions, to create a cover for their activities. For example, a share of organized crime profits may be provided to senior police officers in return for not being investigated. According to one observer, 'such corruption is extremely dangerous, as it involves large economic benefits and compromises the ability of state authorities to maintain law and order' (Trivunovic, Devine, Mathisen 2007). Besides being a crime itself, corruption creates an environment that increases the likelihood of other crimes such as drug trafficking. The relationship can be symbiotic: illicit drug trafficking increases the level of corruption through actions like bribery and money laundering. The issue of drug trafficking and its impact on corruption (and vice versa) is of particular concern for countries in Latin America and the Caribbean region.

7. **Corruption violates human rights.** A corrupt judiciary prevents access to justice and undermines the right to equality before the law and the right to a fair trial. Corruption in the delivery of public services obstructs human rights, such as rights to health and education.

    It subverts the principle of non-discrimination, and political rights and free expression — through, for example, the distortion of election results.

8. **Corruption fosters an anti-democratic environment characterized by uncertainty,** unpredictability, declining moral and ethical values and disrespect for constitutional institutions and authority (UNDP 2004). Corruption affects state legitimacy by eroding state institutions and public confidence when elections are rigged and the will of the public is ignored. Corruption also undermines efforts to achieve the MDGs and provide effective service delivery by weakening institutional foundations and diluting accountability, transparency and the integrity of public institutions (UNDP 2004). An example, , is the diverting to private pockets of scarce resources needed for recovery and rebuilding after natural disasters.

5.6   Perception about Corruption

Corruption and poor countries

Although corruption exists in all countries it is more widespread in low income countries. This is not because people in poor countries are more corruptible than their counterparts in rich countries. It is simply because conditions in poor countries are more conducive for the growth of corruption. Bribery and graft are crimes of calculation and not of passion. Hence, when benefits are large, chances of getting caught are small, and penalties when caught are light, then many people will succumb.

Low income countries usually have highly regulated economies that give rise to large monopoly rents. Accountability in these countries is generally weak. Political competition and civil liberties are often restricted. Laws and principles of ethics in government are poorly developed and legal institutions charged with enforcing them are ill-prepared to address this complex task. Watchdog organizations that provide information on which detection and enforcement for anti-bribery action is based, such as investigators, accountants, the press, and other civil society organizations, are not well developed and are sometimes suppressed. On the other hand, the discretionary powers of administrators are large, with poorly defined, ever-changing and poorly disseminated rules and regulations making the situation worse. Given these formidable constraints, what can be done to redress the situation?

Pessimistic view

Those with a pessimistic outlook will say "nothing much" and the matter is not worth the bother. Since the top leaders, key politicians and those in power, in collusion with leading international firms and prominent local business people are involved, and are reaping huge benefits from the system, chances of bringing about change appear remote. The pessimists point out that even in a country like Britain, it has taken over a hundred years to bring corruption under control (Gray and Kaufmann op. cit.). They also note the lack of substantive progress in anti-corruption drives that are underway in many Asian countries. One country, for example, has launched a major campaign for nearly a decade, but results achieved have fallen far short of expectations. The top leaders in this country have come out strongly against corruption in their public statements on many occasions, considering it a matter of the highest national priority and concern. It is also reported that 35,084 cases of official graft and embezzlement were investigated in the country in 1998, out of which action was taken in 26,834 cases (Asiaweek, 9 April 1999). In addition, several prominent figures from the party, government, and the business community were arrested and persecuted.

But the problem remains far from being resolved, and the country's leaders would be the first to admit this. Thus, the Prime Minister has designated fighting corruption as one of the four overriding national objectives in the country's development agenda for the coming years.

While campaigns against corruption have not met with much success, there have been worrisome developments on this front that make the situation appear more hopeless. In many countries, corruption has now reached new heights where rules and regulations are increasingly looked upon by public officials as a means to augment their low salaries. New rules are invoked and existing rules changed solely to generate income for themselves. Bribery and extortion have become institutionalized and take forms such as open requests for contributions and forced sale to the general public of unwanted and unnecessary articles at high markup prices as a means to raise revenue.

A basic difficulty with systemic corruption is that when the majority of people operate under such a system, individuals have no incentive to try to change it or to refrain from taking part in it even if everyone would be better off if there were no corruption. So people become resigned and try to make the best of a bad situation and to get on with their lives. Why bother changing something that can't be changed? Why

bang your head against a wall? Why entertain a buffalo with harp music? Nothing lasts forever anyway, and so on, are the type of attitudes that prevail in such a society.

Optimistic view

But not everybody agrees that endemic corruption is in the nature of things and the unenviable lot of low income countries. These more optimistic people point out that there are developing countries in the world, such as Botswana and Chile that, at present, have less bribery than many industrialized countries. They note that developing economies like Hong Kong, China and Singapore have been able to transform themselves from being very corrupt to relatively clean within a reasonably short period of time. They also point to serious efforts at market reforms and development of democratic institutions that are taking place in many developing countries which everybody knows would reduce opportunities for economic rent and, thus, benefits to be derived from corruption. They are encouraged by many top leaders in the Asia and Pacific region that openly discuss corruption in their countries, freely admit that it is imposing a severe strain on the social and moral fabric of their communities, that it is destroying their institutions, and hence recognize it as a critical problem that must be urgently addressed. Finally, the optimists also point out that campaigns against poverty, hunger, disease and injustice have been going on for decades and the fact that they have yet to yield satisfactory results in many parts of the world, does not mean that such efforts should cease. The fight against corruption, they say, should be viewed in the same light. No one claims it can be eliminated. But they believe it can and should be checked and brought under control so that the bad effects are minimized.

5.7   Remedial Measures

Some ideas and suggestions that have been put forward by the members of the optimistic camp to fight corruption are as follows:

(i)   Leadership: For proper house cleaning and repairs, it is a good idea to begin by fixing the roof. Hence, many authors, including Professor Syed Hussein Alatas of Malaysia, a noted authority on corruption, are of the view that the leadership in a country has a key role to play in combating corruption (Alatas 1999). It is an Asian tradition to hold leaders and those in authority in high regard and esteem. Hence the top leadership must set a good example with respect to honesty, integrity and capacity for hard work. Since fighting corruption will involve taking difficult decisions, the leadership must also display firmness, political will and commitment to carry out the required reforms. But honest and dedicated leaders are a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition to counter corruption.

Several other conditions need to be satisfied.

(ii)   Credibility: Credibility is one of them. For success, the offenders both on the demand and supply side of a corrupt deal must be convinced that the government is serious about fighting corruption. One suggestion towards this end is to "fry some big fish", that is to publicly try and punish some well-known corrupt people in the country. Some highly publicized trials and convictions of important officials and businessmen on charges of corruption have taken place in several Asian countries. However, since allegations of corruption are often used to discredit political opponents, the suggestion is further made that the fish that is fried should preferably be from your own pond.

(iii)   Involving people: A publicity campaign to create greater awareness on the adverse effects of corruption and a clear and unequivocal official pronouncement on the desirability to bring it under control would be helpful. Ordinary citizens have a lot of first hand experience with corruption, they are a good source of information and their help and cooperation should be solicited for the successful launch of an anti-corruption drive. Once people are convinced that a sincere and genuine effort to combat corruption is underway, they will respond and extend their full cooperation in resolving the problem. Just a little opening up and providing opportunities for them to express their views on the matter will bring forth an outpouring of information, ideas and suggestions that will be beyond anyone's imagination.

(iv)   Responsible press: A responsible press to gather, analyse, organize, present and disseminate information is considered vital to create greater public awareness and to provide the momentum for undertaking reforms to overcome corruption. Secretiveness has been a key factor that has enabled public officials and politicians to get away with corruption. A responsible and an investigative press has played an important role in many countries, both developed and developing, in exposing misconduct as well as in serving as a watchdog to limit corruption and preventing it from getting out of hand. The press has not always acted in a responsible manner, and like everything else in this world, it is not perfect. Nevertheless, its power to limit misconduct and improper behaviour should not be underestimated.

(v)   Oversight bodies: Views on the effectiveness of anti-corruption oversight or watchdog bodies are mixed. There are instances where they have proved useful. For example, the Independent Commission Against Corruption in Hong Kong, China, and similar institutions in Botswana, Chile, Malaysia and Singapore are regarded as having done a good job. However, in surveys and interviews of public officials and members of civil society organizations, most respondents do not have a high opinion of them. The prevailing view is that for such bodies to be effective, they have to be created in a political atmosphere where leaders are honest, civil servants are insulated from political interference, and better incentives are provided to discourage corruption. Otherwise, the oversight bodies will be rendered useless or worse, misused for political gain.

An unwelcome situation can then arise and the country may have to appoint a watchdog to watch over the watchdog body.

(vi)   Improving institutions: This is a very large area and only brief mention can be made of the relevant issues. It involves such things as improving the legal framework; smoother, less time-consuming and less burdensome ways to conduct business in the functioning of law courts and in the administration of justice; promoting efficiency of the police force; strengthening the auditor general's office; and appointment of a responsible inspector general empowered to investigate and prosecute corruption.

5.8   Summary

A useful conclusion that has emerged from the current discussion and ongoing debate on the corruption issue is that corruption is a symptom of deep-seated and fundamental economic, political and institutional weaknesses and shortcomings in a country. To be effective, measures against corruption must therefore address these underlying causes and not the symptoms. Emphasis must thus be placed on preventing corruption by tackling the root causes that give rise to it through undertaking economic,

political and institutional reforms. Anti-corruption enforcement measures such as oversight bodies, a strengthened police force and more efficient law courts will not be effective in the absence of a serious effort to address the fundamental causes.

Another observation that may be useful to bear in mind is that corruption is most prevalent where there are other forms of institutional weaknesses, such as political instability, bureaucratic red tape, and weak legislative and judicial systems. The important point is that corruption and such institutional weaknesses are linked together and that they feed upon each other. For example, red tape makes corruption possible and corrupt officials may increase the extent of red tape so that they can get more bribes. So, getting rid of corruption helps a country to overcome other institutional weaknesses, just as reducing other institutional weaknesses helps to curb corruption. The main conclusion to be drawn is that undertaking reforms (both economic and political) by reducing institutional weaknesses offers the best hope to overcome corruption. Corruption will not disappear because of reforms. But reforms will bring it under control and minimize its adverse consequences so that the country can proceed with its efforts to become a modern, developed nation with a good chance of attaining   that goal.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

  V.   Two forms of corruption.

  _____

  _____

  VI.   Two Consequences of corruption.

  _____

  _____

5.9   Further Readings

• Harrison, E (2007) Corruption, Development in Practice, Vol. 17, No. 4/5 (Aug., 2007), pp.   672-678

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- UNDP (2008) Corruption and Development: a primer United Nations New York

5.10 Model Questions

1. What are the causes of corruption and its impact on society? Give measures to stop corruption.

2. Do you think 'Corruption is a social problem'? Comment on it with the help of current data.

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Bribery, Fraud.

2. Violates human rights; Deepens poverty.

★★★★

SEX DEVIATION

Structure

6.0   Objectives

6.1   Introduction

6.2   Meaning of Sex Deviation

6.3   Defining the Concept of Sex Deviation

6.4   Etiology

6.5   Classification of Sex Deviation

6.6   Treatment

6.7   Summary

6.8   Further Readings

6.9   Model Questions

6.0 Objectives

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- Understand meaning of sex deviation
- Analyise how sex deviation become a social problem

6.1 Introduction

Sexuality has always been viewed as a force that must be tightly controlled and regulated. Sexual behavior has been considered a legitimate topic of scientific inquiry only for the past 50 years, beginning with Alfred Kinsey's landmark surveys (Bullough, 1998). Before that time, sexuality and its problems were to be regulated by the church, the government, or medicine. Accordingly, sexual behavior that deviated from the established norm, however it was defined at the time, was declared sinful, criminal, or sick. Deviant behaviour, then, called for penitence, punishment, or a cure. This historical heritage still influences our thinking about sexual deviation. Do persons with sexual deviation suffer from an evil nature, a criminal/ psychopathic disposition, or a mental illness? We do not presume to answer such a question because, like most questions relating to sexual behaviour, it hinges on personal values and beliefs. There are currently no universal and objective criteria for evaluating the adaptive value of sexual attitudes and practices. Outside of sexual homicide, no sexual behaviour is universally deemed dysfunctional. Individual sexual deviations (now paraphilias/paraphilic disorders) have been described in different texts. In this lesson, we shall understand all these.

6.2 Meaning of Sex Deviation

Individuals who engage in sexual offences may be afflicted with a ***paraphilic disorder or sexual deviation syndrome.*** Paraphilias[1] are psychiatric disorders characterized by deviant and culturally non-sanctioned sexual fantasies, thoughts, and/or behaviours. A proportion of these individuals may also suffer from symptoms of mental illness that can go unrecognized.

Sexual deviation or paraphiliac is a biomedical word for defining sexual arousal by objects, people, or situations as abnormal and a Paraphili with a sense of pleasure in unusual and extreme situations. Of course, an Austrian psychologist Wilhelm first used the term Paraphili in 1920. Paraphilic disorders are specified by momentum, fantasies or sexual actions that are unusual, strange and deviational. Paraphilia is more common in men compared to women and the cause of it has not yet been determined exactly. Sexual deviation includes uncontrolled or excessive sexual behaviours or sexual thoughts and knowledge which causes mental suffering, impaired job – social performance or legal conflicts for the person affected. Sexual deviation, in its common sense, is sexual behaviour and fantasies against public morality. Since the time of Freud, the sexual deviation has meant dominance of one state and sexual fantasy on the whole sexual and love action of the patient. This is instead of erotic moods and behaviours like exhibition, romantic or erotic looking to the beloved. These people have behaviours like ogling the beloved, fantasies and masochism and sadism in erotic and love like biting the beloved, power play in sex, and sexual love at different stages of sex to reach orgasm and unity themselves to target the sexual relationship or in a broader meaning love action. But the problem is that the sexual deviant organizes his enjoyment and pleasure, thus has an inner strength, though pathological. Therefore, on one hand, he must pass through the part of this pathological enjoyment and hallucinations, and on the other hand is able to change his pathological passions to modern sadistic, masochist and desires that are transformable and have borders.

6.3 Defining the Concept of Sex Deviation

In dictionaries, a sexual deviation is a sexual pleasure or satisfaction through maladaptive and unusual ways. The problem with this definition is that it is called "diversion" in one time and place and may be considered as normal in another time and place.

For a comprehensive definition of sexual deviation, there is not an exact and universal principle and sociologists, ethics, scholars and psychologists that generally agree. If pleasure or sexual satisfaction is not accepted by society, it is considered as a deviation by sociologists.

The Biologists just focus on reproduction and survival of the kind in sexual relations; and any type of sexual intercourse that is not the way to achieve it, in their view, would be considered as a deviation.

Ethics scholars call sexual deviation any sexual satisfaction that is condemned and immediately gives the person remorse.

The American Psychiatric Association has also considered sexual deviation including features of severe regressive desires, fantasy, or sexual behaviour that are associated with unusual objects, activities or situations resulting in distress or major clinical impairment in social, occupational functioning or other important areas that last for at least 6 months.

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[1]   Paraphilia (previously known as sexual perversion and sexual deviation) is the experience of intense sexual arousal to atypical objects, situations, fantasies, behaviors, or individuals.

Also, the term sexual deviation means deviation that involves the issue of sexual attraction. Sexual deviations are disorders that due to them, the individual has fantasies, sexual desires or repetitive behaviours that are sexually provocative and include the following:

(1) Non- human subjects

(2) Children or other unhappy people

(3) Suffering or humiliation of oneself or sexual partner

However, it is important to note that sexual deviations are not fleeting desires or fantasies about unusual sexual activities, but are disorders that last at least 6 months. Also, patients with long periods of sexual abnormalities often feel that they have to think about their unusual behaviour or do that, even if they do not actually fulfil their desires or fantasies.

These people do not see any objectives other than achieving sexual satisfaction, sexual abnormalities, by definition, create intense personal distress or disturb social, occupational performance, and other fields of life.

6.4 Etiology

Different models have discussed the etiology of sexual deviation, some of which are discussed here.

1. Psychological Factors

In Freud psychoanalysis and school of "ego psychology", the sexual deviation has proven to be in fact a neurosis structure and shows that sexual deviant has accepted the deprivation of the mother, eternal paradise, and positive Oedipal adopted legislation. But still, he tries to return to his mother and denies his father that cannot promote them and turns into his modern and individual desire. These sorts of desires that are transformable and create new fantasies. Hence, sexually deviant, by stabling in previous oedipal conditions and repeating these states like sadistic and exhibition, is in fact repeating his oedipal fears and childish fantasies, is doomed to repeat until achieving these transformations and turning these fantasies to modern and mortal desires. In the second generation of psychology, "self-psychology" and Psychoanalysts like kohot and Kohlberg and others are focused on. These psychologists see the symptoms of deep Narrsisitc disorders and inability to create a healthy "self" in order to be able to love him and others as a consequence of false childhood relationships. Sexual deviant in this sense is repeating scenarios of wrong old relationships with parents or as a sadistic seeks to create a temporary and false sense of glorious confidence, creates a grandiose "self" who is needless to others.

In this sense, sexual deviation indicates a "lack" or, in cases like the sadistic there is "a form of erotic hatred" and repeating childhood nightmares and denying his beloved and turning to the other objects of his hatred.

2. Biological factors

In Many cases, body organ explanations have been considered for sexual deviations. Among the patients studied in the psychiatric clinics, 74% had hormone level disorders, 27% had neurologic symptoms, 24%, chromosomal disorders, 9% epilepsy, 4% abnormal EEG, 4% major psychiatric disorders, and 4% had mental retardation. Also, there is a high correlation between sexual deviance and brain abnormalities that first may be a direct result of brain disorders secondly, the abnormal brain may harm the social judgments of the person and thirdly the person loses control over social impulses due to the abnormal brain.

> - Sociologists focus their attention on sexual attitudes and practices, not on physiology or anatomy.
> - Themes of Sex Deviation are evident in several mainstram films, and they are regular features in telivised talk shows and documentaries.
> - Sex deviation vary over time and across cultures. What is considered "normal" in terms of sexual behavior is based on the mores and values of the society. Societies that value monogamy, for example, would likely oppose extramarital sex. Individuals are socialized to sexual attitudes by their family, education system, peers, media, and religion.
> - Sex Education must be a part of school curriculum to avoid sexual violence especially in children.

6.5 Classification of Sex Deviation

a) Fetishism

The sexual desires, sensational arousing fantasies, or behaviours related to the function of inanimate objects like women's underwear are seen.

Memento objects such as pieces of female clothing used in cross-dressing, it is not like Transvestic Fetishism or a tactile stimulus (such as a vibrator).

b) Paedophilia

Sexually arousing behaviours, desires or fantasies related to sex with a child or children (prepubertal) under the maturity age.

c) Exhibitionism

Arousing fantasies, strong sexual desires and intense and recurrent sexual urges, there are displaying the person's genitals to an unexpected stranger.

d) Voyeurism

Strong sexual fantasies and arousing sexual desires or behaviours involving the act of observing an unexpected person and seeing someone naked or changing clothes or engaged in the sexual act.

e) Sexual Masochism

Strong sexual arousing fantasies, behaviours, desires or actions related to the actual (not pretending) actions of humiliation, beatings, fettered, or any other violent or painful action.

f) Sexual Sadism

This is related to real or pretended acts in which creating physical and psychological suffering for the victim is sexually stimulating. There are provocative behaviour and sexual desires related to real actions (pretending). During the victim's suffer from mental or physical disorders (verbal humiliation), sexual stimulations also attack the person.

g) Transvestic fetishism

When a non-gay man has repeatedly sexual behaviours, desires or provocative fantasies about cross-dressing.

h) Frotteurism

There is a tendency to touch or rub the limbs and organs of another person without his or her consent.

i) Telephone Scatologia or lewdness entails sexual arousal associated with exposing a victim to obscene language over the telephone. The condition may be functionally related to exhibitionism, where auditory exposure is the equivalent of visual exposure. The individual may masturbate while talking to the victim. Heavy breathing may also be a type of voyeurism, where listening is similar to looking.

j) Necrophilia

Involves sexual activity with a corpse. Access to a morgue or funeral parlour is essential for a person with this erotic preference. In some extreme cases, necrophilia may be linked with severe sexual sadism; in such cases, the individual may murder the victim for sexual access. Access to a non-resistant and non-rejecting sexual partner is a prime motive of necrophiliacs.

k) Zoophilia

Sexual arousal in response to animals. The preferred animal is often one to which the person has been exposed during childhood, such as a household pet or farm animal. Although some persons may experiment in sexual activity with livestock, this probably does not constitute a paraphilia unless intense urges and fantasies are involved and the pattern is repetitive.

l) Coprophilia

It involves the derivation of sexual excitement from faeces. This pattern of arousal may be incorporated in sadomasochistic rituals in some cases.

m) Urophilia

Is the equivalent of coprophilia with urine. It usually consists of a desire to be urinated upon by a partner and like coprophilia, this may be associated with sadomasochistic practices.

n) Klismaphilia

This involves sexual arousal associated with administering or receiving enemas. It may be an adjunct or rubber fetishism or sadomasochism. Although homosexual males may use enemas before anal intercourse, this does not entail Klismaphilia because it is a sanitary rather than erotic practice. The majority of practitioners are heterosexual men.

o) Incest

This typically includes sexual activity between people in consanguinity (blood relations), and sometimes those related by affinity(marriage or stepfamily), adoption, clan, or lineage.

p) Rape

Rape is a type of sexual assault usually involving sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual penetration carried out against a person without that person's consent. The act may be carried out by physical force, coercion, abuse of authority, or against a person who is incapable of giving valid consent, such as one who is unconscious, incapacitated, has an intellectual disability or is below the legal age of consent. The term *rape* is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *sexual assault.*

6.6 Treatment

Medicine, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis have gradually become more interested in sexual deviations and, over the last century or so, have attempted to explain their origins and find treatment. Psychoanalysts, starting with Sigmund Freud, have presented many interesting cases and their psychoanalytic interpretations, but unfortunately have not been successful either in improving our understanding of sexual deviations or in finding effective treatments. The attention has gradually shifted to attempts to identify biological causes and treatments. The entertained underlying causes of sexual deviances have ranged from poor impulse control to obsessive-compulsive spectrum disorders and personality disorders. The main change has been the conceptualization of sexual deviance or paraphilia as a medical condition rather than a matter of choice or lifestyle.

There are biological, psychological, and social risk factors for developing paraphilias. While the desired sexual stimulant for the paraphilia sufferer depends on the specific paraphilia, the characteristics of the illness are often very similar, as described in the most current standard reference for mental health diagnoses. In order to establish the diagnosis of a paraphilia, mental health professionals usually conduct or refer the person for a medical interview, physical examination, and routine laboratory tests. The professional will assess for any history of mental health symptoms.

Treatment of sexual deviation includes a wide range of medication and psychological treatments. This means much attention should be paid to concurrent psychiatric disorders of people. Therapeutic alliance, understanding, empathy, and effective communication are one of the most effective factors in treating sexual deviation.

Overall, it can be said that the factors that might not create a good treatment prognosis for a Parafiliac include: lack of attention to concurrent disorders, lack of appropriate therapeutic relationships and a lack of a good Patient care team (including Psychiatrists, psychologist, social worker).

6.7 Summary

When paraphilias (sex deviation) are attributed to organic or pathophysiological factors, such as brain irregularities or trauma, their occurrence should be studied cross-culturally so as to establish "culture-free" relationships between presumed cause and effect. Nevertheless, once physical or organic causes are ruled out, sociocultural factors are likely to play a key role in the genesis and maintenance of at least some paraphilias. The heterogeneity of sexual practices both within and across cultures suggests that their development both within societies and within individuals needs to be studied from a cross-cultural perspective. More exploration of these ideas across different cultural symptoms is much needed in understanding human sexuality.

6.8 Further Readings

1. Hines, Sally and Tam Sanger. 2010. Transgender Identities: Towards a Sociological Analysis of Gender Diversity. New York: Routledge.

2. Kinsey, Alfred C. et al. 1998. Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

3. Saadat, S. (2014). A Review on Paraphilias. *International Journal of Medical Reviews*, 1(4), pp.157-161.

4. Wallace, H. 1999 Family Violence: Legal, Medical and Social Perspectives. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

6.9 Model Questions

1. Give the classification of sex deviation.

2. How do sociologists understand sex deviation?

Answers to Self-Assessment Questions

1. Individuals who engage in sexual offences may be afflicted with a ***paraphilic disorder or sexual deviation syndrome.*** Paraphilias[2] are psychiatric disorders characterized by deviant and culturally non-sanctioned sexual fantasies, thoughts, and/or behaviours.

2. Incest and Paedophilia

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[2] Paraphilia (previously known as sexual perversion and sexual deviation) is the experience of intense sexual arousal to atypical objects, situations, fantasies, behaviors, or individuals.

DOWRY

Structure

7.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- the meaning of dowry
- understand reasons for its existence and how it becomes a social problem

7.1   Introduction

In India, dowry giving is a tradition that has long been an expected exchange during the marriage process. Originating from 2500 to 1500 B.C., during the late Vedic period, a dowry traditionally symbolized the property that the bride brought into the marriage for her own use and benefit. Called Kanyadaan, dowries play a vital role in Hindu marital custom. Historically, the dowry was a wedding gift voluntarily bestowed on a bride as a form of economic protection since she had to leave everything behind to join her new family. Given the social expectation that women should not work outside the household, the dowry represented the woman's contribution to the start of a new marriage and family. At its conception, the Kanyadaan that the bride brought into her marriage was considered sacred and gave her both power and status within the marriage. However, as a result of the "growing consumerism and the increasing tendency to equate social status with marital objects," the dowry tradition in India experienced a drastic transformation.

Today, the term dowry typically refers to any "unilateral transfer of resources from the bride's family to the groom's family for inviting her to their home permanently and….is, therefore, a *compensatory payment* to the family which agrees to shelter her hypothetically for the rest of her life." Although dowry exchanges were initially geared toward protecting the woman, the contemporary definition demonstrates how women are presently not seen as equal to their husbands, but rather as a

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burden likely to be abhorred by the husband's entire family. It is under this social construction of the dowry as a form of compensation for "putting up with" the bride that dowry deaths have emerged.

7.2   Origin of dowry and Status of Women: Historical Background

Providing a comprehensive picture of dowry and status of women in the contemporary era requires a complete analysis of social institutions and class/caste dynamics of the periods in which this practice arose, evolved and was nurtured. The current section touches at some of the historical roots of the practice.

1.   Rise of Patriarchy, Caste and a new status for women

The transformation of Indian society into a patriarchal one was a slow and gradual process. Historians agree that the Rig-Vedic period was characterized by a pastoral society with the predominance of tribal ethos that valued women's reproductive as well as household roles. As eminent historian R S Sharma puts it, "in the Rig-Veda, people were organized not along Varna' lines or class but along tribal lines and women, the producer of fighters and cattle herders, were in great demand"(Sharma 1983). The post Rig-Vedic period however saw the slow withdrawal of women as a group from the production process with the increased dependency on plough based agriculture and formation of a caste based society and state. Even though women continued to participate in the agriculture process but their role became limited and caste formation ensured that a certain section of women did not participate in the production process at all. By the middle of the first millennium, Romila Thapar explains that the pure-polluted dichotomy, which strictly demarcated the Brahmans from the untouchables, was firmly established (Thapar 1978). The maintenance of caste purity required not only the ban on general mixing between member of different castes but also the enforcement of the rules of caste endogamy and exogamyv (Sheel 1999:).

Uma Chakravarti, who traces the origin of Brahmanical patriarchy in India, attributes it not only to the emergence of a fairly stratified society and the collapse of tribal economy and polity in the post-Vedic period, but also to the total control established over women's sexuality by the dominant male class during the period (Chakravarti 1993). Chakravarti confirms that the process of establishing control over women's sexuality in a highly stratified and closed structure could have lead to emergence of a unique nexus of caste, class, patriarchy, and the state. The structure thus formed has shaped the ideology of the upper castes for centuries and continues to provide the underpinning for beliefs and practices, undermining the role of women in society even today (Chakravarti 1993).

The establishment of a patrilineal succession in kinship led to a stricter preservation of caste purity, which in turn meant that the sexual behavior of certain categories of women needed to be closely guarded (Chakravarti 1987). This was the general context in which women's 'essential nature' came to be identified with their sexuality. The notion that the essential nature of women is vested in their sexuality is dealt with most explicitly by Manu, the most prominent ideologue of the Brahmanical system. Building up from the need to guard against even the most trifling 'evil' actions of women Manu argues that by carefully guarding one's wife a man preserves the purity of his offspring, his family, himself, and his means of acquiring merit (Laws of Manu). Thus the safeguarding of the caste structure was achieved through the highly restricted movement of women or even through female seclusion. The actual mechanisms and institutions of control over women's sexuality, and the subordination of women, were thus completely made invisible and with it, patriarchy was firmly established as an ideology since it was 'naturalized' (Chakravarti 1993). Patriarchy could thus be established firmly as an actuality and not

merely as an ideology. The archaic state was clearly both a class state and a patriarchal state; in the case of India there has been a close connection between caste, class, and the state, which functioned together as the structural framework of institutions within which gender relations were organized (Chakravarti 1993).

This emerging complex pattern of caste, patriarchy and gender relations in society also became apparent in the marriage forms and rituals that subsequently changed. The oldest known surviving record of marriage is provided in the tenth book of Rig-Veda, which claims that the marriage ceremony was apparently devoid of any complexities of rituals. Evidence suggests that, considerable freedom was enjoyed by both men and women in choosing their partners (Bhargava 1988, Apte 1978, Indira 1955). In total, eight forms of marriage have been recognized as per the Laws of Manu which have been summed up by Maynes into four patterns- gift of the bride, sale of the bride, and the self choice by the man and women (Maynes 1883). The "gift of the bride' became the most favored form while the free choice was severely condemned as Talbot confirms that the Mahabharata' progresses from extolling "gandharvaa' (concept of love marriage) form of marriage for rulers and "kanyadaan' (Brahma form of marriage which is considered the highest form) form of marriage for Brahmans to kanyadaan form of marriage for all (Sheel 1999).

It was in the '*kanyadaan'* form of marriage that the cultural and religious genesis of dowry could be traced while its institutionalization can be attributed to the social structures of caste and patriarchy. The theories focusing on the concept of '*kanyadaan* ' (giving away of the daughter), and the attendant '*dakshina'* (gift giving to a person of higher status) as well as '*stridhan'*' (part of the inheritance given to the daughter during marriage) as a moral basis for practicing dowry, is based on the high merit accorded to gift givers and gift giving in the '*shashtras'* (the set of religious codes of Hinduism) (Fruzzetti 1990). Thus, by giving dowry, not only sanctity is accorded to the marriage but also the status and prestige of the bride's family is enhanced.

Another aspect of dowry is associated with the dual nature of gift giving during a daughter's marriage as pointed by Fruzzetti in her recent study. She points out that as both dowry and the daughter herself are being given as gift in the marriage ritual, thus it is important to differentiate between the economic aspect and sacred aspects related to the event. She traces her answers in the attitude towards women in society, which make it imperative for a daughter to be married before puberty to maintain the concept of purity associated with the gift (kanyadaan meant gift of a virgin). Further, she says, 'purity of one's women is to be maintained and the best way to maintain it is to give them away at the right age' and as a result elaborate rituals surround the gift of the virgin and the seemingly unbalanced economics of dowry giving' (Fruzzetti 1990) Dowry thus reflects the economic status of the giver while form of marriage reflects 'sacred' parts dedicated to caste and kinship principles (Fruzzetti 1990).

The culturally and ideologically 'preferred' *kanyadaan* form of marriage required the father to bestow the daughter in marriage with gifts and gold and also enabled earning the maximum spiritual merit for its performers.

By the end of the medieval period, the process of marriage had become more rigid and pre-puberty marriages became the norm accompanied with gift giving, property transfer and hyper-gamy and caste restrictions. This resulted in rising compulsions for parents to arrange for an early marriage at the cost of increasing dowry thus distorting the early character of dowry as gift giving (Sheel, 1999). Yet the practice of dowry did not presume its monstrous form until the pre modern period, as the practice was restricted mostly to the upper caste population, which could afford gift giving because of their status. This

was due to the fact that there were still many other forms of marriage prevalent among lower caste who did not feel forced to adopt the ways of the upper caste and women in the lower stratum of society continued to enjoy greater freedom.

2. Stridhan, Inheritance Rights and Dowry

The relationship between women's property rights and form of marriage is closely associated with the shift from tribal to agricultural society and the emergence of patriarchy. Patriarchy has been defined to indicate that 'men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that woman are deprived of access of such power, it does not imply that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence and resources'(Lerner. 1986). However within a patriarchal set up sexual subordination of women was affected through the ideology, force and economic dependence on the male head (Lerner, 1986). Thus property came to play an important role in characterizing the pattern of kinship and inheritance within a patriarchal set up. Property in all its form came to be regarded 'as a crucial indicator of balance of power between women and men' (Hirschon, 1984). At this point it becomes imperative that evolution of dowry be seen in terms of not only cultural symbols and social practices of marriage as an institution but also through structural dimensions of property and gender hierarchies inherent in it (Sheel, 1999).

Women's rights to property are closely associated with the concept of 'stridhan' as mentioned in religious texts. But in most cases an unmarried girl was not entitled for any property as the women as such were considered incapable of inheriting property, as they were to be gifted away by their father (Indira 1955). Many historians maintain that women in ancient India enjoyed only limited legal control on the property they inherited and this control depended on religious, political, social status as well as the form of the marriage they were wedded in (Indira 1955). A woman's acquisition of property remained synonymous with her marriage and her control over it also depended upon the form of marriage she was wedded in indicating her caste and class status (Sheel, 1999).

Thus two main points are discernible about the provision of stridhan. First, stridhan included the daughter's portion of inheritance in the form of landed property and other items such as jewelry and household goods transmitted to her at the time of her marriage. Even though the women's control on her inheritance remained far from complete yet women's limited control over their inherited property accorded her a say in economic decision making especially as such practices were sanctioned and legitimized by the patriarchal social order of the time. Second, stridhan formed only a part of the dowry as the dowry explicitly included gifts from the bride's father to the groom or his parents and not to the daughter alone. The gifts were mostly voluntary and were treated as tokens of respect accorded to the groom and his family members as well as a way to ensure their daughters well being in her in-laws family.

Thus dowry, as an institution, remained confined to the upper castes and did not become such a pervasive and integral part of the marriage as in modern time.

3. Colonialism and Institutionalization of Dowry

Among its myriad effects on Indian society, British rule also provided the impetus for the transformation of traditional forms of gift exchange to dowry as a widely influential ideology. Sheel agrees that the customary fluidity and diversity in the institution of marriage of the ancient and medieval Indian society was most affected by the socio-political and economic changes, which accompanied the colonization of India (Sheel, 1999).

British observed the predominantly Hindu culture through a European lens with a notion of 'civilizing mission,'. The Hindu tradition of sati also attracted attention of British officials who were quick to pass a prohibition law against it. The most significant impact that the British occupation had with respect to spreading dowry practices, however, actually had more to do with the caste system. British ideals of societal hierarchy, steeped in a capitalist worldview, transformed the fluid Indian institutions of societal hierarchy as more visible and rigid in terms of class, caste and gender. In doing so, the British ended up creating a market for marriage - one in which the groom was valued as a 'distinct' marketable commodity while women's worth was devalued making dowry an all pervasive equalizing marriage requirement.

The British viewed the Hindu notion of caste with the western notion of class. The creation of this 'administrative' class of Indians, derived primarily from the upper castes, not only sparked a pivotal collision of caste and class ideology. The shift from caste to class, and the great emphasis on class in the public sphere, manifested itself in the concept of marriage because marriages revolved around the transfer of an individual the bride from one family unit to another (Sheel, 1999). And because men were perceived to be the 'immobile' holders of property and status, the shift towards class emphasis also heightened their value as commodities in a marriage market, as they could confer their status to their bride and at the same time devaluing the status of women (Samuel, 2002). Marriage, then, started representing a means of upward mobility, and hyper gamy. This mobility, however, carried a price, as the groom's status was so highly valued that the payment in the form of dowry escalated (Sheel, 1999). It now becomes clear how the British attempts at modernizing Indian social organization bolstered the entrenchment of dowry into marriage; by making class and caste almost synonymous and by placing a higher social value on the two whereby the groom's status in a marriage appreciated in value, creating more pressure for the payment of dowry. This not only led to an expansion of dowry among other castes but also gave a robust institutional basis to the practice.

4. Restructured Property Rights and Status of Women

The colonial rule thus, without actually destroying the socio-religious institutions and caste hierarchy, changed the context in which it traditionally functioned. The empire reinforced the strong Brahmanical cultural order alongside the restructuring of economic order. Based on their own experience of capitalism and free markets, land was declared a marketable commodity capable of private and determinate ownership, so that fixed and settled land revenue in cash could be recovered on every plot of land on fixed dates (Oldenburg, 2002:). This redefinition of property as a privately owned source of wealth started an unwritten future of gender and property rights in India.

While allocating land to residents it was customary for the British administration to consult the tribal or village elders, which mostly consisted of elderly male members of the village, to avoid potential conflicts (Oldenburg, 2002). Thus the British engagement with property transactions meant that women didn't have property rights as constituted in the concept of 'stridhan'. For women, the gulf between the pre-colonial and postcolonial meanings of rights and entitlements was widened. This made the agrarian economy more masculine. By the 1850's, the idea of property had acquired all the refinement of a capitalist form, with a marked preference for sons who had a direct inheritance right. The new jobs and opportunities created by the colonial machinery provided avenues for rapid economic advancement and political power for men.

Since most women continued to work in the peasant economy, while an increasing number of men were gaining access to new jobs and business opportunities, there was a dramatic increase in the economic and political clout of men. This highly patriarchal economic and social trend, unleashed under

British rule, saw wedding expenses escalate and dowry evolving into blackmail as the preference for sons became ever more marked. Jobs in various new sectors like army and infrastructure with salaries and pensions proved to be detrimental to the worth given to the reproductive assets of women, which more than ever needed to be controlled for production of wealth generating sons.

7.3 Dowry: How it becomes a Social Problem

The effect of the dowry culture can be traced back to the womb and is considered one of the primary causes for female foeticide, as parents try to avoid the life-long liability and the burden of saving up for a daughter's marriage. This creates a disproportionate sex ratio in the country. According to the CIA World Factbook, it is estimated in India there are 1.08 boys to every girl- meaning to every 10,000 girls there are 10,800 boys. Male babies are typically favored and viewed as an investment because they receive a dowry from the bride's family. Dowry transactions have become a social evil and the families of Indian grooms make endless demands of the bride's family. In extreme cases, the newlywed bride can be murdered by her in-laws or even driven to commit suicide. Many victims are burnt to death by being doused with kerosene and set on fire. The husband and his family claim it was a kitchen accident with the kerosene stove. Often, the purpose of the dowry burning is to afford the husband the opportunity to remarry and receive additional dowry payments from his next wife's family. There are numerous reasons given by husbands and their families to 'justify' a dowry burning such as; the woman was not fulfilling her role as a good wife, she did not bring enough dowry to the marriage, she did not produce a male heir ... the list goes on. When foul play is suspected, the family claims it was a suicide and the wife could not adjust to family life and subsequently killed herself. According to The Times of India, on May 31, 2013, a woman in Mohali allegedly committed suicide after she had complained of dowry harassments by her husband and his family.

There is a vicious cycle and interrelated problems of dowry or others.
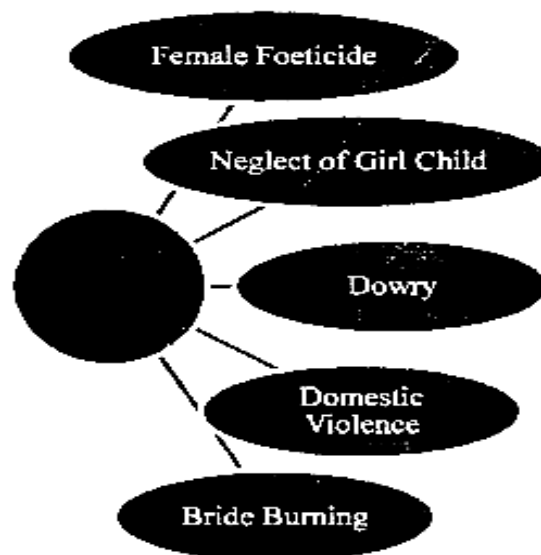
Problems of the parents in the context of Dowry

1. **Emotional Disturbances, Psychological and Social Maladjustment of Parents**

2. **Economic Straits**

3. **Adopting Social Corruption of Foul Means of Earning**

4. **Hard Work of the Parents**

Because of demanding huge amount of dowry "the parents have to work hard to provide the boys with good dowries. The parents are ready to do all kinds of woks in order to get money so that they can give enough dowries to their daughters. Because of their hard work they have to face physical as well as mental sickness.

Problems of the Girls in the context of Dowry

1. **Female Foeticide**

2. **Illiteracy**

"In international usage, literacy is defined as the ability both read and to write at least a simple message: illiteracy, conversely, is the lack of such ability." "Many people think that it is wastage of time and money to give education to their girls. Parents have negative attitudes towards the girl's education." In a study by P. Singh, A. Singh and Suman Lata (2008) it was stated that only three girls attended school out five girls and three boys attended school out of four boys.

3. More Labour Burden

"Since parents are not able to arrange sufficient amount of money for dowry, they will allow their daughters and sisters to take up a job and earn some money to be utilized at the time of their marriage. The girls are asked to leave their schooling and forced to work. As they do not have sufficient learning they will not be given white-collar jobs instead they will be given all kinds of works with less amount of salary.

4. Immorality

When the girls join to work in order to get money, are quite nature. Their youth, the spirit of vigour, and above all sex appetite break the barriers of their so-called modesty when these originally innocent girls come into contact with boys who work with them in offices, educational institutions, firms and companies etc. The false promises by these boys of a bright future will mislead the girls, and thus misguided, they sometimes become morally wrecks. It is easy for a boy to escape from the dangers of loose sex-morality but it is difficult for a girl to hide her shame, particularly when she becomes pregnant.

5. Psychological Suppression of the Girls

The boy accepts a girl who belongs to a well off family, highly educated, in service, and earns. His likings do not end here. He also wants a girl whose parents can pay him much at the time of marriage. This evil has taken colossal shape in the modem times. There are cases where the girl is highly educated, cultured, homely, and accomplished, but not accepted as a wife only because her parents are not able to give much. "The fiance and the fiancee write letters to each other, marriage date has been fixed, but when all of a sudden the boy gets a better offer from a rich family, the engagement is broken. This gives a shock to the parents as well as to the girl.

6. Suicide

Suicide is an act whose primary aim is the intentional and deliberate taking of one's own life.

"Suicides are of two types: conventional and personal. The first type occurs as a result of tradition and the force of public opinion. Thus, among some tradition - ruled peoples, when certain situation arise, suicide is inexorably demanded. The second type suicide is more typical of modem times, when people depend less on custom ad convention solve their problems than on individual decisions.

7. Affinal Relations

Dowry influences radically not only the economic and the social behavior of the people having daughters but also affects profoundly relations between parents and children, and among kin. "The parents who cannot afford to pay dowry to marry their daughters consider them a burden for the family. Similarly, brothers consider their sisters as barriers in the achievement of their aspirations. As a result, many a time the treatment given by parents and brothers to girls in the family disrupts harmony in intra-family relations.

Problems of the Married Women

1. Family Conflicts

Dowry system leads to family conflicts. When a mother-in-law does not get dowry to her satisfaction, she maltreats her daughter-in-law and abuses her father, mother and relatives. "The emotional shock on the part of the girl and the authoritarian personality of mother-in-law will lead to family conflicts.

2. Conjugal Disharmony

Dowry dominates the sense of conjugal disharmony in the affluent and middle class section of the society. It effects the marital relations in a sizeable proportion of married couples. This is mainly so because "the present day youths most unscrupulously threaten their wives with desertion if they do not bring enough dowry from their parents. This social evil of dowry is the maj or cause of break -down of marriages.

3. Lowering of Women's Status

Dowry system impoverishes those who pay dowry and degrades those who receive it. Moreover, it lowers the status of women. The boy used to think of himself a dignified individual and views the girl as a subjugated entity with an inferior and degraded status. "As every marriage brings a substantial sum, one would naturally be tempted to contract a second and a third marriage just for its monetary utility. Though such marriages are not usual yet they do exist. This affects the status of the first wife as Love, affection and feeling of care her husband bears for her is reduced.

"At parents' house she is treated as a burden or liability and in the matrimonial home, the dowry she brings is more important than her person. This evil has produced adverse effects on women's status in the matrimonial home, and is the main tool of exploitation against married women in the matrimonial home. The in-laws of the bride in an attempt to extract more and more dowry create an atmosphere of harassment and cruelty. Generally it is found that a wife coming to the matrimonial home without dowry is subjected to many humiliations. She as an individual has no utility unless she brings dowry.

4. Women's Oppression

Dowry is the symbol of woman's oppression. "She goes into her matrimonial home bedecked with gold and accompanied by dowry which her parents have bought with their blood and sweat and thereafter, pushed into a life of subservience. It gives to man the right to put a price on her and accept or reject her marriage according to the money and goods she brings. "The air of superiority of bridegroom and his family thus causes unmeasured grief to girls and has degraded their position. The practice of dowry thus not only perpetuates inferior status of women in their matrimonial home but also become a cause of self- immolation.

5. Dowry Death

The dowry prohibition Act.1986 introduced a new office, the office of dowry death by inserting a new section 304-B in the Indian penal code. That section runs:

"Where the death of a women is caused by any bums or body injury or occurs otherwise than under normal circumstances within seven years of her marriage and it is shown that soon before her death she was subjected to cruelty or harassment by her husband or any relative of her husband for, or in connection with any demand for dowry, such death shall be called "Dowry Death", and such husband or relative shall be deemed to have caused her death. The most media-sensationalized type of violence against women in India is dowry death. When a woman marries, her family provides the husbands' family with gifts. In many instances, the demand for these gifts, does not end with the marriage but continues, as the husband's family persists in making additional dowry demands for years after the wedding. A dowry death is defined as "the unnatural death of a woman caused by bums or bodily injury occur if it can be shown that the woman was subjected to cruelty by her husband or her husband's relatives shortly before death in connection with a demand for dowry

The problem of husband-to-wife or wife-battering is not recognized by some scholars as an instance of "animal violence" but it is viewed by them as a "human welfare" problem. Contrary to this, "the problem of bride-burning or dowry-death is not considered a private family matter. This problem has been largely recognized by the public, the intellectual community and the criminal system as a crucial problem of criminal violence."

6. ill-Treatment and Humiliation

Though dowry-death is generally understood to involve the murder of a woman on the dowry issue in the family of procreation but before the act of killing, several forms of harassment and humiliation take place against the victim. "The killers in dowry-deaths are brutal and authoritarian and the murder is only one expression of the offender's personality maladjustment and abnormality." The humiliation generally will start with criticism, followed by familiar scenes-insults, abuses and demands for more money. Some women used to put up with victimization because they know that their parents are not in a position to give more and to some other will think that things will change after the birth of   a child.

The methods used in ill treating daughters-in-law are:

(1) Abuses, insults, passing sarcastic remarks, (2) Assaults, (3) Denial of food or starvation, (4) Prohibiting them from going out and meeting anyone, (5) Refusing visits to the parents' home, (6) Not permitting them to talk with visitors from the parents' home, and (7) Locking them up in a room." The problem of dowry-death is not and cannot be a uni-causal problem; it is the product of a complex multi-dimensional process.

7.   **Divorce**

8.   **Bride Burning:**

Connected with the evil of dowry system is the cruelty infected on a bride after marriage. The harassment and violence against the bride revolves around the demand for more and more dowry and it continues till divorce or death of the wife takes place. Since the divorce is put to ridicule and looked down in the society, therefore, death is preferred. up tension of an acute degree in the mind of the woman, so that ultimately death becomes the last refuse for her. A stranger in the family, young and dependent, she may not be able to face the harassment and as a result may put an end to her life. Young brides and daughter - in - law have become much prone to fire in wake of intolerable torture and victimization. It is a matter of shame that dowry deaths have become a day to day phenomenon in the society.

Other Problems

1. Child Marriage

Dowry demand will also lead to child-marriages. For an educated girl, the more educated and qualified husband is needed. This necessitates greater dowry. Thus the parents prefer early marriages than to do so at a later age with higher demand of dowry.

2. Unequal Marriage

"Dowry is closely related to the financial position of the parents of the girl, many people who are poor offer their young daughters to very elderly persons. Girls are forced to marry undeserving men, aged persons or with a man having one or two living wives or with liquour-adicts as no dowry need to be given to such persons.

7.4   Reasons for existence of Dowry in contemporary Society

The demographic explanation, originally proposed by the demographer Jack Caldwell and developed by Rao (1993), lays the blame on population growth. A sharp decline in mortality, first noticed in the Indian sub-continent in the 1920's, resulted in increases in population growth because fertility did not decline at the same pace. High rates of population growth resulted in a pyramidical age structure – that is, each year more babies are born than in the previous year so there are always more young people than older people. Since men typically marry women who are 5 to 10 years younger than them, this means that there are always more women in the "marriage market" than men creating a "marriage squeeze." Counteracting this effect is the fact that in India, there are more boys than girl of the *same age* – a consequence of the famous "missing women" phenomenon. However, till very recently the "marriage squeeze" overwhelmed the "missing women" effect resulting in about 1.2 women for every man in the marriage market. This has shown to have been correlated with the rise in dowries (Rao, 1993, 2000**).

While scholars debate why modern dowry practice deviated from the Vedic gift-giving ritual, they agree generally that dowry deaths result from greed: the groom's family continually demands a larger dowry, while the bride's family agrees to pay a dowry in order to relinquish the burden of caring for its unwed daughter. Another prevailing view that would explain the emergence of contemporary dowry practices is propelled by the integration of Western consumerism, which led Indian families "to see dowry as a way to escape poverty and to accumulate wealth and material items quickly with little effort."The families' greed—and, thus, the "dowry death" threat—may persist during and after the marriage. For instance, the groom's family may demand dowry for years after the marriage takes place. It may request further dowry during special occasions, such as religious ceremonies and the birth of children.

When the bride's family cannot—or will not—make good on its dowry obligations to the husband's family, the bride may endure physical violence and, many times, death at the hands of the groom's family. The wife's death makes way for a new financial transaction—that is, another marriage opportunity for the former groom.

7.5   Socio-Economic Circumstances of Indian Women and the Economic Causes Leading to Dowry Deaths

Indian women's inferior socio-economic status promotes the dowry tradition and its sometimes fatal consequences. In India, sons are valued more highly than daughters. Female children are often seen as financial burdens on their families. They are not considered able to provide manual labor for the family, furnish steady income for their parents, or carry on the family line.

Education and employment opportunities are usually never considered during a female's upbringing. Instead, it is customary in India for a daughter to be raised knowing that her primary responsibility in adulthood is to get married and provide a family for her husband. Marriage, and the attendant dowry agreements, rid the daughter's household of a financially-burdensome member.

Social pressures also promote the dowry tradition. An Indian woman in a rural community brings shame to her family if she is required to work outside of the home to support the family's income. An unwed daughter who is older than twenty years and lives in her parent's home brings dishonor to her family. These forces create a strong incentive for a family to marry its daughters off in order to preserve the family's reputation in the community.

Economically speaking, the wife's family incurs many benefits by consenting to a dowry transaction. By marrying the daughter, the family no longer has to care for a child. The cost to the wife's family in entering a dowry transaction is the costs of the goods it transfers to the husband's family. A wife's family will go along with a dowry transaction at marriage as long as the transaction's expected benefits exceed its expected costs. If the family places more value on marrying its daughter and moving her out of its house than the price of the dowry it must pay, the family will proceed with the dowry transaction. Likewise, the husband's family enjoys benefits and incurs costs when it engages in a dowry transaction. From the husband's family's perspective, the benefits to a dowry transaction are mostly the value of gaining the dowry and the wife. The family values the wife because it desires to produce sons.

The expected costs of engaging in a dowry transaction are the costs of taking care of the wife as a new member of the husband's family. However, this expected cost is often negligible because the husband's family may choose to provide the wife with a low quality of life. Furthermore, the fact that the husband's family requests dowry suggests that it stands to gain economically from the marriage. Because the dowry transaction betters both the husband's and wife's families, the economic market for dowry marriages remains strong. Often, however, the husband's family will take advantage of the bride's inferior status by extorting more dowry payments from her family after the marriage has taken place.

The husband's family threatens, and often commits, physical abuse toward the wife if her family cannot make additional payments. Many times, a family's effort to save the wife from such abuse throws the family into debt. The economic analysis of dowry marriages overlooks the fact that the wife lacks a voice in the transaction. After a woman marries, her economic status makes leaving her new family difficult. Most Indian women are not employed, and they are financially dependent on their new families.

The wife is often captive within her husband's home. Her old and new family may be too stricken with greed to resist the dowry temptation. Further, the wife will likely not report dowry-related abuse to the authorities because of fear of additional violence she may encounter in her husband's home. Thus, socioeconomic factors contribute to the dowry tradition and the violence it spawns.

7.6 Failure of India's Anti-Dowry Legislation

Legislation India attempted to curb the use of dowries—the root of the dowry death problem—by enacting the Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 (Act).The Act, India's leading anti-dowry law, criminalizes the conduct of "any person [who] . . . gives or takes or abets the giving or taking of dowry." The Act defines dowry as any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly (a) [b]y one party to a marriage to the other party to the marriage, or (b) [b]y the parent of either party to a marriage or by any other person, to either party to the marriage or to any other person.

Furthermore, under the Act, "any agreement for the giving or taking of dowry shall be void." If the wife's family transfers any dowry in consideration for the marriage, the Act requires the husband's family to return to the dowry.

Not only does the Act prohibit the giving and taking of dowry, but it also outlaws the demanding of dowry, either directly or indirectly. Any person who demands dowry from the bride's or groom's relatives may receive up to a two-year prison sentence. If convicted of demanding dowry, the punishment may also include up to a 10,000 Rupee fine. In addition, the Act proscribes any person from advertising dowry to be given in consideration of marriage.

The punishment for advertising dowry includes imprisonment ranging from six months to five years, and up to a 15,000 Rupee fine. India's government amended other existing legislation to confront the dowry death issue. It amended India's Evidence Act in 1986 to establish a presumption that a husband's family caused a dowry murder whenever a wife's death was preceded by harassment or cruelty .Additionally, it amended the Indian Penal Code to require criminal investigations whenever a woman dies of unnatural causes within seven years of her wedding. Although the Act, along with other provisions of the Indian Penal Code, establishes tough punishments for dowry death perpetrators, India's laws offer more bark than bite. In fact, dowry-related violence and deaths are on the rise in India. In India, it is estimated that on average five women face dowry-related torture and cruelty every hour. A study conducted in 2010 shows that an Indian woman is burned to death every 90 minutes.(Bedi,2012) This number does not account for the other methods used to murder women whose families fail to meet dowry demands. There were 8,391 *reported* incidents of dowry-motivated murders in 2010 alone. This is a substantial increase from the 7,000 cases reported in 2003. (Varma, 2012). Furthermore, because "the bride's family simply does not publicize the death because they consider it shameful," (Purna,2005) thousands of deaths remain unaccounted for.

Today, the term dowry typically refers to any "unilateral transfer of resources from the bride's family to the groom's family for inviting her to their home permanently and….is, therefore, a *compensatory payment* to the family which agrees to shelter her hypothetically for the rest of her life."(Ahmad,2008). Although dowry exchanges were initially geared toward protecting the woman, the contemporary definition demonstrates how women are presently not seen as equal to their husbands, but rather as a burden likely to be abhorred by the husband's entire family. It is under this social construction of the dowry as a form of compensation for "putting up with" the bride that dowry deaths have emerged.

In addition to the legal arguments made above, this section looks at social changes that can lead to the eradication of dowry murders.

a) Changing Cultural attitudes towards acceptability of Dowry Giving

The first step towards a more effective legal response to dowry murders is, arguably, changing the cultural acceptance and attitudes surrounding the tradition of dowry giving. It is undeniable that dowry is a direct consequence of the belief that the woman is a burden on her in-laws and that this burden can only be relieved through dowry payments. Thus, to eliminate dowry system, it must be attacked at its roots.

It has been argued that the best approach to reducing the number of dowry is to "ensur[e] that women have control over the[ir]…dowry" because "gift-giving by the bride's family is so deeply entrenched that simply prohibiting dowry does not allow the conclusion that it will not be practiced" However, this argument fails to attack dowry-related violence at its roots; continued adherence to the dowry-giving practice allows for the continued belief that the wife is nothing more than a burden to her husband. Although it is true that the dowry giving is a long standing tradition in India, allowing women to obtain control over their dowry is unlikely to serve as a permanent deterrent from wife-burning. As history clearly indicates, although women initially had control of their dowries, they were soon stripped of this control. With the currently inadequate state of legal responses to the murder of one's wife, there is nothing to indicate that any legal sanctions would prevent history from repeating itself. With the currently inadequate state of legal responses to the murder of one's wife, there is nothing to indicate that any legal sanctions would prevent history from repeating itself. Because complete removal of the dowry practice will be met with immense resistance, the most effective way to combat this resistance is changing the social belief that a woman's worth is measured by the dowry she can bring her husband. An effective removal of the dowry tradition in India requires a social movement that provides the Indian community with greater knowledge about the horrors of dowry . . . the cultural and social patterns of men and women [in India] must be reshaped to acknowledge a female's value to Indian society. If Indian society were to treat women as human beings and not merely as commodities to be exchanged for dowry, dowry-related harassment and violence would cease.

Thus, for the dowry-giving tradition to be completely eliminated, India's women must be given a tool to use as leverage against an abusive husband. One such proposed tool is the enactment of "a tort law providing for monetary"90 damages against any individual who makes a dowry demand. Such a law would deter individuals from making dowry demands "because of the prospect of losing money in a lawsuit filed by the wife's family." Thus, a tort law minimizes the importance of the dowry because family honor and wealth has always been deemed more important than dowry rewards. Of course, as with the Act, its effectiveness is dependent on whether the government enforces the tort law.

b) Threaten What Matters the Most to the Murderer: Family Honor

Currently, the Indian government does not publish a list of men whose wives suffered dowry-related death. However, such a list may be one of the most effective deterrence tools available to the government. As family honor is of great importance to Indian families, the threat of a tainted family honor serves as a great disincentive. By publishing a list of men whose wives have died dowry-related deaths (even if these men were never convicted), the government sends a message that these men have failed to protect their wives. Since social status is important in India, the shame associated with being a failure will provide an incentive for men to ensure that their wives are not abused by their in-laws.

Such a list also serves another purpose: it will ensure greater hesitation before these men are offered another wife. Although some parents currently marry their daughters to men who are suspected of burning their wives to death, such a list will create greater misgivings about doing so because the man's social status will have been jeopardized once his name is on the list.

7.7 Legal Provisions Related to Dowry

Before the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, India took some legal steps like "Sind Deti Leti Act, 1939"; "The Bihar Dowry Restraint Act, 1950" and "The Andhra Pradesh Dowry Prohibition Act, 1958" but failed to remove the evil of *the dowry system. Therefore, we have,* **"the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961". This Act has been amended thrice in the year 1984, 1985 and 1986.**

Other Relevant Provisions

- **The Dowry Prohibition (Maintenance Of Lists of Presents to the Bride and Bridegroom) Rules 1985:** According to this list of presents which are given at the time of marriage to the bride and bridegroom shall be maintained by bride and bridegroom respectively. The list shall be present at the time of marriage or as soon as possible after the marriage in writing. The list with signatures (or thumb impression in case of illiteracy) of bride and bridegroom must include description of each present with approximate value and name of the person (related to the bride or bridegroom) who has given the present and describe the relationship of that person.

- The Delegated Legislation Provisions (Amendment) Act,1983 (20 of 1983) (w.e.f. 15- 3-1984)

- The Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Act, 1984(63 of 1984) (w.e.f. 20-10-1985)

- The Dowry Prohibition (Amendment) Act, 1986(43 of 1986) (w.e.f. 19-11-1986)

Indian Penal Code (45 of 1860)

- 304B. Dowry Death

- 498A. Husband or relative of husband of a woman subjecting her to cruelty

Indian Evidence Act, 1872 (1 of 1872)

- 113A. Presumption as to abetment of suicide by a married woman

- 113B. Presumption as to dowry death

Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (2 of 1974)

- 304B Dowry Deaths with imprisonment of not less than 7 years but which may extend to imprisonment for life and it is Non-bailable.

- 498A Punishment for subjecting a married woman to cruelty with imprisonment for 3 years and fine and it is Non-bailable.

Cases under this Act have increased by 36.5% during the year 2012 as compared to the previous year (6,619 cases) according to NCRB Report 2012. 27.8% of cases were reported from Andhra Pradesh (2,511) followed by Odisha (1,487 cases) accounting for 16.5% of total cases at the national level. The highest cnme rate of 7.3 was reported from Odisha as compared to 1.5 at the national level.

Therefore, society and we as a member of the society can do a lot to prevent offences of harassment, dowry death, etc **by taking the following steps:**

- Start practicing dowry prohibition in your family.
- Educate the members of your family with the provisions of law - that demanding and accepting or giving dowry is an offence.
- A woman is an important member of family and IS entitled to all the rights and privileges a man enjoys.
- Educate the members of your family and your neighbors to respect a woman's rights and privileges.
- If in any family there is a growing dispute between the in-laws and the lady, try to intervene to sort out the differences and educate them about the evils of dowry system. If they fail to listen to you, please inform the jurisdictional police and counseling centres.
- Provide support and shelter to the lady in distress. If you cannot, please contact the Women organizations who can provide support in such cases.
- Gather like-minded people who are fighting against this evil and gather public sympathy and support to ex-communicate the families where the evil persists.
- In case you have any suspicion of ill treatment of a lady in any house, immediately inform the local Police. Ladies in distress, generally avoid showing their resentment to ill-treatment till it reaches a dangerous point leading to their being burnt to death.
- Encourage women folk to raise their voice about their rights and to fight against dowry system.

7.8   Summary

Dowry is a cultural problem that cannot be effectively combated by a simple declaration of its illegality. Unless the Indian government proactively takes measures to remedy the inherent weaknesses within the Dowry Prohibition Act, dowry murders will continue to be a prevalent occurrence within Indian society. Rather than excusing dowry violence as a private family matter, the government must execute its responsibility to the female citizens of India with precise measures designed to combat dowry crime at its root. Regardless of whether the government chooses to implement the above suggestions, it is clear that appropriate measures must be taken to eradicate the ambiguities that render the Act ineffective. Unfortunately, until the Act is strengthened to afford the victim the protection it was meant to provide, Indian women will continue to be victims in their own homes.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

I.   What is 498A?

_____

_____

II.   What is 304 B?

_____

_____

7.9   Further Readings

- Basu S(Ed.),(1988) Dowry and inheritance (pp. 268–278).New Delhi: Women Unlimited

- Kumari, R. (1989). Brides are not for burning. Delhi: Radiant Publishers.

- Menski W(Ed.), South Asians and the dowry problem .Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books

- Paul, M. C. (1985). Dowry and position of women in India: A study of Delhi metropolis. New Delhi: InterIndia Publications.

- http://shseminary. blogspot.in/2010/05/dowry-social-challenge.html

7.10 Model Questions

1. Dowry: A social problem. Comment.
2. What are the causes & impact of Dowry.

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Punishment for subjecting a married woman to cruelty with imprisonment for 3 years and fine and it is Non-bail able.

2. Dowry deaths with imprisonment of not less than 07 years but which may extend to imprisonment for life and it is Non-bailable.

★★★★

POVERTY

Structure

8.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Poverty

- Explain the Theories of Poverty

- Describe the causes of Poverty

8.1   Introduction

Poverty has been described as a situation of "pronounced deprivation in well being" and being poor as "to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled…Poor people are particularly vulnerable to adverse events outside their control. They are often treated badly by institutions of the state and society and excluded from voice and power in those institutions." (IBRD, 2000-2001.) Using income as a measure of poverty, the World Development Report (2000) refers to the "deep poverty amid plenty" in the world and states that a fifth of the world's people live on less than $ 1 a day, and 44% of them are in South Asia.

Lack of access to resources or assetlessness is a unifying characteristic of poverty in all its manifestations. The poor lack ownership of or access to assets such as land, water, forest, dwelling units, credit, literacy, longevity, voice and capital-both physical and social.

The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) has developed a new international measure of poverty – the Multidimensional Poverty Index or MPI*.* The MPI assesses the nature and intensity of poverty at the individual level, with poor people being those who are multiply deprived and the extent of their poverty being measured by the extent of their deprivations. The MPI creates a vivid picture of people living in poverty within and across countries, regions and the world. It is

the first international measure of its kind, and offers an essential complement to income poverty measures because it measures deprivations directly. The MPI can be used as an analytical tool to identify the most vulnerable people, show aspects in which they are deprived and help to reveal the interconnections among deprivations. This can enable policy makers to target resources and design policies more effectively.

Global Poverty Scenario

The proportion of people in developing countries living in extreme economic poverty — defined by the World Bank as living on less than $1 per day—has fallen from 28 per cent in 1990 to 21 per cent in 2001. Although there has been a substantial reduction in global poverty, it is marked with great regional differences. Poverty declined substantially in China and Southeast Asian countries as a result of rapid economic growth and massive investments in human resource development. Number of poors in China has come down from 606 million in 1981 to 212 million in 2001. In the countries of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan) the decline has not been as rapid. Despite decline in the percentage of the poor, the number of poor has declined marginally from 475 million in 1981 to 428 million in 2001. Because of different poverty line definition, poverty in India is also shown higher than the national estimates. In Sub-Saharan Africa, poverty in fact rose from 41 per cent in 1981 to 46 per cent in 2001. The **Millennium Development Goals** of the United Nations calls for reducing the proportion of people living on less than $1 a day to half the 1990 level by 2015.

8.2   Defining Poverty

Poverty in its most general sense is the lack of necessities. Basic food, shelter, medical care and safety are generally thought necessary based on shared values of human dignity. However, what is a necessity to one person is not uniformly a necessity to others. Needs may be relative to what is possible and are based on social definition and past experience (Sen, 1999). Valentine (1968) says that "the essence of poverty is inequality. In slightly different words, the basic meaning of poverty is relative deprivation." A social (relative) definition of poverty allows community flexibility in addressing pressing local concerns, while objective definitions allow tracking progress and comparing one area to another.

According to broad UN definitions,: 'lack of participation in decision-making', 'a violation of human dignity', 'powerlessness' and 'susceptibility to violence' is treated as living in poverty (cited in Langmore, 2000).

"*Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and cloth a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation.*"

(UN Statement, June 1998 – signed by the heads of all UN agencies)

Absolute poverty is defined as a situation in which the individual's basic needs are not covered, in other words, there is a lack of basic goods and services (normally related to food, housing and clothes).

Relative poverty locates the phenomenon of poverty in the society. From this perspective, a person is considered poor when they are in a clearly disadvantaged situation, either financially or

socially, with regards other people in their environment. This idea of poverty is closely linked to the notion of inequality.

8.3   Theories of Poverty

1.   Individualistic theories; Herbert Spencer, blamed poverty on the poor. He claimed that the poor were lazy, and those who did not want to work should not be allowed to eat. He attributed poverty to bad moral character. He argued that the State should intervene as little as possible. It was he that coined the phrase, "the survival of the fittest".

This attitude still prevails today, and Golding and Middleton claim that newspapers regularly report benefit claimants as "scroungers". However, this attitude seems to be in some decline. According to a survey conducted by the European Commission into attitudes in 1976 43% of British people blamed poverty on laziness compared to 18% in 1989. Furthermore, Britain was the country where people were most likely to blame poverty on the individual characteristics of the poor.

According to American writer William Ryan this individualist theory is an example of "blaming the victims".

2.   The Culture of Poverty

The concept of a culture of poverty was introduced by American anthropologist, Oscar Lewis, as a result of studying the urban poor in Mexico and Puerto Rico. The culture of poverty constitutes a "design for living" that is passed on from generation to the next. Individuals feel marginalized, helpless and inferior, and adopt an attitude of living for the present. They are fatalistic. Families are characterized by high divorce rates, with mothers and children abandoned; they become matrilocal families headed by women. People adopting this culture of poverty do not participate in community life or join political parties; they make little use of banks, hospitals and the like.

According to Lewis the culture of poverty perpetuates poverty: It "tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on children. By the time slum children are aged six or seven, they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.

However, Lewis regards the culture of poverty as applicable to Third World countries, or countries in the early stages of industrialization, and claims that it is not prevalent in advanced capitalist societies. But sociologists such as American Michael Harrington (*The Other America*) do argue that the culture of poverty can apply to advanced industrial societies.

The "culture of poverty" thesis, later came to be erroneously associated with laying blame for poverty either on the poor themselves or on a government that keeps them dependent (Patterson,2000). Along these lines, it is the deficient character of the poor along with their deviant behavior and the resultant self-reinforcing environment that restrict their access to economic viability and success. Rising rates of divorce, female headed single parent families, teen pregnancy, drug/alcohol misuse, and criminal activity are said to reflect these dysfunctional attitudes and values, relative to mainstream society, about family, education and work. These attitudes are passed onto subsequent generations leading to a vicious cycle of poverty from which few escape (Rodgers, 2000).

### 3.	Conflict Theories of Poverty

Conflict theorists claim that poverty is caused by the structure of society. Supporters of the "structural" school of thought argue that most poverty can be traced back to structural factors inherent to either the economy and/or to several interrelated institutional environments that serve to favour certain groups over others, generally based on gender, class, or race Peter Townsend in *Poverty in the United Kingdom* claims that the existence of class divides is the major factor in causing poverty; but he also acknowledges that poverty is related to lifestyles. The poor also lack status, and low status groups also include retired elderly people, the disabled, the chronically sick, one-parent families and the long-term unemployed. Townsend also notes that international institutions contribute to the creation of poverty. For example, restrictions imposed by the International Monetary Fund, usually result in cuts in government expenditure and reductions in welfare programmes. On the other hand, European employment legislation sets a minimum wage. The use of cheap labour in Third World countries can cause poverty in First World countries.

Marxists argue that the existence of poverty is beneficial to the ruling class. Poverty increases the motivation of the working class to work. Marxists claim that the capitalist system creates poverty. Herbert J. Gans has identified a number of functions that make poverty "useful" to capitalists.

(1)	Temporary, dead-end, dirty, dangerous and menial jobs are undertaken by the poor.

(2)	Poverty creates jobs and careers for middle-class people. Gans writes, "poverty creates jobs for a number of occupations and professionals that serve the poor, or shield the rest of the population from them." These include the policy, probation officers, social workers, psychiatrists, doctors and civil servants. There is a "poverty industry". These workers may be idealists, but they have a vested interest in the continuing existence of poverty.

(3)	Poor people make everyone else feel better. "Poverty helps to guarantee the status of those who are not poor." He also says, "The defenders of the desirability of hard work, thrift, honesty and monogamy need people who can be accused of being lazy, spendthrift, dishonest and promiscuous to justify these norms."

8.4 Characterizing Underlying Causes of Poverty

What do we mean by the underlying causes of poverty? The underlying causes of poverty are most often the result of a combination of political, social, economic, and environmental factors that are related to the systemic and structural underpinnings of underdevelopment, residing at the local, national, and often the global level.

In order to better understand and be able to distinguish between levels of causes, a causal hierarchy is useful. The hierarchy that we have developed to help us understand and situate the underlying causes of poverty is broken down into three categories:

1.	**Immediate Causes** are those factors that are directly related to life and death situations, these can include disease, famine, conflict, natural disasters, etc.
2.	**Intermediate Causes** are related to improving people's well-being. Intermediate causes generally point to what people lack (needs-based) and focus on: access to basic services, lack of skills, lack of productivity, etc. The intermediate level is where the majority of current development interventions are targeted.

3. **Underlying Causes** focus our attention to WHY intermediate causes exist. This level requires us to ask why some people have access and some do not; why some groups control the majority of resources, etc. The answers to most of the analytical questions that we ask at the Underlying Cause Level are related to the systems or rules – structural underpinnings – that govern a society (micro, meso, macro, global), e.g., the economic, political, and social structures that include and exclude; the policies that allow some groups to control and/or monopolize power; the socio-cultural systems and customs around which discrimination and injustice are often legitimized, etc

8.5 Four Critical Underlying Causes of Poverty

To further our work on the Underlying Causes of Poverty, four important underlying causes of poverty are:

1. Gender Inequality
2. Social Exclusion
3. Unequal Rights to Access To Resources and Services
4. Poor Governance

1. Gender Inequality

Gender inequality is a critical underlying cause of poverty and a critical factor in the perpetuation of poverty. Comparative cross-national studies conducted by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) have shown that an improvement in women's status has the most significant influence on positive child health outcomes.

Gender biases are embedded in social institutions, markets and economic processes and are reinforced by macroeconomic policies and development strategies. One reason gender disparities persist is because social and legal institutions do not guarantee women's equality in basic legal and human rights, in access to or control of land or other resources, in employment and earnings, and social and political participation. These disparities have serious consequences, not only for women themselves, but also for their families and for society at large.

a)   Paid And Unpaid Labor: In many developing countries women are responsible for agricultural production and market work as well as unpaid, non-market work. Unpaid work ranges from care for the children, the elderly and the sick to subsistence production and domestic chores, which in developing countries may include walking many miles to fetch firewood and water. Non-market production by women is a crucial element in determining the quality of life and directly affects the health, development and overall well-being of children and other household members. Yet women's voices and life experience-whether as workers (paid and unpaid), citizens, or consumers-are still largely missing from debates on finance and development.

In most developing countries a growing number of women are employers or self employed, most of them in agriculture and in informal sector small-scale and microenterprises creating a double work burden. Entering the labor market can leave women poor in both time and money. They work double days, at work and at home. They often earn less than men for the same work, and have less opportunity to improve their skills.

Poor women do more unpaid work, work longer hours and accept degrading working conditions during these times of crisis, just to ensure that their families survive.

Gender equality requires transformation of the structures and systems that lie at the root of women's subordination and gender inequality.

b) Access To and Control Over Resources: In general, women today have a better opportunity to invest in and make use of "human capital", such as education and health. However, for poor women access to resources and basic services remains a critical problem. Also while there has been some progress in access to social services, there has been limited progress in recent decades in securing their access to natural and physical capital such as money and land. This unequal gender access has high costs at the individual, household, and societal levels.

Many decisions about access to, control over, and the distribution of resources are made within families and between men and women. This is not a straightforward process; it involves negotiation and the use of power, which are in turn strongly shaped by social context. Control of resources and bargaining power within the household helps determine women's status in society. Bargaining power is also shaped by what an individual brings into the household – physical assets, wages or other income, transfer payments or welfare receipts, or even prestige. These various forms of capital also affect a woman's ability to bargain and negotiate.

c) Risk Factors: Gender inequality deprives women of the ability to refuse risky practices, leads to coerced sex and sexual violence, keeps women uninformed about prevention, puts them last in line for care and life-saving treatment, and imposes an overwhelming burden on them to care for the sick and dying.

d) Gender & Governance: Improving gender equality can improve governance. Some reports suggest that women are less involved than men in bribery, and are less involved in bribe taking. Cross-country data from 98 countries, both high- and low-income, show that corruption, measured using a "graft index", is less severe when women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats and senior positions in the government bureaucracy, and make up a larger share of the labor force.

It is now widely accepted that gender inequality is not a result of women's integration or lack of integration in development, or their lack of skills, credit and resources. Rather the problem of gender inequality lies in the social structures, institutions, values and beliefs that create and perpetuate women's subordination, thus making gender inequality a critical underlying causes of poverty. Gender equality cannot come about only through changes in women's condition - it requires transformation of the structures and systems which lie at the root of women's subordination and gender inequality.

2. Social Exclusion

For many years, the poverty and the social degradation that results from social inequality were considered largely an economic problem. In just the last few years, however, greater attention and analysis is being paid to a more complex set of social, economic, and cultural practices that comprise "social exclusion," in which certain populations are excluded from the benefits of social and economic development based on their class, gender, ethnicity, geography, and/or physical disabilities.

Definitions of Social Exclusion:

⇒ UNDP 1997: Social exclusion is the lack of recognition of basic rights, or where that recognition exists, lack of access to political and legal systems necessary to make those rights a reality.

⇒ Brian Barry, Research Center for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) 2001: An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically a resident in a society, but (b) for

reasons beyond his or her control, he or she can not participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society, and (c) he or she would like to so participate.

⇒ L. Rosario, J. Goulden, R. Salinas, L. Medrano, and J. Schollaert, Chronic Poverty Research Center (CPRC) 2002: Social exclusion is defined as a structural situation facing individuals and groups, mediated through power relations, that leads to life conditions characterized by the absence or insufficient consumption of collective and individual goods and services.

As social exclusion so severely restricts access to basic social services and jobs needed for a minimal standard of living, and the ability to live in dignity and security, there is a high correlation between poverty and social exclusion. Even when socially excluded groups are not the majority of the poor, the socially excluded typically constitute the poorest of the poor. However, social exclusion is not only about material deprivation.

Importantly, it is also about people's inability to fully exercise their social, cultural, and political rights (Tango 2003). In this respect, social exclusion has much common ground with Sen's idea of capability poverty (Sen 1992; Burchardt, et all 2002).

In order to fully understand social exclusion, issues of power and privilege must be taken into account. Social exclusion affects an individual, community, or group's opportunities to find good work, decent housing, quality health care and education, safe and secure living conditions, as well as their treatment by the legal and criminal justice systems. Exclusion also affects localities, for example some rural areas or parts of the inner city might be excluded or 'forgotten' (Tango 2003).

To understand social exclusion we have to look at the responsibilities of the rest of society - the 'included' – and what this has to do with exclusion. Social inclusion policies and actions should not place the sole responsibility on poor individuals, communities and groups. On the contrary, we must also understand the concept of "choice or agency" when analyzing social exclusion. In other words, we must consider whether the exclusion is voluntary or forced. Some individuals may "opt out" of participation in social and productive relations. Thus a person or group is only social excluded if their exclusion arises from constraint and not choice (Burchardt, et al 2002). Therefore the focus should be based on mutual responsibilities and the spirit of collective obligations (Tango 2003).

Thus a key aspect of any definition of social exclusion focuses our attention to "those people that want to participate but that are unable for reasons beyond their control"(Barry 2001), e.g. social, gender or ethnic status; inability to find work; or inability to participate in economically viable activities due to physical disabilities, etc. As well, the following four factors should be taken into account for a complete understanding of social exclusion:

1) Consumption: the capacity to purchase good and services;

2) Production: participation in economically and socially viable activities;

3) Political Engagement: involvement in local and national decision-making; and

4) Social Interaction: integration with family, friends, community and civic organizations.

Creating a better understanding of social exclusion and developing actions to address forced social exclusion is an important aspect of poverty eradication and contributes to social justice and people's ability to live in dignity.

3. Unequal Rights to Access to Resources & Services

The traditional approach to access has been to determine if resources and services are available and why people are unable to access these resources and services from a needs perspective. Indicators that you need to look at when determining if why people lack access are:

1) lack of purchasing ability,

2) distance to services,

3) quality of services, etc.

From this perspective access operates at the Intermediate Cause Level. However, it does not address the structural or systemic causes of lack of or unequal access. When viewed through a rights lens – unmet rights to access resources and services – access becomes an important underlying cause of poverty in many areas. From this perspective, we are looking for the structural and systemic causes of unmet and unequal access – the Underlying Cause Level. In this sense, unequal access also becomes an issue of power relations.

At the underlying cause level, some potential contributing factors for lack of access or unequal access are:

1) **Geographic Marginalization**: Often rural areas – especially areas that are deemed less productive – do not benefit from government infrastructure and social services (e.g., roads, markets, health, education, etc);

2) **Ethnicity & Access**: Lack of or unequal access might be due to the ethnic identity or makeup of an area. Areas with high proportions of ethnic minorities might be overlooked.

3) **Structural Adjustment & Debt**: Often structural adjustment policies focus on cutting or trimming resources dedicated to social services which disproportionately negatively affects the poor;

4) **Trade Liberalization**: Evidence suggests that better-off households are better placed to profit from the new opportunities generated by liberalization and deregulation (IDS 2004), thus creating a greater gap between the rich and the poor. As well, export-crop producers have benefited more from trade liberalization than food-crop producers.

5) **Globalization**: In most cases there is a very uneven playing field when if comes to globalization. Globalization has been associated with - the unsustainable burden of debt; terms of trade that favor industrialized countries; increased arms trade and conflict; and the current production and consumption patterns that do not meet the basic needs of all people. According to Sen (2002), "the central issue of contention is not globalization itself, nor is it the use of the market as an institutions, but the inequity in the overall balance of institutional arrangements – which produces very unequal sharing of the benefits of globalization."

These are just a few of the examples of reasons for unmet or unequal access.

4. Poor Governance

The following is a definition of Governance proposed by CARE's Governance Working Group 2004.

⇒ Governance is the exercise of power in the management of public affairs.

⇒ Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs.

⇒ It is a dynamic, political process through which decisions are made, conflicts are resolved, diverse interests are negotiated, and collective action is undertaken.

⇒ The process can draw its authority from formal written codes that have the power to enforce compliance, as well as from processes based on unwritten but broadly accepted cultural norms, or from the charismatic leadership of an individual.

(Adapted from Global Commission on Governance definition)

Why Focus on Governance? It has become recognized throughout the development community that obstacles to livelihood security have clear and direct links to governance. Weak or bad governance often underlies many of the technically-defined problems identified in the field, and seriously hinders any technically-driven development solutions. Work in governance necessitates that we look closely and systematically at social, political and economic structures, especially power relations, in order to better understand and address the underlying causes of poverty.

Much of the current debate on governance is related to the bi-directional relationship between citizens and states. Upwardly, it is expressed by people exercising a civic/political right to (un)choose a regime – a process that legitimizes rulers' authority and exercise of power. Downwardly it is expressed by the state – through government machinery and public administration – fulfilling its obligations to citizens. This view tends to cast citizens as rights holders and states as duty bearers.

While this is one relational aspect of governance, citizens have obligations and state actors have rights as well. However, governance is much broader than state-citizen interaction. Governance includes but is not limited to government. Governance also refers to the "institutional authorizing environment" that influences the way matters of the state, private business, and the civil society are structured and resolved. Societies need strong institutions governed by rule of law, and processes whereby stakeholders can negotiate productively among themselves to secure socially just outcomes. The nature and quality of these institutional and stakeholder interactions and resulting outcomes is the predominant governance issue.

It is useful to think of governance operating at two levels. (1) At the broadest level, governance involves the social and political institutions – languages, laws, ideas, religions and customs that interact to shape organizational and individual behavior.

(2) At the second level it involves the institutional authorizing environment, which is made up of public and private organizations, relationships, and networks of all kinds – of the government, civil society, for-profit, non-profit sectors. These organizations, relationships and networks are both resources and tools through which specific groups of people act to achieve specific purposes.

We can also think of governance as:

• Global governance – is the way relational power consolidates patterns of privilege or exclusion among countries.

• Organizational governance focuses on the way that decisions are made within individual organizations and institutions.

8.6 Steps to Eradicate Poverty

Poverty is a denial of basic human rights and is today of concern to all societies. The injustices, exclusions, deprivations and inequalities that poverty, and especially extreme poverty, engenders and, above all their causes, must effectively be dealt with, if social justice and cohesion, economic and social progress, democracy and ultimately peace are to be further strengthened. The World Social Summit identified poverty eradication as an ethical, social, political and economic imperative of mankind and called on governments to address the root causes of poverty, provide for basic needs for all and ensure that the poor have access to productive resources, including credit, education and training.

Governments and international organizations alike have placed poverty eradication at the centre of the global efforts to advance economic and social development. In a series of international conferences and most recently at the United Nations Millennium Summit, they have committed themselves to the international development goal of halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by the year 2015. The mid-point of the United Nations Decade for Poverty Eradication (1996-2005) has been passed. Many initiatives have been taken both within and out-side the United Nations system, with a view to creating synergies to overcome poverty. In general, their principal objectives are to create a pro-poor policy environment; to increase resource flows to the poor; to generate social capital and institutions enhancing access for the poor to knowledge, information and opportunities and to empower the poor and their communities.

Long-term poverty eradication strategies must be harmonized with other human development strategies and place them in the overall context of human security, focusing on the needs of the individual and their communities. A number of recent reports from international institutions, development cooperation agencies as well as poverty research networks linked to field action have underlined the importance of ensuring these links for poverty reduction strategies to become effective and sustainable. This is particularly necessary since there are indications that in some regions progress in reducing rural poverty has stalled over the last few years.

UNESCO is well placed, as the United Nations system's intellectual and ethical organization, to advocate the moral as well as the political imperative of poverty eradication. Poverty eradication is a significant condition for world peace and security – and a question of human dignity. Promoting the right to development and education will therefore be one of UNESCO's tasks, complemented by advocacy in favor of right to development, and through supporting understanding and solidarity among humankind – both between countries and between populations divided by growing disparities.

The success of policies and national plans aimed at poverty reduction is not only dependent upon strong political commitment but also on genuine country ownership as well as authentic participation of all actors in society. Building on its strong position as a partner to civil society UNESCO is working towards ensuring civil society representation in the policy design, formulation and implementation processes.

UNESCO's strategy

UNESCO has been called upon by its Member States, through various General Conference resolutions and Executive Board decisions, to make its specific contribution to poverty reduction through the design of an appropriate long-term strategy. The following strategy defines the

main parameters of a distinct UNESCO contribution to poverty eradication, in particular extreme poverty.

Strategic objectives for UNESCO's action

UNESCO will focus on three major, interrelated strategic objectives:

Strategic objective 1

To contribute to a broadening of the focus of international and national poverty reduction strategies through the mainstreaming of education, culture, the sciences and communication.

Strategic objective 2

To support the establishment of effective linkages between national poverty reduction strategies and sustainable development frameworks, focusing on UNESCO's areas of competence. Furthermore, to help mobilize social capital by building capacities and institutions, especially in the public domain, with a view to enabling the poor to enjoy their rights.

Strategic objective 3

To contribute to an enabling national policy framework and environment for empowerment, participatory approaches and livelihood generation.

In sum, UNESCO will undertake the following activities:

a)   policy formulation and implementation, including assisting in the design of country-owned, integrated pro-poor national policies and frameworks, involving all stakeholders, and building the capacities of governments to put in place participatory and inclusive processes at national and local levels

;b)   advocacy and information, emphazing that freedom from poverty is a human right, a global ethical imperative, and a top priority for governments and the international community;

c)   policy-oriented research contributing to the analysis of extreme poverty – and monitoring progress toward its eradication;

d)   capacity-building, particularly in countries immersed in or emerging from conflict or natural disasters and at local levels

;e)   innovative field projects, especially through projects under its cross-cutting themes, to demonstrate feasibility and potential results as a basis for translating them into policies and mainstreaming them nationally or in other countries.

8.7 Summary

Poverty eradication must be mainstreamed into the national policies and actions in accordance with the internationally agreed development goals forming part of the broad United Nations Development Agenda, forged at UN conferences and summits in the economic, social and related fields. A social perspective on development requires addressing poverty in all its dimensions. It promotes people-centered approach to poverty eradication advocating the empowerment of people living in poverty through their full participation in all aspects of political, economic and social life, especially in the design and implementation of policies that affect the poorest and most vulnerable

groups of society. An integrated strategy towards poverty eradication necessitates implementing policies geared to more equitable distribution of wealth and income and social protection coverage.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

VII.   Concept of 'Culture of Poverty' was introduced by ………………………

_____

_____

VIII.   Four Causes of Poverty.

_____

_____

8.8 Further Readings

- Alcock, P. (1993). Understanding Poverty. London: Macmillan.

- Handler, J. F., & Hasenfeld, Y. (1997). We the Poor People. New Haven: YaleUniversity Press.

- Hansen, N. (1970). Poverty and the Urban Crisis. Bloomington: Indiana State University

- O'Connor, A. (2001). Poverty Knowledge. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Valentine, C. A. (1968). Culture and Poverty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

8.9 Model Questions

1.   Define poverty. How it becomes a social problem.

2.   Poverty: A social problem. Comment

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1.   Oscar Lewis

2.   Gender Inequality, Social Exclusion, Unequal Rights to Access to Resources, and Services and Poor Governance.

★★★★

Lesson-9

UNEMPLOYMENT

Structure

9.0   Objectives

9.1   Introduction

9.2   Meaning of Unemployment

9.3   Causes of Unemployment

9.4   Is Unemployment A Social Problem?

9.5   Impact of Unemployment

9.6   Steps Taken by Government

9.7   Way Forward

9.8   Summary

9.9   Further Readings

9.10 Model Questions

9.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of unemployment
- Examine different causes of unemployment
- Analytical understanding of unemployment as a social problem

9.1 Introduction

Students, in this lesson we will study the meaning of unemployment and how it impacts individual, family, society and the nation. The personal and social costs of unemployment include severe financial hardship and poverty, debt, homelessness and housing stress, family tensions and breakdown, boredom, alienation, shame and stigma, increased social isolation, crime, erosion of confidence and self-esteem, the atrophying of work skills and ill-health. Most of these increase with the duration of unemployment. Unemployed people report that being unemployed is one of the worst things that can happen to them. In addition, unemployment falls disproportionately on already disadvantaged groups in society, for example, lower-income earners, recently arrived migrants, women, lower caste and others. The Brotherhood of St Laurence's Life chances study (Gilley 1993) found that families of female-headed households and no parent employed affected from serious health problems of young children, serious problems for themselves, serious disagreements with the partner, serious financial problems and serious problems with housing. It creates disturbances, stress and hopelessness in the life of an individual and family. This lesson analyzes the nature of unemployment and its impact on the socio-economic life of people. This way, we will reveal some of the challenges and possibilities that modern society faces today and that need to be adjusted to the new socio-economic conditions.

💡 'You don't live when you are unemployed—you exist' (Jackson & Crooks 1993)

9.2 Meaning of Unemployment

Unemployment occurs when a person who is actively searching for employment is unable to find work. Unemployment is often used as a measure of the health of the economy. The most frequent measure of unemployment is the unemployment rate, which is the number of unemployed people divided by the number of people in the labour force. The unemployment rate in India rose to 7.2 per cent in February 2019, the highest since September 2016, and also up from 5.9 per cent in February 2018, according to the data compiled by the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE).

National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) defines employment and unemployment on the following activity statuses of an individual:

- Working (engaged in economic activity) i.e. 'Employed'.

- Seeking or available for work i.e. 'Unemployed'.

- Neither seeking nor available for work.

The first two constitutes labour force and the unemployment rate is the per cent of the labour force that is without work.

💡 Unemployment rate = (Unemployed Workers / Total labour force) × 100

9.2.1 Types of Unemployment in India

Disguised Unemployment:

- It is a phenomenon wherein more people are employed than actually needed.

- It is primarily traced in the agricultural and the unorganised sectors of India.

Seasonal Unemployment:

- It is unemployment that occurs during certain seasons of the year.

- Agricultural labourers in India rarely have worked throughout the year.

Structural Unemployment:

- It is a category of unemployment arising from the mismatch between the jobs available in the market and the skills of the available workers in the market.

- Many people in India do not get a job due to lack of requisite skills and due to the poor education level, it becomes difficult to train them.

Cyclical Unemployment:

- It is a result of the business cycle, where unemployment rises during recessions and declines with economic growth.

- Cyclical unemployment figures in India are negligible. It is a phenomenon that is mostly found in capitalist economies.

Technological Unemployment:

- It is the loss of jobs due to changes in technology.

- In 2016, World Bank data predicted that the proportion of jobs threatened by automation in India is 69% year-on-year.

    Frictional Unemployment: The Frictional Unemployment also called as Search Unemployment, refers to the time lag between the jobs when an individual is searching for a new job or is switching between the jobs.

- In other words, an employee requires time for searching a new job or shifting from the existing to a new job, this inevitable time delay causes frictional unemployment. It is often considered as voluntary unemployment because it is not caused due to the shortage of job, but in fact, the workers themselves quit their jobs in search of better opportunities.

Vulnerable Employment:

- This means, people, working informally, without proper job contracts and thus sans any legal protection. These persons are deemed 'unemployed' since records of their work are never maintained.

- It is one of the main types of unemployment in India.

9.2.2 Measurement of Unemployment in India

National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), an organization under the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MoSPI) measure unemployment in India on the following approaches:

- Usual Status Approach: This approach estimates only those persons as unemployed who had no gainful work for a major time during the 365 days preceding the date of the survey.

> **DO YOU KNOW?**
>
> **Unemployment trap** is a situation when unemployment benefits discourage the unemployed to go to work. People find the opportunity cost of going to work too high when one can simply enjoy the benefits by doing nothing. While the purpose of social security and welfare systems is to provide relief to the unemployed, they end up providing them with an incentive not to return to work. An unemployment trap arises when opportunity cost of going to work is higher than the income received, discouraging people from returning to work and being productive.

- Weekly Status Approach: This approach records only those persons as unemployed who did not have gainful work even for an hour on any day of the week preceding the date of the survey.

- Daily Status Approach: Under this approach, the unemployment status of a person is measured for each day in a reference week. A person having no gainful work even for 1 hour in a day is described as unemployed for that day.

Unemployment stats (based on findings from CMIE's latest data):

- The unemployment rate in India rose to 7.2 per cent in February 2019, the highest since September 2016, and up from 5.9 per cent in February 2018.

- The total number of employed persons in February 2019 is estimated at 400 million against 406 million in the year-ago period and 407.5 million employed in February 2017.

- The labour participation rate fell from 43.2% in January 2019 to 42.7% in February 2019.
  - Labour Participation Rate defines that section of the working population in the economy which is currently employed or seeking employment.

9.3 Causes of Unemployment

- Large population.

- Low or no educational levels and vocational skills of the working population.

- Inadequate state support, legal complexities and low infrastructural, financial and market linkages to small/ cottage industries or small businesses, making such enterprises unviable with cost and compliance overruns.

- Huge workforce associated with the informal sector due to lack of required education/ skills, which is not captured in any employment data. For example domestic helpers, construction workers etc.

- The syllabus taught in schools and colleges, is not as per the current requirements of the industries. This is the main cause of structural unemployment.

- Inadequate growth of infrastructure and low investments in the manufacturing sector, hence restricting the employment potential of the secondary sector.

- The low productivity in agriculture sector combined with a lack of alternative opportunities for agricultural worker which makes a transition from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors difficult.

- Regressive social norms that deter women from taking/continuing employment.

9.4 Is Unemployment A Social Problem?

Poverty and hardship Unemployment is the major reason for poverty in India today. It has been found that unemployed people experience hardship and a decline in their standard of housing, diet, clothing and health care. There is a strong relationship between unemployment and health. This occurs for some specific causes of death (such as diabetes, pneumonia, influenza and bronchitis) as well as for a number of specific chronic illnesses. Unemployment has been shown to cause certain forms of mental illness, such as depression (Smith 1987).

Long-term harm for children and young people

Unemployment of parents is not only immediately distressing for the children's lives but is also likely to have long term consequences for their educational, employment and social futures. People with low education and skills are more likely to be unemployed or to have low wages (The World Bank 1993), and work by Williams and others (1993) indicates that school completion is lower for young people with parents who have low education and an unskilled occupational background (and thus who are more likely to be unemployed). The Australian Institute of Family Studies found that adolescents with lower levels of well-being (such as health and sociability) have fathers or both parents with no paid work (Weston 1993).

Family stress arising from poverty and unemployment has been found to be associated with children's behavioural problems and with their adjustment over time. Unemployment is also contributing to substantial **alienation** of a large number of teenagers and young adults.

Social division

There is an increasing division between those families with children with both parents in the paid workforce and those with no parents with paid work. Feminization of poverty and ageing also contribute to unemployment. Unemployment may also contribute to greater divisions according to where people live.

Unemployment and retirement

The problems of long term unemployment amongst older people could lead to a resurgence in aged poverty. High levels of long-term unemployment alongside lower declining levels of labour force participation of older men may prevent the possibility for important asset accumulation (such as paying off the family home prior to retirement). Homeownership has been a very important factor in containing aged poverty. In addition income inequality amongst older people could well increase with some, as a result of long term unemployment and joblessness, entering old age with very little and others having a substantial accumulation of superannuation and other assets.

9.5 Impact of Unemployment

Employment or the lack thereof, i.e. unemployment, as a widespread immediate occurrence which has its own implications, has always been known and important to people. Getting employed is considered as a prerequisite to a productive, socially recognized and complete realization of human labour; it is an existential basis upon which people build their financial and social security and confirms their integral social status. This, by all means, does not define all of the crucial values that unemployment bears for people, but it is important to point out that in the case of unemployment there are always negative implications being drawn.

Hence, unemployment gets qualified as a serious personal and social issue. Namely, with regard to unemployment, there are two constitutive elements that we need to take into consideration: the severity of the issue and its social reality. **The most immediate repercussion of unemployment is the loss of income.** Research on the emotional consequences of unemployment shows that the unemployed go through unforeseen stages of adjustment to their new status. Understandably, everyone goes through these changes differently, but in general, those that find themselves without a job go through some state of shock which is followed by a feeling of optimism opened up by the upcoming new possibilities. When these optimistic expectations do not get met, which is in fact quite common, some people get severely depressed and pessimistic with regards to their future and the prospects of new employment. Following are some of the consequences of unemployment:

- The problem of unemployment gives rise to the **problem of poverty**.

- Young people after a long time of unemployment indulge in illegal and wrong activities for earning money. This also leads to an **increase in crime in the country**.

- **Unemployed persons can easily be enticed by antisocial elements.** This makes them lose faith in the democratic values of the country.

- It is often seen that unemployed people end up getting addicted to drugs and alcohol or attempts suicide, leading losses to the **human resources of the country**.

- It also affects the **economy** of the country as the workforce that could have been gainfully employed to generate resources actually gets dependent on the remaining working population, thus **escalating socio-economic costs** for the State. For instance, a 1 per cent increase in unemployment reduces the GDP by 2 per cent.

> **DO YOU KNOW?**
> The Employment-Unemployment survey conducted by National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), MOSPI (Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation) is the most comprehensive survey providing complete labour force scenario of India across sectors like agriculture, industry, services, etc. in both rural and urban areas.

9.6 Steps Taken by Government

I. **Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)** was launched in 1980 to create full employment opportunities in rural areas.

II. **Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM):** This scheme was started in 1979 with the objective to help unemployed rural youth between the age of 18 and 35 years to acquire skills for self-employment. Priority was given to SC/ST Youth and Women.

III. **RSETI/RUDSETI:** With the aim of mitigating the unemployment problem among the youth, a new initiative was tried jointly by Sri Dharmasthala Manjunatheshwara Educational Trust, Syndicate Bank and Canara Bank in 1982 which was the setting up of the "RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND SELF EMPLOYMENT TRAINING INSTITUTE" with its acronym RUDSETI near Dharmasthala in Karnataka. Rural Self Employment Training Institutes/ RSETIs are now managed by Banks with active co-operation from the Government of India and State Government.

IV. By merging the two erstwhile wage employment programme – National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) the **Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY)** was started with effect from April 1, 1989, on 80:20 cost-sharing basis between the centre and the States.

V. **Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA):**

   o It is an employment scheme that was launched in 2005 to provide social security by guaranteeing a minimum of 100 days paid work per year to all the families whose adult members opt for unskilled labour-intensive work. This act provides Right to Work to people.

VI. **Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY),** launched in 2015 has an objective of enabling a large number of Indian youth to take up industry-relevant skill training that will help them in securing a better livelihood.

VII. **Start-Up India Scheme,** launched in 2016 aims at developing an ecosystem that promotes and nurtures entrepreneurship across the country.

VIII. **Stand Up India Scheme,** launched in 2016 aims to facilitate bank loans between Rs 10 lakh and Rs. 1 crore to at least one SC or ST borrower and at least one women borrower per bank branch for setting up a greenfield enterprise.

9.7 Way Forward

There is a number of labour-intensive manufacturing sectors in India such as food processing, leather and footwear, wood manufacturers and furniture, textiles and apparel and garments. **Special packages, individually designed for each industry are needed to create jobs.**

- **Public investment in sectors like health, education, police and judiciary can create many government jobs.**

- **Decentralisation of Industrial activities** is necessary so that people of every region get employment.

- **Development of the rural areas** will help mitigate the migration of the rural people to the urban areas thus decreasing the pressure on the urban area jobs.

- Entrepreneurs generate employment to many in a country; therefore the **government needs to encourage entrepreneurship among the youth**.

- **Concrete measures aimed at removing the social barriers for women's entry** and their continuous participation in the job market is needed.

- The government needs to keep a **strict watch on the education system** and should try to implement new ways to generate a skilled labour force.

> **DO YOU KNOW?**
>
> **The unemployment rate** is calculated by expressing the number of unemployed persons as a percentage of the total number of persons in the labour force. The labour force (formerly known as the economically active population) is the sum of the number of persons employed and the number of persons unemployed.3 Thus, the measurement of the unemployment rate requires the measurement of both employment and unemployment.

- Effective implementation of present programs like Make in India, Skill India, Startup and Stand-Up India.

- There is a need for **National Employment Policy (NEP)** that would encompass a set of multidimensional interventions covering a whole range of social and economic issues affecting many policy spheres and not just the areas of labour and employment. The policy would be a critical tool to contribute significantly to achieve the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

- The underlying principles for the National Employment Policy may include

    o enhancing human capital through skill development;

    o creating a sufficient number of decent quality jobs for all citizens in the formal and informal sectors to absorb those who are available and willing to work;

- strengthening social cohesion and equity in the labour market;

- coherence and convergence in various initiatives taken by the government;

- supporting the private sector to become the major investor in productive enterprises;

- supporting self-employed persons by strengthening their capabilities to improve their earnings;

- ensuring employees' basic rights and developing an educational training and skill development system aligned with the changing requirements of the labour market.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. Name any two types of Unemployment in India.

   _____

2. The Employment-Unemployment survey conducted by _____.

9.8 Summary

What is there to know about unemployment? It is a familiar topic, seemingly always with us. Indeed it sometimes seems as though there is nothing to know about unemployment, as though it were nothing in itself, just the absence of work. However, our approach suggests that unemployment is something concrete, varied and elusive; a curious and veiled experience.

Unemployment is a substantial economic, social and political issue, and have enormous significance in the lives of the unemployed. It has also been extensively worked over in the fields of economics, econometrics, political science, sociology, psychology, history and social policy, as well as being subject to broad discourse in media. All this effort means we know quite a lot about how and why unemployment arises and the social and personal consequences of unemployment. As a result, and with the aspiration of saying something new, this lesson attempts to produce a first principles consideration of the experience. In this line of thinking, the experience of unemployment is not just the experience of being without work, rather the contemporary experience of unemployment is manifested in the way we talk about unemployment, individually, collectively, politically and publicly, the spaces and places produced around unemployment as well as in the work that individuals do and are encouraged or required to do in order to end their unemployment.

9.9 Further Readings

1. Boland, Tom and Ray Griffin (eds). 2015. The Sociology of Unemployment. Manchester University Press.

2. Kwon, J.B. and Lane, C.M(eds). 2016. Anthropologies of Unemployment: New Perspectives on Work and Its Absence. Cornell University Press.

3. Prabhakara, N.R. 2014. Population Growth and Unemployment in India by Caste: Path Analysis. Publish America.

9.10 Model Questions

1. What do you understand by unemployment? What are its causes and consequences?

2. 'Unemployment is a social problem'- Comment.

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions.

1. a) Vulnerable Employment; b) Frictional Unemployment

2. National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), MOSPI (Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation)

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DRUG ADDICTION

Structure

10.0   Objectives

After reading this chapter you will be able to :

- give meaning of drug addiction
- understand characteristics of drug addiction
- analyize the causes and types of drugs
- learn different theories of drug addiction
- discuss treatment and prevention

10.1 Introduction

Drug addiction, also called substance dependence or chemical dependency, is a disease that is characterized by a destructive pattern of drug abuse that leads to significant problems involving tolerance to or withdrawal from the substance, as well as other problems that use of the substance can cause for the sufferer, either socially or in terms of their work. More than 2.6% of people suffer from drug addiction at some time in their life. Addiction is a chronic, often relapsing brain disease that causes compulsive drug seeking and use, despite harmful consequences to the addicted individual and to those around him or her. Although the initial decision to take drugs is voluntary for most people, the brain changes that occur over time challenge a person's self control and ability to resist intense impulses urging them to take drugs. Some people are able to use recreational or prescription drugs

without ever experiencing negative consequences or addiction. For many others, substance use can cause problems at work, home, school, and in relationships, leaving one feeling isolated, helpless, or ashamed.

Drugs have been used for medical purposes since time immemorial. But these days drugs and narcotics are being used freely by the people all over the world. The abuse of narcotics has caused wide spread concern to all the nations of the world. Today every country in the world is no longer secure from the menace of drug abuse. Even the most powerful country, America is in its grip, India is not far behind.

The number of people using opium, cocaine, charas, sedatives and other narcotics has surpassed all dimensions. Thus the abuse of drugs has become an international problem. In India their number has been increasing at an alarming rate. Mostly it is the younger generation that fall an easy prey to it. More than 80 per cent heroine addicts in India are in the age - group of 12-25 years. The abuse of drugs has been found mostly in the urban centers of our country. It cripples the addict's mental and physical organs. The addicts become immoral and commit crimes of various so in order to get drugs. They lose their conscience, self-control, will power and memory. They indulge in anti-social activities, which in turn stamp them as out castes in the society. Eventually, the abuse of drugs haste their untimely death if not checked in time.

10.2 Definition

Drug addiction is a complex brain disease. It is characterized by compulsive, at times uncontrollable, drug craving, seeking, and use that persist even in the face of extremely negative consequences. Drug seeking becomes compulsive, in large part as a result of the effects of prolonged drug use on brain functioning and, thus, on behavior. For many people, drug addiction becomes chronic, with relapses possible even after long periods of abstinence. **Drug addiction** is a state of periodic or chronic intoxication produced by the repeated consumption of a drug (natural or synthetic).

Drug addiction is a chronic, often relapsing brain disease that causes compulsive drug seeking and use despite harmful consequences to the individual that is addicted and to those around them. Drug addiction is a brain disease because the abuse of drugs leads to changes in the structure and function of the brain. Although it is true that for most people the initial decision to take drugs is voluntary, over time the changes in the brain caused by repeated drug abuse can affect a person's self control and ability to make sound decisions, and at the same time send intense impulses to take drugs.

It is because of these changes in the brain that it is so challenging for a person who is addicted to stop abusing drugs. Fortunately, there are treatments that help people to counteract addiction's powerful disruptive effects and regain control. Research shows that combining addiction treatment medications, if available, with behavioral therapy is the best way to ensure success for most patients. Treatment approaches that are tailored to each patient's drug abuse patterns and any co-occurring medical, psychiatric, and social problems can lead to sustained recovery and a life without drug abuse.

Similar to other chronic, relapsing diseases, such as diabetes, asthma, or heart disease, drug addiction can be managed successfully. And, as with other chronic diseases, it is not uncommon for a person to relapse and begin abusing drugs again. Relapse, however, does not signal failure -- rather, it indicates that treatment should be reinstated, adjusted, or that alternate treatment is needed to help the individual regain control and recover.

10.2.1 Its characteristics include

(i) An overpowering desire or need (compulsion) to continue taking the drug and to obtain it by any means.

(ii) A tendency to increase the dose

(iii) A psychic (psychological) and generally a physical dependence on the effects of the drug.

(iv) Detrimental effects on the individual and on society. Modern agricultural practices, improvements in access to drugs, advancements in biochemistry and dramatic increases in the recommendation of drug usage by clinical practitioners have exacerbated the problem significantly in the 20th century. Improved means of active biological agent manufacture and the introduction of synthetic compounds, such as methamphetamine are also factors contributing to drug addiction.

10.3 Drug Addiction and Social Problem

Addiction to drugs among young men and women is an acute social problem faced by most of the countries worldwide. Illegal trafficking of narcotics is on the increase in spite of vigilance on the part of governments. Heroin, cocaine, hashish, marijuana and other health damaging drugs are easily available today. This sordid commerce has resulted in young men and women easily obtaining and using drugs. They can be seen sprawled almost everywhere.

At first youngsters take drugs in small doses just for thrill gradually develop a compulsion to have it at intervals. Thus drug-taking becomes a habit from which there is no easy escape. Once addicted to drugs there are very few and chances of escaping.

Drugs are harmful not just because of the addiction, but also because the addicts die young! The drug addicts become irresponsible in the behaviours. They talk of hallucinatory bliss and peace obtained from drugs; they may describe "the wonderful trip".

But the fact remains that addiction causes lethal poisoning and brings physical problems which can lead to prolonged depression cycles, insanity, suicide and, in some cases, murder.

Many young people use drugs as an experiment or just for the "feel" of it, but they are not aware of the fact that they are destroying their physical and mental strength; they give up their precious live s that was gifted to them by God. Today you not only find drug addicts on

roadside or footpaths but also in educational institutions. To be precise we have fallen down deep inside a "frightening pit" that there is no way out. Drug use is widespread worldwide even people who we say are our so called "protectors" are attracted to drugs i.e. our police and other law enforcing agencies.

The reason for the widespread use of narcotics by students and other young men and women is the indigenous culture enthusiastically hugged by them. The young men and women who are frustrated because of alienation from the family, a sense of loneliness and consequent disillusionment easily fall prey to this culture. Once they become part of this culture they find justification for their behavior in the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. Some find justification in back to nature cult.

Social Effects of Drug Addiction

We know about the physical and psychological effects of an addiction but what about the social effects?

In many ways this can be more harmful than the other two put together.

Drug addiction doesn't just affect the addict: it has a far reaching effect which encompasses family, friends, employers, healthcare professionals and society as a whole. If you are addicted to alcohol, nicotine, drugs or even caffeine then the effects of this can negatively impact upon the following:

- **Marriage/Relationships**
- **Home/family life**
- **Education**
- **Employment**
- **Health and wellbeing**
- **Personality**
- **Financial issues**
- **Law and order**

Marriage/relationships

If you have a situation in which one half of a couple is an addict then this can cause untold hardship for the other half. The person who is addicted may have changed from a previously easy going personality to one who is prone to mood swings, violent outbursts, secrecy and other forms of extreme behaviour.

This is difficult for their partner to deal with and is even worse if there are children involved. It is both distressing and confusing for children to see one parent (or even both parents) exhibit signs of their addiction.

The person who is suffering from an addiction may be in financial difficulties which the other person is unaware of. Combine this with their irrational behaviour, paranoia and in several cases, criminal behaviour and you have a recipe for marital breakdown. In many cases the addict resorts to violence in desperation for their next 'fix'. If he/she is craving a drink,

cigarette or a particular drug but is unable to satisfy that craving - either due to a lack of money or prevented from doing so by their partner then violence is often the result.

The sad fact is that these actions are often committed by someone who is not a violent person by nature but is driven by their need for this substance. Their addiction is their main priority in life and that's all that matters to them.

Someone in the grip of an addiction can become selfish, self-centred and oblivious to other peoples concerns. Things such as paying the mortgage and bills or other day to day issues of running a home are no longer important to them.

This often leads to a breakdown in the marriage or relationship which causes financial hardship and distress. The other half of the relationship is left to cope on his/her own which is even more difficult if there are children.

What can happen is that other members of the family closes ranks and exclude the person with the addiction. This is mainly done to protect the family from other consequences of his/her behaviour but also as a means of presenting a united front to the rest of society.

Home/family

On the subject of home/family life, there is also the possibility that the rest of the family may feel embarrassed or ashamed at this behaviour. They are bothered by what others might think and are unsure as to what to do for the best.

If you are suffering from an addiction then you will probably find that your family is concerned but may be needs you to realise that you have a problem and are prepared to face up to it.

It may seem as if your family has pushed you out but it could also be the case that they see this as a form of 'tough love' in which they are giving you time to reflect upon yourself and your addiction. This is done with the hope that you will seek treatment for your addiction. They will provide support and help as well but you need to take that first step.

Education

If a child or young person is suffering from an addiction then this will impact upon their schooling, relationships with other children and their home life. One such effect of this is truanting from school.

This can happen if the child is addicted or if they have a parent who is an addict and neglects to care for them.

It is hard for a child or young person to resist the temptation of alcohol, cigarettes or drugs. A desire to be part of the gang or to try 'forbidden fruit' as a means of growing up can very quickly lead to addiction. Addiction tends to occur much more quickly in a young person than in an adult.

A couple of cigarettes in a day can also be harmful. You may think that you are a very light smoker and that this won't cause a problem but nicotine is a powerful stimulant and damage starts early on. Drugs such as heroin, cocaine, amphetamines, poppers, ecstasy are dangerous in any amount and should be avoided. There is no such thing as a safe, moderate amount of

crack cocaine or heroin.

Apart from the long term effects on health there is also the fact that an addiction can be fatal. Alcohol, cigarettes and drugs can kill either as a result of an overdose, suicide, an accident or from the physical damage caused by these substances.

Other side effects include an increase in the number of sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies and birth defects as a result of the mother's addiction.

Personality

Addiction affects someone's personality and behaviour in a variety of ways although this very much depends upon the type of substance used and the amount; their psychological make up before the addiction and physical health and their lifestyle.

Some substances have a greater effect than others upon mental health, for example, heroin is stronger than nicotine and will have a bigger impact upon the brain.

Added to that is the fact that all of us are different in regard to our psychological make up which means that no two people are affected in the same way. So, one person may experience a greater level of 'damage' than another person using the same substance, mainly due to their brain chemistry.

So what does an addiction do to someone's mental health and behaviour?

The most obvious sign is the fact that they behave in ways which are totally out of character. They may become secretive or deliberately offensive; self-harm; lie, cheat or steal; or place their need for their addiction above their family and friends.

Other examples including paranoia, restlessness, low self-esteem or a lack of trust in themselves and anyone else. On the other hand they may behave in an arrogant and uncaring manner as if only their needs matter and no-one else's.

As the addiction worsens they may start to withdraw from their family and friends or spend time with people who you don't know. The highs and low of their addiction can lead to anxiety and depression

The chemistry of the brain is affected by addiction, for example, taking crystal meth, amphetamines, cannabis, ecstasy and excessive alcohol use. These have the power to change

The problem is that they can be hooked from just the first time they try a substance.

If you are a parent who suspects that your child has developed an addiction then look out for signs of anti-social or erratic behaviour; unexplained absences from school; reports from the school of theft or violent behaviour from your child or that he/she has been caught drug dealing on school premises.

Their concentration will be poor and motivation will have dropped. They may be spending inordinate amounts of time in their room or on the other hand, be staying out most of the night and with people that you don't know.

It is equally hard if your parent or parents are the ones with an addiction. They are likely to be so concerned with seeing to their own needs that yours are forgotten about. For them it is all about their addiction whether that is alcohol, cigarettes or drugs.

Your needs are superseded by their addiction. They are controlled by their addiction and will do anything to feed it which can include criminal behaviour.

Employment

Employers are affected if any of their employees develops and addiction. The employee concerned may have changed from a smart, punctual and efficient worker to someone who is late for work, has neglected their appearance and personal hygiene and id displaying erratic or unacceptable levels of behaviour.

They may have started to go absent for no good reason, not completed their duties or stolen from colleagues and/or the company.

This results in that employee losing their job which then impacts upon their home and family life. Loss of their job means a reduction in income - especially if he/she is the main breadwinner, and puts a strain on the relationship. It can then lead to marriage/relationship breakdown and/or divorce.

It can be difficult if you suspect that one of your colleagues has become addicted and even more difficult if you work in a highly stressful job in which excessive drinking and/or drug taking is part of the company culture. If many of the team enjoy going to bars and clubs after work or it is part of the job, e.g. entertaining clients then how do you know when social use of a substance or having a few drinks with colleagues has become an addiction?

Health and wellbeing

A most obvious effect of drug addiction is that on physical health. There are some substances such as alcohol or caffeine which is fine on an occasional basis or in moderate amounts but it is when they become a regular habit that damage to your health occurs. certain structures of a person's brain which have a dramatic affect upon that person's personality.

Financial issues

The costs of an addiction not only affect the sufferer but can also encompass family, friends and society as a whole. There are the costs of policing, drug addiction help lines, support groups and rehab clinics. Indirectly there is lost revenue in the form of tax and national insurance contributions each time an addict loses their job or is unable to work. This means a drop in revenue for the Treasury and an increase in welfare benefits, e.g. unemployment benefit.

On a smaller scale there is the financial damage to family or friends as the addict will resort to theft or other criminal means in order to fund their habit.

Law and order

People who are addicted very often turn to crime as a means of paying for their addiction. This can involve stealing or fraud to obtain the funds necessary to bankroll their addiction. This can start with stealing from one's partner, family or friends but can spread to include their employer or several organisations.

Another aspect is that of the cost of maintaining a police force that have to deal with the after-effects of addiction. One such example and one that we hear a great deal about in the

media is that of 'binge drinking'.

People who have developed an addiction to alcohol very often engage in drunken, anti-social behaviour, usually in town and city centres up and down the country. The police have the job of dealing with fights or semi-conscious people lying in the street which is due to the effects of excessive alcohol consumption.

Burglary, muggings, robberies etc are all ways of funding an addiction and the more serious the addiction the greater the chance of these being accompanied by violence. There are people who are so desperate to have a 'fix' or are completely controlled by their addiction that will do anything to service this. If this means using violence then they will do so.

In this case their needs have overtaken any thoughts of rational or civilised behaviour. They are not thinking of anyone else but themselves as they are consumed by their addiction.

10.4   Types of drugs

Virtually any substance whose ingestion can result in a euphoric feeling can be abused. While many are aware of the abuse of legal substances like alcohol or illegal drugs like marijuana and cocaine, less well known is the fact that inhalants like household cleaners are some of the most commonly abused substances. The following are many of the drugs and types of drugs that are commonly abused and/or result in dependence:

- **Alcohol**: Although legal, alcohol is a toxic substance, particularly to a developing foetus when a mother consumes this drug during pregnancy. One of the most common addictions, alcoholism can have devastating effects on the alcoholic individual's physical health, as well as his or her ability to function interpersonally and at work.

- **Amphetamines**: This group of drugs comes in many forms, from prescription medications like methylphenidate (Ritalin, Concerta) and dextroamphetamine and amphetamine (Adderall) to illegally manufactured drugs like methamphetamine. Overdose of any of these substances can result in seizures and death.

- **Anabolic steroids**: A group of substances used by bodybuilders and other athletes, this group of drugs can lead to terrible psychological effects like aggression and paranoia, as well as devastating long-term physical effects like infertility and organ failure.

- **Caffeine**: While it is consumed by many, coffee, tea and soda drinkers, when consumed in excess this substance can be habit forming and produce palpitations, insomnia, tremors, and significant anxiety.

- **Cannabis**: More commonly called marijuana, the scientific name for cannabis is tetrahydrocannabinol (THC). In addition to the negative effects the drug itself can produce (for example, infertility, paranoia, lack of motivation), the fact that it is commonly mixed ("cut") with other substances so drug dealers can make more money selling the diluted substance or expose the user to more addictive drugs exposes the marijuana user to the dangers associated with those added substances. Examples of ingredients that marijuana is commonly cut with include baby powder, oregano, embalming fluid, PCP, opiates, and cocaine.

- **Cocaine**: A drug that tends to stimulate the nervous system, cocaine can be snorted in powder form, smoked when in the form of rocks ("crack" cocaine), or injected when made into a liquid.

- **Ecstasy**: Also called MDMA to denote its chemical composition (methylenedioxymethamphetamine), this drug tends to create a sense of euphoria and an expansive love or desire to nurture others. In overdose, it can increase body temperature to the point of being fatal.

- **Hallucinogens**: Examples include LSD and mescaline, as well as so-called naturally occurring hallucinogens like certain mushrooms. These drugs can be dangerous in their ability to alter the perceptions of the user. For example, a person who is intoxicated with a hallucinogen may perceive danger where there is none and to think that situations that are truly dangerous are not. Those misperceptions can result in dangerous behaviors (like jumping out of a window because the individual thinks they are riding on an elephant that can fly).

- **Inhalants**: One of the most commonly abused group of substances due to its accessibility, inhalants are usually contained in household cleaners, like ammonia, bleach, and other substances that emit fumes. Brain damage, even to the point of death, can result from using an inhalant just once or over the course of time, depending on the individual.

- **Nicotine**: The addictive substance found in cigarettes, nicotine is actually one of the most addictive substances that exists. In fact, nicotine addiction is often compared to the intense addictiveness associated with opiates like heroin.

- **Opiates**: This group is also called narcotics and includes drugs like heroin, codeine, Vicodin, OxyContin, Percocet, and Percodan. These groups of substances sharply decrease the functioning of the nervous system. The lethality of opiates is often the result of the abuser having to use increasingly higher amounts to achieve the same level of intoxication, ultimately to the point that the dose needed to get high is the same as the dose that is lethal for that individual by halting the person's breathing (respiratory arrest).

- **Phencyclidine**: Commonly referred to as PCP, this drug can cause the user to feel extremely paranoid, become quite aggressive and to have an unusual amount of physical strength. This can make the individual quite dangerous to others.

- **Sedative, hypnotic, or antianxiety drugs**: As these substances quell or depress the nervous system, they can cause death by respiratory arrest of the person who either uses these drugs in overdose or who mixes one or more of these drugs with another nervous system depressant drug (like alcohol, another sedative drug, or an opiate).

10.5   Causes

Like the majority of other mental-health problems, drug abuse and addiction have no single cause. However, there are a number of biological, psychological, and social factors, called risk factors that can increase a person's likelihood of developing a chemical-abuse or chemical-dependency disorder. Roughly 10% of all people who experiment with drugs become addicted. A combination of environmental and genetic factors influences the likelihood of addiction. Environmental risk factors are characteristics in a person's surroundings that increase their likelihood of becoming addicted to drugs. A person may have many environments, or domains, of influence such as the community, family, school and friends. Their risk of addiction can develop in any of these domains.

When we take drugs, either for medical purposes or recreation, there is a benefit or reward that we are trying to achieve. For example pain medication is intended to bring relief to an injured or

stressed area of our body. The beginning stages of drug addiction causes us to crave more and to use more.

The unintended consequences of that is our need to take more and more of the drug to get the same result. Drug addiction causes the pathways inside the brain to be altered. Physical changes in the nerve cells are brought on by the drug. These cells (neurons) communicate with each other releasing neurotransmitters in to the gaps or synapses between the nerve cells. This makes some drugs more addictive than others.

No single factor can predict whether or not a person will become addicted to drugs. Risk for addiction is influenced by a person's biology, social environment, and age or stage of development etc. The more risk factors an individual has, the greater the chance that taking drugs can lead to addiction. For example:

- Biology.The genes that people are born with-in combination with – in combination with environmental influences – account for about of their addiction vulnerability. Additionally, gender, ethnicity, and the presence of other mental disorders may influence risk for drug abuse and addiction.

- **Environment.** A person's environment includes many different influences—from family and friends to socioeconomic status and quality of life, in general. Factors such as peer pressure, physical and sexual abuse, stress, and parental involvement can greatly influence the course of drug abuseand addiction in a person's life.

Community Domain

An individual's connection with the community in which they live plays a big part in their likelihood of abusing drugs. It is assumed that if a person's community has favourable attitudes toward drug use, firearms and crime, their risk is increased.

Peer domain

The single biggest contributing factor to drug abuse risk is having friends who engage in the problem behaviour. If an individual's friends have favourable attitudes towards drug use, this can also increase risk. The drug scene is predominantly a group phenomenon asserting pressure on the individual to become a part of the sub-culture. Drug use usually begins with peers, and peer attitudes to drug use have been shown to be highly predictive of adolescent drug use (Fergusson & Horwood, 1997; Hoefler et al., 1999; Newcomb, Maddahian, & Bentler, 1986) perhaps because those who use drugs are more likely to choose to spend time with peers who also use drugs.

Family Domain

Family conflict and home management problems are contributing factors in drug abuse risk. Also, if parents have favourable attitudes towards drug use or use drugs themselves, often their children will be more likely to abuse drugs. Individuals who come from those families who have emotional disturbance, poor parent-child relationship are more prone to drug addiction. Parental deprivation whether due to death, separation or divorce is also responsible for the problem of drug addiction (Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Lynskey & Hall, 1998).

Other Factors/Causes

Personality

Aside from the inherited factors, some people have a personality that is more likely to become drug dependent.

- People are curious, so that alone can lead a person to try a drug. We experiment and see what happens. – We are looking to relax and have pleasure.
- We all want to feel good and we're by nature impatient. Drugs give us an instant gratification that other things do not, so for that moment or hour of for whatever time-frame we feel good. – We want what we want.
- Someone diagnosed with depression, attention deficit disorder, or hyperactivity.
- Even some common personality characteristics, such as aggression, may be a factor Children who do not have confidence, healthy self-esteem may be prone to turning to drugs to fill the void. Drug addiction causes negative changes in personality that can lead to an even more destructive behavior.

Self Assessment Questions

Note

1. *Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.*

2. *Please check your response with the model answers given at the end of this lesson.*

I. What is 'Drug-addiction'?

II. What are the causes of drug-addiction?

10.6 Theories of Addiction

In attempting to explain why people become dependent on drugs, a variety of different approaches have been taken. The first explains drug dependence in biological terms. The second approach is psychological, with explanations concentrating on behavioural models and individual differences. The final approach is sociocultural, with explanations concentrating on the cultural and environmental factors that make drug dependence more likely.

10.6.1   Biological factors

Researches have concentrated on exploring biological characteristics that underlie drug dependence. These can be grouped into **two** kinds of explanations; one which examines individual differences in liability to drug dependence because of **genetic characteristics**, and one which accounts for drug dependence in terms of changes that occur in **the brain** due to chronic drug administration.

10.6.1.1 Genetic factors

Significant genetic components have been found to play a part in dependence on the substance use, suggesting that some persons are more vulnerable than others in developing drug use problems. One hypothesis concerning drug dependence is that people may inherit an increased likelihood *(vulnerability)* of developing dependence on substances. The question of whether or not such vulnerability exists has been examined in the form of numerous family studies, adoption studies, and twin studies.

Family studies of alcohol use disorders suggest that such disorders do cluster in families (Kendler, Davis, & Kessler, 1997; Merikangas,1990; Merikangas et al., 1998). In a study, over one-third (36%) of the relatives of persons with an alcohol use disorder were also diagnosed with an alcohol use disorder (abuse or dependence), compared to 15% of the relatives of controls (Merikangas et al., 1998). This relationship was stronger in a study that examined the rate of alcohol *dependence* among *siblings:* among subjects identified with alcohol dependence, 50% of male siblings met criteria for alcohol dependence, compared to 20% of controls' male siblings; the respective rates for female siblings were 24% and 6% (Bierut et al., 1998). Clearly, alcohol use disorder is likely to occur in more than one family member. While these studies suggest that substance use disorders cluster within families, family studies do not allow to separate the effects of genetic and environmental influences. The clustering may occur simply because the siblings share the same environment rather than any underlying genetic cause. The separate contribution of genes and environment can be teased apart in studies of adopted children.

Adoption studies examine rates of disorder among adoptees, given their biological and adoptive parents' disorder status. This allows evaluation of the effects of genetic (biological parents' status) and environmental (adoptive parents' status) effects on vulnerability to substance use disorders. Research suggests that there is a significant genetic factor that influences adoptees' vulnerability to alcohol use disorders (Bohman, Sigvardsson, & Cloninger, 1981; Cloninger, Bohman, & Sigvardsson, 1981; Goodwin, Schulsinger, Hermansen, Guze, & Winokur, 1973; Heath, 1995).

Researchers have attempted to develop models of vulnerability to substance use disorders, in which vulnerability is the product of genetic and/or environmental factors. Research with **twins suggests** that there is a significant genetic component (heritability) that increases the likelihood of dependence on a range of substances. For example, twin studies have produced estimates of the heritability of alcohol dependence ranging from 39 to 60% of the total variance (Heath, 1995; Kendler et al., 1997; Kendler, Heath, Neale, Kessler, & Eaves, 1992; Kendler, Neale, Heath, Kessler, & Eaves, 1994; Prescott & Kendler, 1999; Prescott, Neale, Corey, & Kendler, 1997; True et al.,1999).

10.6.1.2 Neuroadaptation

One theory of drug dependence is based on the concept of neuroadaptation (Koob & LeMoal, 1997). Neuroadaptation refers to changes in the brain that occur to oppose a drug's acute actions after repeated drug administration. This may be of **two** types: ***withinsystem adaptations,*** where the changes occur at the site of the drug's action, and ***between-system adaptations***, which are changes in different mechanisms that are triggered by the drug's action. When drugs are repeatedly administered, changes occur in the chemistry of the brain to oppose the drug's effects. When this drug use is discontinued, the adaptations are no longer opposed; the brain's homeostasis is disrupted (Koob & LeMoal, 1997). Essentially, this hypothesis argues that tolerance to the effects of a drug and withdrawal when drug use stops are both the result of neuroadaptation (Koob, Caine, Parsons, Markou, & Weiss, 1997).

10.6.2 Psychological theories

Psychological approaches to the explanation of drug dependence have often been based on concepts that are common to those of other syndromes of behaviour involving compulsive or impulsive behaviours, such as obsessive-compulsive disorder or gambling (Miller, 1980). In particular, emphasis is given to the fact that there is impaired control over use and continued use despite usage problems.

There are a variety of psychological approaches to the explanation of drug dependence, including emphasis on learning and conditioning (behavioural models), cognitive theories, pre-existing behavioural tendencies (personality theories), and models of rational choice.

10.6.2.1 Behavioural theories

Behaviourist models of addiction focus on directly observable behaviour. Drugs might be reinforcing in **two** general ways: through the direct effects of drugs on some sort of reinforcement system in the brain; or through its effects on other reinforcers (such as social or sexual reinforcers) or behavioural effects (such as increased attention) (Altman et al., 1996).

10.6.2.2 Cognitive theories

There are a number of theories that explain drug dependence in terms of cognitive constructs. One theory proposes that *self-regulation* is an important factor in the development of drug use problems. **Self regulation** has been described as taking "planful action designed to change the course of one's behaviour" (Miller & Brown, 1991), the "executive (i.e. non-automatic) capacity to plan, guide and monitor one's behaviour flexibly, according to changing circumstances" (Diaz & Fruhauf, 1991). Self-regulation involves planning, taking into account social and physical factors as well as one's own goals, and acting appropriately. Addictive behaviours are seen as the result of having an excessive reliance on external structures - in the case of drug dependence, excessive reliance on substance use - to maintain a physical and psychological balance.

10.6.2.3 Personality theories

Some theorists argue that certain people are more prone to addiction through a so-called "addictive personality". Hans Eysenck has discussed this in terms of a ***psychological resource model,*** whereby the habit of drug-taking is developed because the drug used fulfils a certain purpose that is related to the individual's personality profile (Eysenck, 1997). For such people, drug-taking behaviour - or, more specifically, "addiction" - holds benefits even though there are negative consequences that occur after some time. According to Eysenck, the independent personality dimensions are: **P (psychoticism), N (neuroticism),** (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985).

The Psychoticism Dimension

Refers to an underlying propensity to functional psychosis, which lies along a continuum from "altruistic" to "schizophrenic" (Eysenck, 1997). Some of the characteristic traits of this dimension are aggression, coldness, egocentricity, impersonality, and impulsivity.

The neuroticism dimension

Refers to a propensity towards emotional liability: some of the traits of neuroticism are moodiness, irritability, and anxiety.

10.6.2.4 Rational choice theories

One group of theories examines the problem of why people voluntarily engage in self-destructive behaviour (Elster & Skog, 1999). One of the central elements of drug dependence is the fact that the individuals have impaired control over their use of the substance. This may manifest itself in continued use despite a wish to reduce or stop use of the drug, to use greater amounts of the drug than intended, or to use the drug for longer periods than intended (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).

In contrast, some theorists argue that drug-dependent persons *do* **make rational choices** in their continued use of drugs. The aim of these theories is to explain how rational people can become "knowingly trapped in a consumption pattern . . . and . . . once they realize that their current lifestyle is actually suboptimal (i.e. not the best thing, all things considered), still continue to act the same way" (Skog, 1999).

10.6.3 Socio-Cultural factors

There are a number of social and environmental factors that have been strongly related to substance use and substance use disorders. These are in keeping with the findings of twin studies, which show that while there is a strong genetic component to vulnerability to drug dependence, there is also a substantial environmental component (Kendler & Gardner, 1998; Kendler, Karkowski, & Prescott, 1999b; Kendler & Prescott, 1998a). A range of these factors are outlined below.

There is much evidence to suggest that people with antisocial behaviour are more likely to have or develop substance use problems. Adolescents with conduct disorders are significantly more likely to develop substance use disorders than those without such conduct problems (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1999; Gittelman, Mannuzza, Shenker, & Bonagura, 1985). In general, it appears that the earlier, more varied and more serious a child's antisocial behaviour, the more likely will it be continued into adulthood, with substance misuse considered as one of these antisocial behaviours (Costello, Erkanli, Federman, & Angold, 1999; Robins, 1978). Furthermore, children or young people with anxiety or depressive symptoms are more likely to begin substance use at an earlier age, and to develop substance use problems (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1999; Costello et al., 1999; Henry et al., 1993; Loeber, Southamer-Lober, & White, 1999).

The peer environment also has a large influence on the drugtaking behaviour of individuals. Drug use usually begins with peers, and peer attitudes to drug use have been shown to be highly predictive of adolescent drug use (Fergusson & Horwood, 1997; Hoefler et al., 1999; Newcomb, Maddahian, & Bentler, 1986) perhaps because those who use drugs are more likely to choose to spend time with peers who also use drugs.

Families also have a strong effect on the likelihood that people will develop substance use problems (Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Lynskey & Hall, 1998a) and this may occur in a number of ways. **First,** modelling of substance use by parents and other family members has been shown to affect the chances of the substance use. Older brothers' drug use and attitudes towards drug use have been associated with younger brothers' drug use (Brook, Whiteman, Gordon, & Brook, 1988). **Second,** there is evidence that if parents hold permissive attitudes towards the use of drugs by their children, their children will be more likely to use drugs (Hawkins et al., 1992). **Third,** the nature of family relationships has an effect on the likelihood that adolescents will develop problematic drug use. The

risk of substance misuse is higher if there is family discord, poor or inconsistent behavioural management techniques by parents, or low levels of bonding within the family (Hawkins et al., 1992).

The sociocultural background of a person will also affect the likelihood that he or she will develop substance use problems; for example, people who come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to have problematic use of a range of drugs (Anthony, Warner, & Kessler, 1994; Hall, Johnston, & Donnelly, 1999a). Those who have completed fewer years of education, or who have performed poorly in school, are also much more likely to have problematic substance use. Also, people who have grown up in an area in which there are high rates of crime, where drugs are readily available, and who have associated with delinquent peers, are much more likely to have drug misuse problems (Institute of Medicine, 1996).

The biopsychosocial model of the causes of addictive behaviours forms the basis of most treatment responses to addictions (Marlatt & VandenBos, 1997). The biopsychosocial model sees "addiction" as a complex behavior pattern having biological, psychological, sociological, and behavioural components.

10.7 Symptoms of Drug Addiction

Although different drugs have different physical effects, the symptoms of addiction are similar.

10.7.1 Common signs and symptoms of drug addiction

- **Built up a drug tolerance.** There is need to use more of the drug to experience the same effects, one used to attain with smaller amounts.

- **Take drugs to avoid or relieve withdrawal symptoms.** If one goes too long without drugs, can experience symptoms such as nausea, restlessness, insomnia, depression, sweating, shaking, and anxiety.

- **Lost control over drug use.** One may want to stop using drugs, but feels helpless.

- **Life revolves around drug use. S**pending a lot of time using and thinking about drugs, figuring out how to get them, and recovering from the drug's effects.

- **Abandoned activities that are used to enjoy,** such as hobbies, sports, and socializing, because of drug use.

- **Continue to use drugs, despite knowing its hurting.** It's causing major problems in one's life—blackouts, infections, mood swings, depression, paranoia.

10.7.2 Physical warning signs of drug abuse

- Bloodshot eyes, pupils larger or smaller than usual.

- Changes in appetite or sleep patterns. Sudden weight loss or weight gain.

- Deterioration of physical appearance, personal grooming habits.

- Unusual smells on breath, body, or clothing.

- Tremors, slurred speech, or impaired coordination.

10.7.3 Behavioural warning signs of drug abuse

- Drop in attendance and performance at work .

- Unexplained need for money or financial problems. May borrow or steal to get it.

- Engaging in secretive or suspicious behaviours.

- Sudden change in friends, favourite hangouts, and hobbies.

- Frequently getting into trouble (fights, accidents, illegal activities).

10.7.4   Psychological warning signs of drug abuse

- Unexplained change in personality or attitude.

- Sudden mood swings, irritability, or angry outbursts.

- Periods of unusual hyperactivity, agitation, or giddiness.

- Lack of motivation; appears lethargic or "spaced out."

- Appears fearful, anxious, or paranoid, with no reason.

10.8 Treatment

10.8.1 Counselling

Recognizing that one has a problem of addiction is the first step on the road to recovery. If one is ready to make a change and willing to seek help, can overcome addiction and build a satisfying, drug-free life. Initial counseling helps the patient to keep his motivation high for treatment.

10.8.2 Detoxification

Prolonged use of drugs causes physiological or physical dependence on them. The body chemistry starts reacting to drugs. These drugs develop toxins in the body which must be washed out. This is called detoxification. The use of drugs is gradually reduced to minimize the severity of the withdrawal symptoms. Next is the reduction of the patient's psychological dependence on drugs which is rather a difficult problem. During withdrawal, the patient suffers emotional distress alongwith physical distress. He becomes actively fearful, depressed, has suicidal notions and is unable to sleep and eat. To diminish the intensity of withdrawal symptoms, substitute drugs are administered. During this process, he is attended by specially trained doctors and nursing staff. They minimize the discomfort and suffering caused by withdrawal symptoms.

10.8.3   Support system

Support is essential to addiction recovery. Recovering from drug addiction is much easier when one has people to lean on for encouragement, comfort, and guidance.

Support can come from:
- family members
- close friends
- therapists or counselors
- other recovering addicts
- healthcare providers
- people from your faith community

10.9 Prevention

Many people do not understand why or how other people become addicted to drugs. It can be wrongfully assumed that drug abusers lack moral principles or willpower and that they could stop using drugs simply by choosing to change their behaviour. In reality, drug addiction is a complex disease, and quitting takes more than good intentions. In fact, because drugs change the brain in ways that foster compulsive drug abuse, quitting is difficult, even for those who are ready to do so. Through scientific advances, we know more about how drugs work in the brain than ever, and we also know that drug addiction can be successfully treated to help people stop abusing drugs and lead productive lives.

Now and then we read in the newspapers about seizures of various intoxicants by the police raids. This has caused much concern to the Indian government as well as the government of other countries of the world. Our government has taken steps to check the abuse of drugs by providing medical treatment for the addicts. Many kinds of treatments been chalked out for detoxification. Some of them are 'Aversion Treatment', 'Logo therapy' Group Therapy. If taken in light the addict's illness can be cured gradually by detoxification aftercare, but for it the addict's strong will power is needed apart support and understanding from his or her relatives and friends, to eradicate the addict's habit we must find the root cause to the problem.

Our attitude should be kind, sympathetic and human towards addicts; Many centers have been set up for dead diction of drug abusers. We can educate people about the abuse of drugs through various purposeful means of communication. More and more efforts are needed by all to check its spread.

10.10   Summary

This lesson has elaborated the problem of drug abuse which is primarily the problem of modern times. This lesson explains the characteristics, theoretical framework, causes, symptoms, treatment, and prevention of drug addiction. Further, types of drugs have been discussed in detail.

To curb this problem, issues of demand and supply should be tackled with determination.

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10.12 Model Questions

Q.1   What is drug-addiction? Discuss different types of drugs and causes of this problem.

Q.2   Why drug addiction is considered a personal problem? What measures do you suggest to curb this problem?

Answers to Self Assessment Questions

I   Drug addiction is a state of periodic or chronic intoxication produced by the repeated consumption of a drug. Drug addiction is a complex brain disease. It is characterized by compulsive, at times uncontrollable, drug craving, seeking, and use that persist even in the face of extremely negative consequences. Drug addiction becomes chronic, with relapses possible even after long periods of abstinence.

II   there are a number of factors, called risk factors that can increase a person's likelihood of developing a chemical-abuse or chemical-dependency disorder. Their risk of addiction can develop in any of these domains.

Community Domain

It is assumed that if a person's community has favourable attitudes toward drug use, firearms and crime, their risk is increased.

Peer domain

The single biggest contributing factor to drug abuse risk is having friends who engage in the problem behaviour.

Family Domain

If parents have favourable attitudes towards drug use or use drugs themselves, often their children will be more likely to abuse drugs. Individuals who come from those families who have emotional disturbance, poor parent-child relationship are more prone to drug addiction.

★★★★

CHILD LABOUR AND CHILD ABUSE

Structure

11.0   Objectives

11.1   Introduction

11.2   Definition

11.3   Social Problems of Child Labour

11.4   Child Labour in India

11.5   Categories of Child Labour

11.6   Causes of Child Labour

11.7   Consequences of Child Labour

11.8   Recommendations for Abolition of Child Labour

11.9   Child Abuse

11.10 Summary

11.11 Further Readings

11.12 Model Questions

11.0 Objectives

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- understand and analyze the vulnerable status of children in the society.

- learn causes of child labour .

- know the different legal and constitutional provisions .

- mention various possible ways of enforcement protection and promotion of children's rights.

11.1 Introduction

This lesson discusses the problem of child labour and the role of government in curbing this problem in Indian context. There exists a vicious circle between poverty, illiteracy and child labour. Child labour and poverty have a chicken-and-egg relationship. A child born in a poor family begins life in a disadvantaged position, most often missing school. Children excluded from education grow up to be lilterate and economically vulnerable. These children are at high risk of exploitation and are more likely to be pulled into child labour at the cost of their health, education and well-being. Most child

labourers are essentially jobless or underemployed. There are almost 168 million child labourers worldwide and 200 million unemployed adults, with parallels existing in most developing countries. Most of the jobs done by child labourers are essentially regular jobs that have been forced on kids. There are jobs, there are unemployed adults, but still millions of children are pushed into labour. Why? Simply because, children are the cheapest form of labour available. They are not aware of their rights, are easily misled and are too young to speak against their conditions. The truth remains that a working child will not extricate his or her family out of poverty, in fact it will keep the family stuck in the rut for generations (Satyarthi, 2015).

11.2 Definition

The term "Child Labour" is often defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development (International Labour Organization).
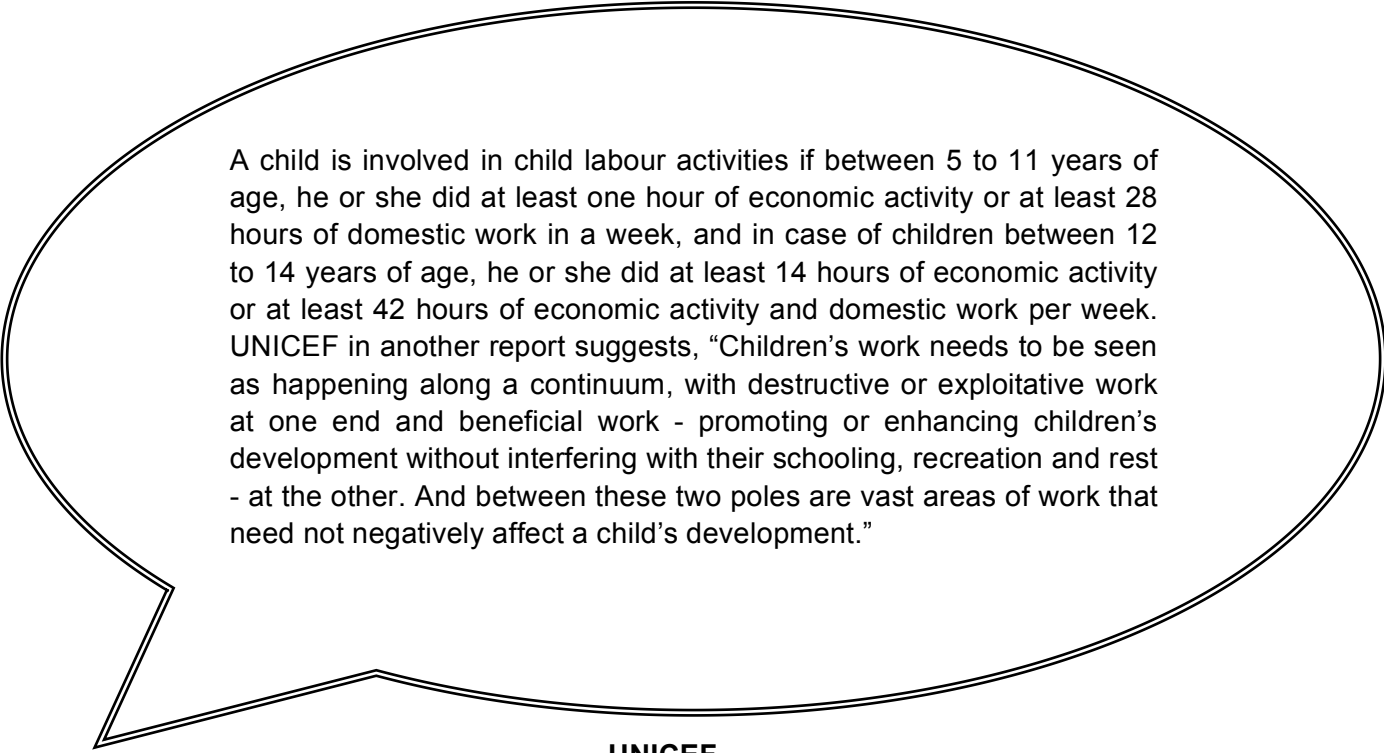
It refers to work that:

- Is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
- Interferes with their schooling by;
- Depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
- Obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
- Requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

Child labour is basically exploiting the underage children in any form forcing them to work illegally that harms or abuses them. This may be in term of physical, mental or sexual, depriving the children of their right of basic education, It also refers to the employment of the children at regular and sustained labour.

In its extreme forms, child labour comprehends children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illness and or left to fend for themselves on the Street of big cities-often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of work can be called 'child labour' depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries.

Childhood is that phase of life where a child is free from all the tensions, fun-loving, play and learns new things, and is sweetheart of all the family members. The other side of the story is that the child has tensions and burdens. Here, the innocent child is not the sweetheart of the family members, instead he/she is an earning machine working the entire day in order to satisfy the needs and wants of his/her family. This is what is called 'Child Labour'. The term Child Labour is used for employment of children below a certain age, which is considered illegal by law and custom. The stipulated age varies from country to country and government to government. Child labour is a world phenomenon which is considered exploitative and inhuman by many international organizations.

A child is involved in child labour activities if between 5 to 11 years of age, he or she did at least one hour of economic activity or at least 28 hours of domestic work in a week, and in case of children between 12 to 14 years of age, he or she did at least 14 hours of economic activity or at least 42 hours of economic activity and domestic work per week. UNICEF in another report suggests, "Children's work needs to be seen as happening along a continuum, with destructive or exploitative work at one end and beneficial work - promoting or enhancing children's development without interfering with their schooling, recreation and rest - at the other. And between these two poles are vast areas of work that need not negatively affect a child's development."

UNICEF

India's Census 2001 office defines child labor as participation of a child less than 17 years of age in any economically productive activity with or without compensation, wages or profit. Such participation could be physical or mental or both. This work includes part-time help or unpaid work on the farm, family enterprise or in any other economic activity such as cultivation and milk production for sale or domestic consumption. Indian government classifies child laborers into two groups: Main workers are those who work 6 months or more per year. And marginal child workers are those who work at any time during the year but less than 6 months in a year.

Child labour refers to the work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous to the children in the age group of 0-15 either paid or unpaid and is working within or outside the family and interferes with their schooling.

- By depriving them to attend School.
- By obliging them to leave school prematurely
- By requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

11.3 Social Problems of Child Labour

Child labour is an evil practice; children of lower socioeconomic class are known to be inducted as child labour. The main causes of child labour include poverty, unemployment, excess population and urbanization. Among these, poverty is the main cause of child labour. Poverty is undoubtedly a dominant factor in the use of child labour; families on or below the poverty line force their children into work to supplement their household's meagre income. Poor families have more number of children, so it becomes very difficult for them to survive on the income of only one family member which is also quite less. So they make their small children their source of income. Some other common causes of

child labour are parental illiteracy, social apathy, ignorance, lack of education and exposure, exploitation of cheap and unorganized labour. Adults often find it difficult to find jobs because factory owners find it more beneficial to employ children at cheaper rates. Adult exploitation of children is also seen in many places. Elders relax at home and live on the labour of poor helpless children. The industrial revolution has also had a negative effect by giving rise to circumstances which encourage child labour. This is so because they can be recruited for less pay, more work can be extracted from them and there is no union problem with them. There are many cases of child labour where a child has to work against the repayment of a loan which was taken by his father who was unable to pay it off. This is called as 'bonded child labour'. Such children work like slaves in order to pay the loan taken.

Parents are forced to send little children into hazardous jobs for reasons of survival, even when they know it is wrong. Monetary constraints and the need for food, shelter and clothing drive their children in the trap of premature labour. Over population in some regions creates paucity of resources. The construction sector is one of the most hazardous working environments with regard to the risk of accidents, especially for children. Parents make their children work in factories, shops, even selling items on streets. Some parents even carry infants on the streets to earn money from begging. The work for family etc. The informal and hidden nature of the domestic work makes it difficult to estimate the number of domestic workers around the world, but it is one of the most common forms of urban child labour in developing countries and employs mainly girls. Many small girls are even made to indulge in prostitution.

Some percentage of child labour also comes from harassment by parents, step-parents or relatives. Illiterate and ignorant parents do not understand the need for wholesome proper physical, cognitive and emotional development of their child. They are themselves uneducated and unexposed, so they don't realize the importance of education for their children. Urbanization is a basic factor behind street workers. Many of them are not street children in the strict sense since the majority of these street workers return home each night and provide critical financial support for their families. These children polish shoes, wash and guard cars, carry luggage, sell goods at the traffic light intersections and scavenge and pick up rags. Street workers are mainly exposed to street violence. There are many other social factors that conspire to drive children into employment, none of which is unique to any one country or any one family's circumstances. Child labour may not even be recognized when children work as part of the family unit. This is particularly common in agriculture, where an entire family may have to work to meet a particular quota or target and cannot afford to employ outside help. Children may also be expected to act as unpaid domestic servants in their own home, taking care of the family's needs while both parents work (Goel, et. Al, 2012[i]).

11.4 Child Labour in India

BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

The problem of child labour has been in almost all periods of time. In the past, child labour was a part of the social organization in which all members pooled their labour for survival. During ancient period child labour existed in the form of slavery. Such children could be bought or sold like commodities. Similarly, the extent of child labour in medieval period was no exception. A class of landless labourers came into existence due to increasing pressure on land as well as fragmentation of land holding. Moreover, the labourers used their children as help in their economic activities. During the Mughal empire no serious efforts were made by the rulers to check this rather it was encouraged.

With the advent of industrialisation and urbanization in the early 19thcentury, the factory and industry began taking the place of handicrafts. Agriculture became more mechanized. This gave rise to landless labourers. And consequently, there was an unbroken stream of the rural poor migrating to urban centres in search of livelihood. Factory, on the other hand, required cheap and plentiful labour. Children started being employed both on farms and in factories because they provided a cheap and uncomplaining labour force as against adults who could be more demanding and hence more difficult to handle (Gupta, 1979).

In the middle of 19th century, the employers were free to bargain with labour with the result, children were employed in cotton, Jute mills and coal mines etc. they were made to work mercilessly despite their tender age and were virtually converted into slaves later, with the arrival of factory system some public attention was drawn towards the existing appalling conditions of child labour inspite of active opposition for the employers. First protective legislation was enacted in 1881, known as the Indian factories Act 1881. The Act prohibits the employment of children below the age of seven years, limits the working hours as well as welfare measures for the child workers. The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933 came into being to prohibit the pledging of labour of children. The Act lays down that an agreement, oral or written, expressed or implied, made by parent or guardian of child in consideration of some payment or benefit for causing or allowing the services of a child to be utilized in any employment, shall be void (Section- 3). However, it is worth mentioning that an agreement without detriment to the child and made in consideration of any benefit, other than reasonable wages to be paid for the services of the child and terminable at not more than a week's notice will not be void. Thus, various legislations were enacted before independence to improve the working conditions of the child workers in India. The British introduced legislation restricting the employment of children in pre-independent India. The major thrusts of these laws were only on regulating the conditions and hours of work of children. Moreover, these laws were mainly confined to factories and mines. Also, there was no effective process of verification and strict enforcement rules. It is also important to note that no unified attempt was made by the British to prohibit child labour as such.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Post independent period also witnessed the enactment of a number of legislation, regulating the various aspects of child labour. The Labour Department under the central and state governments deals with the problem of child labour. As being a multifarious problem child labour needs the co-ordinated efforts of other governmental departments like social welfare and education for effectively curbing the issue. Labour welfare and vocational and technical training of labour are placed in the concurrent list of the Constitution. Therefore, both the centre and states may enact legislation on child welfare. Generally, the centre has promulgated the enactment dealing with child labour. The state laws are in the area of non-industrial occupations such as shops and commercial establishments.

The first step in restricting child labour in the post independent era was made in 1948 by passing the Factories Act. It prohibits the employment of children below 14 years in factory. The Act requires persons between the age of 14 to 18 years to obtain a certificate of fitness from a certifying surgeon and periodical examination. 'The Act prohibits employing children between 14 and 17 years at night (between 10 p.m.- 6 a.m.) between 14 and 15 years for not more than four-and-a-half hours in any day only one shift and in one factory. The Act prohibits employing children in certain processes within factories. They shall not be allowed to work on machines, which are considered dangerous. They

shall not clean, lubricate or adjust any part of' prime mover or any transmission machinery, while it is in motion or if they stand the risk of injury.

The minimum Wages Act, passed in 1948, specified that the expression "adult", "adolescent" and "child will have meaning assigned to them. It defined "child" as a person who has not completed his 15th year. The Plantation Labour Act, 1951 which was later amended in 1953, 1960, 1981 and 1992 fixes the minimum age for employment as 12 and employment of a child above 12 years requires a fitness certificate from the appointed surgeon every twelve months. This Act makes the provision for education, housing and medical and recreational facilities as responsibility of the employer. The Mines Act of' 1952 prohibits employment of persons below 15 years of age in any mine or part thereof. An adolescent could be employed for underground work as adult on the satisfaction of two conditions - first, he must have completed 16 years of age and secondly, he must have a certificate of fitness from a surgeon. The Motor 'Transport Act, 1961 deals with the employment of children in the transport sector. This Act prohibits the employment of children under 15 in motor transport undertakings.

The Union Parliament on Nov. 5, 1986 passed the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act to prohibit the engagement of children in certain employment and to regulate the conditions of work of children in certain other employment. The Act was passed to prohibit the employment of children in hazardous jobs and to regulate the conditions of work for children in other jobs of non -hazardous nature. It bans the employment of children, that is, a person who has not completed his fourteenth year of age, in occupation connected with:

1. Transport of passengers, goods or mail by railway;

2. Cinder-picking, cleaning of an ash pit or building operation in the railway premises;

3. Work in catering establishment at a railway station;

4. Work relating to construction of a railway station or when any work is done in close proximity to or between the railway lines;

5. A port authority within the limits of any port

The Act also bans the entry of children in the following processes. Beedi making, carpet weaving; cement manufacturing including bagging of cement; cloth printing, dyeing and weaving; manufacturing of matches, explosives and fire works; mica cutting and spilling; shellac manufacturing; soap manufacture; tanning; wool- cleaning; building and construction industry.

But unfortunately inspite of so many legislations, India continues to host the largest number of child labourers in the world today. According to the Census 2001, there were 12.7 million economically active children in the age-group of 5-14 years.

Due to population growth and economic condition i.e., higher poverty rates, poor parents are forced to push their children to undertake some employment it is estimated that more than 17 million children of independent India under the age of 14 are working in appalling conditions, are ruthlessly exploited to perform dangerous jobs with little or sometimes no pay and thus, often made to suffer severe physical and emotional abuse, no proper food, sanitation, no medical aid and no education. The laws are there but they are not effective in checking this problem. These children are employed in various establishments like homes, shops, hotels, workshops, factories and industries. While working in factories or in industries, many of them are exposed to lasting physical and psychological harm. They may suffer from various disabilities like eye damage, lung disease, and stunted growth.

Besides, many children in their tender age have to work under painful circumstances for instance, children who are working at silk units have to dip their hands into boiling water that burns and blisters them. Many a times, they tend to breathe smoke and fume from machinery while working in various units. They also develop infection due to unhealthy working conditions.

In this way numerous children are denied normal childhood. They are denied freedom of movement while working for long hours for merge amount. Many of the occupations are hazardous in nature and not suitable to these children.

11.4.1 Child Labour Laws in India

After its independence from colonial rule, India has passed a number of constitutional protections and laws on child labour. The Constitution of India in the Fundamental Rights and the Directive of State Policy prohibits child labour below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or castle or engaged in any other hazardous employment (Article 24). The constitution also envisioned that India shall, by 1960, provide infrastructure and resources for free and compulsory education to all children of the age six to 14 years. (Article 21-A and Article 45).

India has a federal form of government, and child labour is a matter on which both the central government and country governments can legislate, and have. The major national legislative developments include the following:

- **The Factories Act of 1948:** The Act prohibits the employment of children below the age of 14 years in any factory. The law also placed rules on who, when and how long can pre-adults aged 15-18 years be employed in any factory.

- **The Mines Act of 1952:** The Act prohibits the employment of children below 18 years of age in a mine.

- **THE CHILD LABOUR (PROHIBITION AND REGULATION) AMENDMENT ACT, 2016**

An Act to prohibit the engagement of children in all occupations and to prohibit the engagement of adolescents[1] in hazardous occupations and processes and the matters connected therewith or have incidental thereto. Whoever employs any child/adolescents or permits any child to work in contravention of the provisions of section 3 shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than six months but which may extend to two years, or with fine which shall not be less than twenty thousand rupees but which may extend to fifty thousand rupees, or with both[2].

- **The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) of Children Act of 2000:** This law made it a crime, punishable with a prison term, for anyone to procure or employ a child in any hazardous employment or in bondage.

- **The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act of 2009:** The law mandates free and compulsory education to all children aged 6 to 14 years. This legislation also mandated that 25 percent of seats in every private school must be allocated for children from disadvantaged groups and physically challenged children.

- **National Policy on Child Labour in 1987:** India formulated a National Policy on Child Labour in 1987. This Policy seeks to adopt a gradual & sequential approach with a focus on rehabilitation of children working in hazardous occupations. It envisioned strict enforcement of Indian laws on child labour combined with development programs to address the root causes of

child labour such as poverty. In 1988, this led to the National Child Labour Project (NCLP) initiative. This legal and development initiative continues, with a current central government FUNDING of 6 billion, targeted solely to eliminate child labour in India. Despite these efforts, child labour remains a major challenge for India.

11.5 Categories of Child Labour

Child labour is a term that needs to be unpacked: it cannot be used in a sweeping manner but covers a range and variety of circumstances in which children work.

a. **Child Labour**: Those children who are doing paid or unpaid work in factories, workshops, establishments, mines and in the service sector such as domestic labour. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India has employed the term 'child labour' only in the context of children doing 'hazardous' work. By implication, children who are not doing 'hazardous' work are not considered to be child labourers and are said to be doing child work. The consequence of this narrow definition of child labour is that the Labour Ministry's definition only includes a very small percentage of children who are in the work-force and leaves out millions of children who require policy and programmatic support from the Government.

b. **Street Children**: Children living on and off the streets, such as shoeshine boys, ragpickers, newspaper-vendors, beggars, etc. The problem of street children is somewhat different from that of child labour in factories and workshops. For one thing, most children have some sort of home to go back to in the evenings or nights, while street children are completely alone and are at the mercy of their employers. They live on the pavements, in the bus stations and railway stations. They are at the mercy of urban predators as also the police. They have no permanent base and are often on the move. So their problem is more acute than that of children working in a factory and living at home.

c. **Bonded Children**: Children who have either been pledged by their parents for paltry sums of money or those working to pay off the inherited debts of their fathers. Bonded child labour is an acute problem in some states. Bonded children are in many ways the most difficult to assist because they are inaccessible. If the carpet owner has bought them, they cannot escape. If the middle-class housewife has paid for them, they cannot run away. If the landlord in the village owns them, they will spend their life in servitude till they get married and can, in turn, sell their children.

d. **Working Children**: Children who are working as part of family labour in agriculture and in home-based work. If children are working 12-14 hours a day along with their parents at the cost of their education, their situation is similar to that of children working for other employers. In fact children, particularly girls, are expected to take on work burdens by parents in complete disproportion to their strengths and abilities. This is the largest category of children who are out-of-school and are working full time. And it is here that we find the largest percentage of girls working at the cost of education.

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1 "adolescent" means a person who has completed his fourteenth year of age but has not completed his eighteenth year;

2 http://labour.gov.in/sites/default/files/THE%20CHILD%20LABOUR%20%28PROHIBITION%20AND%20 REGULATION% 29%20AM EN DMENT%20ACT%2C%2020160.pdf

e. **Children used for sexual exploitation**: Many thousands of young girls and boys serve the sexual appetites of men from all social and economic backgrounds. Direct links between the commercial sexual exploitation of children and other forms of exploitative child labour are numerous. Factories, workshops, street corners, railway stations, bus stops and homes where children work are common sites of sexual exploitation. Children are especially powerless to resist abuse by employers, either as perpetrators or intermediaries. Village loan sharks often act as procurers for city brothels, lending money to the family which must be paid back through the daughter's work. Almost all such children are betrayed by those they trust and end up with their trust abused. The physical (health, danger of HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases) and psycho-social damage inflicted by commercial sexual exploitation makes it one of the most hazardous forms of child labour.

f. **Migrant children**: India faces a huge challenge with "distress seasonal migration". Millions of families are being forced to leave their homes and villages for several months every year in search of livelihoods. These migrations mean that families are forced to drop out of schools, something that closes up the only available opportunity to break the vicious cycle generation after generation. At worksites migrant children are inevitably put to work. All evidence indicates that migrations are large and growing. The number of children below 14 years of age thus affected, may already be in the order of 9 million. Migrant populations overwhelmingly belong to Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Castes. They comprise the landless and land poor who possess the least amount of assets, skills or education. Studies reveal that the majority of migrant labour is to be found is states like Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Almost all major states appear to be affected by migration, although to varying degrees. Many industrial and agro-industrial sectors like brick-making, salt manufacture, sugar cane harvesting, stone quarrying, construction, fisheries, plantations, rice mills and so on run largely on migrant labour.

g. **Children engaged in household activities**: Apart from children who are employed for wages (either bonded or otherwise) as domestic help, there are a large number of children (especially girls) who are working in their own houses, engaged in what is not normally seen as "economic activity". These children are engaged in taking care of younger siblings, cooking, cleaning and other such household activities. As seen in the literature on women's work, such activities need to be recognised as 'work'. Further, if such children are not sent to school, they will eventually join the labour force as one of the above categories of child labour.

11.6 Causes of Child Labour

In a country like India where over 40 percent of the population is living in conditions of extreme poverty. Child labour is a complex issue. Children work out of necessity and without earnings, the standard of living of their families would decline further. A large number of them do not even have families or cannot count on them for support. In such circumstances, the alternative to work may be idleness, destitution or worse crime.

Employers give certain justifications for employing children to suppress their guilt feelings. In their defense they hold that work keeps children away from starvation. They are preventing from committing crimes which they would have indulged in if they have no jobs.The bureaucrats hold that the local predication of child labour is not feasible because Government cannot provide substantial alternative employment to them. The social scientists say that the main cause of child labour is poverty. The children either supplement their parent's income or are the only soul bread earners in the family. These people are forced to send their children to work in factories. Child labour is deliberately created by vested interest to get cheap labour.

11.6.1 Poverty

Poverty is the major cause of child labour in India. By poverty means lack of basic means and possessions to live and survive. According to World Bank, 41 per cent of the Indian population is below International poverty line. Due to poverty, parents are helpless to send their children to work. Moreover, child labour is the most important source of income for such families. Various studies reveal that more than 40 per cent of the Indian population is below poverty line. These families send their children to supplement their incomes. Children of poor families are deployed to seek employment at that age when they should go to school. Thus, economic need push children to work. Moreover, they are cheaper source and easier to employ. As long as poverty exists child labour is very difficult to restraint.

11.6.2 UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment refers to a situation wherein, the person who is been to work at the prevailing wage rates is rendered without work for a considerable period of time. The children are forced to seek employment under such circumstances. When their parents are either unemployed or partly employed, they have no option left but to depend on the earnings of their children.

Since 70% of the Indian population is development on agriculture and agriculture provides about 260 days of employment in a year, the parents from such background are forced to send their children to earn. Various employers especially owners of the garment unit etc. prefer to employ children whereas; adults are kept out of labour market as the cost reduces. So the unemployment factor is considered to be the vital cause of child labour

11.6.3 ILLITERACY

India is a developing country; here literacy rate is also low. As per the 2011 census the literacy rate is 70.4. The lower socio-economic groups are illiterate and they are unaware about the benefits of education. Therefore, they prefer to send their children in search of employment rather than sending them to school to improve their economic status. Illiterate parents feel contented with the earnings of their children. This is quite true in case of females. Illiterate and semi illiterate parents who struggle to survive use their children as supplementary sources of income. Though the literacy levels are increasing in the country, the incidence of child labour seems to be high among the households where the head of the household is an illiterate.

11.6.4 LARGE FAMILIES

Large family size forces parents to use their children for additional income. They are not in a position to provide proper shelter and food to their own children therefore they are forced to work rather than study. The size of families in under developed countries is very large and they cannot sustain without additional income. Furthermore, there is no provision for family allowance to prevent people to

send their children to work. Even the pension of a low-salary grade employee is also less, hence they have to depend on their children for economic support.

11.6.5 CRIMINALITY

Criminal minds and individuals manipulate children to sell drugs, to steal and to commit other offences. Many times law enforcement authorities collide with criminal elements and thus encourage evil practice of child labour. Besides, many countries have enforced laws to protect children, yet there is a gap between norms and existing practices, many countries suffer from poor law enforcement. The exploitation of children is often product of such deficiencies and vested interests.

11.6.6 INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

The modern industrial system has encouraged child labour. The main motive of the industrialists is to earn quick profits at less cost. Due to this very reason children are employed in manufacturing units at very low wages. With the advent of intensive technologies of production, many industries therefore mainly depend on child labour.

If there has to be an end to child labour then the focus must be on total abolition of child labour and in addressing the rights of the universe of children who are out of school.

11.7 Consequences of Child Labour

In more ways than one child labour brings many consequences on the children who work.

1. **Early Marriage:** Children begin to lose their childhood and are rushed into adulthood, therefore Child labor leads into early marriage. According to, Kathleen Beegle, Rajeev Dehejia, Roberta Gatti, and Sofya Krutikova authors of *The Consequences of Child Labor digest* children who become a part of the work industry and have several years working it becomes more likely for them to' Get Married at a younger age than opposed to going to school and living a "normal" childhood.

2. **School Dropout:** Another consequence of Child Labor is that children are forced to work and help provide with the family that they are likely to drop out of school and continue working full time. According to studies by ECLT, "Seventy-eight percent of children between 10 and 14 years work either full-time or part-time with their parents," by working full time the children have no other choice than to drop out of school and make work their first priority. Not only are these children dropping out of school, but they are dropping out at a young age, "a child reduces the probability of completing primary school by as much as 20 percentage points," (eelt). Therefore, children are lowering their education level and suffering more consequences throughout the years.

3. **Drug addiction:** Majority of the children indulge in drugs addiction because of unlimited heavy labour. To work like a machine they became habitual of drugs.

4. **Personal Disorganization:** Due to lack of sympathy from society, family and others alienation and anomie is inevitable among child labours so it leads to personal disorganization.

5. **Delinquency:** Child delinquency is also seen among child labourers because of imbalance of expectations and originality.

6. **Pornography:** Sexual abuse of female child labourers has been reported in many cases. Whereas males indulge in pornography during their childhood.

7. **Distorted Physical Health:** Working in hazardous conditions leads to bad health and retardation of physical growth of a child. Rag pickers most often lost their smell senses; weakness of eyesight those working in electrical industries, hearing power, breathing problems like asthma those working in cotton mills and mines and so on.

8. **Retardation of Mental Growth:** When there is no childhood then there is no child. It means we have robots or child without any emotion. So there is lack of mental development.

9. **Social Disorganization:** if a society is filled with personally disorganized children then social disorganization is obvious like poverty, riots, corruption, illness, crime and so on.

10. **Emergence of defective society:** Imagine a society or a world without children and people like robots. So the drastic impact of child labour is the production of dehumanized defective generation.

Therefore, the consequences of child labour form an almost unbreakable cycle. The children are not allowed to finish their education. They are sent to work to help with financial stability and soon they Get Married and the cycle never ends because they do not make enough money to have a family, so then their children have to help also and so forth. The lives of these children are being harmed and even thought they are helping currently with money for the family, the consequences are much deeper. The 2008 ILO study suggests that illiteracy resulting from a child going to work, rather than a quality primary and secondary school, limits the child's ability to get a basic educational grounding which would in normal situations enable them to acquire skills and to improve their prospects for a decent adult working life. Children are put into hazardous works. They are not given proper security and minimum wages. Some of them become enslaved labour. They lack proper nutrition and rest. They are sometimes exposed to sexual abuse, violence and cruelty as well. Many of them go to far away places missing love and care of their parents. They are also kept in poor living and working conditions. [3.]

11.8 Recommendations for Abolition of Child Labour

In most societies where child labour has been eradicated, multi-pronged strategies were used. Stringent laws were passed which made child labour illegal. In addition the educational system was strengthened so that children removed from work could go to school.

1. According to Gupta (2016)[3] in her article in a newspaper named "The Hindu" argued that Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016, prohibits "the engagement of children in all occupations and of adolescents in hazardous occupations and processes" wherein adolescents refers to those under 18 years; children to those under 14. The Act also imposes a fine on anyone who employs or permits adolescents to work. However, on careful reading, the new Act suffers from many problems. One, it has slashed the list of hazardous occupations for children from 83 to include just mining, explosives, and occupations mentioned in the Factory Act. This means that work in chemical mixing units, cotton farms, battery recycling units, and brick kilns, among others, have been dropped. Further, even the ones listed as hazardous can be removed, according to Section 4 — not by Parliament but by government authorities at their own discretion. Two, section 3 in Clause 5 allows child labour in "family or family enterprises" or allows the child to be "an artist in an audio-visual entertainment industry". Since most of India's child labour is caste-based work, with poor families trapped in intergenerational debt bondage, this refers to most of the country's child labourers. The clause is also dangerous as it does not define the hours of work; it simply states that children may work

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3. Ruchira Gupta, 'A law that allows child labour,' The Hindu, 10.8.2016

after school hours or during vacations. Think of the plight of a 12-year-old coming home from school and then helping her mother sow umpteen collars on shirts to meet the production deadline of a contractor. When will he do her homework? How will she have the stamina to get up the next morning for school?

2.   A New National Child Labour Eradication Policy

Several changes have occurred since the drafting of the National Child Eradication Labour Policy in 1987. A re-examination of all the laws and policies pertaining to working children is critical. There must be consistency in the constitutional and legal provisions pertaining to children's rights especially their right to education and wellbeing.

3.   Social Mobilisers

Child labourers are spread across the country; working in dispersed villages and slums. The eradication of child labour cannot be done by the labour department alone, as it is so under-staffed. Labour department needs to have a cadre of youth volunteers who can be trained as 'Social Mobilisers' who will be responsible for withdrawing children from work as well as monitoring school dropouts and children with irregularity of attendance. It is understood that if such children are not tracked they would join the labour force as child labour.

4.   Survey of child labour

It is necessary that the government commission research and surveys on different aspects of child labour in the country.

5.   Synergy Between All Concerned Departments

Ministries and departments have different roles to play in order to ensure that children removed from work are properly rehabilitated and do not go back into the work force.

11.9 CHILD ABUSE

Child abuse is a serious problem in all over the world, as it is in many nations through- out the world. Child abuse in India is often a hidden phenomenon especially when it happens in the home or by family members. Focus with regards to abuse has generally been in the more public domain such as child labour, prostitution, marriage, etc. Intra-family abuse or abuse that takes place in institutions such as schools or government homes has received minimal attention. This may be due to the structure of family in India and the role children have in this structure. Children in India are often highly dependent on their parents and elders; they continue to have submissive and obedient roles towards their parents even after they have moved out of their parental home. This belief that parents and family are the sole caretaker of the child has proved to have negative effects on child protection laws and strategies.

Numbers of cases of child abuse in the home are hard to attain because most of these crimes go unreported. Societal abuses that are a result of poverty such as malnutrition, lack of education, poor health, neglect, etc are recognised in various forms by the Indian legal system. But India does not have a law that protects children against abuse in the home. Mal-treatment of care givers has the potential to emotionally and mentally harm children to a very different degree. Studies in intra-familial child abuse have shown correlation to delinquency, crime, teenage pregnancy, and other psychosocial problems.

The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), within the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India states in its Crime in India 2016 report that the number of crimes against children in India has increased from 58,224 in 2013 to 1,06,958 in 2016. In just three years, crimes against children have

increased by 84%. National crime statistics also highlight that a substantial proportion (34%) of the total crimes against children is related to sexual abuse.

According to UNICEF violence against children can be "physical and mental abuse and injury, neglect or negligent treatment, exploitation and sexual abuse. Violence may take place in homes, schools, orphanages, residential care facilities, on the streets, in the workplace, in prisons and in places of detention."

Such violence can affect the normal development of a child impairing their mental, physical and social being. In extreme cases abuse of a child can result in death.

Child abuse has many forms: physical, emotional, sexual, neglect, and exploitation. Any of these that are potentially or actually harmful to a child's health, survival, dignity and development are abuse. This definition is derived from the W.H.O.

1. Physical abuse is when a child has been physically harmed due to some interaction or lack of interaction by another person, which could have been prevented by any person in a position of responsibility, trust or power.

2. Emotional abuse can be seen as a failure to provide a supportive environment and primary attachment figure for a child so that they may develop a full and healthy range of emotional abilities. Emotional abuse is also the act of causing harm to a child's development, when they could have been within reasonable control of a person responsible for the child. Examples of these acts are restricting movement, threatening, scaring, discriminating, ridiculing, belittling, etc. In India a rising concern is the pressure children feel to perform well in school and college examinations, which can be seen as a form of emotional stress and abuse.

3. Sexual abuse The form of abuse varies from penetrative assault to non-penetrative assault, besides forms that do not necessarily have physical contact, such as grooming over the internet, forcing a child to watch pornography, or conversations with sexual innuendos for the benefit of the abuser. Abuse can be conducted by an adult or another child who is developmentally superior to the victim. This includes using a child for pornography, sexual materials, prostitution and unlawful sexual practices.

4. Neglect or negligent treatment is purposeful omission of some or all developmental needs of the child by a caregiver with the intention of harming the child. This includes the failure of protecting the child from a harmful situation or environment when feasible.

5. Exploitation can be commercial or otherwise, where by the child is used for some form of labour, or other activity that is beneficial for others. Example: child labour or child prostitution.

6. Parental Substance Abuse

Parental substance abuse is an element of the definition of child abuse or neglect in some nations.Circumstances that are considered abuse or neglect in some States include:

• Prenatal exposure of a child to harm due to the mother's use of an illegal drug or other substance.

• Manufacture of a controlled substance in the presence of a child or on the premises occupied by a child.

- Allowing a child to be present where the chemicals or equipment for the manufacture of controlled substances are used or stored.

- Selling, distributing, or giving drugs or alcohol to a child

- Use of a controlled substance by a caregiver that impairs the caregiver's ability to adequately care for the child.

7. Abandonment

Few nations include abandonment in their definitions of abuse or neglect, generally as a type of neglect. In general, it is considered abandonment of the child when the parent's identity or whereabouts are unknown, the child has been left by the parent in circumstances in which the child suffers serious harm, or the parent has failed to maintain contact with the child or to provide reasonable support for a specified period of time. In India Section 317 (exposure and abandonment of child under 12 years by parent or person having care of it) of the IPC covers the abandonment cases of children.

For some cases in Child Abuse early intervention attempts relied primarily on inten- sive dynamic psychotherapy with the abuser, but this approach has repeatedly failed. Cognitive behavioral interventions have had much greater success, largely because they deal directly with the knowledge structure issues that are so important in this domain (Wolf 1994). This approach succeeds by teaching abusive caregivers to use nonaggressive child compliance techniques, personal anger control, and developmentally appropriate beliefs about childhood abilities.

In 2007, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) released a study report on child abuse. The report discusses incidence of child abuse nationwide. It is estimated that 150 million girls and 73 million boys under 18 have been subjected to forced sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual violence. In 2002 there were 53,000 reported cases of child homicide. A Global School-Based Student Health Survey found that 20% and 65% of school going children reported having been verbally and physically bullied in the last 30 days. ILO estimates show there were 218 million child labourers in 2004, out of which 126 million were engaged in hazardous work. UNICEF estimated 3 million girls and women in sub-Saharan Africa, Egypt and Sudan are subjected to female genital mutilation every year.

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In 2007, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) released a study report on child abuse. The report discusses incidence of child abuse nationwide. The study of the MWCD found a wide spread incidence of child abuse. Children between the ages of 5-12 are at the highest risk for abuse and exploitation. The study found that 69% of children reported to have been physically abused. Out of these 54.68% were boys. 52.91% of boys and 47.09 % of girls reported having been abused in their family environment. Of the children who were abused in family situations 88.6% were abused by their parents. Every two out of three school children reported facing corporal punishment. In juvenile justice institutions 70.21 % of children in conflict with law and 52.86% of children in need of care and protection reported having been physically abused. With regard to child labour 50.2% of children work all seven days of the week. 81.16% of the girl child labourers work in domestic households, while 84%

of the boy child labourers worked in tea stalls or kiosks. 65.99 % of boys and 67.92% of girls living on the street reported being physically abused by their family members and other people.

Lastly the study examined emotional abuse and girl child neglect. The study examined two forms of emotional abuse: humiliation and comparison. Half the children reported facing emotional abuse with 83% of that abuse begin conducted by parents. Girl child neglect was assessed girls comparing themselves to their brothers on factors like attention, food, recreation time, household work, taking care of siblings, etc. 70.57% of girls reported having been neglected by family members. 48.4% of girls wished they were boys. 27.33% of girls reported getting less food then their brothers. Of the young adults (ages 18-24) interviewed, almost half of them reported having been physically or sexually abused as children.

Child Related Legislations

1. Advisory for eliminating of Corporal Punishment in Schools

2. Guidelines for recording of evidence of vulnerable witnesses in criminal matters

3. Standard Operating Procedures in safeguarding Rights of Children in contact with Railways

4. The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act 2012

5. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009

6. THE JUVENILE JUSTICE (CARE AND PROTECTION OF CHILDREN) ACT, 2015

7. Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986

8. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016

9. Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976

10. Factories Act, 1948

11. Infant Milk Substitutes, Feeding Bottles and Infant Foods

12. Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques Act, 1994

13. Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995

14. Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006

15. Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1986

16. Guardians and Wards Act, 1890

17. Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956

18. Right to Food Legislation and Children

19. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Act, 1989

20. The India Penal Code and Child related offenses

11.10 Summary

Child labour is not only affecting under-developed and developing countries, but developed countries are also facing this though the rate is comparatively very less. The main causes of child labour include poverty, unemployment, excess population & urbanization. Child labour not only causes damage to a child's physical and mental health but also keeps him/her deprived of his/her basic rights

to education, development, and freedom. Children are more prone to and are at more risk than adults because of rapid skeletal growth, organ and tissues development, greater risk of hearing loss, greater need for food and rest, higher chemical absorption rates, smaller size and lower heat tolerance due to their physiological and immunological countenance. A multi-disciplinary approach involving specialists from medical, toxicological, environmental, psychological and socio-anthropological fields shall produce integral information and approach on various aspects of child development to prepare a better policy for child labour. There is urgent need of intensive focus and research along with political and practical decisions to improve the conditions of working children.

The Government of India has implemented the Child Labour Act in 1986 that outlaws child labour in certain areas and sets the minimum age of employment at fourteen. This Act falls short of making all child labour illegal, and fails to meet the ILO guideline concerning the minimum age of employment set at fifteen years of age. Though policies are in place that could potentially reduce the incidence of child labour, enforcement is a problem. If child labour is to be eradicated in India, the government and those responsible for enforcement need to start doing their jobs. Policies can and will be developed concerning child labour, but without enforcement they are all useless. Eradicating poverty, however, is only the first step on the road to eliminate child labour.

Self Assessment Questions

Note: Please use the space given below to each question to give your answer.

IX.   Causes of child labour.

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_____

X.   Define the age of child according to child labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986.

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11.11   Further Readings

- Ahmad, M (2004) Child labour in Indian Politics. Kalpaz Pub. Delhi.

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- UNICEF Annual Report 2014, India.

11.12 Model Questions

1. What is child labour? Discuss its causes and consequences.

2. Child Abuse is a social problem. Comment.

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Poverty, illiteracy

2. 14.

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"The social and occupational health problems of child labour; A challenge the world is facing" in Indian Journal of Community Health, Vol. 24, No. I, Jan. 2012 – March 2012.

PROBLEMS OF ELDERLY

Structure

10.0 Objectives

After reading this lesson you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of elderly
- Learn problems of elderly
- Comprehend challenges facing the elderly
- Interpret sociological perspectives on ageing
- Analyse ageing a social problem

10.1 Introduction

Population ageing is an inevitable and irreversible demographic reality that is associated with welcome improvements in health and medical care. With longevity and declining fertility rates, the population of older persons (60 years and above) is globally growing faster than the general population. When populations age rapidly, governments are often caught unprepared to face and mitigate the consequences; this has implications for the socio-economic and health status of the elderly. Three key demographic changes—declining fertility, reduction in mortality and increasing survival at older ages—contribute to population ageing, reflected in a shift in the age structure from young to old. The demographic transition process of declining fertility and mortality gives rise to increasing bulge in older cohorts, compared to younger cohorts. The old-age dependency in the population therefore gradually increases. The shift from a period of high mortality, short lives, and large families to one with a longer life, far and fewer children is the hallmark of demographic transition. A top-heavy age structure means that the elderly have to depend upon incomes and revenues generated by a dwindling number of younger workers. In this lesson, we shall discuss all these issues.

10.2 Who Are the Elderly?

Anyone over 65 is commonly considered old. However, social scientists have begun to identify specific groups within the growing population of the elderly (Altman & Shactman, 2002). People between the ages of 65 and 75, who are still inclined to be healthy and active, are called the "young-old." Those over 75, a group that is more likely to require support services, are the "old-old." Those over the age of 85 may be termed the "oldest old." Another group, the "frail elderly," consists of those over 65 who, because of poor health or economic problems, cannot carry out the basic activities of life without help. Assistance may range from full-time nursing care to the delivery of a hot meal each day or help with shopping or cleaning.

10.3   Nature of the Problem

India is home to one-fifth of the world's population, which includes a third of the world's poor and one-eighth of the world's elderly. According to Population Census 2011, there are nearly 104 million elderly persons (aged 60 years or above) in India; 53 million females and 51 million males. A report released by the United Nations Population Fund and HelpAge India suggests that the number of elderly persons is expected to grow to 173 million by 2026. Both the share and size of the elderly population is increasing over time. From 5.6% in 1961 the proportion has increased to 8.6% in 20 11. For males, it was marginally lower at 8.2%, while for females it was 9.0%. State-wise data on elderly population divulge that Kerala has a maximum proportion of elderly people in its population (12.6 per cent) followed by Goa (11.2 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (10.4 per cent) as per Population Census 2011. he least proportion is in Dadra & Nagar Haveli (4.0 per cent) followed by Arunachal Pradesh (4.6 per cent) and Daman & Diu and Meghalaya (both 4.7 per cent). Until recently, family and adult children were considered to be a reliable source for providing old age security. However, these traditional sources of old age security have come under great strain due to the increased longevity of the elderly, other socio-economic-cultural changes like the disintegration of a joint family system, non-availability of caregivers due to increased work participation of women, lower incidence of widowhood and migration of youth and more individualistic attitude of children. The problem is more acute among the poor elderly who, with their deteriorating health conditions, are unable to work for earning and have hardly, if ever, any savings to fall back upon. The marginalisation of the poor – an unforeseen consequence of globalisation – and increasing feminisation of poverty have further underscored the need to adopt suitably targeted measures that provide social security to the elderly. Government of India, as well as the State governments, have undertaken some initiatives in this direction but the economic feasibility of social security at a level comparable to that of MDCs is a vital constraint in LDCs like India. In the case of the U.S., the elderly population grows larger in each decade. Demographers in the U.S. Census Bureau estimate that in the twenty-first century the elderly will be the fastest-growing segment of the population as the huge baby boom generation enters its later years.

As per 2011 Census of India, there were 104 million elderly (60+) in India, and they are expected to cross 173 million by 2026. Between 2000 and 2050, the elderly population of India is expected to shoot up by 360 per cent. In sharp contrast, potential support ratio (defined as the number of persons in the working age group 15-59 per one person in the age-group 60+) will be declining from 8.4 in 2001 to 7 in 2011 and only 5.2 in 2026.

10.4 Challenges Facing the Elderly

Ageing comes with many challenges. The loss of independence is one potential part of the process, as are diminished physical ability and age discrimination. The term senescence refers to the ageing process, including biological, emotional, intellectual, social, and spiritual changes. This section discusses some of the challenges we encounter during this process.

As already observed, many older adults remain highly self-sufficient. Others require more care. Because the elderly typically no longer hold jobs, finances can be a challenge. And due to cultural misconceptions, older people can be targets of ridicule and stereotypes. The elderly face many challenges in later life, but they do not have to enter old age without dignity.

1. **Ageism**

Dr Robert Butler coined the term in 1968, noting that ageism exists in all cultures (Brownell). Ageist attitudes and biases based on stereotypes reduce elderly people to inferior or limited positions. Ageism can vary in severity. When ageism is reflected in the workplace, in health care, and in assisted-living facilities, the effects of discrimination can be more severe. Ageism can make older people fear to lose a job, feel dismissed by a doctor, or feel a lack of power and control in their daily living situations.

In early societies, the elderly were respected and revered. Many preindustrial societies observed gerontocracy, a type of social structure wherein the power is held by a society's oldest members. In some countries today, the elderly still have influence and power and their vast knowledge is respected. In many modern nations, however, industrialization contributed to the diminished social standing of the elderly. Today wealth, power, and prestige are also held by those in younger age brackets. The average age of corporate executives was 59 in 1980. In 2008, the average age had lowered to 54 (Stuart 2008). Some older members of the workforce felt threatened by this trend and grew concerned that younger employees in higher-level positions would push them out of the job market. Rapid advancements in technology and media have required new skill sets that older members of the workforce are less likely to have.

Changes happened not only in the workplace but also at home. In agrarian societies, a married couple cared for their ageing parents. The oldest members of the family contributed to the household by doing chores, cooking, and helping with child care. As economies shifted from agrarian to industrial, younger generations moved to cities to work in factories. The elderly began to be seen as an expensive burden. They did not have the strength and stamina to work outside the home. What began during industrialization, a trend toward older people living apart from their grown children, has become commonplace.

2. **Feminisation of Ageing**

A frequent outcome of the feminization of ageing is the discrimination and neglect experienced by

women as they age, often exacerbated by widowhood and complete dependence on others. Loss of spouse in old age adds significant vulnerability in later years. The marital status distribution of the older persons as per 2011 Census data shows that nearly 66 per cent are currently married, 32 per cent are widowed and about 3 per cent are separated or divorced6. Among the older men, 82 per cent are currently married while among older women only 50 per cent are currently married. About 48 per cent of older women are widowed while only 15 per cent of older men belong to this category.

3. Ruralization of the Elderly

According to the 2011 Census, 71 per cent of the elderly live in rural India. In all the states, except the two smaller states, Goa and Mizoram, a higher proportion of the elderly lives in rural areas than in urban areas. Many rural areas are still remote with poor road and transport access. Income insecurity, lack of adequate access to quality health care and isolation are more acute for the rural elderly than their urban counterparts. It is also noted that poorer states such as Odisha, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have a larger percentage of the rural elderly.

4. Migration and its Impact on the Elderly

Migration of younger working-age persons from rural areas can have both positive and negative impact on the elderly. Living alone or with only the spouse is usually discussed in terms of social isolation, poverty and distress. However, older people prefer to live in their own homes and community, which is why ageing in place is often a preferred option9. Further, this puts some funds in the hands of older persons at a time when they need physical support for health care and to manage household chores. It is also recognized that new technologies are helping the rural elderly stay in touch with their children who can even reach home more easily than in the past.

5. Mistreatment and Abuse

Mistreatment and abuse of the elderly is a major social problem. As expected, with the biology of ageing, the elderly sometimes become physically frail. This frailty renders them dependent on others for care—sometimes for small needs like household tasks, and sometimes for assistance with basic functions like eating and toileting. Unlike a child, who also is dependent on another for care, an elder is an adult with a lifetime of experience, knowledge, and opinions—a more fully developed person. This makes the care providing situation more complex. Elder abuse describes when a caretaker intentionally deprives an older person of care or harms the person in their charge. Caregivers may be family members, relatives, friends, health professionals, or employees of senior housing or nursing care. The elderly may be subject to many different types of abuse. In a 2009 study on the topic led by Dr Ron Acierno, the team of researchers identified five major categories of elder abuse: 1) physical abuse, such as hitting or shaking, 2) sexual abuse including rape and coerced nudity, 3) psychological or emotional abuse, such as verbal harassment or humiliation, 4) neglect or failure to provide adequate care, and 5) financial abuse or exploitation (Acierno 2010). The National Center on Elder Abuse (NCEA), a division of the U.S. Administration on Aging, also identifies abandonment and self-neglect as types of abuse. **How prevalent is elder abuse?** Some social researchers believe elder abuse is underreported and that the number may be higher. The risk of abuse also increases in people with health issues such as dementia (Kohn and Verhoek-Oftedahl 2011). Older women were found to be victims of verbal abuse more often than their male counterparts.

Other studies have focused on the **caregivers to the elderly in an attempt to discover the causes of elder abuse.** Researchers identified factors that increased the likelihood of caregivers perpetrating

abuse against those in their care. Those factors include inexperience, having other demands such as jobs (for those who weren't professionally employed as caregivers), caring for children, living full time with the dependent elder, and experiencing high stress, isolation, and lack of support (Kohn and Verhoek- Oftedahl 2011). A history of depression in the caregiver was also found to increase the likelihood of elder abuse. Neglect was more likely when care was provided by paid caregivers. Many of the caregivers who physically abused elders were themselves abused—in many cases when they were children. Family members with some sort of dependency on the elder in their care were more likely to physically abuse that elder. For example, an adult child caring for an elderly parent while, at the same time, depending on some form of income from that parent, would be considered more likely to perpetrate physical abuse (Kohn and Verhoek-Oftedahl 2011). A survey in Florida found that 60.1 per cent of caregivers reported verbal aggression as a style of conflict resolution. Paid caregivers in nursing homes were at a high risk of becoming abusive if they had low job satisfaction, treated the elderly like children, or felt burnt out (Kohn and Verhoek-Oftedahl 2011). Caregivers who tended to be verbally abusive were found to have had less training, lower education, and a higher likelihood of depression or other psychiatric disorders. Based on the results of these studies, many housing facilities for seniors have increased their screening procedures for caregiver applicants.

6. Health Issues of Elderly

The cost of the health care during old age appears to be very high and this, in turn, increases the out of pocket expenditure on health care particularly when private facilities are availed of. Out of the total expenditure, nearly half of the expenditure was towards medicines. Treatment cost for chronic morbidities is also quite high. When older persons are economically dependent, increasing health expenditure adds to the economic burden on the family.

7. Gender Issues

Gender disparities exist at all ages but when women become old, the consequences of engendered roles become more explicit. Poverty is inherently gendered in old age when older women are more likely to be widowed, living alone, with no income and with fewer assets of their own and fully dependent on family for support. The BKPAI survey shows that households headed by older women are poorer than those headed by older men. Far fewer older women than men accrue personal income or assets and financial dependency among older women are at a much higher level. While living alone is more common among older women than among older men, it is equally true that majority of older women live with children/grandchildren and they seem to better accept and cope with such realities of ageing. Detailed research on economic, social and health concerns of older women has been undertaken and published under the BKPAI initiative29. As per the BKPAI survey, many older women rate their health as poor and experience relatively low mental health status. One in five older women rated her health to be poor. More than half of all older women indicate signs of mental distress according to measures of subjective well-being. They also carry a higher burden of both acute and chronic morbidity than their male counterparts. Yet, among those who report having an ailment, the vast majority seek treatment from private and public sources. In general, the reasons for not seeking treatment include financial problems and inadequacy or lack of access to public health facilities. Awareness and use of the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna (RSBY) or the health insurance programme offered by the government among older women are negligible. Income insecurity is a significant source of vulnerability among older women. More than four out of five women have either no personal income at all or very little income; income insecurity increases with advancing age. Only a small percentage of

older women reporting no income actually receive a social pension. Economic dependency among older women is therefore high. One-third of older women do not own any assets. But more widowed women own assets compared to married women because assets are generally owned by the husband but after his death, they are passed on to his widow. Only a third of widowed women receive a social pension. Among the poor, awareness of social pension schemes is higher among elderly men than women in both urban and rural areas. The same is true of the many special facilities made available by the government for older persons. The accentuated economic vulnerability and poverty of older widowed women are found across all survey states. Loss of a spouse is a significant new vulnerability during the ageing process. More women experience this type of vulnerability as they live longer than men. Many older women live without their spouse and experience a shift in living arrangements in old age. One in ten women over the age of 60 years lives alone and many widowed women have rare contact with their non-co-residing children. In general, living with family, particularly the son, is the most common arrangement among older women. But they are forced to work out a new care receiving environment with children and daughters-inlaw that can put them through greater stress. What is positive is that about 70 per cent of older women perceive having some role in family decision-making. Further, many are active in various activities such as prayer, yoga, household chores, taking care of grandchildren etc. Their social networking outside the home is also reasonable, albeit limited to religious activities, visiting family or chatting with neighbours. Over a third of older women having some personal income feel that they are making useful contributions to family expenditure. This is an important aspect of ageing with dignity. Ageing among women is accompanied by low work participation, low earnings and high economic need. Poverty drives over 10 per cent of older women to work, largely in informal sectors with low wages, no retirement or post-work benefits. Work participation rate differs significantly between married men (41 per cent) and widowers (24 per cent) but there is no such decline for older women suggesting that higher economic need for widowed older women to work even after the death of their spouse.

8. Concerns about the Reach of Social Security Schemes

Over the years the Government of India has launched various schemes and policies for older persons which are meant to promote health, well-being and independence of senior citizens. **The National Policy for Older Persons (NPOP)** was formulated in 1999 to promote health, safety and social security of older persons. Several government ministries are involved in providing benefits to senior citizens. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MOSJE), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW) and Ministry of Rural Development (MORD) implement many of these schemes such as the **Integrated Programme for Older Persons (IPOP), National Programme for the Health Care of the Elderly (NPHCE), National Old Age Pension schemes and Annapurna scheme** etc. The Ministry of Labour and Employment implements the **Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna (RSBY),** Ministry of Finance provides **some special tax concessions and Ministry of Railways offers special concessions for senior citizens**. The approach paper for the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–2017) recommends special health care for the elderly along with pension and insurance reform to enhance the quality of life in later years. While there are many such schemes, how far are the senior citizens aware of them and actually use them? The BKPAI survey[3] shows that about 70 per cent are aware of

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[3] The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), India in collaboration with the Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bangalore, the Institute for Economic Growth (IEG), New Delhi and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai launched a research project, Building a Knowledge-base on Population Ageing in India (BKPAI) in 2011. A primary survey was carried out in seven states – Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, West Bengal, Odisha, Maharashtra, Kerala and Tamil Nadu which covered a total of 9852 elderly women and men from 8329 elderly households in rural and urban areas.

the national old-age pension scheme and the widow pension schemes and awareness level is higher in rural areas (than in urban areas); non-BPL elderly have a slightly higher level of awareness than BPL elderly (the real target group). Elderly men are more aware of these schemes than elderly women. But actual use seems low with only a quarter of widowed elderly women benefitting from the widow pension scheme; only about 18 per cent of all elderly are accessing old-age pension. Both awareness about and use of Annapurna scheme is low. About 10 per cent and 15 per cent of non-BPL elderly persons were beneficiaries of an old-age pension scheme and widow pension scheme respectively. But in general, there is higher utilization of these schemes in rural areas than in urban areas. Similar **low levels of awareness and utilization were found in the case of railway concessions and seat reservations for elderly in buses**. Maharashtra was the only state where about one in four elderly are using these facilities. There is also much work to be done in increasing awareness and coverage of health insurance schemes, especially RSBY.

10.5 Theoretical Perspectives on Aging

What roles do individual senior citizens play in your life? How do you relate to and interact with older people? What role do they play in neighbourhoods and communities, in cities and in states? Sociologists are interested in exploring the answers to questions such as these through three different perspectives: functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and conflict theory.

Functionalism

Functionalists analyze how the parts of society work together. Functionalists gauge how society's parts are working together to keep society running smoothly. How does this perspective address ageing? The elderly, as a group, is one of society's vital parts.

Functionalists find that people with better resources who stay active in other roles adjust better to old age. Three social theories within the functional perspective were developed to explain how older people might deal with later-life experiences.

The earliest **gerontological theory in the functionalist perspective is disengagement theory,** which suggests that withdrawing from society and social relationships is a natural part of growing old. There are several main points to the theory. First, because everyone expects to die one day, and because we experience physical and mental decline as we approach death, it is natural to withdraw from individuals and society. Second, as the elderly withdraw, they receive less reinforcement to conform to social norms. Therefore, this withdrawal allows greater freedom from the pressure to conform. Finally, social withdrawal is gendered, meaning men and women experience it differently. Because men focus on work and women focus on marriage and family, when they withdraw they will be unhappy and directionless until they adopt a role to replace their accustomed role that is compatible with the disengaged state.

The suggestion that old age was a distinct state in the life course, characterized by a distinct change in roles and activities, was groundbreaking when it was first introduced. However, the theory is no longer accepted in its classic form. Criticisms typically focus on the application of the idea that seniors universally naturally withdraw from society as they age, and that it does not allow for a wide variation in the way people experience ageing.

The social withdrawal that Cummings and Henry recognized (1961), and its notion that elderly people need to find replacement roles for those they've lost, is addressed anew in **activity theory.** According

to this theory, activity levels and social involvement are key to this process, and the key to happiness. According to this theory, the more active and involved an elderly person is, the happier he or she will be. Critics of this theory point out that access to social opportunities and activity are not equally available to all. Moreover, not everyone finds fulfilment in the presence of others or participation in activities. Reformulations of this theory suggest that participation in informal activities, such as hobbies, are what most affect later life satisfaction.

According to continuity theory, the elderly make specific choices to maintain consistency in internal (personality structure, beliefs) and external structures (relationships), remaining active and involved throughout their elder years. This is an attempt to maintain social equilibrium and stability by making future decisions on the basis of already developed social roles (Atchley 1971; Atchley 1989). One criticism of this theory is its emphasis on so-called "normal" ageing, which marginalizes those with chronic diseases such as Alzheimer's.

Conflict Perspective

Theorists working the conflict perspective view society as inherently unstable, an institution that privileges the powerful wealthy few while marginalizing everyone else. According to the guiding principle of conflict theory, social groups compete with other groups for power and scarce resources. Applied to society's ageing population, the principle means that the elderly struggle with other groups— for example, younger society members—to retain a certain share of resources. At some point, this competition may become a conflict. For example, some people complain that the elderly get more than their fair share of society's resources. In hard economic times, there is great concern about the huge costs of Social Security and Medicare. While there is more care available to certain segments of the senior community, it must be noted that the financial resources available to the ageing can vary tremendously by race, social class, and gender.

There are three classic theories of ageing within the conflict perspective. **Modernization theory** suggests that the primary cause of the elderly losing power and influence in society are the parallel forces of industrialization and modernization. As societies modernize, the status of elders decreases and they are increasingly likely to experience social exclusion. Before industrialization, strong social norms bound the younger generation to care for the older. Now, as societies industrialize, the nuclear family replaces the extended family. Societies become increasingly individualistic, and norms regarding the care of older people change. In an individualistic industrial society, caring for an elderly relative is seen as a voluntary obligation that may be ignored without fear of social censure. The central reasoning of modernization theory is that as long as the extended family is the standard family, as in preindustrial economies, elders will have a place in society and a clearly defined role. As societies modernize, the

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elderly, unable to work outside of the home, have less to offer economically and are seen as a burden. This model may be applied to both the developed and the developing world, and it suggests that as people age they will be abandoned and lose much of their familial support since they become a nonproductive economic burden.

Another theory in the conflict perspective is **age stratification theory.** Though it may seem obvious now, with our awareness of ageism, age stratification theorists were the first to suggest that members of society might be stratified by age, just as race, class, and gender stratify them. Because age serves as a basis of social control, different age groups will have varying access to social resources such as political and economic power. Within societies, behavioural age norms, including norms about roles and appropriate behaviour, dictate what members of age cohorts may reasonably do. For example, it might be considered deviant for an elderly woman to wear a bikini because it violates norms denying the sexuality of older females. These norms are specific to each age strata, developing from culturally-based ideas about how people should "act their age." Age stratification theory has been criticized for its broadness and its inattention to other sources of stratification and how these might intersect with age. For example, one might argue that an older white male occupies a more powerful role, and is far less limited in his choices, compared to an older white female based on his historical access to political and economic power.

Finally, **exchange theory** (Dowd 1975), a rational choice approach, suggests we experience an increased dependence as we age and must increasingly submit to the will of others because we have fewer ways of compelling others to submit to us. Indeed, inasmuch as relationships are based on mutual exchanges, as the elderly become less able to exchange resources, they will see their social circles diminish. In this model, the only means to avoid being discarded is to engage in resource management, like maintaining a large inheritance or participating in social exchange systems via child care. In fact, the theory may depend too much on the assumption that individuals are calculating. It is often criticized for affording too much emphasis on material exchange and devaluing nonmaterial assets such as love and friendship.

The subculture of ageing theory posits that the elderly create their own communities because they have been excluded from other groups.

Symbolic Interactionism

Generally, theories within the symbolic interactionist perspective focus on how society is created through the day-to-day interaction of individuals, as well as the way people perceive themselves and others based on cultural symbols. This microanalytic perspective assumes that if people develop a sense of identity through their social interactions, their sense of self is dependent on those interactions. A woman whose main interactions with society make her feel old and unattractive may lose her sense of self. But a woman whose interactions make her feel valued and important will have a stronger sense of self and happier life. Symbolic interactionists stress that the changes associated with old age, in and of themselves, have no inherent meaning. Nothing in the nature of ageing creates any particular, defined set of attitudes. Rather, attitudes toward the elderly are rooted in society.

One **microanalytical theory** is Rose's (1962) subculture of ageing theory, which focuses on the shared community created by the elderly when they are excluded (due to age), voluntarily or involuntarily, from participating in other groups. This theory suggests that elders will disengage from society and develop new patterns of interaction with peers who share common backgrounds and

interests. For example, a group consciousness may develop within such groups around issues specific to the elderly like the Medicare "doughnut hole," focused on creating social and political pressure to fix those issues. Whether brought together by social or political interests, or even geographic regions, elders may find a strong sense of community with their new group.

Another theory within the symbolic interaction perspective is **selective optimization with compensation theory.** Baltes and Baltes (1990) based their theory on the idea that successful personal development throughout the life course and subsequent mastery of the challenges associated with everyday life are based on the components of selection, optimization, and compensation. Though this happens at all stages in the life course, in the field of gerontology, researchers focus attention on balancing the losses associated with ageing with the gains stemming from the same. Here, ageing is a process and not an outcome, and the goals (compensation) are specific to the individual. According to this theory, our energy diminishes as we age, and we select (selection) personal goals to get the most (optimize) for the effort we put into activities, in this way making up for (compensation) the loss of a wider range of goals and activities. In this theory, the physical decline postulated by disengagement theory may result in more dependence, but that is not necessarily negative, as it allows ageing individuals to save their energy for the most meaningful activities. For example, a professor who values teaching sociology may participate in phased retirement, never entirely giving up teaching, but acknowledging personal physical limitations that allow teaching only one or two classes per year.

Swedish sociologist Lars Tornstam developed a symbolic interactionist theory called **gerotranscendence:** the idea that as people age, they transcend the limited views of life they held in earlier times. Tornstam believes that throughout the ageing process, the elderly become less self-centred and feel more peaceful and connected to the natural world. Wisdom comes to the elderly, Tornstam's theory states, and as the elderly tolerate ambiguities and seeming contradictions, they let go of conflict and develop softer views of right and wrong (Tornstam 2005). Tornstam does not claim that everyone will achieve wisdom in ageing. Some elderly people might still grow bitter and isolated, feel ignored and left out, or become grumpy and judgmental. Symbolic interactionists believe that, just as in other phases of life, individuals must struggle to overcome their own failings and turn them into strengths.

Why Aging Is a Social Problem

Functionalist- Social institutions do not adequately serve people as they grow older (e.g., the family is no longer capable of providing adequate care).

Interactionist- The elderly are stigmatized and are victims of ageism because they do not conform to the norms of a culture that emphasizes youthfulness.

Conflict- The problem of the elderly is their relative lack of power; when they organize for political action, they can combat ageism.

10.6 Supportive Services to the Elderly by the Government of India

The mandate for coordinating National Policy on Older Persons (NPOP) implementation across several ministries of the government lies with the nodal Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MOSJE). Therefore, four ministries may be considered core as they are responsible for a large and important chunk of services to older persons. These are Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MOSJE), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW), Ministry of Rural Development (MORD) administers

the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) and Ministry of Panchayati Raj (MOPR).

Schemes like Indira Gandhi Old Age Pension Scheme and Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme ensure social security for the elderly. While pension was ensured for all government employees post-retirement and was one of the key attractions of government service, the private sector had no such facility. People who retired from the private sector had to be solely dependent on savings made while in service. This meant that post-retirement if expenses like education to children or marriage of daughters was to be incurred, this made a big hole in the savings and the employee was left with very little for meeting day to day expenses, expenditure on health, etc. It was to resolve this problem that the government initiated schemes like the National Pension Scheme, Atal Pension Yojana, Swavalamban, etc to ensure steady income post-retirement.

Central and state governments in India have been providing security to the elderly in cash such as Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme I .e.IGNOAPS and Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme i.e. IGNWPS) and services as in food security, health services as in the National Programme for the Elderly (NPHCE) and concessions, facilities and services given by the various ministries). In addition, States also have been implementing various schemes e.g. pension schemes of labour welfare boards in Kerala, Tamil Nadu Pension schemes for vulnerable groups like destitute, deserted wives as well as mid-day meals, Briddhashree and Sanjbhati scheme in West Bengal, Madhubabu Pension scheme in Odisha, Shravanbal Pension Scheme and Sanjay Gandhi Destitute Women Pension Scheme in Maharashtra, Atta Dal scheme in Punjab etc. Many of the state pension schemes are now merged with IGNOAPS or IGNWPS.

The selection of beneficiaries is done by gram panchayats on the basis of targets communicated by the state government. The ceiling on numbers and qualifying financial entitlements for the states are worked out by the following formula:

Numerical Ceiling =1⁄2 of the population in the state aged 65 and above multiplied by the poverty ratio of the state.

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MOSJE) championed the landmark legislation called the **Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens 2007, (henceforth referred as the Maintenance Act)** to provide a legal framework in support of the elderly. Parents and grandparents who are unable to maintain themselves from their own income can demand maintenance from their children, inclusive of food, clothing, residence, medical attendance and treatment, to a maximum of 10,000 per month. The Act provides for a tribunal to receive and take action on complaints. In case the children themselves do not have sufficient means to maintain them, the state governments are expected to provide old-age homes in each district to accommodate a minimum of 150 elderly. An important provision under the Act legally empowers the elderly to claim their property back from their children if the condition of maintenance is not satisfied. The state is responsible for setting up tribunals and no civil court will have jurisdiction on any matters of this Act. Sensitization of police and judiciary on the protection of life and property of the elderly and other provisions of this Act is also the responsibility of the state.

10.7 Summary

Ageing is defined in terms of chronological age with a cut off age of 60 or 65 years. This definition is partly due to the fact that retirement age is also similar to this cut off age. However, in many developing countries, chronological age may have very little relevance to retirement as the majority of the elderly are engaged in the informal sector with no specific retirement age. In such cases, the socially constructed meanings of age are more often significant, such as the roles assigned to older people or loss of certain roles that signify a physical decline in old age.

Ageing as a social problem is often studied from the point of view of one or more of the basic perspectives. From the functionalist perspective, for example, ageing is a problem because the institutions of modern society are not working well enough to serve the needs of the dependent aged. The extended family, which once allowed elderly people to live out their lives among kin, has been weakened by greater social mobility and a shift to the nuclear family as the basic kinship unit. The elderly are rendered useless as their functions are replaced by those of other social institutions. As grandparents, for example, older people once played an important part in socializing the young, teaching them the skills, values, and ways of life of their people. Now those functions are performed by schools and colleges, for it is assumed that the elderly cannot understand or master the skills required in today's fast-changing world. Instead, they must be cared for either at home or in institutions like old-age homes, which remove this burden from the productive members of society. Interactionists take a different view. They see the term *elderly* as a stigmatizing label; it suggests that older people are less valuable because they do not conform to the norms of a youth-oriented culture. Interactionists view the elderly as victims of **ageism**—forms of prejudice and discrimination that are directed at them not only by individuals but also by social institutions. The remedy is to fight ageism in all its forms. Finally, conflict theorists believe that the problems of the elderly stem from their lack of power to shape social institutions to meet the needs of people who are no longer in their productive years and have not accumulated the means to preserve their economic and social independence. In this view, the aged must resist the debilitating effects of labelling and the loss of their roles by banding together in organizations, communities, and voting blocs that will assert their need for meaningful lives and adequate social services.

Self-Assessment Questions

1. **----------------------theory,** suggests that withdrawing from society and social relationships is a natural part of growing old.
2. According to conflict perspective how ageing is a social problem?

10.8 Further Readings

1.   Aiken, Lewis R. 1995. *Aging: An Introduction to Gerontology*. Sage

2. Bengtson, Vern. L. 2008. *Handbook of Theories of Aging*. Springer Publishing Company.

3. Morgan, L.A. and Kunkel, S.R. 2011*. Aging, Society, and the Life Course*. Springer Publishing Company.

10.9 Model Questions

1. Who are elderly? What are their social issues?

2. Discuss the problems of elderly and initiatives by the Government of India for their social security.

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions

1. Disengagement

2. The problem of the elderly is their relative lack of power; when they organize for political action, they can combat ageism.

Annexure

UN PRINCIPLES FOR OLDER PERSONS

1) Independence

a) Older persons should have access to adequate food, water, shelter, clothing and health care through the provision of income, family and community support and self-help. b) Older persons should have the opportunity to work or to have access to other income-generating opportunities. c) Older persons should be able to participate in determining when and at what pace withdrawal from the labour force takes place. d) Older persons should have access to appropriate educational and training programmes. e) Older persons should be able to live in environments that are safe and adaptable to personal preferences and changing capacities. f) Older persons should be able to reside at home for as long as possible.

2) Participation

a) Older persons should remain integrated with society, participate actively in the formulation and implementation of policies that directly affect their well-being and share their knowledge and skills with younger generations. b) Older persons should be able to seek and develop opportunities for service to the community and to serve as volunteers in positions appropriate to their interests and capabilities. c) Older persons should be able to form movements or associations of older persons.

3) Care

a) Older persons should benefit from family and community care and protection in accordance with each society's system of cultural values. b) Older persons should have access to health care to help them to maintain or regain the optimum level of physical, mental and emotional well-being and to prevent or delay the onset of illness. c) Older persons should have access to social and legal services to enhance their autonomy, protection and care. d) Older persons should be able to utilize appropriate levels of institutional care providing protection, rehabilitation and social and mental stimulation in a humane and secure environment. e) Older persons should be able to enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms when residing in any shelter, care or treatment facility, including full respect for their dignity, beliefs, needs and privacy and for the right to make decisions about their care and the quality of their lives.

4) Self-fulfilment

a) Older persons should be able to pursue opportunities for the full development of their potential. b) Older persons should have access to the educational, cultural, spiritual and recreational resources of society.

5) Dignity

a) Older persons should be able to live in dignity and security and be free of exploitation and physical or mental abuse. b) Older persons should be treated fairly regardless of age, gender, racial or ethnic background, disability or another status, and be valued independently of their economic contribution.

DIFFERENTLY ABLED

Structure

13.0   Objectives

After reading this lesson, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Differently Abled

- Explain the Types of Differently Abled

- Discuss its causes

- Describe the Laws and provisions related to Differently Abled

13.1 Introduction

When you talk about people with disabilities the picture that instantly comes in your mind are people with serious physical disabilities. However, the term includes a lot more. According to World Health Organization, this term includes all those who not only suffer **physical disability** but also disabilities that enforce activity limitations, participation limitations and other forms of impairment disabilities. Personal growth impairments are also considered as disabilities.[2] Disabled people are the people with physical or mental incapacities. Common physical disabilities include blindness, deafness

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1. Ibid.

2. http://www.janejarrow and solutions for people with disabilities.html

and paralysis, while common mental disabilities include autism and the effects of Down's syndrome. Disabilities generally vary in severity. One person with Down's syndrome for instance may be very limited in terms of activities available while another person only relatively mildly affected may be able to hold down a job and be much more self reliant. There are four types of physically challenged, they are physically handicapped, Blind, Deaf, and Dump. The term disabled suggests a state of helplessness; something which falls short of the norm or standard viz., 'physical fitness'. Disability refers to any limitation experienced by the impaired individual in comparison with the activities of the unimpaired individual of similar age and sex.[3]

The Constitution of India acknowledges the significance of work and employment in Article 39 of the Directive Principles which mandated the State to ensure that the citizen, both men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood. Also, Article 41 requires that the state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work and Article 42 requires that the states shall make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work. Primarily, here we would talk about Physically Challenged people means a person suffering from not less than 40 per cent of any defined disability as certified by a Medical Authority. The Government of India has enacted 3 legislations for Physically Challenged people to provide equal opportunities including their socio-economic inclusion in the society namely (i) Rehabilitation Council of India Act'1992, (ii) Person with Disabilities (PwDs) Act'1995 and (iii) National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disability Act,1995. Also, UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2006 (UNCRPD) ratified by India in 2008 emphasizes on full and effective participation of PwDs in Society on an equal basis with others. Similarly, National Policy for PwDs', 2006 recognizes PwDs as a valuable human resource and seeks to create equal opportunities for a dignified life in society. It mandates an inclusive society for all.

13.2 Common Problems of the Differently Abled[4]

Differently Abled people sometimes have difficulty doing things and other people may take for granted, such as travelling on public transport, climbing stairs or even using some house hold appliances. However, the greatest challenge that disabled people have had to face has been society's misperception that they are the "breed apart". Historically they have been pitied, ignored, vilified-even hidden away in institutions. Until the second half the 20th century, it was unfortunate today that the disabled people have some abilities, needs and interests as the rest of the populations. Nevertheless, discriminations continued to exist in certain important areas. Some employers were reluctant to take on or promote disables people; some landlords refused to give the land on rent to them; and courts sometimes deprived them of basic rights, including custody of their children. In recent decades, this situation has undergone some positive changes through adjustments in legislation and public attitudes. Also people with disabilities have lobbied for their rights as full citizens and productive individuals.

The existing transportation and infrastructural facilities available to disabled are hardly dequate. Public transport related problem comprises the problems related to design of the vehicles high and incompatible steps of vehicles from the platform level).

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3. 'C'.Gobalakrishnan. (Problem Faced By Physically Challenged Persons and Their Awareness Towards Welfare Measures) April, 2013 Vol 2 Issue 4, p.48

4. Ibid

Road constraints involve encroachment of bus stops by vendors, temporary structures and parked vehicles stopping of buses fat from actual bus bays. Thus causing great inconvenience to hem feeling of insecurity by the disabled while traveling in private buses.

The Differently Abled is largely dependent on a family because they get economically and emotional support from family. The disabled person also gets emotional support from friends and relatives and also gets encouragement.

Since India's independence, the policy makers treat physically Differently Abled persons as the recipients of the state sponsored welfare schemes. Though, one cannot cc p etely neglect the benefits of these schemes, mere welfare schemes are inadequate to facilitate the visually disabled to perform major roles as the able individuals. Therefore, the role of the state components such as the legislature, executive, and the judiciary system becomes extremely important in transforming the societal attitude towards persons with disabilities.[5]

13.3 The Nature and Characteristics of Differently Abled

According to Census 2011

Disability: Household Schedule of Census 2011 attempts to collect information on eight types of disabilities as against five included in the Household Schedule of Census of India 2001. The information is being collected on disabilities namely, disability 'In Seeing', 'In Hearing', 'In Speech', 'In Movement', 'Mental retardation', 'Mental Illness', 'Any Other' and 'Multiple Disability'.

There is a diverse range of disabilities in this category including such conditions as cerebral palsy, spina bifida, amputations or limb absences, and muscular dystrophy. According to Connor et al. (1988), the physiological and functional problems of the physically challenge population are complex and diverse, and their handicaps may be temporary, intermittent, chronic, progressive, or terminal. Sandhu et al. (2001) describes the characteristics of the Differently Abledto include:

i.   **Mobility**- People who have reduced function of legs and feet depend on a wheelchair or other aid for mobility. In addition to people who are born with a disability, this group includes a very large number of people whose condition is caused by age or accidents including illnesses caused by polio.

ii. **Vision**- Blindness implies a total or nearly total loss of the ability to perceive form. Low vision implies an ability to use some aspects of visual perception, but with a greater dependency on information received from other sources.

iii. **Hearing**- Hearing impairment can affect the whole range or only a part of the auditory spectrum. The term "deaf" is used to describe people with profound hearing loss, whereas "hard-of- hearing" is used for those with mild or severe hearing loss.

iv. **Speech and language**- Speech impairment may influence speech in a general way or only certain aspects of it, such as fluency or voice volume. Language impairment may be associated with an intellectual impairment.

13.4 Classification of PH

The Differently Abled can be grouped into

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5. http://www.enableall.org/?q=node/59

- Locomotor Disability
- Visually impaired
- Speech impaired
- Hearing impaired

Loco motor Differently Abled

As defined in the PWD act 1995, means disabilities of bones, joints or muscles leading to substantial restrictions of movement or any form of cerebral palsy.

Cerebral Palsy

Cerebral Palsy has been defined as 'a motor handicapped caused by a brain dysfunction'. There are different types of Cerebral Palsies.

1. Spastic Paralysis: It is caused by damaged brain. It is paralysis of one (or) more limbs.

2. Erb 's Palsy: This type of palsy occurs when one shoulder is caught under pelvic rim during pregnancy and the child loses sensation of arms.

3. Sickle cell Anemia: It is a genetic disorder which is caused by distortion and malfunction of the red blood cells reducing the supply of oxygen resulting in severe pain.

Orthopedically Handicapped have following behavioural manifestations.

- poor motor control and co-ordination.
- walk awkwardly or with a limp.
- show signs of pain during physical exercise.
- fall frequently.
- Show symptoms of poor health condition.

Visually impaired OR BLIND

Blindness is regarded as the most severe and traumatic physical handicap. Since more impressions are conveyed to the brain through the eyes, the visual anomalies may influence the life of the individual in physical, mental social, vocational and educational aspects. Visual handicap is the inability to see within normal limits. Visual handicapped and blinders as impairment in vision that even with correction adversely affects a child's educational performance. Visual efficiency is influenced by two factors: activity and peripheral vision. Visual activity describes how well a person can see at various distances i.e. the width of a person's field of vision or the ability to perceive objects outside the direct line of vision is called peripheral vision.

Classification

Children with visual impairment can be classified into three: low vision, functionally blind and People with low vision can read enlarged print with optical aids such as magnifying glasses. The people may not be legally considered blind as they could read with the help of magnifying lenses. They are also called partially sighted. This interferes with learning and daily functioning also.

Functionally blind people use Braille, a specially developed method, for reading and writing. For mobility and other activities they may use the limited vision they have, along with tactile sensation and auditory ability.

Totally blind cannot have any stimuli through vision, as they do not receive any meaningful image through visual sense. They completely depend on tactual and auditory senses for their adjustment with the environment.

Causes of Visual Impairment

Structures within the eye and its visual pathway play important roles in seeing involve transmission of light energy through the eyes and conversion of this to electrical energy. This is the transmission of electrical impulses to the brain for interpretation. When there is impairment and malfunctioning in these processes it leads to blindness or visual impairment.

The main causes of blindness are congenital (present at birth) or acquired. In addition, lack of proper medical treatment, infection and diseases etc. also cause visual handicaps. Dust, heat, smoke and deficiency diseases lead to partial blindness, night blindness, colour blindness etc.

- *(i) Infectious Diseases*: Mostly 60 to 70 per cent of children become blind due to infectious diseases. Blood disorders can also cause blindness. *(ii) Accident or Injury*: Lack of safety and guidance, fight or accident cause blindness, among children. *(iii) Hereditary*: Sometimes, blindness is inherited and congenital. However, the frequency of such occurrences is very significant.

- **(iv)** *Common Diseases*: Blindness also occurs due to various physical diseases, such as diabetes, vitamin deficiency etc.

- *(v) Effect of Poisons*: Effect of poison is also one of the factors that account for blindness.

- **vi)** Other causes are Albinism, cataract, Glaucoma, muscular degeneration, myopia, Optic move atrophy, Retinities pigmentosa, and Retinopathy of prematurity.

SPEECH DISORDERS

Speech is the expression of language in sound form. It includes producing, the speech sounds, voicing the speech pitch and loudness. Speech sounds are produced when air passes through the vocal tract, i.e. larynx, pharynx, mouth and nose. Due to various positions of lips, tongue and jaw the sound is formed. During first eight years children learn to produce all the consonants, vowels and diphthongs. These sounds, which result in speech, may vary depending on pitch (rate of vibration of vocal folds); and intensity (loudness—pressure coming from lungs). Resonance (how the tone which comes from vocal fold is modified by the cavities mouth and nose); and the quality of the voice is related all the above three.

Fluency in speech is the result of easy, smooth and effortless flow of speech. When disturbances occur in these it leads to speech disorder or impairment. Nearly 8 per cent of the population has some form of communication disorder."Speech and language disorders are observed disturbances in the normal speech, language or learning process"

This interferes with communication and makes both the speaker and the listener uncomfortable. This situation need not be due to loss of hearing or deafness.

"speech or language impairment means a communication disorder such as stuttering, impaired articulation, a language impairment or a voice impairment that adversely affect a child's educational performance".

These are called speech disorders. It is due to problems in sending or debarring messages. Language disorder indicates the problem in receiving, understanding and formulating messages. Speech disorder indicates that there is an impairments as the articulation of speech sounds, fluency and or voice" (American speech—Language—Learning Association, 1993).

HEARING IMPAIRMENT

Hearing is the main sensory pathway through which speech and verbal communication develop. If a child hears imperfectly, he is likely to speak incorrectly. Again, hearing also influences learning and other aspects of maturation. Early detection of hearing impairment is important for the child's over-all development.

Three terms—hearing impairment, deafness and hard of hearing or auditory impaired need explanation. Hearing impairment implies the entire loss of hearing, mainly genetic in nature. Deafness refers to profound hearing loss. They are unable to perceive sounds in the environment with or without use of hearing aid and unable to use hearing as a way to gain information. Hard of hearing refers to significant hearing loss. They have sufficient, residual hearing but with hearing and they can comprehend others speech and oral communication.

Further it is also classified as pre-lingual deaf and post-lingual deaf. Pre-lingual deaf are those who are born deaf; lost the ability to hear before developing language. Post-lingual deaf are those who become deaf after birth due to injury, after developing language.

The partially hearing, are those who lose acuity of hearing severely and require a special educational curriculum and programme of training-that involves full time auditory training along with vision for developing language and communication skills.

13.5 Models

It has been through ages that Differently Abledhas far reaching consequences for the personality of an individual, a belief that has led to the development of false notions and prejudices in the community.Our notions about Differently Abledpeople are generally negative. We were not born with these notions. Our ideas about Differently Abledcome from what we see and hear, and the fact remains that we have rarely seen physically handicapped people in everyday roles like others.

1. Traditional Model

2. Medical Model

3. The Individual Model

4. Social Model

5. Human Rights Model.

Traditional Model:

In this model, the attitude of the society towards physically handicapped people was atrocious. Physically handicapped people were under the spell of witchcraft—they were treated as sinners. Differently Abledwas viewed as a 'punishment from God' for the sins committed by physically

handicapped people themselves or their relatives during their supposed previous births or 'Janmas'. Sometimes it was assumed that people who displeased their forefathers would have to pay for it, via their physically challenged. This kind of thinking still exists in many villages, today.

This was a painful period for physically handicapped people, both physically and mentally. They had to go through the nuisance of applying some unknown oil, which could well have been some edible oil without any medicinal effect. The oil would be applied so vigorously that it has would sometimes cause physical damage. Religious poojas and ceremonies to get rid of the witch or the harmful spirit inside the physically handicapped person used to happen very frequently. These kinds of rituals were traumatic and terrifying for adults as well as children.

Physically handicapped people were completely isolated from society and from their own families, as well. They would be excluded on social occasions, family gatherings, etc as their presence was not considered worthy enough. Labelled 'unlucky', physically handicapped people were forced to stay indoors.

Such ideas were emotionally damaging to them. It would result in feelings of hopelessness becae it was supposedly 'their fate' and nothing could be done about it. They were led to believe that even feeling frustrated would only make things tougher for them and consequently they would suffer in silence and in isolation.

Medical Model:

After World War II, this model came into existence. In the Medical model, the focus was the Differently Abledalone, and how to get it cured—not on the *abilities* of the person. Medical interventions and rehabilitation were stressed upon, throughout the life of the physically handicapped person. It was at this point that many "special" schools, "special" vans etc, came up. During this period physically handicapped people were treated as passive beneficiaries of charity. It was also believed that they could not be educated and required medical attention and therapy. The idea of a physically handicapped person working and contributing towards society was almost unthinkable. In the medical model of disease may be illustrated as

Etiology $\longrightarrow$ Pathology $\longrightarrow$ Manifestation

Generally various terms like impairment, Differently Abledand handicap are used interchangeably and at random. WHO has adopted a sequence underlying illness-related phenomena as:

Disease $\longrightarrow$ Imparment Differently Abled $\longrightarrow$ Handicap

The Individual Model:

Differently Abledhas been equated with an individual and physical or mental impairment. In this model of Differently Abledthe problem with fitting into society is thus located within an individual physically handicapped person. It is assumed to have physiological cause and main motive is to rehabilitate or to normalize physically handicapped people. For example: sometimes favoring time consuming and painful walking over wheel chair use.

Social Model:

At some point physically handicapped people became exasperated with the medical interventions of the medical model and wanted to contribute towards the society, themselves. They no longer wanted to be passive beneficiaries of charity. In social model, people started to focus on the

person, and not on his or her physically challenged. Physically handicapped people themselves, started wanting to be seen as contributing members of the society. They wanted to run businesses, socialize, play sports, and benefit from entertainment, and so on. Society, at this point used to regard physically handicapped people either as super heroes or as super-crippled. There existed the concept of hyper compensation and other related myths, and physically handicapped people were never viewed as normal human beings. That visually impaired people, in particular, are especially gifted with musical abilities; that they have a sixth sense; that when one faculty is denied, there is an automatic compensatory effect; that if eyesight is lost, inner eyes or 'spiritual eyes' open up; that blind and other persons with disabilities have powerful memories - these and many such beliefs prevailed. This model advocated the idea: "Teach me skills. Don't treat my ills".

Human Rights Model:

It is in this model that physically handicapped people started to fight for their rights. In the social model they accept the challenge provided by the environment and adjust to it. But in the human rights model, it is recognized as a basic right that the environment must be adapted according to their needs and that they should not have to challenge the physical or attitudinal barriers of the society— which is a common feature in the social model. They have the right to be included in schools, job establishments etc, and the right to access to public buildings, public transports and information.

13.6 Causes of PHs

There are two main reasons that professionals strive to find the causes of disabilities: first, the identification of a specific cause can help in treating the condition, and second identification of the cause of a Differently Abledmay help prevent the occurrence of such disabilities in future generations. Causes of disabilities: biomedical or constitutional, and socio-cultural/environmental. Biomedical or constitutional causes have a basis in the body of the individual; there is a biological aspect to the condition. Most severe and multiple handicaps include conditions which fall into this category. Congenital disabilities, those present at birth, are constitutional conditions.

Social causes of Differently Abled

Disabilities have many effects on the social lives of those afflicted. These include the attitudes of others, the effect of personal appearance and behavior, leisure activities, and sexuality. Social disabilities are those that originate outside the individual's body. This includes not only those causes which stem from the social, cultural, and physical environments, but also those causes which result from the individual's life-style and behavior. They are very complex, and they do not inevitably result in impairment. For example, risks among people of low socio-economic class can run through generations because the cycle of poverty creates conditions which contribute to the incidence of disabilities. However, under these conditions, the majority of poor children do not develop disabilities. Since there is no direct cause and effect correlation between the associated socio-cultural and environmental conditions and disabilities, the conditions are generally called "risk factors". Those exposed to them are considered "at risk" for developing a physically challenged.

Prenatal Causes of PHCs

The prenatal period extends from conception to the time of birth. Disabling conditions can occur at any point in the developmental process between those two events. Some prenatal biomedical causes of Differently Abledinvolve the basic building blocks of life: the genes and chromosomes which

the person inherits. Other handicaps result from the prenatal environment within the womb. These causes can be considered separately, but it should be realized that heredity and prenatal environment work together to produce the infant.

Genetic Causes of Differently Abled

Chromosomes are made up of genes which, alone or in combination, govern all our inherited characteristics. Some disabilities are caused by specific genes that create damaging biomedical conditions. There are over 3,000 different genetic causes of physically challenged. Just as we can inherit our eye color or a dimple from one of our parents, so we can inherit certain types of disabilities. There are definite patterns of inheritance which govern whether or not various traits affect us. An example of a genetic defect is Sickle Cell Disease, a blood disorder caused by recessive genes. Children only have the disorder if they receive the gene from both parents. If the gene is paired with a normal one, the individual does not have the condition, but can pass it on to his or her descendants. These individuals are called "carriers". About one in every 10 blacks in the U.S. carries the gene for sickle cell disease.

Childhood Causes of Differently Abled

Childhood diseases can retard a victim's future development. One of the most severe cases of Differently AbledI have seen was the result of meningitis suffered by the child in early infancy. This little one has sensory and motor limitations, and may have intellectual ones as well. It is impossible to assess the child's intelligence at present, because there is no appropriate method of evaluation for a youngster so severely handicapped. Disabling conditions can sometimes result from common infectious diseases. Encephalitis, an inflammation of the brain which can cause mental retardation, is a possible complication of such childhood illnesses as mumps, chicken pox, and measles. Measles sometimes cause visual impairment. Ear infections which often accompany children's colds can result in conductive hearing loss. Because of the tragic results of possible complications, even mild childhood diseases should be carefully monitored.

Environmental Causes of Physically Challenged

Though many children are resilient enough to grow up normally in spite of socio-environmental conditions such as neglect, poverty, famine, and even war, some do not. For some children environmental deprivation has a debilitating effect on the development of abilities such as language use, adaptive behavior, and cognition. Deprivation can include poor nutrition, poor housing, lack of social interaction and limited opportunity for varied experiences. These conditions are frequently associated with poverty, but can occur in any environment. They may sometimes be a symptom of child neglect or abuse. Poor nutrition and starvation have been proven to have an effect on many areas of development. "Hunger produces nervousness, irritability and a decreased ability to learn, thus it can have a negative effect on all aspects of a child's development. Negative effects increase with the degree of malnutrition. A severe vitamin A deficiency can cause blindness in children after they are weaned (World Health Organization, 1992). A protein-calorie deficit during the first six months of life affects mental development and may damage the developing nervous system. Malnourishment is also associated with an increased susceptibility to infections. Poor housing can be associated with a variety of disabling conditions. Chances of accidental injury increase when buildings are in poor condition. Cheap housing often consists of older buildings which may still have lead paint on walls and woodwork. Children often ingest this paint and get lead poisoning which affects the nervous system. Old buildings

are often cold and drafty, and have substandard (or non-existent) plumbing and heating which increases the risk of disease and infection.

Cultural causes of Differently Abled

Discrimination based on racial and cultural differences may affect a family economically and socially. Economic discrimination affects job opportunities, parental employment, and family income. It can result in hardship and poverty, which produce the risks described above. Social discrimination may add to the isolation of the family as a group and family members as individuals. Isolation can limit social interaction and experiences and have a harmful effect on the development of children in the culturally different family. Lack of understanding of cultural differences can result in a "mismatch" between what children experience at home and what is expected of them at school. This mismatch can lead to inappropriate schooling, which may result in intellectual impairments and functional limitations.

13.7 Laws and provisions related to Differently Abled

There has been concern for rights of various sections of society right from the beginning in general this concern was expressed in the shape of equality for all. During last few years there has emerged awareness to consider specific rights for vulnerable groups. Both at international level and at state level specific formulations for these groups have either been accepted or are in the process of formulations.

International Provisions

There have been many international instruments created for protecting and promoting rights of physically handicapped. They provide the basic framework to ensure rights and other safeguards against discrimination and deprivation. Most important of these are:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights,'1948

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966

- The International Covenant on Economic, Cultural and Social Rights, 1966

- The UN Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons

- The UN Declaration on the Rights of Physically handicapped Persons

Many international organizations vary in their approach to the management and treatment of physically handicapped people's needs: for example the WHO promotes a medical rehabilitation approach to Differently Abledissues; UNESCO promotes inclusive education policies; the International Labor Organization (ILO) has a policy of including physically handicapped people in their employment; UNICEF focuses on prevention of impairment in children through health and immunization programmes. However, physically handicapped people themselves are rarely involved in the policy making of these organizations. This makes it difficult to form effective strategies of full inclusion which further argues that the lack of comparable information on Differently Abledand chronic poverty makes it difficult for the World Bank and other international organizations to form Differently Abledpolicies to tackle poverty and physically challenged.

In many developed countries, Differently Abledpeople are having better social security like rehabilitation, education, employment and care. They have developed these systems for years with the support of non-governmental organizations. In case of United States of America the affirmative actions

like employment opportunities to the underprivileged in Government departments under equal employment opportunities commission started in the 60's.

Similarly, in many developed nations the process of mainstreaming the Differently Abled peoples' welfare started around the same period particularly in European Union. Soon after the UN International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981, the attention towards the Differently Abled people and the need to promote their welfare came into the forefront. Some physically handicapped persons were appointed in public services under both Central and State Governments in the year 1981 and the following years.

In our Indian Constitution several Articles and Clauses provide ample opportunities for the development of legal instruments to protect the rights of the Differently Abled people. The first major legal advancement for the protection of the rights of the Differently Abled people after the constitutional guarantee took its shape as the Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992 and it came into force on 31st July1993. The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights & Full Participation) Act, 1995, which came into force after a decade old lobbying by the activists working for the rights of the disabled. This Act classifies the categories of the disabled and further identifies the duties of the Government of India, State Governments and local administration towards the welfare of the Differently Abled people.

The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act aims at promoting equality and full participation of persons with disabilities. This act tries to protect and promote economic and social rights of people with disabilities. The comprehensive legislation passed by the Government addresses the multifarious problems faced by the physically handicapped in India and provides a framework for the implementation of progressive and economic activities. Our parliament thus has legally endorsed the right to access for the physically handicapped to educational training premises, travel on public transport, a barrier free environment for integrated living and participation, access to information and means of communication and thus providing them independence and dignity. The Act places the physically handicapped at par with other able bodied citizens of India in terms of opportunities to participate and benefit from the society. Avenues have been created for them to overcome the various hurdles, psychological, physical and social. This was the first time that a law was enacted to protect the rights of the physically handicapped people. Salient features of the Act are given below:-

- **Steps Towards Prevention and Early Detection of Disabilities**

    i)   Surveys, investigations and research concerning the cause of disabilities.

    ii)   Promote methods of preventing disabilities

    iii) Screen all children at least once in a year for early detection.

    iv)   Training of staff at Primary Health Centres.

    v)   Initiate or sponsor awareness campaigns.

    vi)   Take measures for prenatal, and post natal care of mother and child.

    vii) Create awareness amongst the general public on related issues through use of various media.

- **Education**

The Act requires the Government and appropriate authorities to:

i) Ensure for education till a child with Differently Abledattains the age of 18 years.

ii) Take steps to integrate the students with Differently Abledin the normal schools.

iii) Setting up of special schools throughout the country to cater for the needs of special education to the physically handicapped.

iv) Equip the special schools with vocational training facilities.

v) Make schemes and programmes for non-formal education i.e. open schools, interactive electronic media, special books and equipment, part time classes etc.

vi) To initiate research for designing and developing assistive devices, teaching aids, special teaching material etc.

vii) To create facilities to train teachers to impart education to children with special needs.

viii) To prepare a comprehensive education scheme to include the following:-

    a) Transport facilities.

    b) Financial incentives to the parents of the physically handicapped children.

    c) Setting right the architectural barriers in buildings.

    d) Supply of books, uniforms etc.

    e) Grant of scholarships.

    f) Setting up of forum for the parents of physically handicapped children to voice their grievances.

    g) Suitable modification in the system of examination,

    h) Restructuring of curriculum.

- **Employment**

i) Identification of posts which can be reserved for persons with disabilities.

ii) Vacancies which cannot be thus filled on a particular occasion are to be carried forward.

iv) A record of such enrolment is to be maintained by each employer,

v) The schemes to ensure employment is to be maintained by each employer

- Training opportunity

- Relaxation in upper age limit

- Regulating the employment

- Institutionalise health and safety measures

- Creation of an authority to administer the scheme

- **Affirmative Action**

i) Provision of aids and appliances to persons with disabilities.

ii) To form schemes for persons with disabilities for preferential allotment of land at concessional rates for house, business, setting up special recreation centres, special schools, research centers, factories.

- **Non Discrimination**

i) Transport

- Adaptation of rail compartments, buses, vessels and aircrafts to facilitate access.

- Adapt toilets in various modes of transport to permit the wheel chair users to use them conveniently.

ii) On road

- Installing auditory signals for the visually handicapped.

- Curb cuts and slopes in pavements for wheel chair users.

- Engravings near zebra crossing for people with low or no vision.

- Engravings on the edges of railway platforms.

- Warning signals taking into account the various types of disabilities.

iii) In Public Buildings

- Construction of ramps.

- Adoption of toilets for wheel chair users.

- Braille symbols and auditory signals,

iv) Promotion+

- If an employee acquires a Differently Abled during service he/she will not be dispensed with or reduced in rank.

- **Social Security**

The Government and the local authorities shall within the limits of their economic capacity undertake the following:-

- Rehabilitation of all persons with disabilities.

- Grant of financial assistance to non-government organizations

- Consult the non-governmental organization working for the cause of physically handicapped persons while forming policies.

- Formulate insurance schemes for the benefit of employees with disabilities.

- Formulate a scheme for payment of unemployment allowance to persons with the special Employment Exchange enrolled for more than two years and could not be placed in any gainful employment.

Multiple Disabilities Act 1999 The main objectives of this act are:

- to enable and empower persons with Differently Abledto live as independently and as fully as possible within and as close to the community to which they belong;

- to strengthen facilities to provide support to persons with Differently Abledto live within their own families;

- to extend support to registered organization to provide need based services during the period of crises in the family of persons with physically challenged;

- to deal with problems of persons with Differently Abledwho do not have family support.

National Policy for Persons with Disabilities Act 2005

The National Policy, released in February 2006 recognizes that Persons with Disabilities. The focus of the policy is on the following:

- Prevention of Disabilities

- Rehabilitation Measures

- Physical Rehabilitation Strategies

- Early Detection and Intervention

- Counseling & Medical Rehabilitation

In addition, to these parliamentary acts, India draws support from international bodies to compliment the legal framework. It is a signatory to the Declaration on the Full Participation and Equality of People with Disabilities in the Asia Pacific Region, the Biwako Millennium Framework for action towards an inclusive, barrier free and rights based society and India is currently participating in the negotiations on the UN Convention on Protection and promotion of the Rights and Dignity of Persons with Disabilities. For example

- The Differently Abled and Rehabilitation WHO Action Plan 2006-2011 document provides the overview of WHO's future plan of activities, coordinated by the Differently Abled and Rehabilitation team located in the Department of Injuries and Violence Prevention, in the Non-communicable Diseases and Mental Health.

- One of the four strategic areas of the Bibikova Millennium Framework is the development of a national system of physically challenged-related data collection and analysis.

Special Educational Needs and Physically handicapped Act 2001 (SENDA 2001) – This act covers all disabled students. It introduces the right for disabled students not to be discriminated against in education, training and any services provided wholly or mainly for students. It covers students enrolled on courses that are run by responsible bodies, this includes further and higher education and sixth form colleges. The act covers both educational and non-educational services such as examinations and assessments, field trips, arrangements for work placements, short courses, and libraries and learning resources. (www.ukcle.ac.uk). As Healthcare professionals it is important to remember to listen to the people who really know the most about their illness or physically handicapped, the patients. When dealing with children realise that parents can feel deskilled by so called experts who don't listen or contradict what they say. It is impossible to describe what disabled people want from healthcare professionals as each person is an individual with different wants and needs. The only way to find out what is wanted from us is to ask our patients and not make assumptions.

13.8 Role of NGOs and Rehabilitation

In our country, there are various NGOs, voluntary organizations and self-help groups working for physically challenged. These NGOs in collaboration with the Government provide training, employment and other support services to the physically handicapped. They encourage Government to legislate physically handicapped friendly policies and programmes. However, many of the voluntary organizations view people with Differently Abled as dependents who need help to carry day-to-day activity of their lives. This is a problematic Differently Abled not as subjects of protection but as active participants of development goals. These groups have launched massive advocacy campaigns for upliftment and empowerment of people with disabilities. They have been successful in making society more tolerant to diversity and differences. Unlike other marginalized groups, physically handicapped have not been able to project their problems on wider social plane as they lead dispersed social lives that make their discrimination appear as individual problems. People suffering from Differently Abled are often subjected to physical and sexual abuse. They are forced to live in institutions outside the society. Also they are restrained from getting married or having children. Despite of various governmental legislations, nothing much has been possible in this regard. Earlier, it was considered the prime responsibility of the state to ensure well-being of old and physically and mentally challenged people. However with globalization and structural adjustment programme (SAP) being followed by the government, there is exhaustion of government sponsored medical care and other benefits. Also there is gradual privatization of health care sector leading to increased difficulties of marginalized sections like old and physically handicapped. Even the constitution of India does not explicitly deals with provisions regarding physically challenged. For example, Article 15 (Fundamental Rights) prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth but does not clearly mentions person with Differently Abled as a group. It appears that earlier the Government of India generally has been practicing charity approach towards the issue of physically challenged. It has been basically the result of persistent struggle of Differently Abled movement under the broader human rights movement that lots of positive changes have been possible. The Government has been relying on charitable institutions to deliver basic services to people with disabilities. The need is to change the approach of welfare to that of human rights and entitlement based approach. Human rights approach alone can highlight the unique abilities of disables.

Various voluntary agencies realized to provide the required services to physically challenged. A number of NGOs have also come forward to render their valuable services to them. They work for the disabled with speech disorder, visual impairment, hearing impairment, socially disadvantaged and physically challenged, by providing them various services such as day care services, educational facilities, prevocational training, mobility training, awareness programme and whenever rehabilitation is needed shelter is also ensured. The government through disability commission in various states assist these NGOs wheelchairs, calipers and walking sticks for Differently Abled, artificial limbs to those who have lost their legs either in accident or amputated due to diseases health care services for those who are affected by polio are provided by the government through social welfare rehabilitation centers. Special scholarships for Differently Abledand if any PH wants to be self employed they get loans from bank and national commission for disabled to enable them to be independent. Travel concession is given to the Differently Abledto travel by the government transports to go to places for study or going to the places for jobs or going to hospitals for treatment. Rehabilitation commission runs in various places through state and district units special schools for` physically impaired. Every district has an officer to

implement, to take care of all these activities and monitor all the activities and coordinate with national commission.

Disability in Children

Causes of physical impairments include polio, paralysis, weakness, accidents like spinal cord injury, brain injury, cerebral palsy, arthritis, skeletal impairments, muscular dystrophy, etc. Problems faced by children with physical impairments include poor muscle control, fatigue, difficulty in walking, talking, seeing, speaking, sensing or grasping, difficulty in reaching things, and doing complex or compound manipulations and twisting motions. These individuals usually rely on assistive devices. Commonly used assistive devices include mobility aids (e.g., crutches, wheelchairs), manipulation aids (e.g., prosthetics, orthotics) communication aids (e.g. communication boards).

13.9 Measures to Improve the Status of Disabled

The Disability Division in the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment facilitates empowerment of the persons with disabilities, who as per Census 2001 are 2.19 crore and are 2.13 percent of the total population of the Country. These include persons with visual, hearing, speech, locomotor and mental disabilities. Ministry of Social Justice provides the following measures to improve the status of disabled. These are divided into five parts:-
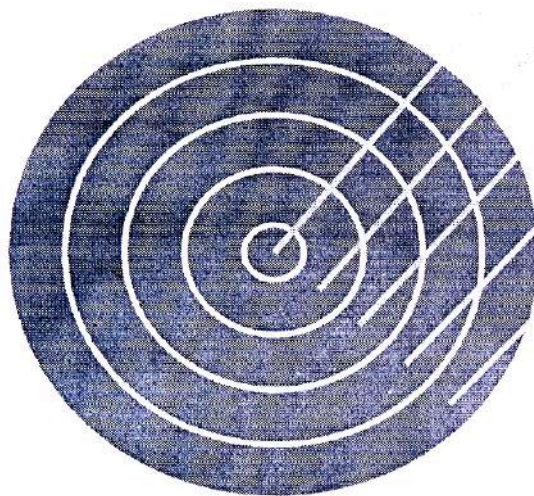
1. Organizations

2. Acts

3. Rules and Regulations

4. Policy

5. Reservation

     1. Following are the organisations which assures Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities-

(A) Statutory Bodies

1.   Office of the Chief Commissioner for Persons with Disabilities, New Delhi

2.   National Trust for the Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities, New Delhi

3. Rehabilitation Council of India (RC!), New Delhi

(B) National Institutes

1. Ali Yavar Jung National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped (AY JNIHH)

2. Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Institute for the Physically Handicapped (I PH), New Delhi

3. National Institute of Mentally Handicapped (NIMH), Secundrabad

4. National Institute of Visually Handicapped (NIVH), Dehradun

5. National Institute for Orthopaedically Handicapped, Kolkata

6. National Institute for Rehabilitation Training and Research (NIRTAR), Cuttack

7. National Institute for Empowerment of Persons with Multiple Disabilities (NIEPMD), Chennai

8. Indian Sign Language Research & Training Centre (ISLRTC)

(C) Public Sector Undertakings

1. Artificial Limbs Manufacturing Corporation of India (ALIMCO)

2. National Handicapped Finance and Development Corporation (NHFDC), Faridabad

(D) Composite Regional Centres for Persons with Disabilities (CRCs)

(E) Public Private Partnership - Indian Spinal Injury Centre

2. Acts: Our Indian Constitution protects disabled under these Acts:

i. Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995.

ii. National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disability Act, 1999.

iii. Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992.

3. Rules & Regulations

i. Amended Rules for Persons with Disabilities (New).

ii. The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Rules, 1996.

iii. The National Trust Rules. 2000.

iv. The National Trust Regulations, 200.1

v. Rehabilitation Council of India Regulations, 1997.

vi. Rehabilitation Council of India (Conditions of Service of the Member-Secretary, the officers and other employees) Regulations, 1998.

vii. Rehabilitation Council of India (Standards of Professional Conduct. Etiquette and Code of Ethics for Rehabilitation Professionals) Regulations, 1998.

4. Policy- National Policy For Persons with Disabilities

• National Policy for Persons with Disabilities has been announced in February, 2006.

- The National Policy recognizes that Persons with Disabilities are valuable human resource for the country and seeks to create an environment that provides them equal opportunities, protection of their rights and full participation in society. The focus of the policy is on (a) Prevention of Disabilities and (b) Rehabilitation Measures.

- The salient features of the National Policy are:

  i. Physical Rehabilitation, which includes early detection and intervention, counseling & medical interventions and provision of aids & appliances. It also includes the development of rehabilitation professionals.

  ii. Educational Rehabilitation including vocational training and

  iii. Economic Rehabilitation for a dignified life in society.

- The policy specifically focuses on issues concerning women and children with disabilities.

- Various Ministries/Departments in Central Government and the State Governments and UT Administrations are implementing the policy, which is a continuous process.

5. Reservation to the Persons with Disabilities in posts in Government Establishments

Section 33 of the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995 provides for reservation of not less than three per cent of vacancies in identified posts, by appropriate Governments, for persons with disability, of which one per cent each is to be reserved for persons suffering from

  i. blindness or low vision

  ii. hearing impairment

  iii. locomotor disability or cerebral palsy.

13.10 Summary

By and large Differently Abled people as a society suffer from being burdened with unequal treatment and social stigma from the broader society. The public attitude towards the Differently Abled people is sympathy based and their attitude does not have any empathy for them. The national scenario indicates that the employment opportunity for the Differently Abled people is limited in the private sector and only the public services recruit Differently Abled people.

Daily living skills pose severe difficulties in the lives of Physically challenged. Leisure activities and community participation are limited. Educational achievement may be restricted. Employment is more difficult to find than it is for those who are normal people. Social stereotypes and discrimination affect every aspect of life. Efforts to lessen the effects of disabilities and to reduce the number of people affected are essential. Prevention programs not only reduce the tremendous human cost of handicaps but also decrease the enormous financial burden imposed by the service requirements of people with disabilities. Money devoted to preventive efforts is a good investment in both the ethical and the practical sense.

13.11 Further Readings

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- Pankajam,G . 2009 Care and Education of differentlyabled Concept Publisher, New Delhi.

- Rao Prakash,A and Usha,MN 1995 Helping the Disabled:Indian Perspective Ashish Pub. House, New Delhi.

- Singh,JP and Dash,MK(Ed) 2005 Disability development in India. Rehabilitation Council Of *India* in association with Kanishka Publishers ,New Delhi

13.12 Model Questions

Q.1.   Define physically Challenged. Explain its types?

Q.2.   What are the causes of speech impairment?

Q.3.   What are the causes of visual impairment?

Q.4.   Describe the role played by national commission In rehabilitation?

Answers for Self-Assessment Questions.

1.   Locomotor, Visually, Speech and Hearing disability.

2.   See 13.7

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