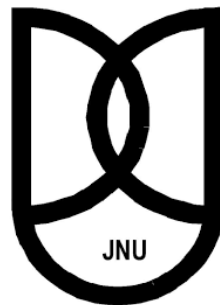# CHILDREN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
AN ENGAGEMENT WITH ETHICS OF CARE

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for award of the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Date: 26/7/2016

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled **"CHILDREN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: AN ENGAGEMENT WITH ETHICS OF CARE"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

Tanushree Malakar

TANUSHREE MALAKAR

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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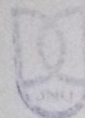
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CONTENTS

Acknowledgement

List of tables and figures

International Abbreviations Used

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

INTERNATIONAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

ACRWC	African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Child
AFSPA	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act
ATP	Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
CRC	Convention on Child Rights
DRC	Declaration on Child Rights
ECECR	European Convention on the Exercise of Children Rights
ICESCR	International Convention Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil Political Rights
PAP	People's Armed Forces
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
VDC	Village Defence Committee
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

hapter 1

INTRODUCTION

"If we are to teach real peace in this world…we shall have to begin with the children".

- *Mahatma Gandhi*

Is it possible to imagine a society without children? Probably not. Children hold the future key to human existence. In other words, the future of any society is dependent on its children. Therefore, it is the duty of the society and the state, as well, to safeguard their security and usher their nurturing. It is also their responsibility to ensure that the real needs of children are catered to as per the circumstances and availability of resources.

As much as it is a fact, that, children constitute the strong pillars of any society, it is also, a fact that they are the most vulnerable and weak. They are therefore the easy targets of violence in the society. The rise of co-operation and development in the era of globalisation has also opened the opportunities for different forms violence to maintain its presence across the world. But violence can be controlled with the internalisation of ethics of care in the society, a concept which is underrated in the domain of International Relations.

For years, scholars of International Relations have upheld the supremacy of the state and its showcasing of power either to explain the necessary existence of violence or as a solution to end it. Acceptance of violence as the solution has resulted in social militarisation under which weapons are getting integrated into the society. In the process, the normative issues and the role of institutions of ethics have been highly neglected. One of the products of such negligence is the impact of violence upon the children witnessing the horrendous atrocities of violence and armed conflict, forcing them either to pick arms to fight for their survival or seek asylum in a rehabilitation and reintegration process thereby leading them to an uncertain and bleak future. Another highlighting factor which facilitates violence and posits a great challenge to ethics of care is the narrow construct of identity.

This construct creates the image of us and the other in the society. As a result of which children in the society are categorised as per their affiliation to national or religious identification based on which they are accepted by the society.

Taking into context the role of social militarisation and the narrow construct of identity, this study brings to light the challenges that they pose to ethics of care. Furthermore, it introduces the concept of ethics of care as a positive alternative to prevent outbreak of any form of violence and explores its relevance in the discipline of International Relations. It highlights the social, political and psychological consequences of children bearing the burden of violence which could be prevented only by the strengthening of institutions of care.

It is the socialisation and nurturing environment of the child which shapes his or her identity as an individual. But the working definition of identity in the context of International Relations is based on the individual's place of origin, sex, religion or race which unknowingly gets enmeshed in different forms of discrimination setting the scope for future outbreak of violence. To prevent such harmful situations it is very important to ensure progressive development of the individuals by privileging ethics of care, as it advocates a broader scope of identity. This study is a inclusive understanding of the significance of ethics of care in relation to identity and violence against children and provides insightful knowledge about social construct of identity that aids violence.

The process of social militarisation, in this study, is observed in terms of facilitating the conditions of never ending conflict. The result of this process is engagement of children in armed conflicts. They are armed to protect the State against anti national forces and to ensure their own security. In this context, this research paper problematises the concept of violence as a construction of society which poses threat to the very survival and positive growth and development of the children.

Thousands of images exhibiting the horrifying impact of violence on children often gets circulated in the newspapers but still it remains unaddressed. Hundreds of children are falling victims to the acts of terrorism which demands the need for the state and society to provide safer environment for them and instigates the necessity for the International community to formulate and implement policies and programmes that prioritises ethics of care. Thus, this study provides an empathetic approach that is

2

essential for the society and state to develop while addressing the issues of violence against children.

The concept of 'ethics' has always been draped within the context of morality and justice. As found in one of the earliest works on discourse ethics, Habermas draws a similarity with Kantian philosophy as both emphasises upon the cognitive dimension of morality. It is universal acceptance of morality, in this context, as explained by Habermas, by removing the formal barriers of inequality and differences existing among the different groups and thereby creating conditions for a community dialogue in International Relations. To justify his argument, Habermas refers to "moral psychology of individual and moral learning" which highlights that it is the universally accepted moral principles which are privileged by individuals as one progresses through the stages of moral progress. And the process of dialogue facilitates the different social groups to achieve this progress of moral reasoning. Habermas' community dialogue is further supported by Andrew Linklater in his approach to international ethics in which he states that the dialogue will not only provide an equal platform of participation for the disadvantageous social groups but will also result in the emancipation of all human beings.

Though Habermas' discourse ethics has been widely accepted and has created the base for many constructive theories in ethics, it has also undergone many criticisms especially from the feminist school of thought. This school of thought is one of the pioneer in developing the concept of 'ethics of care' which acknowledged the factors of dependency and vulnerability as existing conditions for survival of human beings in the society, that cannot be done away with and that ethics should be viewed as a responsibility rather than dialogue. The ethics of care further emphasises on the need for "intent and attentive listening to the voices of others than emphasising on their rights to get accommodated in a dialogue". Fiona Robinson in her article 'Stop Talking and Listen: Discourse Ethics and Feminist Ethics in International Political Theory' explains the fact that the core values of ethics of care are "to understand the relations and responsibilities of care as public value" and "morality understood in this context would help in creating a more inclusive approach". Another feminist thinker, Virginia Held also argues that the ethics of care focuses on the "compelling moral salience of attending to and meeting the needs of particular others for whom we take

responsibility". Joan Tronto (1994) highlights attentiveness, nurturance, responsibility, meeting other's needs and compassion as *practices* that constitute morality for ethics of care.

Building on this idea of care ethics, the proposed research paper will try to illustrate how negligence of ethics of care in International Relations has resulted in increasing violence against children. Taking ethics as an instrument of morality and justice has resulted in further exclusion of the marginalised groups especially children, whose voices have always been suppressed. It is important to understand care as a responsibility and also to focus on the fact that each individual is unique with concrete identity and hence their moral preferences would be based upon their relations with respective others.

The normative issue of ethics being neglected in the field of International Relations was first pointed out by Mervyn Frost in his book *Ethics in International Relations*. He noted the fact that the theories of International Relations place more emphasis on notions of power, struggle for self-determination and issues of just and equality and in the process the theory is involved in providing explanations and reasoning out the behaviour of nations as is evident on the surface (Frost 2001). But the normative claim which explains what ought to be done has not been taken into consideration. Frost constructed a theory, which he called Constitutive Theory, to explain the need to understand the role of ethics in normative claim which in true terms guides the action of a nation or a community. Frost also pointed out that the concepts like nationalism and religious fundamentalism acts as hindrance to the recognition of ethics in international relations. Accepting the concept of Frost, of normative claim shaping the decisions of the individuals and other actors, this research paper emphasises on including the concept of ethics of care, taking children as the referent point. The study problematises the notion of violence and harm in International Relations and examines the reasons for neglecting ethics of care.

Negligence of ethics is substantiated by the concept of harm. The "need to control violent and non-violent harm has been central to human existence"(Linklater, 2011). Thus, the problem of harm as propounded by Linklater in his book, *The Problem of Harm in World Politics,* he stress the fact that:

societies require power to harm others so as to defend themselves from internal and external threats" and to control the capacity of others to harm so that people cannot kill, injure or exploit others according to their will.

He traces the concept of "harm and non –harm in moral and philosophical writings" and discusses the ways in which different theories of International Relations suggest that "power to harm can be controlled so that societies can co-exist with the minimum of violent and non-violent harm". In this context, this study focuses upon the labelling of violent and non-violent harm within the realm of normative claims. It is important to understand that categorising harm is actually a way to justify violent acts of State to maintain its authority and power. The repercussions of this concept on children has been highly neglected. Thus, for an in-depth understanding of the ethics of care, the concept of harm is equally important to analyse so as to evaluate the behaviour or action of an individual in society.

Now, moving on from concepts of normative claims and issues of harm, to the institutions of care whose role is to provide secure and enabling environment to children, but the fact that they are failing to provide even the appropriate conditions of survival thereby controlling violence against children. One of the core focuses of these institutions is to facilitate the conditions for positive growth and development of children but they often fail to analyse and address the root causes of violence that hinders the progress of children affected by it. For instance, in conflict zones the rehabilitation and reintegration programmes plays the role of institution of care. As a part of reintegrating process these institutions sometimes adopt the cash transfer scheme whereby a certain amount of cash is provided to the victims (Willibald 2006) to restart their lives. The facilitators fail to analyse the fact that cash transfer cannot replace the loss and recover the emotional pain that has been witnessed by the children affected by violence. With the continued existence of issues of violent harm and ignorance of normative approach to understand the society that the process to reintegrate in such a partial manner will fail in the longer run.

In rehabilitation and reintegration, there have been attempts by the institutions of care to disarm and demobilise the child soldiers and bring them to integrate in the mainstream. In the process nine areas of intervention have been identified:

community sensitisation, formal disarmament and demobilisation, a period of transition in the Interim Care Centre, tracing and family mediation, family reunification, traditional cleansing and healing ceremonies and religious support, school and skill training, ongoing access to health care and individual supportive counselling, facilitation and encouragement (Williamson 2006).

Accepting these areas of intervention to facilitate positive development of the child, the concept of DDR should be applied not only as a problem solving approach but rather as a precautionary and preventive measure in normal society so as to avoid the uprising of any conflict or violence.

But what is being observed, in reality, is that these institutions of care have been taken as the last resort to protect the society. States provides more favourable conditions for social militarisation to tackle conflicts which further aggravates violence. Thus, this paper places importance in understanding the concept of social militarisation as a major challenge to the concept of ethics of care.

Social Militarisation:

One of the key functions of the state is to maintain stability and security of the nation, from both, internal and external threats. In the context of International Relations, different school of thoughts has viewed "Power" in terms of the definition offered by Morgenthau:

> For the purpose one of the "most important material aspect of power", as pointed out by him "is armed forces," i.e. the material strength gained from military nature of the State.

Another definition of power forwarded by Waltz (1979: 131) includes "size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence" as the components of power. Thus, realist perspective views the world as it is rather than it ought to be, and so they recognise military strength as one of the defining features that provides stability and security to the existence of the State.

Maintaining an army for security and protecting the sovereignty of the nation has always been a key characteristic of a State. But with the growth of internal conflicts and increasing political responsibilities performed by the States, the attempt has been on militarising the societies, affected by conflicts. In the process, one such attempt has been the creation of para-military forces to deal with the respective rebellious armed groups. This process of curbing violence, includes recruiting individuals from the society and train them The term 'social militarisation' was coined by Otto Busch in his 1953 doctoral thesis to describe the process by which army and society became inter-related in 18th century Prussia. This concept was later used by different scholars to understand the militarising of the civilised society, for instance, Valentina Peguero in her book, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo,* shows how "the military of Dominican Republic got integrated into the culture and civil society", from being mere facilitators and protectionists, by imposing and mixing up military principles into the society to reshape the nation.

With reference to children the principles of militarisation is being imbibed in them not only through their recruitment to para-military forces but also through various games and toys, to which children gets emotionally and psychologically attach. Scholars like D. Leonardo (2004) and K.J. Hall (2004) have highlighted the various "virtual war games which have generated patriotic fervour" amongst the children thereby justifying the production and usage of weapons. Thus, in nutshell, the term social militarisation is a process by which the arming of civil society is justified in the name of patriotism. This paper emphasises on the impact social militarisation is creating on children and its privileged position in the state over ethics of care to curb violence.

Identity:

The concept of identity is a social construction which is often embedded in creating the notion of 'the other'. This prevalent binary of 'us' versus the 'other' in a way justifies the concept of violence and harm as it is done for self-defence or self-protection. Immanuel Kant viewed that "unsocial sociability" of people "draws them together into societies", but leads them to act in ways that "threaten their dissolution". He considered that this antagonism is "innate to our species" and is perhaps the "underlying cause of the development of the state" since the need to defend

themselves compelled them to come together and "submit to the rule of law". Kant provides a positive aspect for the construction of identity as the primary emphasis is upon maintaining unity within us to defend from others. But in reality the social structure of the society is highly stratified based on caste, class, ideas, belief and faith. Thus identity in this case only leads to further discrimination.

The discipline of International Relations, views identity in the context of state identification which tends to undermine the individual's self-identity. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000) defines "Identity" in terms of five key uses for the term which they claim to be 'a collective phenomenon denoting some degree of sameness among members of a group or category', 'a core aspect of individual" or 'collective selfhood', 'a product of social or political action', or the product of 'multiple and competing discourses'. In his article on 'Identity and International Relations', Lebow (2008) brought in the arguments of Hegel and Fouccault who appreciated the concept of identity as it resulted in developing strong bonds of nationalism amongst the citizens.

Inferring from the above explanations of identity, it can be summarised that the concept of identity is a feeling of belongingness to a group or nation. As oppose to the collective view, identity in care ethics is understood as 'affective-emotional constitution', a term given by Benhabib (1999) to explain the 'inner self' of an individual. But this view is highly negligible in International Relations and lack of which results in continuation of violence in the society. With regard to children, the attempt by the States to imbibe in them the feeling of collective identity over and above one's inner self can be considered as violation of its rights. Every child has its unique identity which should not be narrowed down to their identification on the basis of birth, sex, religious beliefs and so on. The moment a child is constructed with the dichotomies of self-other, the child inherits the notion of superiority or inferiority and accordingly avail their rights as children, thereby continuing with the forms of discrimination for the other. From the perspective of violence affected children the continuous emphasis on their identity, in relation with the memory processing images of violence results in categorising and developing negative perception about the other.

This study focuses on the violation of child rights those results from the narrow construction of identity for which it is also important to know the various

international conventions and steps taken to defend the rights of the children. Such conventions facilitates the rights of the children but fails to pay attention to the actual needs of the children and hence they help in achieving short term goals but is not pertinent in the longer run to ensure a violent free society.

Victimisation of children and their rights:

Victimisation of children is a huge area of concern which will be addressed in this paper. The various forms of violence against children that takes place in the society and their repercussions are discussed in detail in this paper. The purpose is to understand the negative consequences of social militarisation and narrow construct of identity in the context of children and the highlight the fact that they pose a great challenge in the growth and development of the children.

Victimisation of children despite the validated and mandatory instruments of child rights is another issue of concern, for understanding. Children are the most neglected section of the society in terms of voicing their concerns. As per the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children, identity constitutes as one of the core right. The notion of identity, as accepted widely, in this context is based on the religious faith and nationality of the children.

Social militarisation in general, includes the integration of arms into the civil society. It not leads to development of weapons but also results in facilitating anarchic environment. It is important to explore the concept of social militarisation in the context victimising children as it forms the highest form of violation of child rights. The concept of Ethics of care for this paper includes the standards established by the society for nurturing and socialising of children. This study restricts the definition of violence to violence against children. The various forms of violence and their consequences faced by children would be the primary area of concern. Another term which needs to be defined is children and their rights. The working definition, for the purpose of the paper, a child is one who is below or is 18 years old. Their rights considered here are not universal rights but the ones as accepted and ratified by the United Nation's Convention for the Protection of Child Rights and other such international legal instruments.

Identity is another variable defined in terms of social construction and as acknowledged by the community and nation concern and the focus is on deconstructing the base of such identity and rather understand the identity of the child based on his or her uniqueness as human being and area of interest.

The rationale of the paper encompasses the significance of ethics of care in understanding the behavioural pattern of the society and the functioning of its structure as grounded in the concepts morality and responsibility. Identity works as an important factor in shaping the nature of an individual but its recognition in International Relations is framed in a narrow context. Thus, this research paper unveils the problems faced by the children due to lack of or misunderstanding of identity and also the conditions of violence that continue to disrupt the society due to social militarisation. To further explore this broader area of focus, this paper brings the concept of ethics of care into the domain of International Relations as an alternative to violence.

The concept of ethics of care is taken for granted in International Relations which need to be problematised. Children are not given the opportunity to speak or stand for their own rights. This is especially the case for those who bear the burden of violence without even knowing what they are being part of. On the basis of their socially constructed identity and state's conception of maintaining peace through militarisation, children become part of violent situations and forcefully adapt to the situation. Thus, this research paper addresses the following questions

1. Why is ethics of care neglected or taken for granted in International Relations?
2. What is social militarisation and what is its impact on society?
3. Why is there a tendency to bent towards social militarisation rather than emphasising on creating the conditions for universalising ethics of care?
4. What constructs identity? How is identity creating a negative impact upon children?
5. What constitutes violence against children? How are children getting victimised despite the presence of child rights?

At the beginning of the study the following hypothesis are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: The process of social militarisation is being justified and privileged over ethics of care in International Relations.

Hypothesis 2: The institutions responsible for care grounded on the notion of identity as 'us' versus 'they' is a violation of the child's right to develop.

Hypothesis 3: The lack of legal consensus and sanctity weakens the status of ethics of care.

Towards the end of the study the inferences drawn are as follows:

1. In line with first hypothesis, it is found that though care is not completely neglected in International Relations, it is still social militarisation which is prioritised for a short term.

The process of militarisation in society is justified on the basis of being a cost-effective measure with speedy results while imparting ethics of care is considered to be time consuming as it begins from the grassroots. The ethics of care is sought more with regard to remedial measures. The preventive role of care is highly undermined. Hence in the longer run, with the process of social militarisation incorporating arms into the society, violence has escalated more and the civil society has also become accustomed to the process without realising its repercussions.

2. The study of second hypothesis reveals the fact that the concept of identity as understood by the society is a narrow construct of the term identity itself. Identity is very important for the progressive growth and development of the person, but the social construct of identity creates the image of the other, which immediately sets boundaries for the child.

Furthermore, the institutions of care such as family, school, community etc. shape the attributes and behaviour of children to be in line with the social group. Identity in this context is viewed as growth of the social group rather than the inner self of the individual.

3. The final inference drawn from the study is that the society is guided more by legal interpretation than moral consensus. Individuals adhere more to the legal structure than to ethics.

Mostly, violence against children is caused by the institutions of care as there are no laws that hold them responsible and accountable to follow the ethics of care. Though the sense to impart care comes from within, in order to curb violence against children, it is necessary for ethics of care to be given a legitimised status at least for the institutions of care to comply with.

Research Method

The study encompasses a multi-disciplinary approach by taking references from various fields of social science – Political science, Sociology, Psychology and International Relations. For the purpose of the research, it is mainly the secondary data that is being used as a source. The secondary source includes books, journals and online sights which provided relevant information for the purpose of the research. With regard to books, most of the references are collected from the relevant book available in the library or available for downloading online. The articles referred to for the research work are designated from a wide array of journals available from different fields of social science. They provided summarised but in-depth understanding of the concepts in proposition.

For the purpose of the study, primary sources were also taken into account. It comprises of the legal instruments and documents published by various Government bodies, International organisations and NGOs.

This study is based on qualitative research as it unfolds the various social and psychological impact of violence against children. It emphasises the need to value ethics of care in resolving violence and creating a peaceful society. For the purpose, ethics of care is understood as an alternative to the three root causes of violence against children: social militarisation, identity and lack of proper legal measures. These root causes are taken as variables and based on this an elaborate analysis of ethics of care is conducted in this study.

Organisation of dissertation

The first chapter includes introduction with a brief background of the research topic and the overall gist of the paper. It emphasises on analysing the concepts of social militarisation, identity and ethics of care as understood by various groups of thinkers in International Relations in the context of children along with special references to the international instruments working in the field of child rights.

Chapter 2: **Social militarisation: a challenge to ethics of care**

This chapter is a study on the influence of social militarisation in the society with special reference to children. Social militarisation is viewed as a prioritised factor in resolving violence despite the fact that it results into further recommencement of violence in the longer run. This chapter critiques the justified reasons for adopting this process by the state with explanations from different countries and explains its repercussions. It also offers a positive alternative, ethics of care, to control violence and highlights the various reasons to prove it as a better solution.

Chapter 3: **Identity: a narrow construct that contradicts ethics of care**

This chapter examines the concept of identity in its narrow understanding that creates the image of the other and shaping the identity of individual. It further explains the various constructs of social identity that considers the other either as enemies or as friends. This chapter problematizes this image of other as it is one of the root causes of violence of which children are the greatest victims. It concludes by explaining in detail the need to strengthen ethics of care while constructing ethics of care.

Chapter 4: **The legal sanctity of ethics of care**

This chapter emphasises on the need to universalise ethics of care by regulating it and making it mandatory for the positive growth and development of children. It analyses the various legal instruments that offers to secure the rights of children and examines the causes of their failure to prevent the violence against children. It concludes with explanations as to how strengthening the ethics of care will help in controlling violence against children.

Chapter 5: **Conclusion**

It is the concluding chapter that summarises the findings of the research study.

Chapter 2

Social militarisation- a challenge to Ethics of Care

What is social militarisation? Why is it important to understand the concept as a challenge to ethics of care and as a greater threat for children? Why, in the name of peace and stability, there has been a continuous inclination towards social militarisation than on creating conditions for universalising ethics of care? The concept of social militarisation has, though, found its place in Defence and Area Studies but its growing influence in the functioning of the state is barely discussed or problematised by the discipline of International Relations. Thus, this chapter will attempt to highlight the process by which social militarisation is getting embedded into the civil society creating a vicious cycle of violence which is being used to curb violence and further victimising children into it.

The Military or the armed forces have always been considered as an important agent of State, to defend and protect its sovereignty and integrity. But in recent years, therole of the army has undergone a tremendous change, as they are now also engaged in developmental and rehabilitation programmes. Besides, the formation of paramilitary forces and militia groups has become a new feature of armed forces. These are the unconventional security strategies adopted by the State to address the rebellious uprisings or any form of internal aggression. This new trend has shown a growing dependency on armed forces to discipline the society resulting into various societal issues getting militarised, thereby providing a temporary solution to resolve any kind of disturbances rather than addressing the core cause. In the process, the concept of ethics of care, which could provide a non-violent alternative, is highly neglected or rather put aside in International Relations. Thus, this chapter will attempt to bring into light the continuous cycle of conflict caused by the process of social militarisation and the relevance of ethics of care to end this cycle.

Militarisation involves the use of military equipment, arms and ammunitions to be precise. When integrated into society, State introduces weapons to the civil population which otherwise is not easily accessible. Especially while forming militia groups, it is the young civilians, who without any specific training or technical guidance, are provided arms to supplement the force in countering rebellious activities. But this is a different area of concern while the focus of this chapter is upon the sufferings of the

children who become the primary victim and prey to the process of social militarisation as they are vulnerable and easily manoeuvred. It is not only military activity but also militancy units where children are involved in large numbers. Children are either driven by the fascination of weapons or the facilities offered by the State to join these forces or are forced into it in the name of providing service to the nation. It is important for the States to realise that engaging children in violent activities leaves an unhealed scar for lifetime which jeopardises their future. States should rather focus upon strengthening the care institutes and keep children away from the brutal clutch of violence.

To substantiate the argument that social militarisation is privileged over ethics of care and that it's detrimental to the children this chapter will be divided into five parts. The first part will define the concept of social militarisation with a brief account of its use by various scholars since the term being coined. The second part of the chapter will highlight the various accounts from across the world where militarising the society has time and again resulted into continuous cycle of conflicts. This will be followed by third section where focus will be on the victimisation of children trapped in the process of militarisation either as a child soldier or simply getting involved in it. The aim will be to highlight and analyse the psychological trauma and social atrocities faced by these children. The fourth part of the chapter will bring to light the various reasons as to why social militarisation gets privileged over any other alternative. The final section will bring into light the importance of ethics of care and the justifications as to why it should be prioritise by the States so as to ensure positive growth and development of children.

Defining social militarisation

The concept of social militarisation is not new as it was coined in 18th century but its use in International Studies is very limited. To understand the term 'social militarisation' it is very important to comprehend the term 'militarisation' as it is the latter that precedes the former. The Oxford dictionary defines 'Militarisation' as 'an act of making something operate in a similar way to the armed forces'. In other words it is the process by which the society organises itself for military conflict and violence. A growing number of people come under arms, military expenditures increase, the life and security of people are also threatened to a certain extent resulting

in violations of human rights under the garb of providing justice and ensuring peace to the people by the State.

Historically, the role of military developed to serve the interests of rulers or those in power. Especially, the ancient and mediaeval era is full of events where the rulers were engaged in constant warfare in which the army played the most vital roles in serving the interest of their masters. Gradually, the role of army came to be associated with political struggles with the turning of events in France under the Second Empire. A new concept of 'militarism' developed whereby the militarygained higher recognition over the civilian, undue preponderance was paid to their demands and military considerations, spirit, ideals, and scales of value in the life were given utmost privilege. In the era of globalisation, militarism is associated primarily with great power politics, imperialism and maintaining the balance of power.

One of the perturbing product of militarisation is social militarisation which became very much prevalent in the 20th century. Coined by Otto Busch in his doctoral thesis of 1953, the term social militarisation was used to describe the process by which "army and society became inter-related in Prussia in the 18th century". Busch pointed out that the "introduction of famous Canton system of recruitment in 1733 in Prussia" tailored the "state's demand for manpower to the Junker's labour requirement", which continued till 1814 (Garliardo 1997). By converging the interest of the two, "the canton system resulted into militarisation and serfdom became the mutually reinforcing system". It was the army which helped Prussia to rise as a European power as they gained a stronghold of the social and political institutions of the time. Gordon Craig's study of the Prussian army emphasized that its political impudence stemmed from the integration of both Junkers and peasants into the monarchy's military system (Craig 1955). Another scholar who used the concept of social militarisation as to explain its influence on culture is Valentina Peguero. Through her book, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo*, she attempts to illustrates the "military accounts of Dominican Republic" that was "integrated into the culture and civil society" and by the very fact transform their role from being mere facilitators and protectionists, to executives and supervisors imposing their military principles into the society so as to reshape the nation.

Historians and scholars who have studied and analysed Busch's concept of social militarisation and has pointed out a "three-fold militarization of state and society". According to them, the first step is the "precedence of the military over the civil authority" in which a large "army was created with unconditional economic backing" and gearing even the society to support it (Corvisier 1976). This step is followed by "diffusion of military ways of thinking and acting throughout Prussian society" wherein the personnel serving the longest period and the ones who got retired adopts the military attitudes and "acquires the behaviour and patterns of subordination" resulting into unquestionable respect to authority. By the last and the final step the society, e.g. Prussia in this case, adapted into a "military appearance ostensibly and portrayed the impression of an armed camp". It is not only the physical presence of soldiers felteverywhere, but they are also given the responsibility to manage and supervise the areas of economic and strategic importance.

However, Busch's explanation was limited to the understanding of the canton system of recruitment which integrated military and aristocracy while social militarisation is a much broader area of concern. It is the process whereby militia groups are created by the State, in situations of internal aggression, to substitute the armed forces. It is the process whereby attributes of the millitary are considered to be superior and acknowleged from time to time generating unquestionable trust in them. Also it is the process wherby violent supression is legalised and regarded as the only solution to any kind of protest or disturbance. Therefore, it has become a necessity to understand the process of social militarisation as an act of coercive political exploit, and as one of the factor normalising violence conducted by State.

In the terms of political exploit, the people in power has been very succesful in justifying their actions regarding the creation of militia groups in disturbed areas. Due to specific logistical requirements of armed forces, militia groups and paramilitary forces are considered to be more likely to be positioned in such areas. Armed forces are large mechanised forces geared to fight conventional warfare with specific logistic requirements and hence their presence are unsuitable in residential places or within local communities. While militias are private group of citizens who are trained for military duties to defend the nation in times of emergency and paramilitary forces are,

as defined by Morris Janowitz[1] (Janowitz 1960),"militarized police units, domiciled in part in barracks, equipped with light military weapons and military vehicles, and organized under the central government". Moreover the intelligence requirements of professional armed forces are more focussed upon planning counterforce attacks while insurgency or internal disturbance demands a population-centric approach wherein the intelligence is focussed on collecting information on local social, economic and religious affairs so as to develop reliable sources of self defence units. These are some of the valid arguments, accepted in the international domain thereby providing legitimacy to such coercive actions of the State.

While the sole focus of the State remains on curbing disturbances, it neglects the damage shaped by such coercive measures. The recruits of such militia groups and paramilitary forces are generally selected from amongst the local youths of the disturbed areas. Getting enlisted into such forces and obtaining uniform and weapons give these lower level soldiers a sense of power and satisfaction that deviates them from their duty and responsibility. They could end up causing harm to the civilians and use their power for their own personal benefit against the military leadership's explicit strategic interests. Also larger the number of such groups in a country, larger is the possibilities of genocide or mass-killings during the time of political upheaval or State failures.

The most important issue of concern is the knowledge of arms acquired by the local people. Though these forces and groups are created for short terms, damage is already caused with the introduction of arms into the civil society. Once their services are terminated, there are possibilities that these groups disagree to surrender their weapons and continue to retain their position and power. Such groups, in the course of future, might also turn rebellious owing to their groups' ideals and interests that might clash with the government or the community at large. State fails to realise that such coercive measures could only trigger continuous clash or conflict of interests rendering internal displacement of local civilians.

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[1] Morris Janowitz was the pioneer of *'military sociology'* as he applied sociological concepts as the basis of analysis to understand the institutions of professional armed forces in his book entitled *The Professional Soldier*. He went on to lay the foundations of the Inter-US Seminar on Armed Forces and Society to provide structural support to this new branch of sociology

The greatest sufferer from social militarisation is children who fall prey to the unfortunate incidents of violence. Children residing in disturbed areas are often easy targets of militants who manipulate them to join their cause of fighting and in order to restrain children from joining the rebellious forces State recruits them as child soldiers. Either way they are exposed to weapons at a very tender age. Further the State, in its attempt to create patriotism towards its nation, tries to imbibe the principles of militarisation by introducing various games and toys to which children gets emotionally and psychologically attach. Scholars like D. Leonardo and K.J. Hall have highlighted the various virtual war games which have generated patriotic fervour amongst the children thereby justifying the production and usage of weapons. Thus, in nutshell, the term social militarisation is a process by which the arming of civil society is justified in the name of patriotism.

History has witnessed several accounts of social militarisation in different parts of the world. The following section will provide a detailed illustration of events in few selective countries- United States, Iran, Turkey, China, Somalia and India- to explain the devastating impact of such coercive measures.

Accounts of social militarisation:

Militia groups and paramilitary forces are on the rise across the nations. These groups are categorised into organised (pro-government) and unorganised militias (anti-government). To locate the number of organised militia groups formed by the government, in different parts of the world that are still operating under the government a map has been presented in the next page.

It is difficult to trace the number of unorganised militias as their operations are mostly covert. In fact, in most cases it is the organised militia and paramilitary groups which when terminated from their services continues to retain their position in the name of unorganised militia. With time, these groups has been successful in conducting various act of violence resulting into numerous loss of life and immense property thereby rendering civilians to live in the shackles of fear and insecurity. Some of the horrific accounts of social militarisation available from countries like United States, Iran, Turkey, China and India, will provide an in-depth understanding of the nature and functioning of the militia groups. The political ideologies and economic conditions of these countries are different from each other but the process of social

militarisation is a prevalent common feature. Thus, an analysis of their experiences would provide insight to the dark reality of the functioning of the State wherein social militarisation is privileged over civilians.
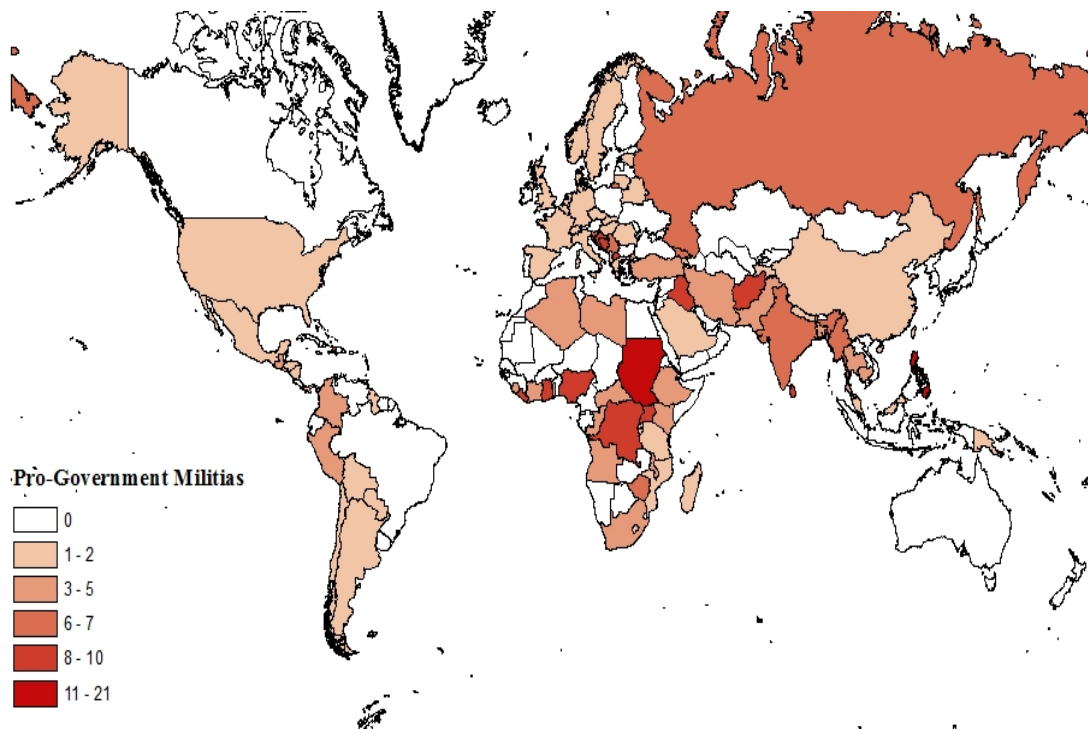
GIS map compiled using Carey, Mitchell, and Lowe (2013) dataset. Mercator projection used for better visualization of Europe. Source: Yelena Bibermaan (2015)

Fig 1.1

World Map Exhibiting Pro-Government Militia Groups

United States of America

To begin with the United States of America, it is the oldest federation and the largest economy in the world. It is also a nation of ethnic diversity. Civil rights and liberties occupies a special position in the constitution as it is a democratic country. In terms of its armed forces, USA has the largest army of strategic forces and the latest technology of artilleries and weapons, to protect its borders. For its internal security it deploys paramilitary forces and militia groups to suppress any kind of upheaval or disturbance. As is visible from the map (Fig 1.1), that number of militia groups is almost negligible in the US which means that the process of social militarisation is either slow or weakened in the country. But it is not so. On the contrary, the extreme right in the United States has a strong fascination towards paramilitary groups. They have always been strong supporters of the possession of guns by the citizens for their protection. The map exhibits only the pro-government forces while USA has maximum number of anti-government forces. The militia group has rose up as a movement in the country.

It is since the World War II, nationalist groups such as the Silver Shirt Legion and the Christian Front, which were developed on fascist ideology and belonging to right wings, marched across America. Later, in the era of Cold War a new trend of paramilitary organizations like the "California Rangers" and the "Minutemen" were piloted. Other paramilitary groups which came up in 1980s were mostly formed by survivalists and white supremacists like the "Christian Patriot-Defense League", "Texas Emergency Reserve" and "White Patriot Party".

In US, the militia movement became heir to both the right-wing paramilitary tradition and the anti-government ideology of groups like the Posse Comitatus. These unorganised militia groups claim to be equivalent to the statutory militia but not, however, controlled by the government and designed to oppose the government should it become tyrannical. The members volunteering to these militia groups increased with the two events taking place in 1992 Ruby Ridge, Idaho and 1993 Waco, Texas wherein the forceful and coercive nature of federal law came to light.

In the former incident that took place in Ruby Ridge in 1992, a white separatist named Randy Weaver came under targeted by the FBI for selling two sawed-off shotguns to Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) informants. As Weaver failed to appear in court as per the charge-sheet filed against him, he was tracked down by the US Marshals in Idaho. In an attempt to escape Weaver and his family got engaged in a gun battle with the Marshals in which his wife, son and two Marshal Officers were shot dead. Later in the same evening, Weaver surrendered and was sentenced to jail for a year for the illegal sale of arms. The 1993 Waco tragedy on the Texan ranch was the massacre of a religious cult, Branch Dravidian, led by David Koresh that took place at the end of 50-day siege in which 75 men, women and children lost their lives after federal officers set fire to an isolated compound. Koresh was alleged of stockpiling illegal weapons and thousands of ammunitions inside the compound of Mount Carmel Church.

Both these horrific incidents of killing and massacre involved the use of illegal weapons which fuelled the militia movement in the country. Most of the militia members and leaders were radical advocates of gun-rights who doesn't believe in the concept of illegal firearms. The very foundation of their anti-government fury was the fear and suspicion of imminent gun confiscation. As a result of this militia movement several prototype militias emerged in 1990s in Connecticut and Florida claiming militias groups to be exempted from federal gun laws.

The nature of militia groups in United States exposes the way society has been enmeshed into the process of social militarisation. The fact that militia groups are fighting for the protection of the civilian rights to bear weapons shows how weapons are prioritised over people. It is not poverty or hunger or civil rights for which the militia groups are fighting in United States but rather weapons. Moreover, the accumulation of guns with the civilians has recorded high rates of criminal cases which mostly includes open-shootings. Thus United States provides a perfect understanding of how social militarisation is creating a squared planning which might result into the failure of State.

Iran

Iran is a major regional and middle power as it possesses the largest reserves of natural gas and fourth largest oil reserve in the world. Officially known as Islamic Republic of Iran, is, though, a multicultural country, it is mostly dominated by the Shia Islamists who adhere to the extremist ideology of a 'Jurisprudent Ruler' of late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. The political system is, thus, a combination of elements of parliamentary democracy based on the country's constitution with theocracy governed by the Islamic jurists under the Supreme leadership. The Supreme Leader is the Commander-in-Chief for armed forces, intelligence security and the sole power to declare war and peace.

The foundation of social militarisation in Iran is based on intolerance for Western concept and ideologies, especially those of USA as the Supreme leader Khomeini believed that the political, economic and modern ideology of the West disrupts the fundamentals of Islamic ideology. Thus the Revolutionary Guards or Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) is the paramilitary force operating as a part of Iran's Armed Forces, was founded after the Iranian revolution on 5 May 1979, to protect the country's Islamic system. The Revolutionary Guards claim that it is their responsibility and duty to protect the Islamic system from foreign influence and from military coups or deviant movements. In the course of time, IRGC has gained immense control over the political and economic decision making processes of the country. The Guards currently dominate most sectors of the economy, from energy to construction, telecommunication to auto making, and even banking and finance. They have also gained control over the conventional forces of Iran. A militia group, Basij, operates within the purview of the IRGC. The Basij is a volunteer militia group which provide service as an auxiliary force. The volunteers are engaged in activities such as internal security as well as law enforcement auxiliary, the providing of social service, organizing of public religious ceremonies, moral policing and the suppression of dissident gatherings.

Basij militia has a stronghold over the population of Iran. Hundreds of thousands of volunteers join the group to protect their religious ideologies. Such is its influence that despite

the fact that Basij is famous for its suicidal 'human wave attack'[2] war tactic, volunteers willingly joined and sacrificed their lives in the Iran-Iraq war. Therefore the Iranian society is completely within the garb of social militarisation. It is not only the economy and politics that is controlled by the paramilitary forces but the domain of theology and faith has been corrupted with military ideology.

China

Officially known as the People's Republic of China, it is a communist nation. China has the largest population in the world and the largest standing army as well. Its paramilitary forces are composed of three main force, the People's Liberation Army militia, the People's Armed Police (PAP) and the reserve force, and they act as subsidiaries to the People's Liberation Army Ground Force. One of the important feature of China's militia is the deployment of civilians at the grassroots level. That is to say that the personnel retain their regular economic responsibilities and at the same time form the part of the mass armed organisation. The reserve force of the country consists of the units formed by the villages, towns, urban sub-districts, and enterprises. It facilitates and supports China's armed forces in its various operations and its role has been expanding in the different missions of the army. Another feature of Chinese militia its role based on the local conditions. For example the Maritime Militia, consists of people residing in the coastal areas. It is one of the important militia system in the country with rising disputes in the South China Sea and China aspiring to become a great maritime power. Therefore the civilians and militia groups are intertwined in China and being a communist nation civilians are forced to abide by their duty to support the militia whenever being called upon.

The coercive nature of the State came into light when the fight for democracy by its citizens were crushed. This particular incident is known as The Tiananmen Square Massacre, also known in China as the June Fourth Incident where hundreds of

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[2] 'Human wave attack' is an offensive infantry tactic through which the attacker conducts an unprotected frontal assault with densely concentrated infantry formations against the enemy line, intended to overrun the defenders by engaging in melee combat.

students led the demonstration in 1989 for demanding democratic rights and freedom. To suppress their voice, Chinese government declared martial law and attacked the peaceful protestors were rifles and tanks thereby crushing hundreds and thousands of civilians. This horrific attack was conducted by PLA, which made it a dominant force in the political decisions of the country and forced the civilians to abide by its draconian militia group activities.

In China, the concept of militia building and mobilization is believed to be a civil-military venture that helps bind together civilian and military leaders. The process of social militarisation in China is, thus, in the form of dissemination of duties and roles to its civilians as per their area of residence and skills to protect their communist ideology. These result in complete negligence of democratic and human rights in the country.

Turkey

Turkey is a parliamentary republic founded in 1923. Though claimed to be based on ideals of democracy, there is unique law prevalent in Turkey according to which every fit male in the country, otherwise barred, should provide military service for at least three weeks or a year. There is no scope for objection or alternative to this military service. The very process of social militarisation is inherent in the legal system of the country. Apart from this system, Turkey also established the village guard system, who were officially called "provisional village guards," in 1924 under the Village Law No. 442, assigning them the task of ensuring own safety.

 The functions of the village guard system remained discreet until the rise of protests and violent disturbances by Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in 1980s. It is then that the Turkish government resurrected the village guard system to protect the civilians from the attacks of PKK. The Village guards, for the cause were enlisted from the feudal, pro-state Kurdish families and were instrumental in assisting the army in countering activities by the PKK. The implementation of this system has resulted into division and clash of interest amongst the Kurdish population leading to internal displacement of many anti-government Kurdish people from their villages. With the ongoing clash between the Kurdish and Turkish conflict the village guards are often

targeted by the PKK guerrillas as they consider them to be traitors. One of the reason for the Kurdish people joining as Village guards is the pay scale as the salary is expected to be $200 per month.

On humanitarian grounds this process of social militarisation has resulted into unrestrained power bestowed upon the activities of village guards. This system is used by the government to distinguish between loyal and disloyal citizens and in the process the civilians are forced to join the system to prove their loyalty. Also the ones who refuse to join the system are often killed and their houses are burnt. The ownership of power and position has made the village guards involved in various cases of extortions, killings, sexual assault and smuggling.

In the present day context, the Turkish Government is trying to wipe out the system of village guards from its militia force but is still struggling to do so. Thus, the experiences of militia groups in Turkey bring to light the negative consequences of social militarisation.

India

A parliamentary republic based on multi-party system of government, India is one of the most populous democracies in the world. It is a socialist and secular nation with democratic freedom and rights acquiring special position in the constitution. But still India is also home to two paramilitary forces: the Assam Rifles and the Coast Guard and several militia groups. While the paramilitary forces were created to counter insurgency and for maintaining internal security, the militia groups were formed at local levels to fight against the rebellious uprisings. Apart from these forces being intertwined with the society, the draconian law of AFSPA (Special Armed Forces Protection Act) which operates in the so-called disturbed regions of the country provides unconstrained power to the military putting the civilians at the mercy of the military.

One of the example of state sponsored militia groups are The Village Defense Committees which was established in 1999 during the Kargil war, for self-defence and to supplement the armed forces in their effort to curb militancy and cross-border infiltration. The State provided arms to the civilians as it claimed that VDCs to be a

manifestation of the will of the people to actively participate in the efforts to thwart the threat being posed to national security and integrity. With time, though the activities of militancy have been brought down to a considerable amount, the criminal activities of VDC members are on the rise. Members of VDCs have started misusing their weapons to settle their personal disputes and also for sexual assaults. Their active role in the regional politics has also made it difficult for the State to ban these groups. Thus from protectors these groups have become the ones from whom protection is sought by the locals.

Since Independence, India has witnessed many tribal uprisings, militancy acts and illegal infiltration in different parts of its country. And to curb these disturbances it has been constantly dependent upon the process of social militarisation. The State sponsored militia groups have either turned violent with time causing harm to the civilians or it has simply led to accumulation of weapons in the society resulting into increasing rate of crimes and smuggling of weapons. Thus India exhibits a classic example of reverse effect of using coercive measures to control violence thereby fuelling more violence.

The accounts of different countries show that the process of social militarisation is widely accepted and privileged over other alternatives to maintain peace and stability. Despite having different political systems and cultural traditions and backgrounds, the creation of militia groups and paramilitary forces has become a common phenomenon. Though these coercive measures of tackling violence has backfired and resulted into repetitive failures, there has been no attempt by the International domain to put a halt in creating such armed forces. It is only on the rise thereby creating a situation of constant fear and insecurity amongst the civilians across the world.

Victimisation of children:

Children are the greatest victims of the process of social militarisation. The very fact that the militarisation process creates violent atmosphere which make it impossible for the children to have a normal life. It fills up the environment with mixed emotions of fear, insecurity, frustration and anger. In disturbed areas it is not only the uprisings or internal disturbances that create trouble but also the state sponsored militia and

paramilitary forces which use coercive methods to curb the violence. Children in such areas are deprived of their basic rights of survival as the violent tension doesn't distinguish between children and adults.

Victimisation of children takes place when they are internally displaced from their homes and traditional lands along-with their family. With increase in the process of social militarisation the number of families being displaced is also on the rise, most of them have been forces to take refuge in nearby areas or states. As per the reports of Norwegian Refugee Council as many as 30 million children are internally displaced across the world due to conflicts and war. Displacement of children not only deprives them from their right to shelter but also results in them dropping out from schools. They are also deprived from their basic right to food. Due to situations of conflict, the disturbed areas are often blocked from operating any kind of trade supplies, which also means that services of basic amenities and food supplies are limited or disrupted till peace is achieved.

Millions of children become part of the unfortunate incidents of violence. For example in USA, as mentioned in the previous section, the draconian gun rights has resulted into easy accessibility of guns and weapons amongst local civilians. This has further created chaos as there have been open shootouts from time to time in different parts of the country. Most of these shootouts are carried out in the educational premises by children or youths. For instance in Colorado in 1999, two teenage students killed 12 students and one teacher; in another instance in Minnesota, a 16 year old student committed suicide after killing his grandparents and five school children and a teacher with his grandfather's gun; likewise in 2007 in Virginia, a college student killed 32 of her friends and faculty members and wounded 17 others before committing suicide. US has become home to thousand incidents of open shootouts by civilians, maximum victims of which are children. Despite these repeated attacks the gun law continues to prevail in the country and militia group continue to fight for the rights to bear weapons by the individual.

Deploying children in armed forces is the worst form of victimisation. UNHCR estimates that around 250,000 children are enlisted into armed forces across the world of which 40% are young girls. A child is either recruited by the government or by the

rebel groups. In the former scenario, children are recruited into the militia groups to help them in protecting the civilians. In doing so the State forcefully push the children into the shackles of violence. Children on the other hand pledge their service to the state to protect their family and also to ensure their own security. These children get trained in using weapons at a very tender age. Owning of weapons provides power and sense of security which makes it attractive to the children. Apart from role of combat, children also are also recruited to be spies and porters or cook.

As published in the American journal of 2005, by P. Singer, 23% percent of the armed organizations in the world use children age 15 and 18% use children age 12, but overall the average recruitment age of children is 13. In many parts of the world like Uganda and Ghana children belonging to even younger age like age 7 and 8 are recruited. Recruiting children at such a young age leaves them in psychological trauma forever.

Recruitment of child soldiers by the rebel groups involves the most horrendous crimes and inhuman practices that could ever be carried against any human beings. Children are either abducted at an early age, so that they don't join the state sponsored militia groups, or they are threatened to join the group as the rebel groups kill their family members and relatives. These children are mostly trained for combat practices and to be spies. The worst condition prevails upon the girl child soldiers who are abducted to become sex slaves to the young combatants and the leaders. They are repeatedly raped so as to bear the children of the combatants who would later be nurtured to be a member of the rebel groups. Even if these girl child soldiers manages to escape or are set free they are sometimes not accepted back in the society as they are attached with negative stigmas. Their children are killed and sometimes even the girl child soldier is killed by the family or community in the name of honour. There is also a constant fear in the community that these rebel groups might abduct the girl child again.

Besides these problems, some of the other challenges faced by most child soldiers are they become desensitised to violence at a crucial time of their development and hence remains in the garb of violence forever. The trauma of what the killings they witness or the crimes they are forced to commit stays in their mind forever. Child soldiers often missed out on school and that for a long period of their life which makes them

little or no prospects for earning their living. Some child soldiers return to rebel groups just to feed themselves.

In the previous section, illustrations regarding the reverse impact of social militarisation in five different countries were discussed. A common findings in these countries is that in the process of social militarisation the recruitment of minors into the militia groups has increased. For example in India, state sponsored militia group in Chhattisgarh, Salwa Judum, has been reported to have deployed 12000 minors to fight against the Naxalites (Coalition to stop the use of Child Soldiers 2008). Similarly Human Rights watchers have claimed Iran of using child soldiers as frontal shield in the human wave attack during Iran-Iraq war.

Children are also victimised when they are deprived of their basic rights and freedom. As mentioned earlier, children are often displaced in disturbed areas which drives them into the arms of poverty. To feed themselves most of them prefer to either join any of the armed forces. The ones who doesn't take up weapons ended up doing labour work for their survival and to feed the family. Thus, social militarisation has opened up new levels of atrocities thereby increasing the rate of violence against children.

Privileging social militarisation:

Arms has always generated a sense of power and increased the possibilities of attack by the owner and hence creating a feeling of insecurity amongst others thereby resulting into production of more arms to be owned by those in fear. The concept of social militarisation also followed the same process. Political leaders implemented coercive measures to curb violence triggering more violence. In the process, there has been a constant accumulation of weapons in the society. Human Rights advocates and International Conferences, though, call for reducing the production of weapons and but still at national level the leaders across the world are facing tough time to put it into action.

There are many factors that results into privileging of social militarisation. The first foremost being political. The main objective of any Political power is to maintain their position and in the process they adopt short term goals so as to able to achieve

them. So in case of an uprising or internal emergency they attempt to suppress it by using force. This process at least helps in controlling the situation for sometimes if not for long. Addressing the demands of an uprising would either mean a political upheaval or developing a long term plan. Thus, they ignore to look for a solution that could rule out the problem from its roots. Another factor is the unavailability of economic resources. Creating militia groups are cost effective measures rather than deploying a unit of army in the disturbed area. Related to the economic factor there is another factor of accessibility. Generally the disturbed areas are located in remote places where survival of the army becomes an issue of concern. Hence local army, consisting of people residing in these areas are trained in weapons to defend themselves. A covert reason behind the process of militarisation is the attempt of the political leaders to imbibe the feeling of patriotism amongst the local communities so as to avoid them from joining the rebel factions. Joining the state sponsored militia groups provides them with a temporary government job and earns them a position in the society.

All these factors are taken into consideration and so it is social militarisation that is privileged over any other alternative. The long term consequences are often neglected. Therefore there is a need to discuss an alternative to the process of social militarisation which will be explained in the following final section of the chapter.

The importance of ethics of care

Ethics of care is the most undervalued concept in the domain of International Relations. Persons committing crimes are punished and rebellious persons are suppressed but the need for strengthening the care institutions is often neglected. Ethics of care doesn't simply imply moral values, it has a deeper meaning than that. It means taking care, understanding the responsibility, nurturing a person for its overall development and teaching the value and importance of sharing and giving love. Care ethicists believe that "human beings are dependent on each other" and hence their development and progress is based on the amount of care received by the person. As cited by Virginia Held (2006), ethics of care delineates moral values that are based on independent and rational individuals attend to the concept of human dependence as the centre of human life.

In terms of family and community it is important to understand the concept of ethics of care as it speaks of building trust and gives relevance to emotions of human beings. To understand the root cause of any violent action it is very important to take into consideration the emotions under which any such act is conducted. Expressing emotional attributes through action is an inherent nature of communication in humans. Therefore, ethics of care emphasises upon privileging emotions like anger, empathy, sympathy, and so on to analyse any action so as to resolve it accordingly. Speaking of trust, it is the basic need for peaceful existence amongst a family, community and society. Human beings are dependent upon each other and it is trust that secures the value of this dependence. Caring helps in developing trust and understanding the emotional attributes of individuals.

Ethics of care is often criticised of being ignorant about the selfish nature of man and that it provides a very healthy picture of the society with the concepts of love and caring between people. It fails to provide any solution to conflicts or violent uprisings. Responding to such criticisms Virginia Held (2006) have explained the fact that ethics of care doesn't focus on providing solutions to violent outcomes but rather emphasises on taking precautions through which such violence can be avoided. Ethics of understands that even justifiable use of violence is a failure of moral values but at the same time it believes that these situations could be viewed as an opportunity to develop an effective technique to resolve it instead of violence. For example in case a child commits a mistake, the parents try to 'restraint and channel their anger' by teaching the child appropriate behaviour (Held 2006:138). Likewise in an emergency situation, the State should act like a parent and restraint violence by showing caring attitude. Strengthening ethics of care at State level and also at the level of International Relations would help overcome violence as it helps in developing trust and places an important position to emotions.

Ethics of care makes an attempt to "explore the alternatives to counter violence and pursuing nonviolence" (Held 2006). Care ethics tries to develop appropriate ways through which disturbing situations could be handled with care. But caring doesn't mean complete negligence of coercion. There is a need for minimum level of coercion required to restrain a violent person or someone threatening to use violence but it

should be done in such a way that no physical and psychological harm is faced by the person. The goal is to reach a peaceful negotiating deal.

At State level, ethics of care offers possibilities of nonviolent measures in place of usage of arms to control an uprising or internal disturbances. Care ethics, at the same time mentions the use of coercion, only if it is absolutely necessary, but only to a limited extent. They help the State to focus on the "primary goal of maintaining peace not through force but through care" (Held 2006). It is only through ensuring justice and equal rights to everyone that disturbances can be avoided. Ensuring justice would ascertain trust in the State that it cares about all in an equal manner. Equal rights, on the other hand, would mean to develop a sense of responsibility amongst the people that they can enjoy and practice their rights as per their own capabilities and not at the cost of others.

In the context of children, ethics of care provides them with an environment which ensures their positive growth and development. Childhood is the most crucial stage of human development. While in social militarisation, children are surrounded with an atmosphere where they adapt to violent approaches to survive. Their emotions are neglected and they are deprived of their basic rights. As mentioned earlier, the physical and psychological conditions of children who are victims of social militarisation is very hard to recover from in his/her lifetime. Thus, to prevent such incidents of violence against children it is very important to strengthen the ethics of care as it is very sensitive towards the overall progress of the children. Political leader should focus on imbibing ethics of care in the people as it would make the society more tolerant and caring. A loving and caring environment would mean that prevalence of a positive support system in the society which would recognise the emotions of the people and treat them equally.

To avoid lapsing of moral values, it is also important that institutes of care like family, community, society, educational institutions and health institutes are recognised more by the State. These institutions acts as a support system for children and society at large and generates a feeling of togetherness. Despite the fact that competition and self-interest are inherent in human nature, these institutes engender the sense of responsibility and duty towards every person amongst the children. Thus,

ethics of care would help people realise the need of care and responsibility towards each other thereby avoiding violence to a large extent.

Conclusion

Taking violence against children as the reference point, this chapter focussed on the discrepancies created by the process of social militarisation. It was proposed that social militarisation is privileged by the state over ethics of care to control violence. The study conducted, justifies the proposition with substantive accounts from across the world. Social militarisation has created a situation of constant fear and insecurity amongst the individuals which has further resulted into development and incorporation of more weapons into the community. Thus, with time, this process has come to contradict the meaning and purpose of security.

The process of social militarisation has its highest impact on children. In situations of conflict children are denied to access their basic rights and are even deprived of civic amenities. Any form of violence witnessed by children, marks a huge impression on their psychological and social well-being. It is only through love and care that children can aspire to prosper in life.

In this context, the role of ethics of care is highly desirable as it seeks to create an atmosphere of peaceful existence. Ethics of care believes that people are interdependent on each other which further demands for the condition of care and understanding amongst them. It attempts to explores possibilities through which conflicts and internal disturbances could be addressed without causing any damage or harm to the people. Thus, Ethics of care, could be sought as the perfect alternative to provide long term solutions to the issues of violence as it would provide a necessary understanding of the situation rather than forceful suppression.

Chapter 3

Identity: a narrow construct that contradicts Ethics of Care

Identity is one of the most common terms used to label a person's nationality, religion, caste, gender and so on. It is a very controversial concept, as it is both a uniting and a dividing factor. And it is the later factor which is gaining more importance in the framework of state imposed identity as it is based on a narrow understanding of the concept. In the context of children, most of them are victimised in the name of identity that is forced upon them by the society on the basis of their birth. This narrow concept of identity restrains the growth and development of children and limits the scope of imparting ethics of care in the society as well. In other words, identity is another variable that contradicts ethics of care leading to violence against children. Thus, it is important to have an in-depth understanding of the concept of identity in its different contexts so as to debunk its narrow understanding.

The questions that will be addressed upon in this chapter are: What is identity and what elements constitute the construction of identity? How does construction of identity challenge ethics of care? How are children victimised as a result of narrow construct of identity? Through these questions, the attempt of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the concept of identity, with special reference to its role in triggering violence by creating the image of 'us' as opposed 'the other' in the society and amongst States as well.

In general, Identity is used by every person to define oneself, be it as an individual or be it as a part of any group. The term connotes a wide range of meaning embraced in different contexts. Psychology offers the simplest understanding of identity by relating it to self-image and individuality. But the accepted notion of identity, in layman terms, is associated more with religion and state, which is grounded in the notion of 'the others'. This image of 'the other' is problematic in nature as it generates competition, differences and discernment. It is one of the dominant reasons for conflicts and violence across the world. Still, the domain of International Relations doesn't pay much attention to the concept of Identity. For instance, the theorised idea of State Identity is it being an obligatory factor to unite the citizens for the smooth functioning of the structure. In the light of this understanding, the purpose of this

chapter is to challenge the notion of identity as is accepted in the field of International Relation and highlight the amount of violence and injustice it has caused to children in the process.

To substantiate the proposed arguments, the influences are divided into four parts. The first section will explore the definition of identity as provided by different fields of social science. It will provide a detailed understanding of the concept of identity, both in its narrow and broader sense. Followed by the second section, which will be a detailed analysis of the various social factors that constructs identity. The third section will be an illustration of various conflicts and violence caused against children due to the narrow construct of identity. And the final section will bring into light how concept of identity contradicts the core ideals of ethics of care and the significance of instilling ethics of care to curb violence against children.

Theoretical explanations of Identity

As mentioned earlier, the concept of identity has deeper connotations within its purview. Different disciplines of social science, especially sociology and psychology, has worked extensively on defining the concept of identity and in the process has attached different explanations with it. It is very important for every person to develop his or her own identity as it helps one to understand oneself better. Every child in the society is encouraged to form a healthy identity to have a progressive life. Identity being repressed may prove to be counterproductive to the development of the child's personality which would also have a negative impact on their surroundings. Having said so, identity of individuality is different from identity grounded in associating oneself to a group or belief which is more complex in nature. Identity, therefore, is the reflection of one's traits and characteristics, their social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is (Oyserman et.al. 2012).

To understand the concept of identity it is important to first and foremost analyse the psychological approach to it. In psychology, "Identity is viewed as the image of oneself in his/her mind" i.e. the "self-concept" (Stets & Burke 2003; Stryker 1980; Tajfcl 1981), and one's notion of "one's personality"(Markus & Cross 1990). Weinreich (1986) explains a person's identity as "totality of one's self construal". That is to say that it is the identity of a person which gets reflected in his/her behaviour and also determines their passage of life. In case of identity associated with

a group it expresses the continuity between one's construal of past and the future aspirations in relation to the group. Another definition offered by Campbell, Assanand and Di Paula (2000: 67) of the self, which can be paraphrased as:

"The self-concept is a multi-faceted, dynamic construal that contains beliefs about one's attributes as well as episodic and semantic memories about the self. It operates as a schema, controlling the processing of self-relevant information."

The theory of identity and self believes that it is the situation and the behaviour shaped by such situation that creates the self. The psychological understanding of identity has best been summarised by Simon (2004) in his 'Self-Aspect model of Identity' where he proposes self-concept to comprise of belief in one's own attribute and characteristics. Self-concept helps one understand his/her strengths and weaknesses and also make sense of the surroundings. The feeling of knowing one-self facilitates as the motivational tool as self poses like a stable anchor while identities are constructed in dynamic contexts that surrounds the individual (Oyserman et al. 2012). The assumption that self is stable helps in making choices as it is regarded to be rational and aware of the affordances and constraints of one's action in the immediate context.

The theory of identity in Psychology also differentiates between personal (individual) and social (group or collective) identities. While in personal, definition of self refers to individual identity, in social it is the collective identity that constitutes the definition of self. According to Simon (2004) it is the experience of self-aspect that moulds the behaviour in both cases of identities. Brewer and Gardner (1996: 84) argued that self-representation can be distinguished at three levels: the individual level, the interpersonal level and the group level. Keeping personal self at the individual level, the interpersonal level reflects the relational self which is knowledge of self-concept gained from connections and role relationships with others; and collective self is represented at the group level which is the self-concept derived from being a member of the group. The Psychodynamic tradition of Erikson also provides a similar explanation of identity. Based on the framework of continuity, Erikson proposes that identity can be categorised as ego identity (the self-concept), personal identity (the idiosyncrasies that separates self from other) and social or cultural identity (reflected in the social role). This distinction between the three levels of

identity implies the fact that identity is an inter-disciplinary concept and cannot be studied in vacuum. It is equally important to comprehend the role of other factors in the society that shapes the identity of the individual.

The sociological approach to identity places weightage on the concept of role behaviour. It believes that a reciprocal relationship exists between the individual and the society (Stryker 1980). The society is influenced by the self through the actions of the individuals who gets implemented in the form of institutions, networks and organisations that they create and the self, in turn, gets influenced by the society through regular social interaction that helps in establishing the role of the individual in the society. This interaction is regulated by a shared language that helps the self in communicating with other selves in the society. In other words, identity in terms of sociology is shaped by the role of the individual and his/her social interaction.

Sociologists are generally more interested in exploring the nature of society and the overall social structure. The social structure would include the "forms and patterns, their development and transformation" (Stets, Burke 2012). The situational approach to self and society provides a traditional "symbolic interactionist" understanding views society to be in the process of continuum created through the interpretations and definitions of actors in situations (Blumer 1969). This approach argues that actors act as per the situations they identify they are accountable for in their effort to accomplish their goals; which means that individuals are free to define the situation in any way they care to, with the consequence that society is always thought to be in a state of flux with no real organization or structure (Stets, Burke 2012).

Sociological perspective also explains the concept of identity negotiation which arises from the experiences of social roles. It is a process in which an individual struggles for self-identity while being a part of the society. Identity negotiation is very important concept as it brings to light the fact that in the course of performing their social role the self-identity of the individual sometimes get compromised which in turn harms the overall progress of the individual. Identity negotiation is, therefore, a product of continuous social interference in shaping the identity of the individual as per the established set of social laws without considering the development of individual self.

Another concept forwarded by sociology is the Social Identification theory (SIT) which provides a detailed analysis of group identity. SIT argues that individual classify themselves into groups and various social categories such as religious affiliation, organisational membership, gender and structural institutions, based on their sense of belonging to the group or category. It corresponds to the identity of the individual and demands constant support for the institutes by reinforcing the experiences of identification. This social classification serves two purposes: one it provides a systematic segmentation of the others and two it helps the individual to locate his/her position in the social environment. SIT, thus, regards self-concept to comprise of both personal and social identity that encompasses the social environment as well.

The concept of identity in theories of Political Science and International Relations is understood in terms of 'the other'. Political philosophers Kant and Hegel realised that to form a state and to ensure national solidarity it is important to create the concept of 'others' despite recognising the existence of human identity. Thus, state was given higher priority in terms of constructing identity. But few other political thinkers like Nietzsche and Habermas considered this notion of identity to be construct dangerous binary which they proposed to outdo through dialogue. The struggle now is between "Realpolitik and liberal idealism", it pits claims of practicality (this is how the world works) against those of betterment (this is how it should be) (Lebow 2008).

In political science, the philosophy of identity has been associated with five key uses as identified by Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000). It can be understood to be the base for social or political action, a collective activity signifying some sense of belongingness among members of a group or category, a core understanding of 'selfhood' both in individual and collective terms, a product of social or political action, or the product of multiple discourses. They also note the fact that the theory of identity as explained by constructivist in political science neglects the coercion used in political process to compel identification (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Political leaders recognise multiple identities of to transform few categories into unitary and exclusive groups for their own personal gain. The misuse of identity in political framework has become a common phenomenon based on prioritising collective or group identity and thereby compromising the self.

Construction of identity assumes the necessity to create the notion of 'others', if not their demonization. One of the most extreme form of statement is made by Carl Schmitt (1976) who asserts that it is only during violent struggles amongst adversaries when political identities can best be formed. He substantiates his statement with historical evidences from ancient Israel. While in modern times, as mentioned above, politicians and intellectuals have been creating or exploiting dichotomies between 'us' and 'others' to advance racist and authoritarian political agendas (Lebow 2008). Samuel Huntington (1996) in his book, *Clash of Civilisations,* provides a detailed explanation to this notion of 'us' and 'other' in the context of United States. He constructs the image of the religion of Islam and the Latin immigrants to United Nations as the 'other' that threatens the security and economic primacy of the nation and so it demand immediate action from the political leaders by declaring war on it. Huntington's argument justifies the act of 'war on terror' carried out against the religion of Islam and not on terrorists per se.

The 'us' and the 'other' binary was first conceptualised in eighteenth century when Western European government attempted to promote domestic cohesion and development by foreign conflict. Thus, this notion can be said to have a long and distinguished lineage. Immanuel Kant (1991) proposed that people are drawn together by their nature of "unsocial sociability", but at the same time this nature leads them to act in ways that threaten their dissolution. He recognised that this feeling of resentment is inherent in human beings and it acts as a major factor for the development of the state. In simple terms, though it is conflict that drives people apart but at the same time it is because of conflict that people are compelled to come together to defend themselves from external threats. Thus, the concept of identity in political science is based on the assumption that order and development in the State is possible only with the feeling of constant state of war for which 'us' needs to be maintained at the expense of 'other'.

To sum up, though different fields of social science understand the concept of identity within their respective area of analysis, the individual and its social environment remains the core area of emphasis. It is the identity of the individual which shapes their behaviour and attributes. It is also the identity based on which organisations and institutes are developed in the society. Also it is the identity that creates the image of

us and other that results into both, binding and conflict amongst the individuals. The bond that is created and also the conflictual situation caused by identity are grounded on the factors within which the framework of identity is perceived. The following section will discuss the various elements of identity that has been conceptualised by the society.

Constructs of social identity

"Social identification" can be said to have derived from the concept of "group identification" (Tolman 1943), though it is used in different contexts. Identification to a group is grounded on the perceptual cognitive construct of the individual whereby he/she finds himself or herself as strongly connected to the fate of the group and their behaviour and affect are shaped by potential antecedents and consequences (Foote 1951). The members of any social/ group take the experiences of the group to be personal. In fact the feeling of identification becomes stronger with "great loss or suffering" (Brown 1986), "missed potential benefits" (Tajfel 1982) and "task failures" (Turner 1981). Social/group identification is also viewed as personal identification of the individual on the basis of their social role, but at the same time it doesn't mean internalisation. "Identification" is "based on affiliation of self to a category" while "internalisation indicates the values and attitudes incorporated by one's self guiding principles" (Hogg & Turner 1987).

Cross-cultural psychologist like Peter Weinreich (1986) views self-identity as a starting point. He also believes it is the social contexts that forms and develops identity and also influences one's action. He asserts that

> one's identity as situated in a specific social context is defined as that part of the totality of one's self-construal in which how one construes oneself in the situated present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future.

It is the quest to understand the self that results in construction of social identity. At the same time it is the social identity that shapes the personality and attributes of the individual. The concept of identity is, thus, a complex process and to understand it, the following factors of identification should be taken into account.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identification is best defined by Yuet Cheung (1993:1216) who explains it to be "the psychological attachment to an ethnic group or heritage". Sawiti Saharso (1989), a sociologist from Netherlands, defines ethnic identity to include social processes which further shapes the decisions and perceptions of the individual to select his friends and life partner. From the psychological perspective, Jean Phinney (2003:63) maintains that "ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group". The construction of ethnic identity is affiliative in nature, whereby one claims an identity within the context of a subgroup that belongs to a common ancestry and shares a similar culture, race, religion, language or kinship. But it is not a "fixed categorisation as it is a fluid or dynamic understanding" of self and ethnic background, which modifies with the increasing awareness about one's ethnicity (Phinney 2003:63).

The very concept of ethnic identification is based the image of other. The different explanations provided by the thinkers of sociology and psychology points out that it is the individual who claims the identity of ethnicity based on his affiliation with the group but forming such groups itself creates the feeling of in-group and out-group. Derived from social negotiations ethnic identity is usually contextual and situational where one declares an ethnic identity and then demonstrates acceptable and acknowledged ethnic group markers to others. The validity and invalidity of ethnic declaration is generally open to the scrutiny of others. To promote and convince the ethnic claim, individuals often emphasise upon the physical appearances that includes particularity of mannerisms and speech idiosyncrasies specific to the reference group. The entire purpose is to generate ethnic consciousness and create a concordance between self-identity and the outsider sense of identity.

At the societal level one relies on labels to describe their ethnic identity as it has a socio-political value and function, especially with regard to census and demographic studies. Such labelling often creates categorisation and sometimes results into claiming of ethnic superiority of one group of other. This has resulted into various forms of prejudice and racist acts against certain ethnic group which in turn has caused their suppression in the society. The identification of ethnicity is, thus, a

process of continuous struggle for certain groups to achieve recognition and their rightful status.

Religious Identity

The term religion is derived from the Latin word 'religare' which means to "to bind back" or "to rebind" which implies that religion entails a process of reconnecting by worship a missing or broken intimacy between God and worshippers. Paul Tillich, an American German existentialist, designates religion as the symbol of ultimate concern. In his book, *An Introduction to Philosophy*, Pecorino (2000) notes that an overall definition of religion is all inclusive as it exists and is practiced in both private and social milieus and hence involves the totality of life, dealing naturally with issues in widely different activities. Such comprehensive definition provides an in-depth understanding of religion and its importance in shaping an individual's way of life. Schleiermacher (1922) stated that

> Religion is the feeling of man's absolute dependence. This absolute dependence was encouraged by man's sense of inadequate protection, provision, sustenance and supremacy as such he has to depend on the divine for all those things he cannot provide for himself (1922:31).

This definition, thus, realises the fact that essence of religion lies in the belief of a Supernatural Being, who though may not be seen physically is believed to be existent and imbued with superhuman qualities and quantities. This belief generates from the social circumstances which drives individuals to find solace in religion to provide them with security and protection. The search for such a "supernatural being" is characterized by desires and behaviours that associate individuals with something outside and beyond themselves, while, "jointly shaping their sense of singularity and independence" (Kings 2003). This implies that religion may potentially play important role in the identity formation.

Erikson (1965) recognizes that religion is one of the driving forces in shaping the identity as it is closely connected with the socio-historical matrix and ethnicity of an individual. Besides, religion provides the platform with enabling environment for the development of fidelity and attachment to an ideology that arises at the successful

conclusion of the psychological crisis associated with identity formation (Erikson 1968). At the same time, it creates scope for blind faith in one's religious ideology that can result into clash of interest with other such faith. Religious identification is a pioneer in creating the image of other wherein the ideology of one faith may differ from that of the other religion and perceived as a threat. For instance, in his book, *Clash of Civilisations,* Huntington has referred to the people following the religion of Islam as the other that pose an external threat to the security of the United States. Perceiving of other ideologies as potential threat, thus, creates an environment of constant fear and insecurity. Since ancient days, such ideological differences have resulted into bloodshed incidents spread across the world. Religious identification, like ethnic identity, has also created the risks for violent suppression of other groups based on ideological differences.

State Identity

State identity is a concept generally discussed by constructivist in International Relations theory. Constructivist theorist like Alexander Wendt (1999) and Peter Katzenstein (1996) claim that it is the "concept of identity that makes it possible to integrate changes to the actors' interests into the research framework". According to them, the interests of "states are shaped by their identities", while "state identities" (and therefore interests) themselves are "subject to change in the process of interaction". It is also argued by them that states observe norms because it is in their self-interest and through internalizing them in their identities they broaden the narrow liberalist framework for the study of norms.

State identity is believed to be based on socially shared beliefs. However, there is a debate amongst the theorists of international relations on whether state identity is part of the domestic or international culture. While most constructivist scholars emphasize state's domestic culture as a source of state identity, Alexander Wendt (1999) sees "culture of interstate community as a primary determinant of state identity". In his Social Theory of International Politics, Wendt (1999) conceptualizes "international relations in terms of three ideal types of interstate-level social structures". These are

"Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian cultures of anarchy" where he defines "culture" to be "socially shared knowledge," and "knowledge" to be "any belief an actor takes to be true" (Wendt, 1999, 140-141). For Wendt it is the "states and not individuals that are considered to be unitary actors" and hence the "cultures of anarchy are shared among states" (Alexandrov 2003:35).

It is the mutual constitutive relations with state identities that makes the cultures of anarchy by Wendt very important. The key attribute of each culture is "role", or "distinct posture or orientation of the 'self' toward 'the other' with respect to the use of violence" (Wendt 1999: 258). Thus, Wendt's constructivism sees "states' own identities and interests as secondary products of those system-level roles". Speaking of the three cultures of anarchy, Wendt explains that in the "Hobbesian culture of anarchy the posture is that of extremely violent enemies", in "Lockean culture the orientation is that of violent rivals in its extreme form" and finally in "Kantian culture states share the role of friends who work as allies against any security threats" (Wendt 1999: 258).Wendt (1999: 259) believed that the "states present in different anarchic systems" (with their distinct cultures of anarchy) are "under pressure to internalize the dominant 'role relationships' of those systems", namely enmity, rivalry and friendship, in their own identities and interest. While the very concept of state identity seems to imply unproblematic and unchanging border between the self and other states, Wendt's approach suggests that the "boundaries of the self might expand to include other states" (Wendt 1999: 229). Further, Wendt went on to specify three possible degrees of internalization of cultural norms. The first degree of "internalization occurs as the state becomes constrained and forceful", the second one occurs when it is in "the self-interest of the state" and third degree of "Internalisation takes place with state perceiving the legitimacy of cultural norms" (Wendt 1999:250). Whether states see norms as legitimate ultimately depends on their identities.

State identity, thus, is one of the important construct of identity as it establishes the base for interstate relations. In the light of the constructivist theory, it is clear that state identification is an attempt to bring people together under the banner of a common identity so as to ensure security of self as against the other states. At the same time the forceful execution of state identity can sometimes result into creation of other subgroups within the state who doesn't submit to the state. In the domain of

International Relations, state confirmed identity has played important roles in shaping the relations amongst the states and has accordingly moulded the politics of the time.

Gender Identity

Defined as a personal conception of oneself as male or female or rather both or neither, the concept of gender identity is generally associated to the concept of gender role. However gender identity is a reflection of the outward manifestations of personality that is shaped by the combination of inherent and extrinsic or environmental factors (Ghosh 2015). The role of gender, on the other hand, is manifested within society by observable factors such as behaviour and appearance. For example, if a person considers himself a male and is most comfortable referring to his personal gender in masculine terms, then his gender identity is male. However, his gender role is male only if he demonstrates typically male characteristics in behaviour, dress, and/or mannerisms.

Thus, gender role is often an outward expression of gender identity, but not necessarily so. In most individuals, gender identity and gender role are congruous. Assessing the acquisition of this congruity, or recognizing incongruity is very important in the developing child as and only then the positive development and progress of the child can be ensured. It is equally important to note that the designation of gender role is also based on cultural differences in certain societies which further shapes the gender identity of the individuals. Increasingly, the term gender is being accepted to define psycho-physiologic processes involved in identity and social role. Therefore, it has been time and again referred to by scholars from numerous disciplines, including medicine, psychology, anthropology, and social science. Gender comes from the Latin word *genus,* meaning kind or race. It is defined by one's own identification as male, female, or intersex; gender may also be based on legal status, social interactions, public persona, personal experiences, and psychologic setting (Ghosh 2015).

Gender identity, unlike the other group identity is not based on the image of other. It is the self-introspection and associating of self with certain attributes and behaviour that helps the individual to realise its identity. The identity negotiation that takes place within this construct is between the specified gender role attached by the society and

the knowledge of the self as against these generalised roles. In the recent years, violence associated with gender identity has become a great issue of concern with increasing challenges to the established gender specific attributes and role. Thus, it is important to understand that gender identification is a self-development process and society should interfere only to the extent of providing enabling environment for the growth of the individual and not to suppress growth to honour conservative rules.

Apart from the above discussed constructs of social identity, caste also poses as a strong factor in shaping the identity of individuals. But this particular identification is more prevalent in Asian countries and not spread across the world unlike the ones analysed above.

An overall understanding of social identity would emphasise on the fact that it creates the image of us as against the other in the society. This particular notion constitutes a narrow understanding of identity which also results into violent clashes amongst the individuals or groups. The following section will highlight the impact of such violent events upon the children who become the innocent victims of identity conflicts.

Violence against children based on Identity

Violence based on identity has become a common phenomenon, the maximum impact of which is suffered by children. No kind of violence is justifiable especially when it creates a huge impact on the life of children. Identity based violence affects the children not only at physical level but also at sexual and emotional level. Children are particularly vulnerable owing to their ignorant association with ethnicity, religion, race and social status. They fall prey to the social identity established and accepted by the adults in the society.

As has been repeatedly emphasised in this chapter, the construction of social identity creates the image of the other which is looked upon either as an adversary or ally. In case of an adversary there is a constant struggle between the two or more groups to establish their superiority. Some of the most horrendous crimes and bloodshed has taken place in the name of ethnic cleansing or adverse religious ideologies. One such account is that of holocaust where the Nazis advocated the killing of Jewish and Romani people to claim their superiority. In the context of children as many as 1.5

million children were killed by the Germans only because they belonged to the other racial groups. Also tens of thousands of Romani and Polish children were either killed or used as forced labour. The most brutal scenario was concentration and transit camps where the German authorities also incarcerated a number of children. Further, German physicians and medical researchers used a number of children, including twins, in concentration camps for medical experiments that often resulted in the deaths of the children.

Another such gruesome account of violence was the communal riots of 2002 that took place in India when one compartment in an Ahmedabad-bound train (named the Sabarmati Express) was set on fire killing 21 men, 26 women, and 12 children (Hashmi 2007). The victims were all Hindu pilgrims and the incident was given a communal shape as it was alleged to be committed by followers of Islamic religion. This incident incited weeks of killing, sexual abuse, looting, and destruction of Muslim property by Hindu mobs. After a month of carnage, as many as 2000 Muslims had died, 2500 more were reported missing, lakhs of individuals were displaced, and property worth crores of rupees had been destroyed (Hashmi 2007). Even the relief camps that gave shelter to lakhs of Muslim people were officially closed down by a directive of the State Government of Gujarat, leaving them on their own thereafter. The worst victims of the riots were children as most of them were orphaned and displaced from their houses. Children were brutally killed and sexually abused. As Hashmi (2007) observed the "displaced families were rehabilitated" in colonies which had "poor sanitation" as they located near garbage dumping sites and difficult living conditions that provided an unhealthy environment for the development of children. Most children were therefore reported to have suffered from physical and mental disorders as the violence has left a scar on their lives forever.

Victimisation of children during conflict situation is a highly undermined condition. Due to their inadequate ability to effectively verbalize their thoughts and emotions to others, children have often been described as the "silent or invisible" victims of disasters or traumatic events (Drell et al. 1993; Osofsky 1995). Pynoos, Steinberg and Brymer (2007) even points out that "there are no reliable large-scale epidemiological data on the morbidity or mortality of children exposed to disasters". However, datas gained from individual studies have shown the presence of symptoms of

"posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)" as a trauma reaction among children exposed to violence (Martinez & Richters 1993; Scrimin et al. 2006; Singer, Miller & Slovak 1997). Besides, other related mental health consequences like depression and anxiety have also been observed amongst children exposed to violent events (Fremont 2004; Hagan et al. 2005).

Apart from being victims of violence conducted by affiliated social identity groups, children also suffer from gender identity crisis. The narrow construct of gender (discussed in detail above) force children to follow the specified roles established by the society for its own convenience. As a result children who realises their self-construct to be different from that of the regularised roles, generally suppress their voices in fear of being outcaste by the society. They face problem in accepting themselves which in turn hampers their overall progress. Children in such situations either suffer from inferiority complex or are in a constant mode of denial which makes them rebellious. Thus gender specific identification also cause violence to children if not accepted in its broader sense of prioritising self-construct and not specified gender roles.

State imposed identity is one of the extreme forms of identification that could result either into maintaining peace or conducting war. It prioritises the sense of patriotism and attempts to internalise the symbols associated with the state. The concept of state identity has already been discussed earlier; it is the negative impact on children which needs to be taken into consideration. The image of other constructed by state has led to violence amongst states or has set the grounds for civil wars and internal uprisings within the state. Such disturbances has further resulted into a series of refugee crisis and internally displaced children.

Instilling faith in Ethics of care

Kleinman, Das and Lock (2000) identify social suffering as the ruining of inter subjective connections due to adverse socio-political events and cultural processes. Also, Kleinman (1988a, 1988b) has defined healing or re-moralisation as the process that provides meaning and value to a sufferer's experiences through cultural beliefs and symbols. Clearly the definitions of suffering and healing situate these experiences

in a person's socio-historical context. And so as a preventive measure to these sufferings ethics of care is the most pertinent criteria which needs to be established in the social background of the individual.

In *Feminist Morality* (1993), Held explores that "ethics of care has the transformative power of creating new kinds of social persons, and the potentially distinct culture and politics of a society". It is only "ethics of care that views flourishing of children and the creation of human relationships" as the most important task. But Virginia Held's concept is more associated with feminist ethics and she explains that rather than visualising a hypothetical situation, feminist ethics is committed to actual experience. In her another book, *The Ethics of Care* (2006), Held demonstrates "the relevance of care ethics to political, social and global questions". Conceptualizing care as a cluster of practices and values, she describes "a caring person as one who has appropriate motivations to care for others and who participates adeptly in effective caring practices" (Held 2006).

Tronto and Bernice Fischer (1994) construe care as:

> The species of activity that includes everything we do to maintain, contain, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment.

The image of the other is in direct contrast to this definition of care. While the narrow construct of Identity believes in emphasising self-interest, ethics of care believes in practicing to take care of others and generate the feeling of empathy for the other. Ethics of care emphasises on development of the self and peaceful co-existence of social environment as opposed to the notion of creating identity negotiation. Tronto (1994:126-136) identifies four sub-elements of care which could be understood at various stages of giving care and they are: attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness. Ethics of care ensures and encourages positive progress of an individual by considering the position of others as they see it and recognising the potential for abuse in care.

Care ethics seeks to "maintain relationships by contextualizing and promoting the well-being of care-givers and care-receivers" in a network of social relations. It is

motivated to care the dependent and vulnerable, and is inspired by both memories of being cared for and the idealizations of self. "Ethics of care follows the sentimentalist tradition of moral theory" and thereby it affirms to the importance of caring motivation, emotion and the body in moral deliberation, as well as reasoning from particulars. The narrow concept of gender identity can thus be addressed by strengthening of care institutes in the society. Engster (2007) forwarded his concept of "minimal capability theory" which forms around two premises that "all human beings are dependent upon others to develop their basic capabilities", and that "in receiving care, individuals tacitly and logically become obliged to care for others". He defines:

> care as everything one does to satisfy vital biological needs, develop and sustain basic capabilities, and avoid unnecessary suffering and hence it is applicable to the goals to domestic politics, economic justice, international relations, and culture (Engter 2007).

Critics fault care ethics with being a kind of slave morality, and as having serious shortcomings including essentialism, parochialism, and ambiguity. Although care ethics is different from feminist ethics, but still the attributes of care are associated with feminine characteristics especially when the institutes of care and support is compared to motherhood. Care ethics is widely applied to a number of moral issues and ethical fields, including caring for animals and the environment, bioethics, and more recently public policy. It has branched out from being private and intimate to spread as a political theory and social movement with time, and has successfully provided a broader understanding of and public support for, care-giving activities in their breadth and variety.

In the context of international relations care ethics has not gained much attention as it is viewed as a moral theory concerned with individuals and selves and hence it was not considered to be suitable to guide with distant or hostile others. But Fiona Robinson challenged this idea, by developing a critical ethics of care that attends to "the relations of dependency and vulnerability that exist on a global scale" (Robinson 1999). The analysis of Robinson "expanded the sentiment of care to address the inequalities within current international relations by promoting a care ethic" that is "responsive and attentive" to the difference of others, "without presuming universal

homogeneity". She also argued that a "feminist phenomenological version of care ethics can generate moral responses to alleviate suffering of people as it explores the natural conditions, and possibilities of global relations". Robinson (1999) points out that

> preoccupation with the notion of nation state in cosmopolitanism and communitarianism, and the enforced globalised and liberal values such as autonomy, independence, self-determination, and others, has led to a 'culture of neglect'.

This culture is "girded by a systemic devaluing of interdependence, relatedness, and positive interaction with distant others". A critical ethic of care understands the global order not as emerging from a unified or "homogeneous humanity", but from structures that exploit differences to exclude, marginalize and dominate. Though Robinson doesn't believe in prevalence of a complete caring society with no suffering but at the same time she offers ethics of care as an alternative mode of response that can at least motivate global care.

Held is also hopeful that care ethics can be used to transform international relations between states, by noticing cultural constructs of masculinity in state behaviours, and by calling for cooperative values to replace hierarchy and domination based on gender, class, race and ethnicity (Held, 2006). Thus care ethics should be given opportunity to continue and explore different ways by which it can be applied to international relations.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter was based on the hypothesis that social constructs create the notion of 'us' versus 'they' in the society which is a major cause for violence against children. In the course of the research, it was found that, taken in its broader sense, identity is very important for the development of an individual. It aspires to understand one's true self. It is the social construct of identity which provides a narrow understanding by creating the image of other. The attributes and identity of an individual is shaped by the social environment it is present in and by various social identification it is affiliated to. Identity, thus, initiates the formation of organisations and institutions and builds up a strong relational network.

The concept of identity, per se is not harmful, rather it is the basic prerequisite for the growth and development of a child to become an independent individual. It becomes destructive only when it views the other in the extreme form of enmity. This narrow construct is grounded on the notion that violent clashes with the other is important to ensure and maintain unity of one's self group. Keeping this concept of identity in the background, ethnic and religious violence has taken place across the world. In the context of children, they have been time and again the worst victims of these bloodshed events. But still the domain of international relations is silent on the issue of identity causing violence against children.

To prevent such incidents of violence, it is important to emphasise upon promoting ethics of care in the society as it posits a greatest challenge to the narrow construct of identity. Ethics of care focuses on creating a society based on care and responsibility which provides a broader scope for identity of individuals to flourish. Thus, to sum up, the narrow concept of identity should be debunked and it should framed within the concept of ethics of care so as to ensure a society filled with moral responsibility thereby imparting care and respect to the vulnerable and people in need.

Chapter 4

The legal sanctity of ethics of care

What is the importance of legal sanctity? What are the legal instruments for children and why should ethics of care be included in it? What impact will it have on being legalised? Ethics of care is recognised as a moral philosophy grounded on factors of care, responsibility, justice and equality. The notion of ethics of care believes that everyone in the society are interdependent and hence it is the responsibility of the society to take care of the young and vulnerable. The idea of caring is considered not only supports a positive growth but also heals the sufferings of the people. But, it is a highly undermined concept in the field of International Relations wherein the focus is on structuring the legal system to implement justice and provide remedial measures to any form of conflicts, though it is still not being able to do so as conflicts and incidents of violence are on the rise.

In the context of children, the International legal instruments, in place, have not been able to deliver fruitful results as it is weak and not legally binding. Further, the attempt of these instruments is to provide remedial measures and not preventive measures. It is only when the International domain will realise the importance of strengthening the care institutes that will further set the enabling conditions of peaceful society, that justice will be imparted in the true sense of the term and prolific results will be seen regarding the improvement in the conditions of children. Thus, the attempt of this chapter will be to bring into light the need for ethics of care to get legal sanctity so as to ensure its acceptance across the world.

To substantiate the arguments, this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section will analyse the legal instruments prevalent in the international system with regard to children. The purpose is to highlight the established treatise that are prevalent in the international domain despite which violence against children is on the rise and hence to explore the lacunas in implementing it. The second section will bring to light the various kinds of violence suffered by children. The final section will be a follow up on the need for ethics of care to gain legal recognition as it assures preventive cure for any situation.

International Legal Instruments for Children

International legal instruments are sets of established rules and regulations or treatise that can be classified into two categories: declarations are soft political law adopted by international bodies like United Nations, but they are not legally binding, while conventions are the legally binding treatises that are concluded under international laws. There are several international declarations and conventions that acknowledge the rights of children and ensure their protection and security. Any human being below the age of 18 are categorised as children as set by the International standards. But it was only in the late nineteenth century that promising children's rights' protection movement was accepted whereby children came to be recognised more than merely being future property of the society and economic assets. The Progressive movement that took place in United Nations defied courts' reluctance to interfere in family matters, and successfully led to the passing of laws regulating child labour and promoted broad child welfare reforms including compulsory education. It also raised awareness of children's issues and established a juvenile court system. Similar recognition for children's rights occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, when children were viewed by human rights advocates as victims of discrimination or as an oppressed group. This realisation resulted in framing and adoption of international and regional legal declarations and conventions to protect the rights of children and to promote their welfare.

One of the earliest legal frameworks was the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of the Child (DRC)[3] that builds upon rights that had been set forth in a League of Nations Declaration of 1924. It ensures "special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth, and reiterates on the 1924 Declaration's pledge that "mankind owes to the child the best it has to give". It specifically calls upon voluntary organizations and local authorities to strive for the observance of children's rights. One of the key principles in the DRC is that a child is to enjoy "special protection" as well as "opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means," for healthy and normal physical, mental, moral, spiritual, and social development "in conditions of freedom and dignity." Other principles that get

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[3]The 1924 Declaration stated children "must be the first to receive relief"; the DRC specifies more pragmatically that they are to be "among the first" to receive protection and relief (principle 8). Van Bueren, *supra* note 3, at 11.

highlighted are regarding protection against neglect, cruelty and exploitation, trafficking, underage labour, and discrimination.

Another such legal instrument is Minimum Age Convention (MAC), 1973 that aims to establish a general instrument on the subject of the minimum age of employment with a view to achieving the total abolition of child labour.

The most comprehensive framework is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989. It is the longest U.N. human rights treaty in force and unusual, as it not only addresses the granting and implementation of rights in peacetime, but also the treatment of children in situations of armed conflict. The significance of CRC also lies in the fact that it enshrines, "for the first time in binding international law, the principles upon which adoption is based, viewed from the child's perspective." The CRC is primarily concerned with four aspects of children's rights ("the four 'P's"):

> participation by children in decisions affecting them; protection of children against discrimination and all forms of neglect and exploitation; prevention of harm to them; and provision of assistance to children for their basic needs. For the purposes of the CRC, a child is defined as "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (CRC 1989).

CRC establishes certain key rights for the children such as the child's right to preserve his or her identity (Articles 7 and 8), the rights of vulnerable children like refugees to special protection (Articles 20 and 22), and indigenous children's right to practice their culture (articles 8 and 30). Freedom of expression (Article 13) and the right to fair trial (Article 40) are some of the innovative rights expressed in the convention. New obligations are imposed on States Parties in regard to the protection of children, in such areas as banning traditional practices prejudicial to children's health and offering rehabilitative measures for victims of neglect, abuse, and exploitation (Articles 28(3) and 39).

One of the recognised frameworks is the adopted protocol under CRC, known as the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography 2000 (Sex Trafficking Protocol) and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (Child Soldiers Protocol). These two protocols addresses the problem of sex

trafficking and pornography and recognise it as punishable offence, along-with forced labour, adoption, participation in armed conflicts, marriage, and organ trade. It also refers to the Rome Statute of International Criminal Court which mentions inclusion of children into armed conflicts as a war crime.

Besides this international framework, there are regional treatises and agreements on children adopted by various regional bodies. African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), 1990 was the first regional treaty on children's rights. Though it was built on the 1979 Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child, most of its provisions were shaped by the provision of the CRC. The Preamble states that the

> children occupies a unique and privileged position in the African society and requires legal protection as well as particular care with regard to health, physical, mental, moral and social development (Article 2).

Based on the principles of non-discrimination and acknowledging right to life of children, as protected by law, this charter abolishes death penalty for any crime committed by children. The European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights, (ECECR), 1996 is the other legal framework that stresses on promoting the rights and "best interests" of children. One of the accomplishment of this convention is the mention that children should be provided with relevant information (defined as information appropriate to the child's age and understanding, given to enable the child to exercise his or her rights fully, unless contrary to the welfare of the child) and their views should be given due weightage.

The International legal system for children also includes the special provisions mentioned in other legal instruments. The most recognised of which is Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, in which it states that motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance (Article 25[2]), Article 26 calls for the right to education for all, and deals both with access to and the aims of education. It also declares compulsory education for children. The indivisibility of human rights as recognised in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), 1966, applies for children as well. Other such treatise are International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1966, European Convention on Human Rights 1950,African Charter on Human and People's Rights 1981 (Banjul Charter) and Protocol, American Convention on Human Rights (Pact of San José,

Costa Rica), and Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women 1979 all emphasise on establishing economic, political and human rights for the children for the overall growth and development of the children.

A thorough analysis of these international instruments points out the fact that it prioritises care for children as the most important responsibility of the State parties to it. But a major flaw in these instruments is that it is applicable only to parties that are a party to it. They are, therefore, not legally binding to all countries. Countries which doesn't approve of these instruments fall outside its jurisdiction and the crime committed by them goes unregistered, thereby weakening these systems from its base. Another reason of the failure of these treatises to curb violence against children is the lack of co-operation and existence of legal structure at both international and regional levels. The replication of laws creates confusion amongst the countries, who are party to both the legal structure, as to which procedure to follow and in the process they tend to act as per their convenience. Further these legal instruments specifies the rights to be availed and enjoyed by the children but they doesn't state the punishments in case of failure in imparting these rights. For instance, the Chinese political arrest of 6 year old Gedhun Choeki Nyima, recognised as the 11th Panchen Lama[4] by the Tibetans, went unregistered in International legal structure. He was taken into custody in 1995 and still continues to be in, but the world leaders claiming the rights of the children remained silent on this issue. Similarly recent case of a 12 year old Palestinian girl, Dima al-Wawi, was sentenced to imprisonment for four and half months by the Israeli court just because on the false allegation of attempt to murder. Thus due to lack of punitive measures, countries who fail to abide by the laws continues to do so. These instruments also fail to mention the sources through which children can claim their rights. Children are generally products of their social surroundings and their identity and behaviour is shaped on the basis of their affiliation and interaction with the primary and social groups. Thus imparting rights is not enough, it is equally important to mention the sources which will guarantee and secure them for the children.

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[4]The Panchen Lama or Panchen Erden, is the highest ranking lama after the Dalai Lama in the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism, the lineage which controlled western Tibet from the 16th century until the Battle of Chamdo and the subsequent 1959 Tibetan uprising.

Violence against children

The World Report on Violence against Children, is a comprehensive study conducted by UNICEF and other non-governmental and even governmental bodies, to highlight the growing amount of violence against which otherwise is neglected or ignored. The purpose of the study is to convey the message that "no violence against children is justifiable and all violence against children is preventable" (p.25). One of the major revelations of the study is that despite pledging to human and developmental rights of children, most of the violent acts are either State-authorised or socially approved. Thus, it is very important to understand analyse and understand the circumstances that take the shape of violence against children so as to bring an end to it and thereby making the State and society more accountable.

Violence in the form of "sexual exploitation and trafficking: and the impact of armed conflict on children, have "provoked international condemnation" over the past decade. Though the recognition of these extreme situations has helped to bring children's concerns high on the international agenda, attention to violence against children in general remains fragmented and very limited. It spreads across the various institutes a child is associated with, be it home, educational institutes, community, place of work or play, society and even state.

Cases of infanticide, cruel and humiliating punishment, neglect and abandonment, sexual abuse and other forms of violence against children are some of the most common form of violence which dates back to ancient civilisations. These form of violence continues to exist till date with heavier repercussions. Documentation of crimes imply the fact that it is a serious global problem as it occurs in every country in the world in a variety of forms and settings and is often deeply rooted in cultural, economic, and social practices.

A large proportion of children in every society suffer significant violence within their homes. "Only 16 States prohibit all corporal punishment against children in all settings", leaving the "vast majority of the world's child population without equal legal protection from being hit and deliberately humiliated within their homes" (Pinheiro 2006).

The Report found out that it is either the entrusted institutes of care and justice systems or the place of work that cause the most violence against children. United Nations also reports that:

> In over 100 countries, children in schools suffer the reality or threat of State-authorised, legalised beating. In at least 30 States, sentences of whipping or caning are still being imposed on children in penal systems, and in many more States violent punishments are authorised in penal and care institutions (Pinheiro 2006).

The use of "corporal punishment" and other forms of "cruel or degrading punishment"by the family members at home, by "those responsible for their care institutions", by "teachers in schools, and those inflicted on children in conflict" with the law by the justice system goes unregistered as violence as children accept it as a way of life. In workplaces, children below the minimum legal age are treated as slaves by the employers who also enjoy impunity in inflicting corporal punishment on children for inadequate performance. In the community, a rebellious or anti-social child is often assaulted and ill-treated by authoritative figures of the community that also includes police.

Regarding maintaining of report and investigation only a small proportion of acts of violence against children is found to be documented, and very few perpetrators are held into account. In fact, in many parts of the world there are no systems responsible for recording, or thoroughly investigating, reports of violence against children. And places where official statistics is maintained highly underestimates the true magnitude of the problem. Some of the reasons for this lack of reporting are underage and fear.Very young children who suffer violence in their homes lack the capacity to report and many children are afraid to report for fear of reprisals by perpetrators, or of interventions by authorities which may worsen their overall situation. In certain cases it is the parents who remain silent and suppress the situation if the violence is perpetrated by a family member or a more powerful member of society such as an employer, a police officer, or community leader. Fear is closely related to the stigma frequently attached to reporting violence. In patriarchal societies, notions of family 'honour' are valued above children, especially girls, human rights and wellbeing, and hence an incident of rape or sexual violence can lead to ostracism of the victim, further violence and even death at the hands of her family.

Most of the developing countries lack proper government systems for consistent registration of births which results into a lack of formal identity thereby placing infants and small children at risk. Many also lack rigorous investigation into and registration of child deaths. Another form of violence which goes untracked is child marriage. Although millions of girls are married before the age of 18, lack of marriage registration makes the problem difficult to track. Also fear of punitive measures, enforced by the State which considers child marriage as illegal, result into non registration of the marriage. Few States consistently record and report on the placement of children in institutions and alternative care, or in detention, and fewer still collect information about violence against children in such placements.

Persistent social acceptance of some types of violence against children is a major factor in its perpetuation in almost every State (Pinheiro 2006). The perpetrators of violence, children and the society at large sometimes accept physical, sexual and psychological violence as an inevitable part of childhood. Laws in a majority of States still condone 'reasonable' or 'lawful' corporal punishment and reflect societal approval of violence when it is described or disguised as 'discipline'. Corporal punishment and other forms of cruel or degrading punishment, bullying and sexual harassment, and a range of violent traditional practices may be perceived as normal, particularly when no lasting visible physical injury results (Pinheiro 2006).

Violence is generated with 'Child neglect' which is a broad term described in UNICEF Report of 2014, as:

> A failure to provide for the physical and emotional needs of a child, to protect a child from danger and/or to obtain services for a child when the person(s) responsible for her or his care have the means, knowledge and access to do so.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child explains it further:

> Child neglect includes: (1) physical neglect, such as failure to provide basic necessities including adequate food, shelter and clothing; (2) psychological or emotional neglect, such as lack of love, support and attention to the child along with exposure to domestic violence or substance abuse; (3) neglect of a child's health, including the withholding of essential medical care; (4) educational neglect, or failure to comply with laws requiring school attendance; and (5) child abandonment (General Comment No 13).

Neglect of child results into three forms of violence against children. The first form comes under the banner of physical. According to General Comment No 13 on the Convention on the rights of the Child, physical violence can take the shape of both fatal and non-fatal forms. It encompasses cruel and inhuman physical punishment, physical torture, bullying and hazing, and even corporal punishment. Extensive research conducted by UNICEF and other associated organisations, on the experience of physical violence during childhood provides "evidence of the potentially damaging effects it can have on the physical, psychological and social well-being of children". It can result into concerns ranging from "minor bruises and broken bones to head trauma", physical disability and even death. "Direct and indirect exposure" to repeated or severe episodes of physical violence in childhood are associated with an "extensive range of mental health problems, including depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, dissociation, psychiatric disorders, suicidal behaviour and self-harm, among others" (UNICEF 2014).It may also lead to impairment of brain development further impacting cognitive, language and academic skills. Children who experience physical violence are at risk of "truancy and repeating grades and tend to have lower educational aspirations and achievement than children who have not been treated in this way" (UNICEF 2014).

Physical violence has a major impact on the economy as it increases the rates of unemployment in adulthood and a greater likelihood of living below the poverty line. It has social ramifications also, which can include "aggression, social withdrawal and difficulty relating to others". Not all children experiencing such violence exhibits the same future "behavioural problems". Other possible "consequences includes drug and alcohol abuse, delinquency and risk-taking behaviours" and also an "increased risk of perpetrating violence against others, including physical fights with peers, dating violence and bullying others".

The second form of violence is emotional violence. It is also referred to as "psychological or mental abuse, and it encompasses scaring, terrorizing, threatening, exploiting, rejecting, isolating, ignoring, insulting, humiliating and ridiculing a child" (UNICEF 2014). Emotional violence is also the "consequence of denial of emotional responsiveness, negligence of health or educational needs of a child", "exposure of the child to domestic violence, and psychological bullying and hazing".

Extreme types of such violence include "subjecting a child to solitary confinement or other degrading conditions of detention" (UNICEF 2014). While distress or emotional harm often result from the "experience of physical or sexual violence, children can also be specifically victimized by targeted acts of verbal or psychological aggression".

The "perpetrators of emotional violence" against children are mostly "the people who share personal relationship or attachment" with the child. In fact, it is the parents and caretakers are frequently cited as the most common offenders. According to the Fourth National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect in the United States (2010),

> 73 per cent of all cases of child emotional abuse that were officially reported in that country from 2005 to 2006 were perpetrated by a biological parent. Although research regarding the role of other perpetrators to inflict emotional violence has been limited, few studies in recent years conducted in countries like Botswana, Canada, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe, have begun to explore that such violence are also committed by teachers, peers and dating partners.

Despite the high magnitude of impact on the children, "emotional violence" remains an under-studied topic, and it "lacks in any form of statistical data". This can be attributed largely to the fact that it is "difficult to conceptualize and operationalise all possible manifestations of emotional violence and to quantify its myriad ramifications" (UNICEF 2014).

Unlike physical abuse, that causes visible injuries, the injuries caused by emotional violence are more subtle and can be difficult for both the victim and outsiders to identify. But its consequences can be just as devastating as that of physical violence. Children experiencing recurrent episodes of emotional violence starts developing inferiority complex as they think themselves to be deficient than the others. They end up blaming themselves for the abuse, and internalise the negative words and aggressive actions against them. Research has shown that

> Childhood exposure to emotional abuse has a range of long-term effects that can persist well into adulthood, including depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress, low self-esteem, isolation and estrangement from other people, insecure attachment and difficulty with relationships, among others (UNICEF 2014).

Moreover, the consequences of emotional violence vary according to the form it takes. Children might "develop anxiety and somatic complaints in future or may also develop borderline personality disorders".

The final form of violence faced by children is Sexual violence. It is one of the most troubling violations of child rights. As a result it has become the most dedicated subject of international legal instruments that aims to protect children against its multiple forms. "Sexual violence often occurs together with other forms of violence and it encompasses direct physical contact to unwanted exposure to sexual language and images". It may not be "accompanied by physical force or restraint", but still can cause sexual victimization of children by "emotional and psychological manipulation", "intimidation and verbal threats, deception or entrapment can be equally intrusive and traumatic" (UNICEF 2014).

The experience of sexual violence includes situations wherein a child is forced to "perform a sexual act by a caregiver or neighbour", "pressed to have unwanted sexual intercourse by a dating partner", "exposed to sexual comments or advances by a peer or an adult, impelled to engage in sex in exchange for cash, gifts or favours", "coerced to expose her or his sexual body parts, including in person or online", "subjected to viewing sexual activities or sexual body parts without his or her consent", "or raped by a group of persons as part of a ritual, a form of punishment or the cruelty of war"(UNICEF 2014). "Sexual violence is thus used as an umbrella term to cover all types of sexual victimization", including both, "exploitative and non-exploitative forms". It is exploitative when it is sexual activities are done in exchange of money or other material or nonmaterial gains.

There are several factor responsible for children being at risk of sexual victimization. One basic reason being they are more vulnerable to abuse due to their age. In general, children are innocent and ignorant about their surroundings. They "lack in experience, knowledge, maturity and, in many cases, physical strength than adults, which makes them easy targets". Though "children of every age are vulnerable", "the specific risks they may be exposed to are likely to vary across developmental stages" (UNICEF 2014). For instance, "children who are young are at greater risk of abuse at home" as they bestow blind trust and "highly dependent on their family members".

While "adolescents are more prone to victimisation outside the house either by strangers or friends".

Children's perceptions of what "constitutes abuse and their ability to comprehend the experience" are also likely to be "influenced by their age and evolving" (UNICEF 2014). Unlike the experiences of physical and emotional abuse resulting changes only in the behavioural patterns, "experiences of sexual violence in childhood hinder all aspects of development ranging from physical to psychological to social". It is not only physical visible injuries but "sexual abuse also results in communicative and fatal diseases such as exposure to HIV and other sexually transmitted infections". In some cases the possible outcome may be early pregnancy. Other physical consequences of sexual violence include a range of "self-harming behaviours", such as the "development of eating disorders, like bulimia and anorexia". Children who have been "abused" are also more "likely to attempt suicide; the more severe the violence, the greater the risk" (UNICEF 2014).

"Extensive research carried out in this field claims that the sexual abuse of children is associated with a wide array of mental health consequences, including symptoms of depression and panic disorder" (UNICEF 2014). "Younger children experiencing sexual abuse suffer from anxiety and nightmares". "Sexual violence" can cause severe "psychological trauma" as it is "accompanied by shame, secrecy and stigma "and hence the child victims often find ways to cope in isolation (UNICEF 2014). The "severity of exposure increases the risk of developing adverse mental health outcomes in children".

In addition to "physical and psychological consequences", childhood experiences of sexual violence result in considerable social harm. Especially when "the perpetrator is a care-giver or trusted person", children tend to "develop insecurities and suffer from trust issue thereby facing difficulty in building and sustaining relationships" later in life. Children who are subjected to sexual violence may experience "heightened levels of fear and arousal and feel an intensified perception of threat or hostility" from other people. Researchers have also found that adverse behavioural outcomes are linked with early experiences of an individual's life. Some of the "common coping strategies adopted by children are running away from home, skipping school, engaging in risky sex and taking drugs or alcohol" can "isolate them socially and put them at further

risk of future abuse or exploitation". Children who have "experienced sexual violence are also more likely to be arrested, including in adulthood" (UNICEF 2014).

There is a heightened risk of victims being re-victimized, both while they are still children and as adults. The experiences of early sexual violence open the door to other types of violence and diminish the ability of children to resist unwanted sexual advances in the future. Children with experiences of multiple forms of violence face the poorest outcomes, exhibiting heightened risk of complex traumatic stress disorders, higher levels of depression, lower self-esteem, higher involvement in life-threatening and risky behaviours, increases in suicidal thoughts and attempts, more frequent delinquent conduct and increased use of alcohol and drugs (UNICEF 2014).

The table in next page displays the number of various cases of violence registered under the Office of Children Registry since the year 2007-2014. The table exhibits increase in the number of violent cases in the subsequent years and the sexual abuse remains the highest form of violence.

Type of report	Sex	Year								Total
		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	
Physical abuse	Male	62	523	755	738	832	1095	1379	1526	6910
	Female	74	537	850	823	930	1238	1494	1635	7581
	Unknown	6	39	55	31	21	10	39	53	254
	Total	142	1099	1660	1592	1783	2343	2912	3214	14745
Sexual abuse	Male	12	74	125	99	119	205	258	377	1269
	Female	106	1085	1577	1470	2551	2542	3118	3008	15457
	Unknown	3	12	6	5	1	9	10	18	64
	Total	121	1171	1708	1574	2671	2756	3386	3403	16790
Emotional abuse	Male	24	133	280	214	351	528	669	749	2948
	Female	27	204	485	315	474	755	867	1059	4186
	Unknown	0	4	27	18	14	1	19	25	108
	Total	51	341	792	547	839	1284	1555	1833	7242
Neglect	Male	89	754	1348	1398	1607	2055	2457	2728	12436
	Female	90	788	1471	1509	1844	2292	2717	2926	13637
	Unknown	14	163	270	143	111	81	136	164	1082
	Total	193	1705	3089	3050	3562	4428	5310	5818	27155
Trafficking	Male	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	6	8
	Female	0	2	4	2	1	4	5	48	66
	Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Total	0	2	5	2	1	5	5	55	75
Child labour	Male	0	9	8	21	29	92	116	170	445
	Female	2	8	14	31	49	114	193	257	668
	Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	3	10	3	16
	Total	2	17	22	52	78	209	319	430	1129
In need of care and protection	Male	91	713	1352	1158	1177	1446	1906	1946	9789
	Female	87	873	1724	1355	1383	1537	2235	1829	11023
	Unknown	17	140	191	104	69	58	113	28	720
	Total	195	1726	3267	2617	2629	3041	4254	3803	21532
Exhibiting behavioural problems	Male	30	372	813	898	1047	1095	1683	2185	8123
	Female	36	356	721	710	1000	1097	1464	2488	7872
	Unknown	0	6	20	11	14	11	26	134	222
	Total	66	734	1554	1619	2061	2203	3173	4807	16217

Table 1: Data representing violence against children from 2007-2014. Source: Office of Children Registry (2014).

An in-depth analysis of violence against children can be concluded that it is the care institutes in which maximum cases of violence takes place. The care institutes are generally responsible for the healthy growth of the children, on the contrary it is resulting into diminishing their personality and growth. As mentioned earlier, all forms of violence against children are preventable. But it will be possible only with the establishment of strong foundations of care ethics. The corruption of care institutes has resulted into increasing number of violence against children in the society. Thus, to purify the care institutes it is important that ethics of care should be brought under the purview of legal system. Inclusion into the legal system would ensure increase the accountability of care institutes and also enhance its reach.

The following section will demonstrate the need for ethics of care in the society to control violence against children and also violence overall.

Need for Ethics of Care

Care institutes comprises of family units, schools, government, community and society which are realised to be the best providers of physical and emotional care for children. Schools have a fundamental role in ensuring the development of children's potential while protecting them. But it is Governments that have the responsibility to build a solid legal framework and to provide the support needed by families, schools and communities to adequately fulfil their role.

Appropriate legal frameworks are vital to ending violence against children, but preventing and responding to violence does not mean adopting unilateral, tough or repressive measures (Pinheiro 2006). Also repressive measures have the tendency to violate the rights of individuals and hence they are not effective in true sense of the term. It is important to understand this concept especially in States where challenges of violence and crime are on the rise. Safety cannot be ensured by locking up adolescents under appalling conditions, by condoning the use of violence by agents of the State, or by weakening civil and political rights. This section is a demonstration of the idea that effective responses to violence involve comprehensive efforts, combining long-term investment in prevention, challenging attitudes which condone or support violence, reliable data collection, and improving the functioning of State institutions and ensuring accountability.

To quote Nelson Mandela who stated that "violence thrives in the absence of democracy and respect for human rights". Violence against children persists as a permanent threat as authoritarian relationships between adults and children continues to exist. Adults are believed to possess unlimited rights in the upbringing of a child and in the process they compromise any approach to curb and prevent violence committed within the home, school or state institution.

The ethics of care provides us with a novel reading of human relations. Thus it can offer a fresh approach by theorizing on care. Conceptualising care engenders a radically different set of models and normative concepts than those available under the terms of the conventional ethics and moral philosophy (Pettersen 2011). To

explore and explain this connection, it is important to understand certain normative features associated with ethics of care that provides a comprehensive analysis as a moral agent and part of care institutes. Such a comprehension can be termed as "mature care" where morality is inclined with ethics of care (Pettersen 2011). Also conceptualization of care as a relational activity advances the ethics of care's ability to take on empirical challenges, using conflicts of interests as examples.

One characteristic feature of the ethics of care, and also a reason for its swift growth and applicability, is its relational ontology (Pettersen 2011). The ethics of care is based on the concept that human beings are interdependent on each other. It also conceives that moral agents are also mutually interconnected, vulnerable and dependent often in asymmetric way. This approach by Pettersen visualizes the moral agent as a "mother–child-dyad", for instance, and not as the "autonomous-man-model", coined by among others Sarah Ruddich and Virginia Held. The conception's transformation took place within the sub-discipline of meta-ethics, but its implications have spread much further afield. This particular model of the moral agent is useful as a wider behavioural metaphor for ethicists as it has the capacity to capture significant features of man's interaction in general, such as reciprocity, dependency, connectedness and asymmetry. While this conceptualization provides space for intimate and private relationships, which is otherwise easily overlooked by the "autonomous-man-model", it also extends to moral agents outside the private domain—at work, and in the social and global arena as demonstrated by among others Joan Tronto and Virginia Held. For instance, instead of depicting nations as sovereign, self-sufficient and equal in strength, one can envisaging them as relational, mutually dependent, but often unequal in power and resources.

The relational model allows also for a wider understanding of who the moral agents are: they are not only individuals but also groups, institutions and nations (Pettersen 2011). This particular model successfully manages to capture interaction between groups and interaction between groups, institutions and individuals as well. Relationships transcend boundaries separating the private from the public, the individual from the collective. These "inter-category" relations is not static, it differs, sometimes quite significantly, and within such relations within categories, example friends, independent citizens or equally powerful states. These mixed relations are

embedded in everyday life, and are frequently weighted in favour of one side. This model further explains the fact that involvement is often involuntary and sometimes even coerced; there is an uneven access to power and resources, as is vulnerability to abuse. In asymmetric relationships, the dominant figure may have almost total power over the other's life and prospects.

It is understood that Care as a normative value is indeed related to the ideal of not inflicting harm, but it must also include a reasonably limited commitment to actively working for the prevention of harm. Furthermore, the normative value of care is related to the ideal of contributing to the promotion of good, but it must be narrowed down in order to not entail self-sacrifice or the sacrificing of the well-being of a third part. Care, the normative core of the ethics of care, can be portrayed as a merging of the principle of non-malfeasance when it is *expanded* to allow for certain types of interventions, and the principle of beneficence when it is *restricted* to the prevention of systematic self-sacrifice and the surrendering of the concrete others' interests (Pettersen 2008: 40–46).

Different ethical theories have different normative core values. The ethics of care highlights care; deontology accentuates rights; the theories of justice emphasize justice; and the utilitarian tradition values the society's overall well-being (Pettersen 2011). The concept of mature care is one which should be realised by the society while strengthening the foundations for care institutes. Mature care not only indicates a shift from self-centeredness to the recognition of the interests of others, it requires the self-denying agent to also consider her own interests and needs by balancing the interests of self and others. Pure altruism, strong devotion and self-denial, has often been associated with care, and throughout history praised as a female virtue (Tronto 1993; Hoagland 1989). But at the same time it is important that the integrity and dignity of both the care giver and receiver should be taken into consideration.

Thus, ethics of care helps in understanding the different roles of individuals and their interconnectedness in the society. To ensure care institutes which are free from corrupt practices causing violence against children, it is important that the moral philosophy of care ethics should be legitimised. Giving it a legal sanctity would not only help ethics of care to maintain accountability and proper implementation of care to the needy and vulnerable.

Conclusion

Ethics of care is widely accepted in its normative purview and is considered to be the platform where individual prosperity is given the highest priority. The international legal instruments also prioritise the role of care for the growth and development of the children. But at the same time, it has come into notice that with regard to violence against children, most of the care institutes are responsible for committing various forms of crime. The care givers have rather transformed their roles into authoritative harm inflicting institutes. This transformation has raised doubts in the institute of care getting corrupt and questioned its moral philosophy.

It is not ethics of care that should be questioned. It is rather the structure of the society and the members of the care institutes who should be questioned. The care institutes have been moulded as according to the wishes of the members and the relevance of care therefore has lost its essence. The members of care institutes believes in rendering punitive measures and forceful implementation of peace and since these institutes are treated as agents of morality, justice and equality, they are kept outside the jurisdiction process.

To ensure the positive and prosperous functioning of care institutes it is important that ethics of care should be regulated and treated beyond its moral philosophy. Ethics of care should, therefore be brought within the legal criteria so that responsibility of care becomes binding for everyone and rather than using violence people apply care to understand any conflictual situation and to maintain peace and harmony.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Children are the greatest victims in any conflictual situation. Their victimisation is not only because of their vulnerability and dependency on adults, but also the conditions created by state actors to ensure standardised means of maintaining stability and continuum in the society. In the process, violence conducted by the state has been forcefully legitimised and justified as well. These conditions are frequently implemented in the practice of social militarisation and the state defined concept of identity.

In this context, taking children at the centre of the research, this study proposed the concept of ethics of care as an alternative to control violence against children, which is otherwise left unrecognised in the field of International Relations. For this purpose, three variables were taken into account that poses a great challenge to ethics of care especially with regard to children: social militarisation, narrow construct of identity and weak legal structure. Based on these variables, the study intended to address the following questions:

1. Why is ethics of care neglected or taken for granted in International Relations?
2. What is social militarisation and what is its impact on society?
3. Why is there a tendency to bend towards social militarisation rather than emphasising on creating the conditions for universalising ethics of care?
4. What constructs identity? How is identity creating a negative impact upon children?
5. What constitutes violence against children? How are children getting victimised despite the presence of child rights?

Furthermore, these research questions were based on the following stated hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The process of social militarisation is being justified and privileged over ethics of care in International Relations.

Hypothesis 2: The institutions responsible for care grounded on the notion of identity as 'us' versus 'they' are a violation of basic child's right to develop.

Hypothesis 3: The lack of legal consensus and sanctity weakens the status of ethics of care.

With regard to the first hypothesis, the finding is in line with the proposed assumption. Social militarisation has become an established condition fashioned by the state to curb any form of uprising or internal disturbance. In the course of time, it has resulted into an incorporation and accumulation of weapons into the civil society which in turn has rather augmented the risks of more violence in the society. Incorporating weapons into the community dismisses the entire purpose of providing security and protection to the people. The privileging of social militarisation as a way of curbing violence has become an accepted solution worldwide. However, it provides only a short term solution. In the longer run, the consequences of this process results into a society which lives in constant fear and insecurity, the outcome of which is accumulation of weapons.

The greatest victims of this process are children who fall into the trap of never ending violence. They are denied and deprived of their basic rights and even basic amenities of life. It not only affects them physically but psychologically as well, since the trauma of violent incidents leaves a scar on them forever. Thus, to avoid such incidents of violence, it is important to recognise the importance of ethics of care.

Ethics of care creates an atmosphere of peaceful existence. It highlights the fact that human beings are interdependent and hence it is very important to develop the attitude of caring and understanding of emotions for each other. Ethics of care also emphasises that violence could be avoided by generating the feeling of togetherness and responsibility towards each other and also by assuring a just society based on equal rights. It tries to explore possibilities through which conflicts and internal disturbances could be addressed without causing any damage or harm to the people. Though it believes in use of coercion to a certain extent and that too in extreme conditions, it does not deviate from its primary goal of caring and attaining peace. Ethics of care would, thus, help to provide long term solutions to the issues of violence as it would provide a necessary understanding of the situation rather than forceful suppression.

In line with the second hypothesis, the proposition made is validated by the findings. The narrow construct of identity generally emphasises on creating the image of the other. Though, identity believes in development of the self-construct, it claims it to be possible only at the cost of the other. The attributes and identity of an individual is shaped by his/her social environment and by the various social identification he/she is affiliated to. At the same time, in the quest to establish one's identity, individuals become members of various groups based on their ethnicity, religion, place of origin and gender. Identity thus initiates the formation of organisations and institutions and builds up a strong relational network.

The concept of identity, *per se* is not harmful, rather it is the basic prerequisite for the growth and development of a child to become an independent individual. It becomes destructive only when it views the other in the extreme form of enmity. This narrow construct is grounded on the notion that violent clashes with the other is important to ensure and maintain unity of one's self group. Keeping this concept of identity in the background, various forms of ethnic and religious violence have taken place across the world. In the context of children, they have been time and again the worst victims of these bloodshed events. But still the domain of International Relations is silent on the issue of identity causing violence against children.

To prevent such incidents of violence, it is important to emphasise upon promoting ethics of care in the society as it posits a greatest challenge to the narrow construct of identity. Ethics of care focuses on creating a society based on care and responsibility which provides a broader scope for identity of individuals to flourish. Thus, to sum up, the narrow concept of identity should be debunked and it should framed within the concept of ethics of care so as to ensure a society filled with moral responsibility thereby imparting care and respect to the vulnerable and people in need.

The finding with regard to the third hypothesis is partially validated as the international legal instruments incorporates 'care' as the most important factor required for the growth and development of children. Ethics of care is generally accepted in its normative purview and is considered to be the platform where individual prosperity is given the highest priority. But at the same time, it has come to notice that with regard to violence against children, most of the institutions of care are responsible for committing various forms of crime.

The care givers have rather transformed their roles into authoritative harm inflicting institutions. This transformation has raised doubts on the functioning of the institutions of care. The members belonging to institutions of care believe in rendering punitive measures and forceful implementation of peace. Since these institutions are treated as agents of morality, justice and equality, they are kept outside the purview of jurisdiction.

To ensure the positive and prosperous functioning of institutions of care, it is important that ethics of care should be regulated and treated beyond its moral philosophy. Ethics of care should, therefore be brought within the legal criteria so that responsibility of care becomes binding for everyone and rather than using violence people apply care to understand any conflictual situation and to maintain peace and harmony.

To conclude, the concept of ethics of care has great significance that needs to be explored in the field of International Studies. In the context of controlling violence, the preventive role of ethics of care has been highly undermined by the rationalist school of thought. Its role is appreciated as a remedial measure after the damage is caused but its scope in inhibiting conflictual situations needs to be recognised by the discipline of International Relations.

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