Chapter: 1

Introduction
From times immemorial, the exploitation of weaker sections of society by the powerful has been the order of the day. Poverty is the central and inevitable theme of life of the weak and disadvantaged. To survive and to make both ends meet so many compromises have to be made, including the unimaginable compromise of sending their small children to work. The children's work force in India is a formidably large group and all amount of legal strictures have not been able to curb it except to some extent in the organised sector. The non-organised sector is manned to a very large extent by children. Whether this should be so or not be so is a different issue, but it is a painful reality, which not only exists, but is going on unbridled in the present scenario. A large number of issues and problems emanating from it are of deep concern to the psychologists and to all who feel that equity and justice are hallmarks of human existence.

The phenomenon of 'working children' is most widely observed in underdeveloped and developing societies. Phadke (1968) states that child labour refers to "employment of children in gainful occupations away from their family in return for wages." This definition distinguishes employment from the participation of the child in family occupation in order to learn it.
The author goes on to point out that, it is mainly the employment of children in urban areas, away from the supervision of their families in return for wages, that has created serious hazards to the welfare of children and which has brought the phenomenon to the public gaze.

Stein and Davis (1940) viewed child labour as any work by children that interferes with in their full physical development, the opportunities for a desirable minimum of education and of their needed reaction.” Such a definition seems to be covered in the UN 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. It's article 32.1 states that it is the right of the child “to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, moral or social development.”

Child labour assumes the character of global problem. ILO (1996) estimates that there are 250 million children working full or part time in the developing world. Various conventional surveys such as the national census operation, ILO and by the World Bank, confirm the prevalence of child labour in poorest regions of poor countries. Child labour participation is supposed to be as high as 32.9% in Eastern Africa, 24.2% in Western Africa, 20% in East Asia, 14% in South Asia, 12.8% in South
America and 11.1% in South-east Asia (Fallen and Tazannatos, 1998).

Amongst the underdeveloped and poor societies, India is one of the nations which is facing the problem of child labour to a great extent. Children here are engaged in various kinds of work in non-organized or cottage settings such as motor garages, small wayside eating places, factories of lock; glassware and brassware, picking scrap, vending inexpensive goods and as domestic helps. According to Swami Agnivesha (1994) around 120 to 140 million children are working in this country. Of these 55 million children between the ages of six and 14 are languishing in servitude. The population census of India, a fairly reliable instrument enumerated in 1971 around 10.7 million children and the 1981 census counted 13.6 million working children. At that time, there were 178 million persons in the age group 5-14 years and the child labour population thus amounted to around 8% of the relevant population (Chandrashekhar, 1997). The National Sample Survey (NSS), which for all practical purposes is an even more reliable instrument on working and living conditions, in 1982 - 83 projected that 17.4 million children up to age of 14 years could be deemed to be working children. The 43rd round of the NSS (1987-88) had concluded that just over 17 million children could be classified as working. According to Khatu (1983) the findings of Operational Research Group (a research institute
commissioned by Govt. of India) in 1983 had the figure of 44 million with a high degree of reliability. The Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs subsequent to the February 1997 Amsterdam Child Labour Conference, suggested that India has 55 to 60 million bonded child labourers, a figure based on the claims of the South Asia Coalition against Child Slavery.

The table representation of the official figures of child labour population has been given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population of child Labour (Figures in Millions)</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census 1961</td>
<td>8.16</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS 1972-73</td>
<td>8.66</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS 1978</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census 1981</td>
<td>9.34</td>
<td>6.23</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS 1982-83</td>
<td>9.30</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSS 1987-88</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jain (1994), Singh (1990)

Prima facie, poverty is the central and inevitable theme of the problem of child labour. The majority of our population is living below the poverty line. In search of employment exodus of masses from villages towards cities is a continuous process leading to the development of slums around big cities. These poor slum dwellers are deprived of even their basic necessities. Thus, they are compelled to send their children to do remunerative work
in non-organised units. The non-organised sector of the economy is a dynamic one in India and accounts for a large share of the economic activity of the country. It is the largest employer of children in urban and semi-urban areas. According to ILO it is also, "the fastest growing area of child labour (in developing countries) fed by rural-to-urban migration and the breaking down of production into more decentralised units."

Working children may be engaged in tasks that are too strenuous for their age, or which take place under unsanitary conditions (Panday 1991). The shocking condition of working children was first reported in India by the Royal Commission on Labour in 1931 (Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India, 1968). Burra (1987) in her exhaustive study on the exploitation of child labour in Aligarh lock factories has identified unimaginable level of unhealthy and hazardous tasks being performed by the minors. She states that more than 60% of the workers in polishing are less than 14 years of age. Children of 8 and 9 years can be seen working very late at night. The tasks such as powder polishing and electroplating are highly hazardous and workers directly inhale emery powder and metal dust.

Because of the illegal and therefore concealed nature of child labour, the detrimental health effects of labour on the children are very difficult to be measured. Exposure to toxic substances, work accidents, psychological disturbances and other
damaging effects with working children are all too common (Levin, 1984). Children may be forced to work for long hours in unhealthy, hazardous environment conducive to asocial behaviour. According to UNICEF, work prevents many children from gaining or benefiting from education. According to Panday (1991) they are generally deprived at the psychological level of love, affection and sympathy of the family. In addition, besides being exploited for the work, they are subjected to the abuses of different sorts. Abuses may range from minor level to major physical, sexual, economic or emotional overtures. Panday (1991) states that for female workers sexual harassment and abuse occur in the process of searching and maintaining a job.

The discovery of "battered child syndrome" in 1962 by Henry Kempe' and associates saw the beginning of interest of the general public and also serious researchers in the phenomenon of child abuse and its consequences. Later on, sexual abuse was highlighted in Britain during 1980's (Corby, 1993). It was further noted that children are subjected to different kinds of victimization and are particularly vulnerable due to their developmental status (Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994). In the course of time, cross-cultural studies brought awareness that child abuse is a global problem (Segal and Ashtekar, 1994).
Concept of child abuse is perhaps the most difficult issue to be defined. According to Parke and Collmer (1975), abused child refers to “any child who receives non-accidental physical injury as a result of acts and omissions on the part of his parents or guardians that violate the community standards concerning the treatment of children”. But Jill (1981) has taken a wider perspective and included those acts of maltreatment which do not produce an injury but are equally harmful. Jill refers child abuse to all kinds of physical or mental injury, negligent treatment or maltreatment of a child by a person who is responsible for the child’s welfare.

It is suggested by literature in the area that abuse may be divided into different categories, according to the type of maltreatment and its effects. The popular categories of abuse are physical abuse, sexual abuse, economic abuse (concerned with working children), and physical and emotional neglect.

David Gil (1968) has defined physical abuse as “any non-accidental physical attack or physical injury, inflicted upon the child by the child’s caretakers”. Attacker or abuser may be anyone who is at least a temporary caretaker of the victim such as; parent, teacher, employer, relative or elder sibling.

Unlike other maltreatments, sexual exploitation or abuse of minors is one of the most horrendous crimes. Kempe’ and
Kempe' (1978) has defined it is “the involvement of dependent and immature children in sexual activities they do not fully comprehend, to which they are unable to give informed consent”. Sexual abuse is physical, verbal or emotional sex treatment to the child. It occurs when an older or more knowledgeable child or adult uses child for sexual pleasure. Abusers make the child comply in different ways such as deception, bribery, verbal intimidation and physical force (Gomez-Schwartz, Horowitz, & Cardarelli, 1990). In such cases, the sexual interaction of victim with the perpetrator may lead to an act either by commission or by omission. Act of sexual abuse may include sexual touching or fondling, confrontation with sexual media (showing the child printed or audio-visual sexual stuff), having sexual chat with them, having them pose, undress or other sexual performance, peeping or spying over them and rape or attempting rape.

A peculiar form of child sexual abuse is child’s exposure to pornography. According to Zillmann (1989) prolonged exposure to pornography may result in many behavioural abnormalities including elevated level of violence, altered perception of sexuality, insensitivity toward victims of sexual abuse and being capable of committing rape etc. The problem is further aggravated when children themselves are lured or forced to become subjects of such activity. On the face of it, it looks to be relatively easy
business and therefore many runaway children try to adopt it to survive in large cities (Encyclopaedia of crime and Justice, 1983). Impacts of the pornographic experiences often produce feelings of betrayal, guilt, worthlessness and rage (Pierce, 1984).

With the reach of media particularly the Internet expanding and enlarging uncontrollably, the child's vulnerability to confrontation with sexual stuff has grown to a great extent (Carlsson, ). Accessing Internet pornography by children becomes more dangerous as it provides access for child abusers, blackmailers and paedophiles (Aftab, 1999). Paedophiles form their association and forum on Internet developing their own vocabulary and code words to operate and communicate with each other in order to engage children in inappropriate sexual communication and to entangle them in a sexual trap (Quayle and Taylor, 2001).

Economic exploitation of a poor working child is also an abuse of the child. It is not a category of abuse which is popular in common parlance but, with children forming a sizeable workforce of many countries including our own, its importance cannot be lost sight of.

Economic abuse is a peculiar kind of abuse, happening to those children who are engaged in self-earnings. Children of very low socio-economic strata do petty remunerative jobs under various non-organised / cottage undertakings such as, glassware,
brassware, lock factories and small roadside hotels (*dhabas*). These child workers are generally not protected by any legal / labour agency and usually work under the mercy of their employers. In order to exact more work while paying less, employers usually harass them and do not pay them properly. This economic exploitation comes under the category of economic abuse. Economic abuse may include:

- Not paying them for their work. (non-payment)
- Paying less for their work. (under-payment)
- Keeping their payments pending.
- Forcing them to work more than their due remuneration.
- Demanding loans/snatching money from them.

*Physical and emotional neglect* is another form of abuse. Failure to recognize hazardous circumstances or responding improperly to child’s nutritional, health and developmental needs, or leaving a child unattended either wilfully or inadvertently, leading young children to serious accidents, deaths from falls or burns and poisoning etc. also come under the purview of abuse (Lupton, C.; Khan, P.; & Lacey, D. 1997). Kratcoski and Kratcoski (1979) have defined physical neglect as “the failure to provide the essentials for normal life, such as food, clothing, shelter, care and supervision, and protection from assault. He further explained emotional neglect as the lack of expressed love and affection and
the deliberate withholding of contact and approval. Under the category of emotional maltreatment children are usually blamed, belittled, rejected, unequally treated with reference to siblings and are targets of lack of concern from parents/caretakers.

Apart from the four major types of child abuse described above, some other issues like child marriage and child labour also come under the category of abuse.

Bear, Schenk, Buckner (1993) have identified some physical and behavioural indicators of the forms of child abuse. These indicators have been tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Indicators</th>
<th>Behavioural Indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Abuse</strong></td>
<td><strong>Behavioural Indicators</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unexplained bruises (in various stages of healing)</td>
<td>• Self destructive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unexplained burns, especially cigarette burns or immersion burns</td>
<td>• Withdrawn and aggressive – behavioural extremes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unexplained fractures, lacerations or abrasions</td>
<td>• Uncomfortable with physical contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Abandonment</td>
<td>• Arrives at school early or stays late, as if afraid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unattended medical needs</td>
<td>• Regularly displays fatigue or listlessness, falls asleep in class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consistent lack of supervision</td>
<td>• Steals food, begs room classmates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consistent hunger, inappropriate dress, poor hygiene</td>
<td>• Reports that no caretaker is at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lice, distended stomach, emaciation</td>
<td>• Frequently absent or tardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Neglect</strong></td>
<td>• Self-destructive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Abandonment</td>
<td>• Chronic runaway (adolescent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unattended medical needs</td>
<td>• Complains of soreness or moves uncomfortably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consistent lack of supervision</td>
<td>• Wears clothing inappropriate to weather, to cover body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consistent hunger, inappropriate dress, poor hygiene</td>
<td>• Frequently absent or tardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lice, distended stomach, emaciation</td>
<td>• Self-destructive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sexual Abuse</strong></td>
<td>• School dropouts (adolescents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Torn, stained or bloodied underclothing</td>
<td>• Reports that no caretaker is at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pain or itching in genital area</td>
<td>• Sudden school difficulties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Difficulty walking or sitting</td>
<td>• Inappropriate sex play or premature understanding of sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bruises or bleeding in external genitalia</td>
<td>• Threatened by physical contact, closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Venereal disease</td>
<td>• Promiscuity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Frequent urinary or yeast infections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indicators of emotional neglect according to Denver (1961) are:

- Habit disorders such as biting, thumb sucking.
- Conduct disorders such as destructiveness, cruelty and stealing
- Neurotic traits such as sleep disorders and inhibition of play.
- Psycho-neurotic reactions such as hysteria, phobias and obsession.
- Behaviour extremes such as appearing overly complainant, extremely passive or aggressive, very demanding or undemanding.
- Lag in emotional and intellectual development and
- Attempted suicide.

Indicators of economic abuse may overlap with the characteristics of other types of abuses. It is difficult to observe and state the signs of economic abuse as clearly as can be done in the case of sexual and emotional abuse.

Historically childhood has been viewed as loveable, a stage of protection with care and warmth, besides training for physical and moral growth. Ostensibly, the child is a “national asset” for national and capital building. Ironically in underdeveloped countries like India most children can hardly dream of childhood. In reality, this is an age-old phenomenon. The harsh reality of
ancient India was that children of slaves were born as slaves, lived as slaves unless the master was pleased to free them (Kulshreshtha, 1978). The words of Kautilya and Sir Henry Maine similarly disclose that child slaves could be purchased & sold like commodities (Verma, 1979). Children, sometimes even less than 8 years of age were purchased to do so-called “low and dishonourable” work. Marriage at a tender age particularly of girls is also an abuse, physical, sexual and emotional. Altekar (1956) reports that among the Pandyas who lived in Madura and Tinnevelly districts, girls used to be married at the age of six. He asserts that girls in that country could conceive at the age of seven.

Practice of child sexual abuse with the both sexes was prevailing during the Mughal regime. Abu’l Fazl Allami in The A’in-I-Akbari describes about the practice of prostitution under particular restrictions and controls. He wrote that, “If any well known courtier wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to his majesty and get his permission. In the same way, boys prostituted themselves...” Abuse due to ignorance was also prevailing. Badauni in Muntakhabit-Tawarikh, describes about an experiment conducted by Emperor Akbar. Some courtiers of Akbar suggested that if a child does not get any supervision of speech he/she automatically learns to speak the natural or divine language. To test this hypothesis, around twenty suckling were taken from their
mothers on payment and were kept in an isolated palace. Their caretakers were instructed to keep always silence. After months, all the children became dumb and most of them died. The palace was known as “Gang Mahal” or palace of dumb.

During modern period, colonial rule brought in the industries in India in search of cheap labour force. This in turn started the trend of child labour in our society. Although other problems of child maltreatment were already prevailing in the society.

In the present Indian scenario, problems of children living in slum areas are of great concern. Thousands of girls, some below the ages of 12 and 14, have been sold by their parents and find themselves caught in a network of brothels, child pornography and drug trafficking. In a recent incidence, 38 minor girls were rescued from Delhi based brothels. All of them were picked from the slum areas across the country (Sunday Times of India, 19th Aug. 2001). In another incident Mumbai police arrested a Swiss couple who lured slum children to perform for sexual poses. Hefty sums and gifts were paid to them (Times of India, 25th Dec. 2000). Anita Khemka a freelance photographer for a book named Fallen Angels has taken photographs of male child prostitutes. She admits, “It is a very sad situation. It is so rampant that each locality has its own set of male sex workers.”

The phenomenon of child bondage in India, according to Swami Agnivesh (1994) was exposed in 1984. Thirty-two bonded
children aged six to 12 years, were kidnapped from Chhichori village in Palamau district of Bihar and were taken to Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh for weaving the carpets. They were beaten with bamboo sticks, hung upside down and branded with red-hot iron rods. Children who work for their livelihood also become vulnerable to be abused like these bonded children. Their employers and other powerful persons overpower them and use them as instruments and behave them inhumane. Santosh 15 got his two fingers of right hand chopped in a machine due to his employer’s wrath. Later his employer threatened to kill him, if he told anything about the incident to anybody (Times of India, May 23, 2000).

Reporting of such incidents in our society is incidental and represent only the tip of the iceberg. Secrecy of child abuse makes the problem complex and more severe. The problem is so rampant and deep-rooted that working children and their parents has accepted it as the necessary part of their job situation.

The problem of child abuse has been defined in legal terms and necessary laws have been made to check this social evil. Government of India has also recognised the seriousness of the problem and passed the Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act in 1986.

- Article 24, clause (f) of this act casts a duty on states to declare that children are given opportunities and facilities
to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation against moral material abandonment.

Together with this, the Indian Penal Code, Section 361 has considered kidnapping or maiming a child for begging or for prostitution as an offence.

Major international bodies associated with United Nations viz. UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO are working for the betterment of poor children, abolition of their maltreatments and management of the detrimental effects of the maltreatment.

United Nations in this connection, made several declarations of the rights of the child. One such convention on the rights of the child was adopted by the general assembly of the United Nations on 20th November 1989. The Government of India acceded to this convention on 11th December 1992. This convention was the extended version of earlier conventions i.e. the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the child (1924) and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly on 20th November 1959.

The declaration has made various provisions not only the controlling and management of maltreatment of children but the rehabilitation provisions have also been made. In this reference Article 19 (1) of this declaration says that, “States shall take all
appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or natural violence, injury or abuse, while in the case of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other persons who has the care of the child.”

Article 34 is dedicated particularly to the sexual exploitation of children. This article declares that, “States undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, states shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

(a) The inducement of coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity.

(b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practice.

(c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

This convention has manifested its concern towards the rehabilitation of child victims and management of their problems. In this connection Article 39 declared that, “States shall take all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social re-integration of a child victim of any form of neglect, exploitation, or abuse; torture or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; or armed conflicts. Such recovery and re-integration shall take place in an
environment, which fosters the health, self-respect and dignity of the child.

Consequences of child abuse are detrimental and far-reaching. It is suggested by work in this area that child abuse results in severe consequences to the victim, physiologically; socially and psychologically. After the discovery of battered child syndrome in 1962 by Henry Kempe', so many health-related researches have been conducted in this direction, surfacing the physiological consequences of child abuse. The physical symptoms of child abuse are bruises/welts, cuts/scratches, dislocation of joints, burns, scalds and bone fractures (de Paul, J.; Milner, J.S.; Mugica, P. 1995, Block, S.S. 1996). In chronic cases, haemosiderin deposits in lungs and liver (Dorandeu, A. et. al. 1999), internal injuries such as intracranial haemorrhage and abdominal visceral injuries leading to the severe morbidity and mortality (Cheah, I.G. et. al. 1994) etc. Skeletal manifestations include general fractures (Patterson M.M. 1998; Cramer, K.E. 1996 and Block, S.S. 1996) fracture of ribs (Strouse, P.J. and Owings, C.L. 1996) and fractures of chostochondral junctions (Ng, C.S. and Hall, C.M. 1998).

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For illustration of physiological terms on pg. 18, 19 and 20, please see glossary in appendix- VIII

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Physiological responsiveness such as heart rate, pulse rate, skin temperature and conductance, electromyography and motor reactivity of abused children to different stimuli of the environment may be delayed as compared to the non-abused children (Carrey, N.J. et. al. 1995). This explains that slow reactivity or responsiveness to the environment may be one of the impacts of child abuse.

Child abuse most often result in Orofacial injuries. Von Burg and Hibbard (1995) maintained that more than 50% of physical abuse occurs to the head and facial area and more than 70% fatalities happen due to such implementations. Orofacial injuries, according to Jessee (1995) include fracture of teeth or maxilla, mandible and other facial bone, facial burns, lacerations of lips and lingual fraenum and bite marks on face and neck. Besides the orofacial injuries, Ocular Injuries are also important to come under the purview of child abuse. These include intraocular haemorrhage, periorbital edema, ecchymosis and retinal detachment (Harley, 1980).

SOME OTHER PHYSIOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF CHILD ABUSE:

- **Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy (MSBP):**
  
  A syndrome, which mystifies physicians, was first described in 1977 (Von Burg and Hibbard 1995a). Especially in western countries where law towards the childcare is more forceful, parent/s sometimes try to induce fictitious symptoms of illness in their child to escape from accountability in case of neglect or abuse on their own account (Blumenthal, 1994; Mehl, Coble and Johnson, 1990; Yorker and Kahan, 1990; Kravitz and Wilmott, 1990). This fabricated illness in the child is also known as medical child abuse (Boros et. al. 1995; Evans, D. 1995 and Marcus et. al., 1995)

- **Kwashiorkor Disease:**

  If for a long period of time quantitative or qualitative under-supply of nutrition is given to the child, he/she may lose weight and may get stagnation and/or stunted growth. This state is known as Kwashiorkor disease (Bonet et. al. 2001). This is measured with the comparison of expected growth (considering height, weight etc.) with actual body size of the child (Wehner, et. al. 1999).
Psychological Impacts of child abuse are far reaching (Gilles, 1999) and it is a significant risk for mental health problems in childhood (Bietchman et al., 1991; Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993) such as self-esteem, depression, anxiety, and feelings of anger and hostility (Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1985; Mannarino, Cohen & Gregor, 1989). Detrimental effects of abuse could be seen among the victims in short-term as also in the long-term.

General behaviour changes that may occur for short term in abused children include fear or dislike of certain people, sleep disturbances, headaches, school problems, withdrawal from family, friends, or usual activities, excessive bathing or poor hygiene, return to younger and more babyish behaviour, depression, anxiety, discipline problems, running away, eating disorders, passive or overly pleasing behaviour, delinquent acts, low self-esteem, self-destructive behavior, hostility or aggression, drug or alcohol problems, sexual activity or pregnancy at an early stage and suicide attempts (Irving, 1983).

According to Milling (1999) abused children show lower grades in academic subjects, more days absent, more placements in special education programs, more retention in grade, and more school problems than non-abused children. Sexual victimization may profoundly interfere with and alter the development of attitudes toward self, sexuality, and trustworthy
relationships during the critical early years of development (Tsai & Wagner, 1984). Early age sexual experiences also result in emotional immaturity and distorted views of sex (Dillon, 1999). Children who have higher rates of physical abuse, sexual abuse, severe neglect and family breakdown and parental criminality develop themselves as borderline personality (Guzder, et. al. 1999). It has also been noted that abused children can have a preoccupation for situations or behavior similar to the initial traumatizing circumstance (Eth & Pynoos, 1985), victims with a post-traumatic stress disorder selectively process threatening material while undergoing the expectations test. (Bryant & Harvey, 1995; Foa, Feske, Murdock, Kozak, & McCarthy, 1991).

According to Stevenson (1999) abused children are at risk of long-term adverse psychological sequelae related to the abuse per se. Finkelhor (1984) notes that, victims of sexual abuse may sexualise all their relationships in an attempt to gain affection; in adolescence this can lead to a self-destructive pattern of promiscuity with a succession of abusive relationships.

Prominent theories on the effects of child abuse have focused on abuse variables in predicting mental health outcomes. Childhood victimization of abuse and neglect is associated with increased risk for lifetime Post-traumatic Stress Disorder. Very less part of the population of abused children
meet DSM-III-R criteria of lifetime PTSD. Disordered eating attitudes in adult life with depression, anxiety and dissociation is also a result of childhood abuse (Kent et.al., 1999).

Severe levels of dysfunction in adulthood, including psychosis high frequency of auditory hallucinations, particularly command hallucinations to kill oneself, paranoid ideation and delusions have high correlation with the history of child sexual abuse (Read and Argyle, 1999). The pernicious experiences of childhood abuse may hamper the proper personality developments like cognitive processes specially perception of moral concepts (Faruquie, 2002), attitude formation (Kousar et. al., 1993) and constriction in the self and healthy character development (Famularo, Kinscherff and Fenton, 1990).

If perceptions and ideations can be affected by the experience of abuse, children undergoing these experiences may manifest features different from what children usually express in others appraisal and judgment of morally loaded issues. Moral judgement is one of those aspects likely to be most affected by the child’s deep psychic confrontation and possible trauma.

According to Gelfand and Hartmann (1980) “moral judgement involves the consideration of the ethics of various courses of action and weighing of costs and benefits to the actor, the beneficiary, and the social order”. It is a decision in the face
of any moral dilemma. Sinha and Verma (1972) have defined moral judgement as, "the cognitive capacity to perceive the relationship between an abstract principle and an actual behaviour and to judge the behaviour as right or wrong, good or bad".

Although the period of 1920’s to 1940’s in which prominent researchers such as Hartshorne & May (1928 – 1930) and Piaget (1932) have worked intensively on children’s social adjustment, socialization processes and their moral development, is considered by many to have ushered work in the area. But the pioneering work regarding moral development was conducted as early as 1894 by Earl Barnes and Margaret Schallenberger at Stanford University, (Bergling, 1985). Barnes studied the child’s conception of justice and Schallenberger presented, according to the author, the first theory of three developmental stages in moral reasoning.

Different theoretical viewpoints have been given with regard to morality. It is interesting to note that while giving the description of moral development, each approach tends to be holistic and isolated and offers answers in complete independence from the other points of view (Ryan, 1985). This will be clear from the paragraphs that follow:
Biological Viewpoint:

Kant (1797) said that moral principles are innately furnished in the structure of human mind and intelligence. During the 1970's biological theories of human social behaviour got major support from sociological studies on animal societies, especially those on baboons and chimpanzees, following the theory of Sociobiology. Elgmork (1988) reports that in 1871 Charles Darwin formulated the scientific theory that the origin of morality lies in the social instincts which, as in the rest of the animal kingdom, are acquired through natural selection. He goes on to say that empirical research on this theory consequently indicates that the origin of our morality, like our biological development, is an integrated aspect of the evolutionary process which was formulated by Darwin in 1871. Furthermore, the theory suggested that many morally relevant prosocial behaviours, such as helping, sharing, and cooperating, were rooted in the genetic heritage of our species (Wilson, 1975). Observation and experimentation with animals have supported this view as animals such as ants, bees and termites show extremes of self-sacrifice for the safety and well being of their hives. Primates like chimpanzees often share meat after a cooperative hunt and practice adoption when a baby loses its mother (Goodall, 1990). These examples provide reasons for asserting that the evolution has given human being a biological background of moral behaviour. This can also be seen
in the fact that new born humans are able to express empathy and cry when they hear another baby cry. Hay and associates (1991) conducted a research on a group of 2-year olds and found that they share toys in scarcity, more than in the situation where they are plentiful. This is in consonance with the theory of Sociobiology, which argues primitive existence of moral behaviour.

**Psychoanalytic Viewpoint:**

The psychoanalytic approach of moral development, propounded by Sigmund Freud (1930) states that, “sense of guilt is the most important problem in the evolution of culture.” His view regarding morality is based on a view of human nature as driven by irrational impulses, which must be controlled.

Freud’s psychological model involved three major parts: the id, which is the repository of raw, animalistic urges and desires; the ego, which is the reality principle and works to govern our actions; and, the superego, the last element to develop, which functions as an agent of restraint, and which keeps the person from committing wrong or immoral acts, and that teaches the individual what is right and what is wrong (Ryan, 1985). Moral anxiety i.e. the fear of conscience is an important factor which controls child’s behaviour. This moral anxiety is related to fear of punishment for violating the moral code (Freud, 1926). Children
tend to avoid the painful feelings of guilt which emerge each time the superego is disobeyed.

Psychoanalytic view of moral development considers that the capacity to experience guilt is an important sign that the child's superego has been well formed. Appropriate identification with parents, internalisation of their moral standards, and the capacity to experience guilt are all signs of children's normal psychological development (Alexander, Roodin & Gorman, 1980).

In sum, Freud believed that children obtain their morality from their parents and act in accordance with moral prescriptions to avoid punitive feelings of guilt from a harsh, restrictive superego (Berk, 1996).

**Social Learning Viewpoint:**

According to Bandura (1969), morality in a child develops through the process of learning. Theorists (Bandura, 1977; Grusec, 1988) suggest that the process of learning morality is of two types: deliberate shaping of child by the parents through reward and punishment i.e. reinforcement, and through the process of imitation and modelling in which they observe and imitate adults who behave appropriately. The acquired moral responses are continued to be established and their frequency increases with the effect of reinforcement such as praising a
moral act (Grusec & Redler, 1980; Mills & Grusec, 1989; Zarbatany, Hartmann & Gelfand, 1985).

The social learning view of morality has largely concentrated on the development of behavioural self-control. It is based on an analysis of the child's responses or behavioural reactions to moral standards (Alexander, Roodin & Gorman, 1980).

**Cognitive Developmental Viewpoint:**

Perhaps the most extensive and researched upon view of moral growth and development has been given by the cognitive moral developmental approach. According to this perspective, cognitive maturity and social experience lead to advances in moral understanding, from a superficial orientation of physical power and external consequences to a more profound appreciation of interpersonal relationships, societal institutions, and law making systems (Berk, 1996). As children's grasp of social cooperation expands, they get an idea about what ought to be done when the needs and desires of people conflict, and also change, towards increasingly just, fair and balanced solutions to moral problems (Rest, 1983).

Study of moral development revolves around the two theoretical explanations propounded by Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg. Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (1896–1980) has laid the foundation for understanding the developmental phases in the
moral judgement of the child. According to Piaget (1965) children's moral thinking involves the gradual recognition that there are rules in society which must be valued; these rules are based on concepts of justice and fairness.

Piaget described a developmental sequence which he built into his formulation of a theory of two stages in moral development. According to this theory; around the age of 5 yrs., children start to show great concern with and respect for rules, the period of *heteronomous morality* or *moral realism*. Word heteronomous means under the authority of another. Children of this stage view rules as handed down by the authorities (God, Parents and Teachers). Rules have permanent existence, unchangeable and required strict obedience despite unusual situation or circumstances. To determine the goodness or badness, children examine whether the rules were followed or not. Since moral rules are fixed and immutable, children of the heteronomous stage believe in *immanent justice* that wrongdoing inevitably leads to punishment. The basic feature of this stage is *egocentrism* i.e. the cognitive immaturity of young children who think that all people view rules in the same way.

After the age of 9 or 10 years children come to start changing their own view of morality and social rules. They tend to move away from *moral realism* to another stage of morality i.e. *autonomy*. This shift is known as *reduction of egocentrism*.
From 10 years onwards another stage takes place namely autonomous morality. It is also known as morality in cooperation. During this age child acquires independency in his or her moral judgement due to increasing intellectual capacity. In this stage, rules are viewed in a less rigid manner and they are based on mutual consent and could be changed. Reciprocity and mutual respect are the early signs of this stage of morality. Further, the skill of role taking ability takes place showing the ability to sympathise and to show affection and gratitude.

Autonomous morality comprises two unseen sub-stages. During the period of 8 –11 years, it is progressive egalitarianism child’s own ability to evaluate morality. During 11 – 12 years child is capable of tempering equality, so that it is not the only basis for determining justice. According to Piaget (1932/1965) reciprocity is at the heart of autonomous morality.

Piaget and his followers have made observations of age changes in different aspects of development of moral judgement which are implied by his stage concepts such as intentionality in judgement (Boehm and Nass, 1962; Caruso, 1943; Janis, 1961; Lerner, 1937; MacRae, 1954; Piaget, 1932), relativism in judgement (Lerner, 1937a; MacRae, 1954), independence of sanctions (Kohlberg, 1963) Use of Reciprocity (Kohlberg, 1958; Durkin, 1959), use of punishment as restitution and reform (Harrower, 1934; Piaget, 1932;

In 1958 Lawrence Kohlberg presented an extension of Piaget’s work in the field of moral development. This more comprehensive model of moral development has subsequently been submitted to successive revisions and enhancements. The research and understanding of morality on international stage revolves around this breakthrough research. Like Piaget, Kohlberg presented moral dilemmas or conflict situations of stories in which subjects were asked to decide what the actor of the story should do and why?

Kohlberg’s theory of moral development comprises invariant hierarchy of six stages of development in the process of developing sense of justice. All the six stages of this theory has been compiled in three major levels:

(i) Pre-conventional  (ii) Conventional and (iii) Post-conventional. *

An interesting aspect of understanding moral development is to understand the cross-cultural existence of this phenomenon. Kohlberg assumed that the development of moral reasoning would follow the same invariant sequence in all cultures and lead

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*A detail of Kohlberg's stages of moral development has been given in Appendix - VII.*
towards the same ultimate level of development, representing universal ethical principles (Berry et. al. 1992). Kohlberg’s claims have been tested in a large number of studies across different cultural settings.

Snarey (1985) in a review, included forty-five studies from twenty-seven cultural groups. The researcher found that the first two stages were identified in a wide range of cultural settings. For highest level of moral reasoning, no evidence was found for the universality of post-conventional stages particularly amongst tribal or village groups. This stage seems to be according to the author the characteristic of complex urban societies. However, Snarey (1985) goes on to say that every culture is capable of supporting post-conventional reasoning. Contrary to these notions Edwards (1987) claims that different cultural groups can be expected to differ in the level of moral reasoning, because of differences in values and social organization.

Take the case of India. India is country that is structurally complex and has a class of adults who care for the existence of moral values and regard them as important for the establishment of social fabric. India’s traditions, religions and philosophies are based on unique moral concepts. In the light of Kohlberg’s theory of moral development, it could be claimed that Indian adults may attain the post-conventional level of morality.
To investigate the status of moral development in India, Vasudev and Hummiel (1987) conducted moral reasoning interviews with middle-class subjects of different religions. Findings supported Kohlberg’s assumption that principled morality is not just a Western phenomenon. Shweder and associates (1990) on the basis of their research in India have proposed the existence of “alternative post-conventional moralities” based upon conceptions of natural law and justice, rather than on individualism, secularism and social contract and modelled the family as a moral institution.

Miller et. al. (1990) and Parikh (1980) studied moral judgement of Indian and American people finding cross-cultural universality in sequence and stages in both the cultures. Though Miller et. al. (1990) found some better moral preferences amongst Indian sample.

Sengupta, Saraswathi and Konantambigi (1994) and Vasudev (1983) argued that in India, socialization practices limit or mould moral thinking in prescribed ways associated with justice reasoning, which leads to the principle of ahimsa (non-violence).

Huebner and Garrod (1991) pointed out that in some Hindu and Buddhist cultures, morality is embedded in conceptions about the nature of human existence itself. Specially the law of karma (i.e. the adding up of good [dharma] and bad [adharma] actions) is crucial as it leads, according to the authors, to types of moral
reasoning totally different from the ones defined in Kohlberg's stage theory.

Sinha and Verma (1968) studied capacity of moral judgement of Indian children using their scale based on seven positive moral concepts (virtues) and seven negative moral concepts (vices). They were followed by others finding reasonable level of development of moral judgement amongst Indian children in relation to their intelligence, personal and demographic factors viz. age, sex, social class, education, area of living etc. (Verma, 1983; Singh, 1981; Tripathi and Misra, 1979, Srivastava, 1977).

Another important distinctively human feature which may be affected by the child’s experience of being subjected to abuse is that of values. Rokeach (1973) defines values as basic convictions that "a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." They contain a judgemental element in that they carry an individual’s ideas as to what is right, good, or desirable (Robbins, 2002). Rokeach further states that, “to say a person has a value is to say that cognitively he knows the correct way to behave or the correct end-state to strive for. Values, as standards (criteria) for establishing what should be regarded as desirable, provide the ground for accepting or rejecting norms for conduct. Pepper
(1958) states that values serve as criteria for selection in action and represent the philosophy of one’s behaviour.

Super (1980) defines a value as “an objective, either a psychological state, a relationship, or material condition, that one seeks to attain.” Hofstede (1984) defines values as “a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others.” Schwartz (1992) has more elaborately defined values as “desirable states, objects, goals, or behaviours, transcending specific situations and applied as normative standards to judge and to choose among alternative modes of behaviour.”

All the above definitions treat values as latent constructs that refer to the way in which people evaluate activities or outcomes. Thus, generally speaking, the notion of value points towards a relationship between an evaluating subject and an evaluated object, whereby this relationship is supposed to be durable and to have implications for the subject’s subsequent activity (Roc, 1999).

On the basis of definitions and elaboration of values by authors like Locke (1976) Rockeach (1973), Schwartz & Blisky (1987) it has been pointed out by Sverko (1999) that values have immense importance in the social order. When they are explicit and fully conceptualised, they become criteria for judgement, preference and choice (Encyclopaedia of Social Science, 1968). They are the general criterion and act like a pivot, around which
the system of society revolves. Value-as-criterion is the most important usage of the term, applied primarily for purpose of analysing society (William, 1960).

Researchers believe that values contribute a lot to regulate the behaviour and identity of individual, community and nations. Erikson (1963) says that values persist in the individual because they become a part of his sense of identity. Kluckhohn (1955) maintains that members of various cultures develop values in consonance with particular problems and their solutions. Thus, each society has some dominant value orientation which relates to getting of solutions to problems growing out of human situation.

Values generally influence attitudes and behaviour (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998). In this connection, Rokeach (1973) states that values give expression to human needs (motivation). He also suggested that values could shunt motivational arousal or energy in one direction or another. They are so powerful that even when a basic need like survival need is in question, a particular value which has high priority may gain precedence over the motive. Patriotic behaviour in which a person sets aside his motive to survive and opts for death is a classic example of values shunting motivational energy from one channel to another.

As empirical elements in human behaviour, values certainly arise out of human experience and hence may be affected by any condition, including social conditions that affect experience. It is,
therefore apparent that the process of the formulation of values is influenced by a number of forces present in the environment, which include social and cultural ethos, political organisations and economic institutions. Once established, however, values also operate as independent variables, channelising reactions to prior innovations and serving as a basis for further innovations (Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, 1968).

In a scenario such as today's where preferences and temperaments of a society are changing rapidly, its basic values may conflict with the emerging values. Value integration becomes a challenging task. Murphy (1947) has given an optimistic vote to the dilemma when he say that by using a value system one can coordinate virtually unlimited number of experiences in a unity.

People have many distinct values in their integrated value systems, which social scientists have identified and categorised. Jung (1928) linked values with the energy of the mind. According to him, a person invests psychic energy in a value in terms of the importance which he attaches to it and will therefore expend more effort towards achieving it. Thus, the amount of psychic energy associated with a value is an index of the strength and importance of the value. Jung has spoken of values in terms of collective and personal ---- this classification bears consonance with his basic approach, viz. the concept of personal and collective unconscious. He has also referred to the concept of
moral and aesthetic values but since Jung’s interest in values was in a particular context, not much detail have been elucidated.

Allport, Vernon and Lindzey (1951), presented the most important early work in the direction of classifying the values. According to them values may be characterized as theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious.

**Theoretical Values** place high importance on the discovery of truth through a critical and rational approach.

**Economic Values** emphasise what is useful and practical.

**Aesthetic Values** place the highest value on form and harmony

**Social Values** assign the highest value to the love of people.

**Political Values** place emphasis on acquisition of power and influence.

**Religious Values** are concerned with the unity of experience and understanding of the cosmos as a whole

Hartman (1959), distinguished values in terms of three categories viz. **systematic values, extrinsic values** and **intrinsic values**. He argued that everything in this world could be valued in these three dimensions.

On lines similar to Jung, Clough (1960) took “human energy” as a criterion basis for categorization of human values. He classified them as:

1) **Economic and material values** which deal with human energy and physical resources to meet out human needs.
2) **Social values**, which are values of relations among human being.

3) **Political values**, which are concerned with organisation of people for action to accomplish some goals.

4) **Epistemological values** which are related to systems of knowledge.

5) **Aesthetic values**, that apply to aesthetics and achievement of things of beauty.

6) **Action values**, which are concerned with making progress towards a fuller attainment of basic values.

The most widely used and accepted classification of values is that of Rokeach (1973). He divided them into two groups namely, terminal values or beliefs in desirable end-state of existence i.e. the goals that a person would like to achieve during his / her lifetime and instrumental values or beliefs in desirable 'modes of conduct' i.e. means of achieving one's terminal values. He further divided each of these two groups into two viz. Personal & Social and Moral & Competence, bringing the total number of subgroups to four.

Schwartz (1999), in his quest of identifying values which would cover the global scenario as well as compare the cultures mutually, studied values in 49 nations with 35,000 subjects and
brought out seven types of values structured along three polar dimensions. An earlier study (1992) which had suggested ten motivationally distinct values formed the basis of this configuration. The three polar dimensions are as below:—

1. **Autonomy vs. Conservatism:** According to the autonomy pole of this dimension, a person is viewed as an autonomous, bounded entity who finds meaning in his or her own uniqueness. Autonomy is of two types, *Intellectual Autonomy* which includes values like curiosity, broadmindedness and creativity and *Affective Autonomy* which includes values like pleasure, exciting life and varied life. *Conservatism* refers to a cultural emphasis on maintenance of the status quo and restraint of traditional order. Values in this pole are social order, respect for tradition, family security and wisdom.

2. **Hierarchy vs. Egalitarianism:** The hierarchy pole shows a cultural emphasis on the legitimacy of an unequal distribution of power, roles and resources. Major values of this are social power, authority, humility and wealth. Under egalitarianism, cultural emphasis is given on transcendence of selfish interests in favour of voluntary commitment to promoting the welfare of others. Major values of this pole are equality, social justice, freedom, responsibility and honesty.
3. Mastery vs. Harmony: Mastery pole means getting ahead through active self-assertion including values like ambition, success, daring and competence. The harmony pole accepts the world as it is, trying to fit in rather than to change or exploit it including the values of unity with nature, protecting the environment and world of beauty.

In the Indian scenario, many thinkers and social scientists have given their viewpoints regarding existence and practice of values in our society. Review of literature suggests that every conclusion regarding values and value system is a constructive advancement of previous work. Being a multi-cultural nation, thinkers and psychologists have presented a cross-cultural amalgamation of values. Dutta, (1999) took inspiration from Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo, pioneer thinkers of Indian society and suggested that values, the major determinants of the quality of our lives, may termed as humane values and disvalues. Humane values include gratitude, loyalty, humility, patience, Gentleness, dignity, honesty, sincerity, sharing, forgiveness etc. whereas disvalues include jealousy, greed, anger, deceit, vindictiveness, arrogance, sycophancy, backbiting, Vanity, hypocrisy etc. In the same lines Husain (2002) has given an account of values with spiritual and non-spiritual orientation.
In his exhaustive study of Indian values and ethics, Chakraborthy (2001) has widely described the importance of values and their utility in the different sectors of our lives. Inspired with multi-religious values prevailing in India and abroad he developed a value transition pattern based on his observations regarding change in people’s values in modern days:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contentment</td>
<td>Avariciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selflessness</td>
<td>Selfishness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duties</td>
<td>Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving</td>
<td>Grabbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Haste</td>
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<tr>
<td>Humility</td>
<td>Arrogance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>Information</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-restraint</td>
<td>Promiscuity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Indulgence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vertical</td>
<td>Horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>Circumference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Objective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metaphysical</td>
<td>Physical</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sacred</td>
<td>Secular</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holy</td>
<td>Profane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>Intellectual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purity</td>
<td>sharpness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcendent</td>
<td>Empirical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirit</td>
<td>Matter</td>
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</table>
On perusing the various categorisations of values, we observe that values can be broadly classified as material and non-material. Since values are a product of social learning we cannot lose sight of the fact that value acquisition for the child is a gradual process. In consonance with his cognitive readiness, acquisition of values will proceed from general to specific, beginning with broad categories to specific values. Therefore, a viable category when we are studying children would be in terms of material and non-material values. The categorisation of material and non-material is also upheld by the modern socio-cultural scenario.