International Development Policy and Practice:
The Translation of a Children's Rights-Based Approach

By

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ABSTRACT

In recent decades, rights-based approaches (RBAs) have gained increased prominence in international development policies and discourses, as traditional approaches have largely failed to achieve many key goals. Literature and research on the topic currently reflect a lack of understanding and consensus on how a RBA manifests itself in practice, particularly with regard to considerations specific to children's rights. This research combines methods to gather and analyze data from staff interviews and websites of several development organizations working internationally with mandates related to children's rights. The analysis focuses on identifying and describing the extent to and ways in which these organizations incorporate and interpret elements of a children's RBA as they are revealed through organizations' policies, programs, and practices. It also explores how these interpretations compare to RBA principles and draws out patterns in its use among organizations that may vary in their resources, capabilities, and scope of mandates.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	6
<i>Core Elements of Rights-Based Approaches</i>	9
<i>Background of Human Rights and Children's Rights Instruments</i>	13
<i>Challenges and Criticisms of Children's Rights Instruments</i>	15
<i>Human Rights and Development Fields</i>	18
<i>Human Rights and Development in NGOs</i>	19
<i>Implications for NGOs Incorporating a RBA</i>	20
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	30
<i>Preliminary Research</i>	30
<i>Website Analysis</i>	32
<i>Summative content analysis</i>	33
<i>Qualitative content analysis</i>	38
<i>Semi-Structured Interviews</i>	42
CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	47
<i>Organization Types</i>	49
<i>Advocacy</i>	51
<i>Capacity-building</i>	52
<i>For governments and other organizations</i>	53
<i>For youth and/or communities</i>	54
<i>Funding</i>	55
<i>Meet-needs</i>	55
<i>Broad</i>	56
<i>Excluded</i>	57
<i>Organization Characteristics</i>	57
<i>Christian</i>	58
<i>Youth-leadership</i>	59
<i>Coalition</i>	59
<i>Niche</i>	59
<i>Sample for Interview Data Collection</i>	60
<i>Rights (and needs)</i>	61
<i>Specific Rights</i>	62
<i>Rights-Based Approach</i>	63
<i>UNCRC</i>	66
<i>Long-Term/Short-Term Goals</i>	68
<i>Access</i>	70
<i>Participation</i>	71
<i>Empowerment</i>	76
<i>Roles and Responsibilities</i>	77
<i>Advocacy</i>	80
<i>Relationship with government</i>	85

<i>Target Population</i>	92
<i>Partnerships</i>	101
<i>Education</i>	105
<i>Human Rights Education</i>	106
<i>Health</i>	109
<i>HIV/AIDS</i>	110
<i>Children's Rights and Spending Priorities</i>	111
<i>RBA challenges</i>	111
<i>Rights-Based Approaches in Practice</i>	114
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	121
Bibliography	128

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: ORGANIZATION TYPES AND SUBTYPES.....	50
TABLE 2: ORGANIZATION CHARACTERISTICS.....	58
TABLE 3: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING LONG OR SHORT-TERM FOCUS.....	69
TABLE 4: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES.....	72
TABLE 5: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES	77
TABLE 6: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES.....	81
TABLE 7: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT	85
TABLE 8: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING TARGET POPULATIONS	93
TABLE 9: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING ORGANIZATIONS' PARTNERSHIPS.....	101
TABLE 10: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING EDUCATION ACTIVITIES	106
TABLE 11: ORGANIZATIONS' FOCUS ON CHILDREN IN WEBSITE TEXT	144
TABLE 12: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO RIGHTS AND NEEDS, BY ORGANIZATION	146
TABLE 13: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS AND LONG AND SHORT-TERM GOALS, BY ORGANIZATION	147
TABLE 14: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, BY ORGANIZATION	148
TABLE 15: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH GOVERNMENT, BY ORGANIZATION	149
TABLE 16: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO ADVOCACY, PARTNERSHIP, AND PARTICIPATION TERMS, BY ORGANIZATION	150
TABLE 17: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO POPULATIONS TARGETED BY ORGANIZATIONS.....	151
TABLE 18: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO EDUCATION AND HEALTH TERMS, BY ORGANIZATION.....	152
TABLE 19: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO ADDITIONAL RIGHTS TERMS, BY ORGANIZATION	153
TABLE 20: SPECIFIC RIGHTS BY ORGANIZATION	154
TABLE 21: PARTNERSHIP TYPES BY ORGANIZATION	155

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: WEBSITE CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SCHEME	135
APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	142
APPENDIX 3: CONTENT ANALYSIS DATA	144

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on international development and aid organizations that have mandates related to children's rights. In particular, I investigate the ways and extent to which a rights-based approach (RBA) is translated and implemented in the policies, programs, and activities of these organizations. A focus on children's rights is valuable when researching international development; as Edwards (1996) points out, children comprise over half the population in many developing countries, and "a failure to support them will have permanent effects on society's capacity to develop" (p. 820).

Reference to children's rights in this thesis is largely based on *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC), as a widely recognized and ratified international human rights treaty and the first to protect children's right to human dignity (Limber & Flekkoy, 1995). As such, Limber & Flekkoy (1995) stress the importance of helping monitor the implementation of the UNCRC through social science, although they recognize that this implementation currently is not optimal. It is useful to explore the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the implementation of this instrument, which is unique in that it is the first human rights treaty to officially specify such a role (Daiute, 2008).

In recent decades, rights-based approaches have been gaining increased prominence and attention in NGO policies and in development discourses, while traditional development approaches have failed to achieve many key development goals, such as addressing increasing poverty and consequent deprivation for many populations (Harris-Curtis, 2003; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). Chapter 2 provides some background on the convergence of the human rights and development fields and on the emergence of human rights-based approaches. The chapter also discusses some of the

elements and implications of rights-based approaches as identified in the relevant literature. It is argued by some proponents that a rights-based approach to development leads to better, more sustainable outcomes than traditional welfarist, needs-based approaches. (Harper & Jones, 2009; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). However, some critics argue that the effectiveness of a RBA and international rights conventions such as the UNCRC may be limited, as they do not sufficiently take into account the historical, political, familial, and cultural context of those whose rights it aims to uphold (Cockburn, 2005; Evans, 2005; Freeman, 1996). Harris-Curtis (2003) argues that some of these difficulties may be reflected in obstacles and challenges experienced by NGOs attempting to promote and implement a RBA.

Plipat (2005) notes that most literature on the adoption of a rights-based approach to development is at the theoretical level and that research on its actual application 'on the ground' is limited. Furthermore, Kapur & Duvvury (2006) have noted that the definition and application of a RBA may not be well understood by many practitioners, and there is even less research and discourse on RBAs specific to children (Harper & Jones, 2009). Harris-Curtis (2003) agrees that more information is needed on the implications for NGOs of adopting a RBA and argues that this approach needs to be questioned in a constructive fashion.

Plipat (2005) argues that the full potential of a RBA for addressing the root causes of social injustice and reproduction of poverty, and for maximizing the impact of aid sustainably, may be diminished if NGOs implement it by modifying their existing strategies rather than undergoing complete organizational transformation. Thus, it is important to investigate the extent to which organizations have transformed themselves to adapt to a RBA and the ways in which they do so. My research attempts to fill these gaps in

knowledge by providing detailed information on the varied interpretations and manifestations of a rights-based approach, which can aid in the assessment of its effectiveness, feasibility, and practical application.

Informed by a review of the existing literature on human and children's rights discourses and rights-based approaches among international development organizations, my research addresses the following three key questions:

1. To what extent do child-centered international development and aid organizations incorporate a children's rights-based approach?
2. How do these organizations put a children's RBA into practice through their policies, programs, and activities?
3. How does their official commitment to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and a RBA compare to and reflect in their practices?

These questions are explored through a combination of four complementary stages that comprise my data collection and analysis strategy: preliminary research, summative content analysis, directed content analysis, and key actor interviews. In Chapter 3, I elaborate on how I used these methods to gather and analyze my data. This combination of research methods provided important information and insights into the key questions examined in this thesis.

I addressed my first question on the extent to which organizations incorporated a children's RBA by looking at organizations' mandates and self-descriptions to determine whether they mentioned using a RBA or engaging with children's rights. I also explicitly asked organizational staff during interviews whether their organizations used a RBA and how this approach was evident in their policies, programs, and activities.

All of my research methods were used in answering my second research question on how organizations put a children's RBA into practice through their policies, programs, and activities. For example, my content analysis of websites allowed me to gain important insights into the relative prominence of particular RBA elements and the ways in which they manifest themselves in different types of international development and aid organizations. Interview data was informative in further exploring this research question, as it allowed me to learn more about organizations' engagement with particular elements and what they aim to achieve by performing certain types of activities.

My final research question asks how the official commitment that organizations have to the UNCRC and a RBA compares to and reflects in their practices. In answering this question, I began with the statements the organizations made about their use of a RBA and the UNCRC and then compared these with the findings from my second research question. This revealed both similarities and differences in how a RBA is adopted in practice and in theory by organizations with varied mandates related to children's rights. In connecting the literature's understanding of a RBA with how it is translated and put into practice by organizations, I uncovered differences in its interpretation and obstacles to its full adoption.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed analysis and discussion of the data collected for this thesis. This is followed in Chapter 5 by the conclusions I draw related to my main research questions. In particular, I discuss the implications for organizations working in this field regarding resources, partnerships and relations with local governments that impact on the use of a RBA.

This research incorporates a variety of data sources using multiple methods. As they rely on data provided by organizations and their staff members, rather than my own

first-hand observations, these methods may not completely reveal the extent to and ways in which a RBA and the UNCRC are incorporated by child-centered international development organizations in reality. What this research project does, however, is reflect the goal of phronetic research, which "is to produce input to the ongoing social dialogue and praxis in a society, rather than to generate ultimate, unequivocally verified knowledge" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 139).

While not the only mechanisms for monitoring, promoting, protecting, and/or implementing children's rights, many international development and aid organizations play a key role in these activities. Thus, in researching the understanding and implementation of a RBA to development by these organizations, I contribute to a growing body of literature on the discourses informing children's rights and development policies and practices. I also provide information that advances our understanding of what a children's rights-based approach to development entails and how it is implemented in practice by a variety of organizations based in Canada.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of human rights and development scholars have noted a growing trend for UN and international development agencies to move from needs-based to rights-based approaches since the mid-90s (Harris-Curtis, 2003; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Wessells, 2005). For decades prior to this trend, development organizations spent billions of dollars applying needs-based, welfarist approaches. As Kapur and Duvvury (2006) point out, a major distinction between rights and needs in the context of their corresponding approaches involves the obligation on the part of governments that is invoked by rights but not by needs. Despite some achievements in reaching their goals, the efforts of needs-based approaches failed to halt increasing poverty and widening gaps between rich and poor in developing countries (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

NGOs now play a crucial role in defining and monitoring human rights norms and practices, as well as developing mechanisms to ensure adherence to human rights agreements (Smith et al, 1998). The discourses in NGO work have evolved from those of paternalism, philanthropy, and charity into those of egalitarianism, politicism, and empowerment (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Whereas needs-based approaches incorporated more easily the concepts of incremental gain and sequential phasing in of agendas such as education and health services, often reflecting the "pragmatic reality of programming" (Harper & Jones, 2009, p.5), it is argued that a rights approach leads to better, more sustainable outcomes by fundamentally incorporating indivisibility, participation, and non-discrimination in paying attention to all rights encompassed by international human rights agreements (Harper & Jones, 2009). It is the framing of these rights as entitlements that attempts to empower populations as rights-holders, and a major goal of rights-based

approaches is to build their capacities to defend and claim these entitlements (Plipat, 2005).

Since the 1980s, economic and political changes have spurred a shift in international opinion that now sees human rights work and development as inseparable (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Wessells, 2005). Wessells (2005) points out that, prior to this shift, human rights work was seen as too political and as potentially jeopardizing humanitarian aims such as neutrality and independence, and development agencies feared that criticisms of governments' human rights records may result in expulsion from certain program countries.

According to Gready & Ensor (2005), political power has now become fragmented, with the state being only one site of power among intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), multinational corporations, and NGOs. Another important change has been that complementarity and partnership are increasingly characterizing the relationships between NGOs and other actors, as opposed to a previously adversarial and competitive dynamic (Gready & Ensor, 2005). In addition, trends such as the convergence of human rights and development sectors, the increased inclusion of economic, social, and cultural (ESC) rights agendas in their work, and the adoption by NGOs of rights-based approaches to development, have signaled "a potential paradigm shift in the underlying conceptual framework for development agencies and NGOs" (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003, p. 2014).

As rights-based approaches are still fairly new in development policies and programming, it is important to note that full adoption of these approaches requires fundamental changes in organizations' policies, programs, and practices and the

epistemological and ontological stances informing these elements (Harper & Jones, 2009; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003; Plipat, 2005).

Many scholars have argued that there is a need for research investigating and assessing the ways in which rights-based approaches are actually implemented in practice (Harper & Jones, 2009; Harris-Curtis, 2003; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003; Plipat, 2005). Additionally, Kapur & Duvvury (2006) claim that there is a low level of understanding among program designers of what comprises a RBA and how to apply it. Challenges to power and existing policy enabled by organizations using a RBA may appear local and fragmentary, and strategies for achieving systemic, structural change require further investigation and clarification within development and rights discourses and work (Gready & Ensor, 2005). Children's rights in particular have been paid little attention by academics; thus their place in donor policies and action is defined less clearly (Harper & Jones, 2009). The practical implications of adopting rights-based approaches, for both NGOs and their partners in the South also have yet to be comprehensively and constructively questioned (Harris-Curtis, 2003).

Research which contributes to an understanding of how international agencies and organizations currently engage with issues of child rights and well-being can be a starting point in addressing these gaps in knowledge (Harper & Jones, 2009). However, Nelson & Dorsey warn that such research needs to critically evaluate organizations' claims of adopting rights-based approaches in order to assess whether they are done so in conformity with "the absolute obligation to protect and fulfill every individual's rights" (2003, p. 2014), or if their association with rights is solely rhetorical.

Core Elements of Rights-Based Approaches

In this literature review, reference is often made to 'rights-based approaches' in the plural sense, as there has not yet been agreement on a single, universal RBA, although consensus on its basic elements may be emerging (Harris-Curtis, 2003). In an attempt to develop a common understanding, a number of UN agencies have elucidated three main tenets of what a RBA means: 1) a human RBA to programming has, as the aim of all activities, the direct contribution to the realization of one or more human rights; 2) international human rights standards and principles guide all phases and sectors of programming; and 3) development programs aid capacity development of duty-bearers and rights-holders in meeting their obligations and claiming their rights, respectively (Bellamy, 2003). These tenets may have specific implications for the policies, structures, and activities of NGOs which will be discussed later.

Wessells (2005) identifies four assumptions common to the entire family of rights-based approaches that complement the UN tenets of common understanding. Firstly, a core assumption of RBAs is that development work is not charity, which fosters dependence and treats target populations as victims and passive recipients of aid. In contrast, a RBA views people as active rights-holders and aims to empower them to achieve their own rights (Harris-Curtis, 2003; Wessells, 2005). Mander (2005) asserts that this agency by those who are denied their rights lends authenticity and sustainability to the process of securing rights, and that services provided by development organizations are not end goals, but rather means to assist this process. NGOs and other advocates for human rights can be essential vehicles for citizens to make their voices heard and to alter the balance of power through the assertion, recognition, and protection of rights (Harris-Curtis, 2003; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). "Power is changed," Harris-Curtis

maintains, "not through revolution but through individuals' responsibility for themselves and others" (2003, p. 559).

Closely related to the issue of beneficiaries being viewed as active agents in attaining rights is their high degree of participation that Kapur & Duvvury (2006) identify as being a crucial feature of a RBA. The implications of this feature for NGOs will be discussed in more detail later, but emphasis is placed on the importance of rights-holders' meaningful access to and influence on state and NGO development processes at all stages, as opposed to input being limited to token consultations (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006).

A second assumption of rights-based approaches is the moral and legal obligation of duty-bearers, including not only governments, but also organizations mandated to protect rights and, in the case of children's rights, parents and other caregivers, to fulfill the rights to which their holders are entitled (Fowler, 2003; Wessells, 2005). Based on a framework of rights and obligations, rights-based approaches determine the relationship between these agents and claimants as one of duty-bearers and rights-holders (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006). International human rights treaties act as standards that allow for measurable progress and accountability for both state and non-state actors, and the role of the latter changes from that of aid givers to being supporters and advisors to governments in fulfilling their duties (Nelson & Dorsey, 2005; Plipat, 2005).

As the state is generally the primary agency for ensuring access to social services and public goods, good governance and rights-based approaches should be mutually reinforcing (Fowler, 2003; Mander, 2005). However, elements of good governance such as accountability, transparency, and popular participation must apply to all duty-bearers, whose duties include not only positive obligations to respect and fulfill rights, but also

obligations which are negative in that they abstain from violating rights (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006).

Offenheiser & Holcombe assert that a fundamental focus of rights-based approaches is on identifying the "key systemic obstacles that keep people from accessing opportunity and improving their own lives...that impede communities from exercising rights, building capabilities, and having the capacity to choose" (2003, p. 271). This leads to Wessells' third assumption: rights-based approaches are necessary to address poverty as a symptom of deprivation, exclusion, and rights abuses, as these approaches recognize the root structural causes and political issues that lead to this condition (Mander, 2005; Wessells, 2005).

In doing so, rights-based approaches endeavor to attain for claimants - or to support claimants in attaining for themselves - minimum conditions for living with dignity (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006; Sano, 2000). Additionally, rights-based approaches recognize that particular groups are disproportionately affected by rights abuses and must therefore engage with issues of discrimination, equity, and vulnerability in order to reach those groups most in need of rights protection (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006; Nelson & Dorsey, 2005; Sano, 2000). These disadvantaged groups may include children, women, minorities, indigenous peoples, and those affected by HIV/AIDS, among others (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006; Nelson & Dorsey, 2005).

A fourth assumption of rights-based approaches identified by Wessells (2005) is that all phases of an organization's program cycle should be guided by human rights principles. It is as a consequence of this assumption that Plipat (2005) argues that the ideal adoption of a RBA requires that an organization undergo complete and fundamental transformation when transitioning from other models.

Finally, Kapur & Duvvury (2006) argue that a RBA should encompass the full range of political, civil, social, economic, and cultural rights as being indivisible, interdependent, and interrelated. When incorporating a RBA into organizational policies and activities, they warn of the incompatibility of a RBA with development processes that result in rights violations, asserting that "trade-offs between development and rights should never be made" (2006, p. 8).

A RBA to development is used in this thesis to mean an approach incorporating the following:

- The use of human rights standards and principles as a guide for policies and programming
- Contributing directly to the realization of rights
- Capacity development and accountability for duty-bearers in meeting their obligations
- Capacity building and empowerment for rights-holders in claiming their rights

It is these elements of a RBA that informed the themes explored in this study such as advocacy and participation. They reflect the key terms that were examined and in particular, the way the terms were used by the organizations.

While scholars have noted a dearth of literature on the practical application of a RBA, there is even less written specifically about children's rights-based approaches. Most of the RBA assumptions and characteristics discussed thus far can be applied here, but there are some additional features specific to a children's RBA. Importantly, this approach uses the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as its framework, providing "legitimacy, a reference point and opportunities for engagement

with its monitoring mechanisms" (Action for the Rights of Children, 2009, p. 30). The four main guiding principles of the UNCRC, including non-discrimination; the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development; and the right to participation, help to focus rights-based work, as does the principle of child protection (Action for the Rights of Children, 2009; Harper & Jones, 2009). In addition, claim Harper & Jones (2009), organizations' core strategy documents and programming should clearly incorporate these principles.

As the analysis of data collected for this research will show, incorporating the participation of children in development processes can be complicated, and a children's RBA seeks out the perspectives of children and youth in ways that recognize their dignity and evolving capacities (Action for the Rights of Children, 2009). Finally, in recognizing the vulnerable status of children, the UNCRC expands the definition of duty-bearers; a child's parents, family, and other caregivers are primarily responsible for securing children's rights, while States Parties are obligated to take measures to assist caregivers in this mandate, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are officially included in the processes of implementation and monitoring of rights under the Convention (UNICEF, 2009).

Background of Human Rights and Children's Rights Instruments

The process of the modernization and internationalization of human rights was spurred as the Second World War ended, and the need for a social contract to help prevent future human rights violations as perpetrated by the Nazi Party became widely recognized (Cuellar, 1998). This resulted in the creation of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), an instrument encompassing, among its main objectives, a fundamental concern for peaceful, harmonious coexistence among all

countries, fundamental freedoms for all, and an aim to solve international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems (Cuellar, 1998).

Although the UDHR and other international human rights agreements were intended to protect rights for all human beings, including children, these instruments were lacking an understanding of the unique applicability of rights to children and a clarification of how these standards would be protected more specifically (Shihata, 1996). In 1923, a nongovernmental organization (NGO), Save the Children International Union, drafted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. Proposing special standards of care and protection for children, this was adopted by the United Nations in 1959 as a comprehensive aspirational statement of children's rights which would be the parent document for the UNCRC (Limber & Flekkoy, 1995). This Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and put into force in 1990, becoming the "first legally binding international document to recognize the civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of children" (Limber & Flekkoy, 1995, p.2). To date, the UNCRC has received more ratifications than any other UN human rights treaty; it has been ratified by all but two UN member nations: the United States and Somalia (Daiute, 2008).

In advocating for the importance of an instrument which places children's specific needs and interests at the forefront, Edwards (1996) argues that a failure to support these considerations will damage societies and their future capacity for development. Van Bueren (1999) agrees that effectively implementing and protecting the rights of children will have the advantage of improving the lives of others in their communities.

Kent (1997) argues that, while it is possible in principle for internationally recognized rights to be realized as such, their implementation in national law ensures an instrument specifying a nation's obligations and means pertaining to legislative action,

response, and accountability mechanisms. Not every nation has access to the same degree of wealth and resources required to grant absolute realization of rights for all children, particularly the rights to basic provisions encompassed by ESC rights. However, by outlining a firm commitment to progress in ensuring these rights in national law, even poor countries can work towards this goal according to their means, rather than deferring potentially futile efforts to ensure full realization all at once (Kent, 1997).

The UNCRC is also unique in that it is the first human rights treaty to officially involve a role for nongovernmental organizations in reporting on its implementation (Daiute, 2008). Article 45 of the Convention indicates that "specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund, and other competent bodies" (UNICEF, 2009, p. 82), may be invited to assist with the process of evaluating States Parties' reports and offer advice as needed. In addition, NGOs independently produce their own reports, which may involve a more critical evaluation of a government's implementation of the Convention (Daiute, 2008). The Child Rights Information Network (CRIN) comprises over 2200 member organizations around the world which are committed to promoting children's rights in the UNCRC through a variety of campaigns and coalitions (CRIN, 2010).

Challenges and Criticisms of Children's Rights Instruments

Although the Convention has been widely ratified by nations all over the world, "current implementation of the treaty leaves much to be desired" (Limber & Flekkoy, 1995, p. 1), and many countries show a "divergence between the new international norms and the law and practice of the countries themselves" (Freeman, 1996, p. 4). Difficulties and obstacles in implementing the UNCRC in various countries are due to a number of factors. These factors may include problems reconciling compatibility with family

dynamics, culture, or religion; a nation's level of democratic and economic development and resources; domestic policies regarding an ombudsperson's scope and level of jurisdiction; and problems with communication and cooperation among agents.

One of the bigger concerns critics of the UNCRC have expressed is that it pits children's rights against those of their parents and families; some fear that the authority and rights of parents may be challenged (Grosman, 1996; Melton, 2008). In addition, the Convention is seen as intervening in the autonomy and privacy of families, in placing primary responsibility on parents for meeting standards of care and providing grounds for separating children from parents in the event of failure to meet these standards (Melton, 2008). However, Grosman (1996) and Van Bueren (1999) note that the Convention also recognizes the rights of parents, as well as the state's responsibility to take measures to assist them in their duties, and thus endeavours to strengthen and protect the family through the provision of social assistance.

A problem with an instrument such as the UNCRC said to be representing universal rights and values is that this necessarily ignores cultural specificity, as definitions in the Convention may reflect culturally insensitive assumptions about what constitutes terms such as 'family' and 'abuse,' among others, in not recognizing the rights of extended family members as caregivers or the involuntary reliance on children as essential financial providers for some families in many countries (Daiute, 2008; Freeman, 1996; Toope, 1996). Even the definition of 'child' itself may differ between cultures (Harris-Curtis, 2003). It is apparent from Grosman's (1996) discussion of the term 'best interests of the child,' used many times in the UNCRC, that this concept has the potential to be subject to different interpretations and understandings, inevitably influenced by culture and tradition in various countries.

Additionally, some nations have expressed concern regarding provisions of the Convention which may be incompatible with particular religions (Leblanc, 1996). A common solution to this problem is for nations to ratify a treaty with reservations which may limit, exclude, or modify how one or more of its provisions is applied (Leblanc, 1996).

The provision of resources, closely related to the level of economic and industrial development in a nation, is particularly salient when it comes to ESC rights, which encompass rights closely related to the alleviation of poverty and marginalization. It is argued that such rights to basic provisions such as shelter and nutrition are universal and less subject to challenges on cultural and religious grounds (Van Bueren, 1999), and furthermore that they should be given priority as fundamental prerequisites for the full enjoyment of political and civil rights and human dignity (Cuellar, 1998; Gran & Aliberti, 2003).

However, these same rights have faced difficulty in being recognized as obligations of the state for two main reasons: first, these rights have been criticized for being vague, unrealistic, and not justiciable; second, social, economic, and cultural rights, in contrast to political and civil rights, require more positive action from and interference with the government in expenditure of resources (Frankovits, 2002; Van Bueren, 1999; von Tigerstrom, 1998). As touched on earlier, these criticisms have been addressed to some extent by Kent (1987), who suggested that the implementation of the rights in the UNCRC into national law can spell out a nation's specific obligations and response mechanisms in accordance with their means. Indeed, Article 4 of the Convention specifies that States Parties shall undertake measures to implement ESC rights "to the maximum extent of their available resources and, where needed, within the framework of

international co-operation" (UNICEF, 2009, p. 14). The fact remains, however, that poverty and lack of economic development in many countries constitute barriers for the enjoyment of ESC rights, and thus, arguably, all human rights.

Human Rights and Development Fields

As Nelson & Dorsey point out, the "nexus of human rights and development is complex and multidimensional," (p. 2013, 2003), and both of these sectors have evolved over the past several decades to become largely interconnected today. Previously, development work and discourses essentially referred to national economic growth (Forsythe, 1997; Hamm, 2001; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003; Sano, 2000), with the assumption that industrialization and economic investment in developing countries would improve the situations of poor populations (Hamm, 2001). Currently, however, development is understood more as sustainable human development addressing human beings in issues surrounding resource management and participation. Development comprises the precondition, means, and goal of human rights; while economic growth remains a necessary component for this process, the capacity building inherent in providing people with minimum standards for living with dignity and providing the right and opportunity for free and active participation means that the link between rights and development is characterized by interdependence (Donnelly, 1999; Hamm, 2001; Udombana, 2000).

Despite the current recognition of the interdependence of these two fields, implementation of these ideals remains a problem, and Udombana (2000) cautions that the right to development is ultimately the result of national policy and strategy, necessarily taking into consideration each country's specific economic realities. Developing countries, argues Udombana (2000), have the human and material resources

to address poverty and underdevelopment, but good governance, both by states and the international community, which supports a shift in resources and investment in ESC rights, is necessary to make the ideals of development and human rights a reality.

According to Sano (2000), it is useful to elucidate a common ground between human rights and development that engenders the emergent and evolving practice of linking the work of the two sectors together; both share a basic interest in justice, dignity, power regulation, and participation. In doing so, it is argued that development activities must become entitlements, while human rights activities must make a contribution to creating empowerment (Sano, 2000). This overlap is especially visible in the provision of basic needs; while this has been a long-standing practice in development work, they are seen as entitlements of rights-holders and obligations of duty-bearers when seen through the lens of human rights (Sano, 2000). With this in mind, on the surface, development practices of the past may be seen as addressing rights, but the use of human rights as a reference has unique fundamental, interlinked implications: a broad consensus of the content of human rights as a basis, a change in perspective due to legal obligations to uphold these rights, and a change in the policy dialogue between donors, beneficiaries, and other stakeholders (Hamm, 2001).

Human Rights and Development in NGOs

Following the convergence of the human rights and development fields, the division between NGOs working in the two sectors has similarly been eroding (Harris-Curtis, 2003; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Although human rights and development activists in the Southern world had been working together for decades, it wasn't until the 1990s that human rights and development NGOs in the North began to demonstrate the potential power of coordination to address mutual goals that had been increasingly perceived as

interrelated and interdependent over the previous decades (Gready & Ensor, 2005; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Sano, 2000).

Another initiative largely originating from organizations in the Global South was the increased use of ESC rights, such as the rights to a minimum standard of living, education, and health care, as bases of development policy decisions (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003); this trend is said to contribute to the convergence of rights and development work because of the overlapping goals noted above (Gready & Ensor, 2005), and these rights "enable people to effectively exercise and defend their citizenship" (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003, p. 286). The challenges in fulfilling ESC rights have been noted earlier; however, when organizations link service delivery with a RBA, ESC rights may be more clearly defined and their access easy to measure; therefore, they may show more initial progress as NGOs adopt rights-based approaches (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003).

The 1980s and 1990s also saw popular participation transition from being a strategy to maximize relevance and effectiveness of development activities to become orthodoxy in many development organizations (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Plipat, 2005). In fact, governments' compliance with participation and other civil and political rights became a factor in aid allocation, allowing NGOs and other donors to exert pressure and influence for such compliance (Forsythe, 2000; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Thus, rights-based approaches to development united economic, social, and cultural rights with civil and political rights as NGOs and the international community recognized their potential to strengthen one another (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

Implications for NGOs Incorporating a RBA

The organizational changes required to integrate a RBA as described above inevitably "challenge and stretch the mandate and structures of existing organizations"

(Nelson & Dorsey, 2003, p. 2014), as they include redefinition of missions, testing of new methodologies, reallocation of funding, and retraining of staff.

In contrast to traditional development practices, goal setting in a RBA must be comprehensive in its reach, argues Plipat (2005), meaning that it must endeavor to reach the entirety of a given set of rights-holders in addressing all rights linked to a particular project. A RBA is political in that its activities are informed by core political values such as international human rights standards and it takes aim at helping the poorest and most vulnerable (Gready & Ensor 2005). This means that goals are formed and articulated in human rights terms and make reference to international instruments like the UNCRC (Frankovits, 2002; Plipat, 2005; Bellamy, 2003). The use of rights instruments can provide greater clarity and detail of the rights and norms that organizations aspire to attain, and the implied international consensus of widely ratified treaties such as the UNCRC lends authority to the advocacy and claims on resources undertaken by organizations (Kapur & Duvvury 2006)

A human rights-based program design requires an analysis of rights to determine priorities and allocation of funding and resources, in an assessment process which identifies interlinked and contingent rights, as well as policy and structural root causes for rights abuses (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006; Harper & Jones, 2009; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Wessells, 2005). An initial examination of current levels of realization of each right can reveal root causes and thus a starting point for program design, and knowledge of population needs and circumstances is necessary in order to maximize effectiveness of programs in a RBA (Frankovits 2002). This may mean organizations need to gather and share disaggregated data and consider the current implementation of rights separately in

order to address the most salient rights and reach populations most at risk of abuses (Frankovits, 2002; Kapur & Duvvury, 2006).

Considerations of local circumstances must also be undertaken in this step, as it is important to understand the cultural and social norms which affect local definitions and realization of rights, and it is also important to identify the organizations and agencies that address rights abuses locally (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006; Wessells, 2005). Some of the complications regarding ignorance of cultural specificity in the UNCRC have been noted earlier, and the Convention unfortunately offers neither guidelines for engaging with local realities nor for navigating the specific problem of the wide variance in capabilities and needs of children in different age ranges (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003; Wessells, 2005).

Gaining an understanding of local norms and contingencies affecting rights can offer strategies for bottom-up approaches which aim for fulfillment of rights to originate from their holders (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). An essential notion of a RBA is that such bottom-up approaches are used in synergy with top-down strategies aimed at policy change from the government level (Bellamy, 2003). Working simultaneously at multiple levels in this way requires "nimbleness and a fundamental change in traditional operating assumptions" (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003; p. 288), on the part of organizations.

After rights assessment, Kapur & Duvvury (2006) recommend choosing whether to focus on protection, fulfillment, or promotion of rights in programming. As Harper & Jones (2009) point out, organizations do not need to do everything in addressing all rights abuses and their causes, but programming decisions must be based on an understanding of entitlements and how they relate to each other in national strategies for rights and development. Even if an organization cannot address all linked rights on its own, a

thorough analysis of rights and local circumstances can offer a more complete and effective view of the issues related to a chosen focus (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006).

A criticism of a RBA is that its goals may be overreaching beyond the resources, capabilities, and scope of influence of many organizations, particularly smaller ones (Gready & Ensor 2005). Stated intentions to uphold international rights agreements by organizations and even by ratifying governments may represent lofty ideals that do not successfully go beyond rhetoric, offering false hope to people who may be led to believe that the existence of a right will lead to its attainment (Gready & Ensor 2005). It can be helpful to counter these criticisms with the notion that achievement of rights is an ongoing process, enabled by coordination and complementarity between state and non-state actors along with empowerment of affected people (Gready & Ensor 2005; Harris-Curtis, 2003; Sano, 2000).

As a lack of basic standards of living is an obstacle for securing dignity and the capacity for active participation in many developing nations, securing ESC rights remains a priority for any organizations working on development and rights in these countries (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Thus, meeting people's basic needs cannot be ignored in this kind of work; even when adopting an RBA and recognizing the indivisibility of all human rights, organizations' scarce resources often mean that choices must be made regarding which rights to focus on (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). Securing ESC rights through a RBA is a long-term process, and resources often must also go towards meeting urgent needs in the meantime (Wessells, 2005).

Organizational changes in adopting a RBA necessarily mean that staff hiring and training practices will need to reflect new priorities and activities (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Aside from the need to be familiar with human rights standards, contingencies,

and challenges, there are a number of staff competencies recommended by Offenheiser & Holcombe (2003), including agility in finding, processing, and applying information, capacity to communicate and market the RBA to a wide range of audiences, and the ability to sustain focus on medium- and long-term strategies.

Because a RBA has yet to be widely and clearly understood, leaders of organizations adopting a RBA need to invest considerable time and resources towards explaining their new vision and building consensus among staff, donors, and other stakeholders (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). Adopting a RBA often means that an organization takes on an entirely new brand identity and will face the challenge of articulating and marketing their new public image (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

In asserting their rights, people in developing nations are creating a new balance of power over the long-term through incremental reforms (Offenheiser & Holcombe 2003). The goal of capacity building for people in an RBA is to assist and empower them in claiming their rights, involving not only their attainment of basic needs and entitlements, but also their capacity to influence policy and defend their rights (Plipat, 2005). Empowerment of and thus participation of the people is, according to Donnelly, "the best political mechanism we have yet devised to secure all human rights for all" (1999, p. 631). Organizations must therefore assess current capacities in these respects and develop strategies to build them (Bellamy, 2003). Educating people about their rights is a crucial step in empowerment and a prerequisite to meaningful participation in both development and political processes, in providing them with the awareness to raise human rights concerns and challenge violations (Frankovits, 2002; Gready & Ensor 2005).

As a major component of capacity building for people, "Participation, ...is the practical manifestation of the indivisibility of human rights" claims Frankovits (2002, p. 13), and it must extend to all stages of the development process. This includes formulation of policies and programs as well as their implementation and monitoring, giving local people substantial control and ownership of projects which affect them, and ensuring they are armed with sufficient knowledge to make informed decisions (Bellamy, 2003; Frankovits, 2002; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). It is not only the people affected, but all stakeholders in the process, who must agree on measures of performance and time frames for projects (Frankovits, 2002). An inherent advantage in supporting beneficiaries' ownership and leadership of development processes is the sense of investment and engagement in the effectiveness, success, and sustainability of projects and outcomes (Kapur & Duvvury 2006).

As noted earlier, ensuring the genuine participation and empowerment of, and access to information for, children in project decisions in non-discriminatory ways can present challenges for organizations. Even though they may strive to take into account children's needs, circumstances, and views, organizational policies and the UNCRC have largely been developed at a distance from children's unique and subjective experiences (Wessells, 2005), and prevailing power relations and attitudes towards children and their capabilities may present challenges in supporting their participation and perspectives (Theis & O'Kane, 2005). Organizations must therefore establish an environment, policies, and procedures that support these elements, which requires long-term commitment to a fundamental change in organizational culture (Theis & O'Kane, 2005). Organizational strategies for maximizing participation with this population include the

establishment of children's rights clubs and support for child-led agencies which encourage contributions and leadership from children (Theis & O'Kane, 2005).

Education on human rights can also build capacity, provide support, and improve understanding of obligations for duty-bearers such as governments and agencies dedicated to upholding children's rights (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Such education can comprise part of a promotional approach to human rights advocacy characterized by positive engagement with governments, along with cooperation and dialogue (Plipat, 2005). In contrast, a violations approach focuses on denouncing and taking legal action on human rights abuses (Plipat, 2005). While a cooperative, promotional approach receives more support in the literature, both strategies have the potential to influence policies as forms of advocacy, an element that is an integral part of a RBA (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Plipat, 2005; Wessells, 2005). Despite this potential, the politicization of aid is accompanied by obstacles such as the possible undermining of state power and the creation of confrontational relationships with governments, which can limit or even halt an organization's activities in a particular country (Gready & Ensor 2005). Some organizations may show restraint in advocacy activities and pressuring governments so as not to jeopardize future projects (Brouwer et al. 2005). In addition, as a symptom of a general lack of knowledge and understanding of a RBA, it has traditionally been easier to solicit funds from donors for apolitical activities (Harris-Curtis, 2003).

While Offenheiser & Holcombe (2003) note that little consensus exists on the roles of non-state actors in securing rights, they argue that an advantage of a RBA is that it broadens a state-centered view of rights towards including these other actors. Sano (2000) recommends the official recognition of the shared responsibility of states,

organizations, donors, and other international firms and agencies in fulfilling rights as a solution to the obstacles encountered by the politicization of aid.

The potential to influence policies and political processes through advocacy and coordinated action is a major advantage of the partnerships and alliances that are developed between many organizations adopting a RBA (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Plipat, 2005). As has been mentioned earlier, it can be extremely difficult for organizations to achieve human rights goals and influence policies on their own, but through coordinated efforts guided by the common goals of human rights instruments and bolstered by empowered populations, advocacy activities in a RBA have real potential for socio-political change from the top down. (Gready & Ensor 2005; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Plipat, 2005). Offenheiser & Holcombe (2003) caution that real partnership, particularly with local organizations in program countries, has important implications for Northern organizations, including shared agenda setting, long-term funding provisions, and holding local partners accountable for processes and results. Particularly in the early stages of coordination, confusion and conflict are challenges organizations must face in aligning priorities, strategies, and resources in partnerships (Gready & Ensor 2005).

Accountability is an important implication of a RBA, on the part of NGOs themselves as well as for duty-bearers, partners, and other stakeholders (Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). The use of international human rights standards has made governments more accountable to its people and the international community for meeting obligations (Frankovits, 2002; Kapur & Duvvury 2006), but NGOs must also be accountable and transparent to donors, citizens, and governments in assuring them that their programs are effective in meeting goals, particularly since they may no longer demonstrate the visible short-term gains of needs-based approaches (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

With its focus on changing laws, policies, and attitudes, the impact and gains made through a RBA are difficult to perceive and measure through short-term indicators (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003), and Plipat (2005) notes that there is no empirical evidence to support the conclusion that a RBA is more effective and sustainable than alternative approaches. Donors like to see tangible results come from their contributions, and they may be skeptical when resources are channeled away from meeting needs (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). In order to address these questions of legitimacy, an organization's RBA and strategies need to be clearly communicated between all stakeholders, linking common agendas of the organizations, partners, donors, governments, and people involved (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

The transparency necessary in a RBA contributes to the need for organizations to focus on ensuring program processes as well as outcomes are consistent with human rights standards, as the quality, legitimacy, and sustainability of results is dependent on this consistency (Gready & Ensor 2005). Thus, Kapur & Duvvury (2006) warn against quick fixes conceived externally which may not take this into consideration and argue that a focus on process involves long-term engagement with projects. A particular implication of a process-oriented focus in a children's RBA is that child protection must be a consideration of organizations in all their policies and practices, as well as the daily undertakings of organizational staff (Harper & Jones, 2009). By considering potential side-effects and unintended consequences during every stage of the development process, a RBA has integrated safeguards against them (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006).

Despite the advantages and potential for enhanced effectiveness and sustainability claimed by proponents of a RBA, Fowler (2003) warns that it should not be considered a universal solution. Organizations must have an understanding of its practical application,

assess individual circumstances, and effectively communicate with all stakeholders in order to determine if a RBA will be viable in a particular situation (Fowler, 2003; Harris-Curtis, 2003).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

My research design employs four distinct stages: preliminary research, summative content analysis, directed content analysis, and key actor interviews. The four stages are interconnected and each one informs the subsequent stages while elaborating on and complementing the others. As will be explained in more detail below, each research method involves engaging with various stakeholders, whether interactively and directly as through consultations and interviews, or less directly, as through the analysis of websites and other official organizational materials. My aim is to increase understanding of the phenomenon under study, while these same stakeholders act to encourage consideration of political and socioeconomic factors in reality (Shdaimah & Stahl, 2006).

Preliminary Research

Preceding any consideration of research design, methodology, and even specification of research questions, I conducted preliminary research on the topic of children's rights and international development and aid using a variety of sources. Emerging from discussions with my thesis supervisor, Dr. Tullio Caputo, and, on his recommendation, former Senator Landon Pearson of the *Landon Pearson Centre for the Study of Childhood and Children's Rights*, my research questions were formulated with the goal of praxis, as the process by which the knowledge gained from my project can potentially be used to contribute to practical action, commentary, and change. Throughout these discussions and other opportunities to learn from child rights advocates and practitioners, I gained an awareness of emerging discourses and debates surrounding a rights-based approach to development and of opportunities to add to these debates with unique research focus of my own.

My literature review began with an overview of the core elements and assumptions of a RBA as identified by various scholars and then conducted a brief investigation of the history of human and children's rights, their translation into international law, and some of the potential advantages, challenges, and criticisms of children's rights instruments. In order to provide some context for the emergence of a RBA, I also explored the convergence of the human rights and development fields in general, as well as their practices in international organizations. Lastly, I looked at some of the implications of adopting a RBA for some of these organizations.

Finally, my preliminary research involved exploring the websites of several organizations and networks involved in children's rights and international development and aid. This review gave me practical knowledge of the general mandates and activities of the potential organizations under study, as well as databases and links of eligible organizations.

Considering the fact that it is motivated by action and change based on the knowledge gained, through the research, on practice and underlying values, a phronetic research paradigm can be said to figure prominently in the research design of this project. Engagement and dialogue with potential stakeholders is necessary in phronetic research “to provide a critical forum in which to determine the morality and relevance of projects and to assess findings and possible courses of action” (Shdaimah & Stahl, 2006, p. 104). Thus, my preliminary research served to give me not only the immersion in my topic necessary to identify elements of and issues surrounding a children's RBA, but also to inform my research questions, design, and methods motivated by the goal of producing research that will 'matter' to stakeholders involved in a children's RBA.

Website Analysis

With my first research question asking the extent to which child-centered international development and aid organizations incorporate a children's RBA, a method for quantifying terms related to RBA themes seemed an obvious one to apply in initial analysis. However, more qualitative, contextual analysis was necessary to address the second research question regarding how the organizations put a children's RBA into practice through their policies, programs, and activities. As a flexible textual data analysis method, content analysis may vary from being intuitive and interpretive to being more strict and systematic, with the specific approach taken depending on the researcher's theoretical and substantive interests as well as the problem under study (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005); my research questions legitimated the use of both approaches. Thus, my content analysis of organizations' online information began with summative analysis, which was then complemented and contrasted with a directed content analysis. The emerging findings from these two distinct analysis methods often validated one another, but also, at times, revealed possible gaps and inconsistencies that would inform my third and final research question, which asked how organizations' official commitment to the UNCRC and a RBA compares to and reflects in their practices.

A sample of eligible organizations concerned with children's rights internationally was located and identified. I began my identification of such organizations online, on the Children's Rights Information Network (CRIN) database, a global network of over 2200 organizations, agencies, and institutions involved in children's rights issues, limiting my search to organizations based in Canada that work internationally. As I planned to subsequently conduct interviews with staff from as many of these organizations as

possible, I included in my sample only organizations with offices located in Ottawa, Toronto, or Montreal.

In attempting to include as many eligible organizations as possible, I also consulted the RBA literature, partner lists on organizational websites, and child rights experts and organizational staff, in order to capture organizations which may not have been included in the CRIN database. Consulting these additional sources of information led not only to the consideration of additional eligible organizations, but also to the inclusion of a couple of organizations, Beyond Borders and the International Institute for Child Rights and Development (IICRD), that did not have offices in the specified locations but did have staff members available for interviews in Ottawa. Otherwise consistent in their office locations as specified above, the resulting sample for content analysis consisted of 27 organizations with a variety of mandates related to children's rights.

Summative content analysis

Although summative content analysis is ultimately a qualitative approach, its first steps mirror that of a quantitative approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), so discussion of quantitative content analysis as a method is warranted here. Berelson (2000) defines content analysis in this sense as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 204). As such, this technique necessarily assumes that this manifest content can be understood to hold uniform and direct meaning for both the communicator and the audience, and it assumes that quantitative description of this content is meaningful and relevant to the research questions (Berelson, 2000). In order to stay valid and consistent with the definition and assumptions of quantitative content analysis, the formation and definition of analytical

categories is of central importance, as it is in any type of content analysis (Berelson, 2000; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), so my coding scheme (Appendix 1) was developed under consideration of information gained from all sources in my preliminary research, and it was revised and reapplied as emerging findings deemed necessary. Thus, while Hsieh & Shannon (2005) distinguish between the derivation of codes in summative and directed content analysis as being from a literature review and from theory/relevant research findings, respectively, I argue that my codes and keywords were informed by both. Therefore, my coding scheme could legitimately be applied to both analyses. To maximize the trustworthiness, validity, and objectivity of my coding scheme, I aimed to use it in a way that was as “systematic, logical, and scientific” as possible (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

In analyzing and comparing the adoption of a children's RBA within and across international development organizations in the hopes of uncovering the ways in which this approach is translated and implemented, my research is incorporating elements of comparative research. In fact, Platt (2007) argues that comparison is crucial for explanation and interpretation, as explanations that may emerge from a single case study may vary or be disconfirmed when other cases in differing circumstances are studied. However, caveats on the use of materials and documents not intended or created for use as scientific data can be applied to my use of organizations' websites as sources of information. One such warning offered by Platt (2007) is that there may be differences in the ways different parties choose to record and present information and in the ways they use and define terminology, so a lack of standardization may make comparison difficult.

Indeed, the first difficulty encountered in the summative content analysis was a lack of consistency in the amount, type, and layout of content displayed in various

organizational websites. Some websites contained over a hundred pages and links, while others had less than ten. I made the decision to aim for an average of approximately 10 000 words analyzed for each website. This meant excluding large sections of the bigger websites and including as much information as possible from some of the smaller ones. In cases where some content was excluded, the decision on what pages to include was based on informed observations of which pages contained the most information about the organization's policies, programs, activities, and use of a RBA, as well as consideration of comparability of information between sites. Where I had to make choices on which themes and sections to include or exclude when there was too much information, my priorities were web pages such as *About Us*; *Mission/Vision/Values*; *Our Approach*; *What We Do*; *How We Work*; *History*; *Program Areas*; *Program Information*; *FAQs*; and *Country Profiles*.

Alternatively, when some websites were sparse and/or appeared to be outdated or under construction, it was sometimes difficult to get enough text for a proper analysis. Thus, I was forced to use text from web pages that would not have been included from the larger websites, such as *News Releases*, *Child Sponsorship/Donor Options*, and *Publications*; even when this was done, some word counts remained relatively low. However, even the barest organizational websites provided enough information on the key elements under investigation to be included in a comparative content analysis.

The date that text was captured from each website was recorded so that it can be said that the text analyzed captured organizational information, activities, and priorities at a particular date. While every attempt was made to make each organization's website text comparable in quantity and content, the variation inherent in the way information was presented across organizations made it difficult to compare between individual web pages

or sections; rather, all eligible text from each organizational web site was analyzed and compared in its entirety. Ultimately, the number of web pages included in analysis of particular websites ranged from 4 to 33, with the number of words included ranging from about 1100 to 14 000, averaging approximately 8300 words.

Originally, the indicators of RBA elements and themes chosen for content analysis were drawn from literature on a RBA in international development organizations. As I started counting the terms and going through the website text, I made changes to the coding scheme, often adding terms in an attempt to fully capture my indicators. I found that terminology related to the various RBA indicators varied between organizations, so some terms potentially sufficient for measuring a particular indicator in one may have failed to reveal the prominence of the indicator in another organization. In general, according to subsequent qualitative analysis, a high count for particular terms seems to accurately reveal prominent use of these indicators, but in some instances, a low count has inaccurately given the impression that use of particular indicators or RBA elements is low.

After constructing a well-formulated coding scheme and determining the eligible website content, I was prepared to conduct my first stage of content analysis. The counting of codes and search terms was followed by a review of the contexts in which the terms were used in order to determine if they followed the appropriate definitions and usage to be counted as indicators of my RBA elements. When the process of applying the coding scheme to the text for each website was complete, the raw counts of codes and terms were calculated as proportions of each site's total word count, so that the proportionate prevalence of particular codes and categories could be compared across websites with varying quantities of data analyzed. The preceding steps are consistent

with the initial steps of summative content analysis, in which codes and terms in the coding scheme are quantified, then their usage explored through investigation and understanding of their contextual use (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Attempts to go beyond purely descriptive accounts of website content require the assumption that inferences about intent, organizations' actual policies, programs, and activities, and other non-content can validly be made through the knowledge of content (Berelson, 2000), and Rourke and Anderson-Moore argue that in such situations, the argument of validity must be addressed through “a rigorous and systematic process of construction” (2004, p. 12) of indicators. However, I had to keep in mind Platt's caveat that, when doing comparative analysis across organizations which must report to funding bodies and/or rely on a public perception of success in order to maintain legitimacy, a certain degree of 'window dressing' is to be expected (2007). Thus, in making inferences about organizational policies and activities from information on their official websites, which may potentially disproportionately report or present euphemistically successes and failures, such websites as sources of data must be read cautiously and critically (Platt, 2007).

Rourke and Anderson-Moore (2004) do offer some steps to developing a protocol of how to progress from a purely descriptive quantitative analysis to insights about the latent content, which, in this study, includes inferences about the ways in which indicators and elements of a RBA are actually translated and implemented by the sample organizations. By informing my choice of data collection and analysis methodologies, my research questions have aided in the first step: identification of the purpose of the coding data. I addressed the second and third steps, identifying behaviours or indicators that represent each construct and reviewing the categories and indicators (Rourke &

Anderson-Moore, 2004) by conducting thorough preliminary research as described earlier. I was consistently open to revising and reapplying my coding scheme to ensure that my chosen terms and indicators were exhaustive and representative of the most prominent elements of a children's RBA; therefore, the first several websites I analyzed served as "preliminary tryouts" (Rourke & Anderson-Moore, 2004, p. 8) for the coding scheme, a fourth step in developing a valid protocol. Therefore, I have attempted to include a range of indicators and activities sufficient to reach saturation, in uncovering the ways RBA elements are used and understood by all the organizations. The fifth and final step, developing guidelines for interpreting the coding scheme and analysis findings (Rourke & Anderson-Moore, 2004), was partially accomplished through the inclusion of rules, definitions, and examples for coding embedded in the coding scheme itself, but interpretation would wait for and be informed by subsequent qualitative content analysis, as well as by later interviews with organizational staff.

Qualitative content analysis

Summative content analysis becomes a qualitative method when it goes beyond frequency counts of codes and terms and into interpretation of contexts, meanings, and patterns associated with their use (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In exploring the contexts of the codes and terms counted, I recorded the various specific meanings or activities within which the terms, as indicators of RBA elements, were used. For example, after discovering an organization's frequency of use of terms related to advocacy activities, I recorded the organization's explicitly defined understanding of advocacy, if available, as well as examples of activities explicitly or implicitly presented as being advocacy related. A closer analysis of the patterns revealed by the coding would be conducted after directed content analysis, informed by its findings.

The summative approach is identified as being fundamentally different from other qualitative approaches in this focus on contexts and patterns rather than the text as a whole, and its findings may be “limited by their inattention to the broader meanings present in the data” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1285). The inclusion of a directed content analysis method addressed this shortcoming, and it also served as a type of correlational analysis to qualitatively investigate and validate the findings of the summative method (Rourke & Anderson-Moore, 2004).

A directed content analysis approach is often used when existing theory or research about a phenomenon may be incomplete or may be extended conceptually or described further (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). As the gaps in knowledge of the practical application of a RBA, particularly in relation to children's rights, have been noted, this method is an ideal one for complementing and supplementing the knowledge gained in the initial content analysis. While the use of theoretical principles to inform a content analysis and its coding scheme may lead to a biased approach and limit a researcher's attention to contextual aspects of the objects of study (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), my application of a summative content analysis and critical thought at all stages of analysis helped address these weaknesses.

The steps taken in formulating and applying the coding scheme used for both the directed and summative analyses have already been described, but some parts of the process were specific to directed content analysis, such as the use of theoretical and conceptual discussions to guide analysis and the addition of new terms and indicators as necessary. As the existing RBA research which informed the coding scheme could benefit from further knowledge and questioning regarding the ways it is interpreted and applied, particularly with regard to children's rights, these additions illuminated aspects of

a children's RBA not highlighted by the literature. In addition, the analysis findings served to support and enrich information from RBA literature, in using descriptive evidence to explore how the RBA elements identified by these sources were actually implemented. As Hsieh and Shannon (2005) suggest, the resultant frequency count data from this content analysis were well suited to rank order comparisons, which aided the final steps of content analysis: analysis and interpretation of patterns in the findings, characteristic of the summative approach, and the consolidation and organization of data on each category.

Once the frequency counts were converted into proportions as described earlier and rank ordered, the process of exploring patterns in the data, began. As my coding scheme shows, I compared the relative prominence of reference to rights and the UNCRC, advocacy and participatory terms, and many other elements and keywords related to a RBA; Chapter 4 will include further specification of these elements and related findings.

In combination with the qualitative analysis of organizations' website content, these findings showed that the organizations in my sample primarily engaged in one of five mutually exclusive main activities: Advocacy; Capacity-building for governments and other organizations, Capacity-building for youth and/or communities, Funding, and Meeting needs. These are shown in Table 1 and will be defined and discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Organizational websites' statements of mandates, visions, goals, and self-descriptions allowed me to identify a clear focus of activities in one of these areas for most organizations. This allowed me to classify organizations into main categories corresponding to each of these activities. Using these categories, I looked for patterns within and between the types in order to understand the ways in which they incorporate

and translate a RBA and its elements. I contextualized this data with examples of how the indicators were actually addressed and implemented in organizations' policies and activities.

Some organizations were found to engage significantly with only one of these types of activities, but it was more common to find they performed a number of them to some extent. When some organizations placed emphasis on additional foci of activities in their descriptive statements, I assigned them activity categories as subtypes. This added to the depth of the analysis and discussion of patterns among the types; for example, an organization that has an 'Advocacy' subtype may be included in discussions or trends pertaining to 'Advocacy' organizations because it still engages considerably with activities and goals related to advocacy, even though its main mandate may correspond with another type.

However, I found that the scope of the mandate and activities of two organizations was too broad to be able to group them into one of the other categories. These organizations, to a greater extent than others, perform activities pertaining to all five activity types and were therefore classified as 'Broad,' thus bringing the total number of main organizational categories in the analysis to 6.

It was also clear that a number of the organizations possess fundamental characteristics, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, which may shape their structure, activities, and the ways in which they translate a RBA. When exploring patterns and trends in the data, I found that incorporating consideration of these characteristics, where applicable, helped contextualize some of the findings. For example, a niche focus on children and armed conflict or an emphasis on youth leadership may explain a particular

organization's targeting of certain populations or high engagement with youth participation, respectively.

In addressing the major research questions of this project on the extent to and ways in which a children's RBA is translated and put into practice by the organizations under study, the two content analyses complemented each other in drawing out and contextualizing data. These methodologies revealed as much about the enquiries as possible from organizations' official websites, although limitations of these as sources, as mentioned earlier, must be noted. However, the resultant data informed my subsequent research method, interviews with organizational staff, by indicating elements which would benefit from further elaboration and investigation in order to fully answer my research questions.

Semi-Structured Interviews

My final research question, asking how organizations' official commitment to the UNCRC and a RBA compares to and reflects in their practices, was best addressed using in-depth interviews. These interviews explored elements highlighted during the preliminary research and content analysis stages. In addition to pointing out areas of information that would benefit from further elaboration, the content analysis also illuminated potential inconsistencies between the way a RBA is applied in theory and in practice. There may also be differences between organizations' publicized policies, programs, and activities and what staff members perceive as actual practices. The interactive and personal nature of interviews allowed me to investigate these gaps by accessing information not available on the websites and provided me with background information and explanations for content analysis findings.

Some organizations from the original sample of 27 were not contacted for interviews; they were excluded because initial analysis showed that they had an insufficient focus on children or were largely inactive for the duration of my research. My aim was to obtain interviews with organizations representing each of the six typologies identified through the content analysis, to learn as much as possible about the similarities and differences in RBA elements and strategies among the types. This theoretical sampling aimed to increase my likelihood of learning as much as possible about my research topic by capturing a variety of organizational types even with a small sample size.

Such sampling through typology is similar to the use of ideal types as described by O'Reilly (2006), who claims that an advantage to this use of types in analysis is that “it allows parsimony of explanation around a group of key characteristics” (p. 735). However, she also warns that this may also lead to an oversimplification of the diversity of factors at play (O'Reilly, 2006). While the bases of categorization into typologies were identified as being influential on organizations' translation and interpretation of a RBA, my sampling on these bases may have ignored the coverage and analysis of other potentially important factors such as organizational size, funding sources, and countries in which they operate. However, the drawbacks do not outweigh the advantages of using typologies for theoretical sampling for this stage of research, particularly as the typologies were generated through a multi-method process that was grounded in both RBA literature and the content analysis data itself.

I requested interviews with eligible organizations via email, directed at managerial staff where possible, followed up by phone calls if an email response was not received. A majority of organizations did reply, and many that declined my interview request cited the

unavailability of staff members knowledgeable in my area of interest as their reason. I obtained a total of ten interviews with one staff member or advisor at each of ten organizations, listed in Chapter 4. The goals for inclusion of all main categories and characteristics to be covered in this stage were met, with the exclusion of the 'Meet-needs' category, as I was unable to obtain interviews with representatives of any organizations of this type.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured, as I went in with a set of 17 main questions about the way organizations interpreted and implemented elements of a children's RBA, and I added questions probing for elaboration on specific strategies, examples, or background information as necessary. My interview instrument (Appendix 2) was carefully developed after the preliminary research and content analysis stages, with input from my supervisors, in order to ensure that the questions were as connected and informative as possible to my main research questions. Thus, when analyzing the interview data, information pertaining to particular questions could be systematically applied to the main research questions as applicable.

These interviews lasted anywhere from thirty to ninety minutes and were audio-recorded and transcribed, resulting in data which, at a minimum, gave rich background knowledge of organizations' epistemological and ontological stances and their engagement with the RBA elements analyzed, and largely directly addressed my research questions.

During the interviews, I maintained an awareness that certain staff members may not always have complete knowledge of, or be willing to share, the reality of practices and activities. As participants were interviewed in their professional capacities as representatives of their respective organizations, they may have felt constrained from

expressing personal opinions in favour of organizational views. However, because the actual units of analysis in my research were organizations themselves, this was not necessarily problematic, as I maintained awareness of these possibilities in the analysis.

The idea that analysis of interview data needs to consider contextual factors in addition to the data itself is not limited to those factors related to the research participants, but also includes consideration of factors regarding the research method and the researcher herself, as these elements are interdependent and interconnected (Enosh & Buchbinder, 2005; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). As an interactive method which aims to achieve the subjective truth of the interviewee, interviews are co-constructed, with the interviewer's role being that of a facilitator who helps the interviewee reveal his or her understanding of the phenomena studied (Enosh & Buchbinder, 2005).

As such, consideration of the power relations present in the collaborative process must be undertaken. During the interviews, I was quite conscious of the fact that my relative knowledge and experience in the area of children's rights and a RBA was likely below that of the persons I interviewed, so I was careful to remain open yet critical to the information presented to me so that I could effectively explore information that addressed my research questions. However, the power dynamic shifted when interview data was analyzed and reported, as I had control over which information would be included in these stages, and the ways in which it would be used to contribute to my study. (Enosh & Buchbinder, 2005; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).

In order to minimize the effect of power differences and lend validity to the results, I made every attempt to ensure the information was fully contextualized in its analysis and presentation. In making claims and conclusions based on my research, I try

to present them in conjunction with an explanation of the details of how they were reached.

Although my sample for content analysis is small, it includes all the organizations I could find that met my eligibility criteria. It is possible that some of the findings pertaining to particular organizational categories may be applied to organizations with similar mandates outside of my sample. Caution must be made, however, in generalizing results to other organizations, as each, at least in this sample, is unique in its policies, practices, programs, and approach. Seale places the onus on readers of research such as mine in order to determine the similarity of a particular sample to receiving populations and adds, "Threats to such transferability are dealt with most adequately if details, or 'thick' descriptions of the 'sending' context (or the 'sample'), are provided" (1999, p. 108). I have attempted to do so using the combined methods of summative and directed content analyses of organization's websites and in-depth interviews with their staff.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section will address the three main research questions of this thesis in discussing the analysis of data collected through a combination of research methods, including website content analysis and in-depth interviews with organizational staff members.

The first main question addressed in this research is, "To what extent do child-centered international development and aid organizations incorporate a children's rights-based approach?" During the website analysis, I addressed this question by looking at organizations' mandates and self-descriptions to determine whether they mentioned using a RBA or engaging with children's rights. Because engagement with children's rights was a precondition for selection in my sample, all organizations analyzed mentioned doing this to some extent. I also conducted frequency counts of references to children's rights and needs in order to assess organizations' relative emphasis on each. However, organizations were not always explicit in describing their use of a RBA and its elements as such, so this question was better answered through my interviews with organizational staff. During these interviews, I was able to ask explicitly whether organizations used a RBA and how this approach was evident in their policies, programs, and activities. Thus, I was able to answer this question more conclusively for the ten organizations included in the interview sample. For the remainder of the organizations, where reference to use of a RBA was not explicitly stated, my assessment of the extent to which they incorporated this approach was based on inference only.

My second research question to be addressed is, "How do these organizations put a children's RBA into practice through their policies, programs, and activities?" Both the website analysis and the interview data were informative in answering this question.

Much of this chapter is spent discussing the ways in which a RBA and its elements have been translated by the organizations in the sample. My summative content analysis of websites allowed me to gain some insight into the relative prominence of particular RBA elements, such as engagement with the UNCRC, advocacy activities, and participation, among others, within and between organizations. This analysis revealed that the international aid and development organizations working with mandates related to children's rights in my sample operate under 6 distinct main mandates, each corresponding with types of activities related to RBA elements. However, the activities of many organizations were not limited to those of their main categories, and my analysis took into consideration the ways each organization engaged with all RBA elements, while attempting to reveal patterns and trends within organizations' main types. Additionally, my qualitative content analysis explored the context of terms related to RBA elements, allowing me to uncover and discuss the various ways in which they are incorporated and used by organizations.

Interview data further explored this second research question, allowing me to learn more about organizations' engagement with RBA elements and the specific ways in which they manifest themselves in organizations' policies, programs, and activities. Furthermore, through these interviews, I was able to access information generally not revealed on organizations' websites, such as the emphasis on children's rights within spending priorities and the challenges organizations face in implementing a RBA. This information allowed for some explanation and contextualization of the other findings.

My third and final research question states, "How does their official commitment to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and a RBA compare to and reflect in their practices?" In answering this question, I took as starting points organizations' stated

extent of the use of a RBA and the UNCRC and the elements of a RBA as described in my literature review. Because organizations' extent of RBA use is more conclusively stated in interview data, my discussion of this research question is limited to those organizations in my interview sample. In comparing these with my findings for the second research question, the ways in which a RBA and its elements are interpreted and incorporated by organizations, I revealed similarities and differences in how this is accomplished. In doing so, I discuss organizations that use approaches that may differ from or be used in conjunction with rights-based approaches as described by the literature, and I argue that a RBA may be legitimately and effectively used and interpreted in a variety of ways and extents.

Organization Types

After coding and qualitative analysis of websites, the organizations were grouped into 6 main categories: Advocacy; Capacity-building (one category for governments and other organizations and one for youth and/or communities); Funding; Meet-needs; and Broad. Organizations were classified into one of these types based on statements of mandates, visions, goals, and self-descriptions on their websites which allowed me to identify a clear primary focus of activities for organizations. The particular qualities used to identify each category are discussed in detail below. Using these categories, I looked for patterns within and between the types in order to address my research question on the ways in which they incorporate and translate a RBA and its elements. I contextualized this data with examples of how the indicators were actually addressed and implemented in organizations' policies and activities.

Some organizations were found to engage significantly with only one of these types of activities, but it was more common to find they performed a number of them to

some extent. When some organizations placed emphasis on additional foci of activities in their descriptive statements, I assigned them activity categories as subtypes. This helped me add depth to the analysis of patterns among the types by including consideration of organizations performing activities other than those of their assigned main categories in discussions of particular types of activities. Table 1 below shows each organization's assigned type and sub-type, if applicable.

TABLE 1: ORGANIZATION TYPES AND SUBTYPES

Organization	Main Type	Subtype(s)
1. <u>Amnesty International</u>	<i>Excluded: very little specific focus on children</i>	
2. <u>Beyond Borders</u>	Advocacy	
3. <u>Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee - Children and Armed Conflict Working Group</u> (Peacebuild)	Capacity building for government and other organizations	
4. <u>Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children</u> (CCRC)	Capacity building for government and other organizations	Advocacy
5. <u>CARE Canada</u>	<i>Excluded: very little specific focus on children</i>	
6. <u>Child Fund Alliance - Christian Children's Fund of Canada</u> (CCFC)	Funding	Meet needs
7. <u>Children First</u>	Advocacy	
8. <u>Children/Youth as Peacebuilders</u> (CAP)	Capacity building for youth and/or communities	Advocacy
9. <u>Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development</u> (CGECCD)	Capacity building for government and other organizations	Advocacy
10. <u>Defence for Children International</u> (DCI)	Advocacy	Capacity building for government and other organizations
11. <u>Equip Kids In Developing Societies International</u> (EQUIP)	Meet needs	
12. <u>Foundation for International Training</u>	<i>Excluded: very little specific focus on children</i>	

Organization	Main Type	Subtype(s)
13. <u>Human Rights Internet</u>	<i>Excluded: very little specific focus on children</i>	
14. <u>International Bureau for Children's Rights</u> (IBCR)	Capacity building for government and other organizations	Advocacy
15. <u>International Institute for Children's Rights and Development</u> (IICRD)	Capacity building for government and other organizations	
16. <u>Oxfam Canada</u>	<i>Excluded: very little specific focus on children</i>	
17. <u>Plan Canada</u> (Plan)	Broad	Capacity building for youth and/or communities Meet needs
18. <u>Pueblito Canada</u> (Pueblito)	Capacity building for youth and/or communities	Funding
19. <u>Save the Children Canada</u> (Save)	Broad	Advocacy Meet needs
20. <u>Sierra Leone-Canadian Children's Aid Society</u> (SLCCAS)	Meet needs	
21. <u>SOS Children's Villages Canada</u> (SOS)	Meet needs	Capacity building for youth and/or communities
22. <u>Street Kids International</u> (SKI)	Capacity building for youth and/or communities	
23. <u>UNICEF Canada</u> (UNICEF)	Funding	Broad
24. <u>War Child Canada</u> (War Child)	Capacity building for youth and/or communities	
25. <u>World Vision Canada</u> (World Vision)	Meet needs	Capacity building for youth and/or communities
26. <u>Youth Challenge International</u> (YCI)	Capacity building for youth and/or communities	
27. <u>Youth Coalition</u>	Advocacy	Capacity building for youth and/or communities

Advocacy

As later discussions of advocacy as a RBA element will show, advocacy activities can take on a variety of forms and be understood differently by various groups.

Organizations in this category describe their primary mandates and activities as those intending to change, challenge, or influence policies or opinions regarding children's rights.

During analysis of the organizational websites, it quickly became apparent that advocacy activities could vary with respect to how confrontational and challenging the organizations were with governments they engaged with. The content analysis indicator 'relationship with government' is intended to distinguish between these varying types of advocacy activities. As Table 15 (see Appendix 3) shows, most organizations that were classified as 'Advocacy' tended to include more confrontational, activism-oriented advocacy terms in their website text than the other organizations.

Advocacy as a category was chosen because several organizations appeared to specialize in this type of activity, although advocacy was rarely the only type of activity performed by an organization, and several other organizations were assigned an 'Advocacy' subtype.

Capacity-building

The United Nations Economic and Social Council uses the terms 'capacity-building' and 'capacity development' interchangeably, defining this long-term process as that "by which individuals, organizations, institutions and societies develop abilities to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives" (Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006, p. 7), the basic goal of which

is to enhance the ability to evaluate and address the crucial questions related to policy choices and modes of implementation among development options, based on an understanding of environment potentials and limits and of needs perceived by the people of the country concerned. (Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006, p. 7)

It is a process that may be addressed at the individual, institutional, and societal levels.

While the focus on either governments and other organizations or individuals and communities as recipients for capacity-building activities was not always absolute within organizations, those classified as 'Capacity-building' demonstrated a clear focus on one or the other in their mandates and activities. Among the organizations analyzed, the most common capacity-building activities performed were those related to information and knowledge sharing, largely in the forms of research, training, and education. All the organizations possessing the 'Coalition' characteristic are characterized as being of the capacity-building main type (mostly for governments and other organizations), meaning that many of them are actually groups or networks of other organizations, institutions, or their representatives. Perhaps because of the long-term focus and broad, highly ambitious scope of capacity-building activities and goals, it is deemed necessary to pool resources and knowledge and work together in a coordinated fashion. By doing so, the member organizations can build each others' capacities as well as those of outside groups, institutions, or individuals.

For governments and other organizations

Capacity-building with these groups involves the participation of all stakeholders in three main activities: "creation of an enabling environment with appropriate policy and legal frameworks" (Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006, p. 7); institutional development, including participation of individuals and communities; and human resources and managerial systems development. (Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006).

These organizations generally do not work directly with children, although children and youth are prominently mentioned in their activities. They place a strong emphasis on partnerships, which tend to be mostly with other NGOs, local organizations,

and governments. Not surprisingly, their relationships with governments were shown by the content analysis to be characterized mostly by cooperation and information sharing, with the exception of the Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children, which made use of more activist terms in describing their activities.

For youth and/or communities

Since the societal, institutional, and individual levels of capacity-building are interrelated, there is some overlap in which the activities and goals of capacity-building for governments and other organizations can be applied to communities (Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006). However, in this analysis, the capacity-building activities for communities are largely aimed at enabling capacity building for children and youth. While written to describe the process for public servants, the United Nations Economic and Social Council's definition of capacity building at the individual level can be applied here to describe how organizations of this type accomplish capacity building for children and youth. They do so by establishing the conditions under which young people "are able to embark on a continuous process of learning and adapting to change - building on existing knowledge and skills and enhancing and using them in new directions" (Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006, p. 8). In the context of human rights and development, this may include education and training on human rights as well as more general education and vocational training, among other activities which help children and youth overcome the causes and symptoms of poverty, exclusion, and other rights abuses.

As found in the content and qualitative analysis, organizations of this type tend to highly emphasize participation of children and youth, and they also place a strong focus on education in general and, to varying degrees, human/children's rights education. Two

of the three organizations possessing the 'Youth leadership' characteristic, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders and Youth Challenge International, are in this category, while the third, Youth Coalition, is sub-classified into it. The relationships these organizations have with governments are largely characterized by cooperation.

Funding

These organizations describe their primary role in Canada as that of fundraisers in order to finance their own or other organizations' programs overseas. These organizations were shown in the website analysis to frequently mention partnerships; Christian Children's Fund of Canada mainly mentioned those with local organizations, while UNICEF mentioned government partnerships the most frequently.

It should be noted that there is a distinction between UNICEF Canada and UNICEF International, but the website and interview data included information about both, so it may be difficult at times to distinguish between them in the analysis and discussion. The typology of 'Funding' was assigned based on the mandate and activities of UNICEF Canada, but its sub-category, 'Broad,' is more applicable to UNICEF International.

Meet-needs

Organizations in this category may do work and activities in other areas, and they may even explicitly or implicitly incorporate elements of a RBA, but content and qualitative analyses show that they tend to have a higher than average focus on needs than other organizations, and, with the exception of Equip Kids in Developing Societies International, they mention needs considerably more frequently than they mention rights. However, many of these needs, including basic survival ones, are framed as rights at some point by the organizations.

Except for World Vision Canada, these organizations tend to be small and focus their activities on specific areas or populations. Consistent with a lower emphasis on rights, these organizations also mentioned fewer advocacy terms and activities, and they tended to have cooperative relationships with governments. Although some of the organizations may incorporate short-term goals for meeting needs into their activities, the emphasis for all, as Table 13 (see Appendix 3) shows, was heavily in favour of long-term goals and lasting change.

Some of the needs met by these organizations could be classified as capacity-building, but the language used by the organization indicates they are more clearly framed as needs. While some specific target populations were identified by the organizations, analysis showed target populations were generally characterized as poor and vulnerable.

Broad

The two organizations classified as 'Broad' are two of the largest, best known ones, and the scope of their mandate and activities was too broad to be able to group them into one of the other categories. These organizations, to a greater extent than others, perform activities pertaining to all the other categories. On the surface, the two organizations appear to be similar and have similar activities. However, upon closer analysis, both Plan Canada and Save the Children Canada appear to put slightly more emphasis on one or two areas of activity, which were recorded as their sub-categories. As a second sub-category, both organizations were classified as meeting needs.

Activities performed by both 'Broad' organizations include programs in the areas of health and HIV/AIDS, education, emergency response, child protection, child participation, community sponsorship, fundraising, livelihoods, microcredit loans, capacity-building, research, and information sharing for governments, other

organizations, children, and communities, and advocacy.

Excluded

The content analysis of website content was performed on all 27 organizations in my original sample; however, information revealed by initial analysis was the basis for my decision to exclude five organizations from any further analysis and discussion I chose to exclude these organizations because of a lack of explicit focus on children; as Table 11 in Appendix 3 shows, some organizations made considerably fewer references to 'children,' 'youth,' and 'kids' in relation to the rest of the organizations in the sample. The excluded organizations are listed below:

- Amnesty International Canada
- CARE Canada
- Foundation for International Training
- Human Rights Internet
- Oxfam Canada

Organization Characteristics

In addition to being assigned to main and sub-types, many - but not all - of the organizations possess distinguishing characteristics. In contrast to the 6 organizational types signifying primary foci of activities, organizations' characteristics are simply features that may significantly affect their activities, policies, approaches, and their use of RBA elements. When exploring patterns and trends in the data, I found that incorporating consideration of these characteristics, where applicable, helped contextualize some of the findings on the ways in which a RBA is translated. These characteristics are not mutually exclusive, so an organization can possess more than one. These characteristics include being Christian, promoting youth leadership within the organizations, and being

coalitions of multiple organizations or niche organizations. A summary of the distinguishing characteristics possessed by organizations is presented in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2: ORGANIZATION CHARACTERISTICS

Organization	Characteristic(s)
<u>Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee - Children and Armed Conflict Working Group</u> (Peacebuild)	Niche: Children affected by armed conflict Coalition
<u>Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children</u> (CCRC)	Coalition
<u>Child Fund Alliance - Christian Children's Fund of Canada</u> (CCFC)	Christian
<u>Children/Youth as Peacebuilders</u> (CAP)	Youth-leadership Coalition Niche: Conflict countries
<u>Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development</u> (CGECCD)	Coalition Niche: Children under 5
<u>Equip Kids In Developing Societies International</u> (EQUIP)	Niche: Assistive technology/ education for children with disabilities
<u>SOS Children's Villages Canada</u> (SOS)	Niche: Orphans
<u>Street Kids International</u> (SKI)	Niche: Training Street Kids
<u>War Child Canada</u> (War Child)	Niche: War affected
<u>World Vision Canada</u> (World Vision)	Christian
<u>Youth Challenge International</u> (YCI)	Youth-leadership
<u>Youth Coalition</u>	Youth-leadership Niche: Sexual/reproductive rights

Christian

In their website text, the two organizations self-identified as Christian stress that they do not discriminate by religion, race, ethnicity, or gender when it comes to recipients of aid, and their target populations are characterized by poverty more so than the other organizations. In describing their beliefs regarding non-discrimination and helping the poor, statements are supported by mentions of their Christian beliefs and/or Jesus.

World Vision Canada's main category is meeting needs, while Christian Children's Fund of Canada's sub-category is meeting needs; however, they still mention capacity-

building and long-term change as being goals of this mandate. 'Access' is a prominent term for both organizations. Content analysis showed that these organizations were among the lowest in their frequencies of mentioning rights, and, in contrast to most other organizations, they showed higher counts of 'needs.'

Youth-leadership

This characteristic describes organizations either led and staffed by young people or aiming to promote the leadership of young people. These organizations all strongly emphasize youth leadership, participation, and decision-making, and analysis revealed a very high frequency of participatory terms and activities.

Youth Coalition and Youth Challenge International have a very high emphasis on partnerships; while Children/Youth as Peacebuilders does not, it is already a coalition, with partnership implicit. Perhaps partnerships are especially important for youth-led corporations, as they may not have the same resources and connections available to them as other organizations do.

Coalition

These organizations are actually comprised of other member organizations and/or their representatives; several member organizations are also part of the sample analyzed. They may self-identify as a coalition, network, group, consortium, or federation. Many of these coalitions have been created to perform niche activities or reach specific populations, and, as mentioned earlier, they are all classified as capacity building organizations.

Niche

While each of the organizations under study has something that distinguishes them and/or their activities from the others, some of the organizations were especially

narrow in their focus, either in types of activities and programming performed or the target population. These organizations are not necessarily small, but for the most part they seem to be smaller and lesser known than the organizations with a broader focus.

In looking at the characteristics of the niche organizations, it is apparent that many of them are coalitions, with representation from several other organizations; it seems that a need for narrowly focused activities was identified and the niche organizations were developed in response. While several of the more broadly focused organizations aim to help children in conflict situations, perhaps these children's needs and issues regarding rights are so unique and problematic that organizations found that they could respond by focusing solely on them.

With regard to the 'Youth leadership' organizations specializing in particular issues, perhaps it was found that adult-led organizations were failing to adequately meet needs and address rights in these niche areas, and organizations more strongly emphasizing youth leadership and participation were created in response.

Sample for Interview Data Collection

All eligible organizations were contacted with requests to interview staff members. It was my aim to include at least one organization belonging to each main category and at least one organization possessing each characteristic identified. Regarding the 'niche' characteristic, I aimed to include at least one organization targeting children affected by armed conflict, since this was the most common niche focus.

After requesting interviews from organizational staff, the sample for interview data collection was dependent on permission to access staff members and on their willingness to participate. The goals for inclusion of all main categories and characteristics to be covered in this stage were met, with the exclusion of the 'Meet-

needs' category, as I was unable to obtain interviews with any organizations of this type.

Ultimately, interviews were obtained from one staff member or advisor from each of ten organizations, listed below:

- Beyond Borders
- Children/Youth as Peacebuilders
- Christian Children's Fund of Canada
- Defence for Children International
- International Bureau for Children's Rights
- International Institute for Child Rights and Development
- Plan Canada
- Save the Children Canada
- Street Kids International
- UNICEF Canada

The staff members interviewed held roles including Co-founder, Executive Director, Director of International Programmes, Director of Communication, Director General, Special Advisor, Director/Manager of Programmes, and International Program Specialist. Participants had worked anywhere between 1.25 and 31 years, averaging 7.9 years, with their respective organizations, and had worked in the development or human rights fields for an average of 22.7 years. Thus, all participants interviewed had considerable knowledge of activities and policies within their organizations, and their high levels of experience allow me to be confident about their expertise on the subject matter of this research.

Rights (and needs)

Qualitative analysis showed that a frequency count of the word 'right,' in reference to human/children's rights, excluding its use in organization and other proper names, was a good indicator of the extent of an organization's focus on rights in their activities and programming; a lower count for this term often reflected the use of organizational resources on other priorities. Alternatively, an extremely high count often

showed that an organization focused almost exclusively on activities related to rights.

Consistent with these observations, the organizations mentioning 'rights' the most frequently were among the organizations classified as 'Capacity building' and 'Advocacy,' organizations which presumably place a high focus on promoting and supporting fulfillment of rights. Organizations with the lowest use of 'rights' were the Christian organizations, perhaps partly because their basis for activities supporting rights covered in the UNCRC is not the legal instrument itself but rather another authority which does not promote these rights as such.

I also counted 'needs' in reference to meeting the target population's needs, i.e. "We focus on their most critical needs" (Save the Children Canada, 2011), in order to contrast this count with that of rights. The purpose of this was to assess the extent to which an organization focused on meeting target populations' needs without explicitly engaging with them as rights. Qualitative analysis showed this to be fairly accurate, and the organizational websites making the most reference to 'needs' were among those in the 'Meet-needs' category. This was the dominant category among the six organizations that mentioned needs more than rights, a characteristic both Christian organizations in the sample also shared.

Specific Rights

While reviewing the context of 'rights' in the website text, I recorded references to specific rights to determine if organizations emphasized particular rights when referring to their activities. As Table 11 in Appendix 3 indicates, while not all organizations referenced specific rights, aggregate counts showed that in general, the children's rights most widely promoted were those to education, protection, civil/political/participation rights (these were used interchangeably enough that they were counted together), and

survival/life. Most organizations did not make extraordinarily frequent references to a specific category of rights; exceptions were UNICEF Canada, which talked about education as a right over twenty times, and Youth Coalition, which made almost fifty references to sexual and reproductive rights, a focus that is clearly noted in their self-descriptions and mandates. Defence for Children International clearly places a focus on the right to justice, although qualitative analysis showed that it is mainly in reference to the promotion of juvenile justice in the Canadian Court system.

Additional qualitative analysis of interview data showed that certain organizations focused on specific rights issues as follows:

- Beyond Borders: Child sexual abuse, exploitation, and trafficking
- Children/Youth as Peacebuilders: Participation
- Christian Children's Fund of Canada: State Parties as duty-bearers for rights in the CRC, including social, economic, and cultural rights; rights to participation, privacy, and information, and freedom of expression, religion, and association.
- International Bureau for Children's Rights: Children in armed conflict, sexual exploitation
- International Institute for Children's Rights and Development: Child protection from exploitation

Rights-Based Approach

The first main question addressed in this research is, "To what extent do child-centered international development and aid organizations incorporate a children's rights-based approach?" With a few exceptions, most organizational websites did not explicitly specify whether a RBA was used. Therefore, I relied mainly on interview data to answer

this question. Respondents were explicitly asked if they thought their organizations incorporated a RBA (note that they were not asked if they exclusively used a RBA), and how this approach was evident in their programs, policies, and activities. While all the organizations in the interview sample said that they did use a children's RBA, a few participants noted a lack of universal agreement on what a RBA actually was, and a couple claimed that there was often a gap between the theoretical and practical uses of this approach.

Some of the organizations explicated how their approach was not exclusively rights-based. For example, Christian Children's Fund of Canada suggests that it may be possible and even more effective to achieve many rights-based goals without taking a "limiting," "strict" (Wessells, 2005, p. 16) rights based approach to programming, instead using a RBA to complement their child-focused approach. Christian Children's Fund of Canada aims to uncover and address underlying root causes of poverty, marginalization, and other issues which may overlap with but go beyond those of rights fulfillment. Thus, while the organization may not be solely or "...specifically rights-based, [they] certainly advocate on issues of rights"¹ in identifying and addressing these hidden dynamics while also promoting children's empowerment and reduction of vulnerability in accordance with the UNCRC. Similarly, UNICEF combines a RBA with programmes of cooperation with results-based planning and management. This results-based planning may appear to contrast with the emphasis on process identified by RBA literature, but UNICEF notes that it contributes to the realization of rights and thus is part of their definition of a RBA (UNICEF, 2011).

¹ Interview, Director of International Programmes, Christian Children's Fund of Canada, July 18, 2011.

Additionally, Street Kids International, as one of the smaller organizations in the interview sample, claims to uphold children's rights and choose partners with consideration of their respect for rights of children and youth. However, the extent to which they incorporate a RBA is ultimately dependent on the contingencies of working in various countries (for example, it is difficult to speak explicitly of children's rights in Ethiopia), and on the incorporation of a RBA by local partners.

When explaining how a RBA was evident in the programs, policies, and activities of their organizations, respondents most commonly noted their guidance by the UNCRC, their emphasis on roles and responsibilities of duty-bearers, and their heavy incorporation of child participation in program decisions and evaluation. Some organizations were careful to point out that their RBA was a *children's* RBA, distinguished largely by a recognition of the particular vulnerabilities, needs, and dependence on adults that children experience.

One exception to the claim that use of the UNCRC is an integral and defining element of a RBA was evidenced by Beyond Borders, in an argument that rights and rights-based work should not have to make reference to a legal document such as the Convention to be recognized as such.

The International Institute for Children's Rights and Development and Plan Canada described their child-centered rights based approaches as a process of first analyzing and understanding the situations of children and their rights, and then taking action in terms of policy development. A Special Advisor for the International Institute for Children's Rights and Development described this process as “bottom-up, top-

down...,” where the goal is “systemic change based on the lived realities of children’s lives.”²

Finally, the International Bureau for Children's Rights respondent pointed out that true adoption of a children's RBA means that respect for rights must guide not only programs for children and youth, but all activities of an organization, including treatment of their partners, stakeholders, and staff within the organization.

UNCRC

My preliminary research and literature review thus far have indicated that activities that involve or reference the UNCRC are arguably a necessary part of a children's RBA, and my analysis of website and interview data largely supports this assertion. For the content analysis, I counted references to the UNCRC, its predecessors, and other international human rights instruments in website text; this allowed for guidance by human rights treaties beyond the UNCRC which could potentially affect children to be considered, although the UNCRC was mentioned the most by far.

When organizations did mention the UNCRC, it was usually in reference to monitoring, implementing, or promoting it as part of their goals, or simply as the instrument defining children's rights worldwide. A high count for references to the UNCRC generally corresponded with a high focus on rights and was mainly a characteristic of ‘Capacity building for governments and other organizations’ and ‘Advocacy’ categories. As a member of the former category, with the most textual references to the Convention by far, the Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children describes itself as an "organization dedicated to the full implementation of the Convention

² Interview, Special Advisor for Child Protection and Partnership, International Institute for Children's Rights and Development, April 14 2011.

on the Rights of the Child in Canada and around the world" (Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children, 2010). However, a low count did not necessarily mean an organization did not focus on rights; interestingly, four of the five organizations making no reference to the UNCRC in the website text analyzed were of the 'Capacity building for youth and/or communities' category, possibly because use of the Convention is more instrumental in dealing with governments and other duty-bearers, something largely beyond the mandates of these organizations.

All the organizations interviewed claimed they did make reference to the UNCRC in their policies and programming, although to differing extents. Five of the organizations in the interview sample explicitly indicated that most or all of their policies and programming are based on and guided by the UNCRC as a framework, while others made reference to the Convention for specific purposes. The interviews and websites revealed that some organizations have a unique relationship with the Convention and its implementation, most notably UNICEF, which was the only organization specifically named in the UNCRC, in Article 45, which states that UNICEF, other UN organs, and other unspecified specialized agencies are entitled to play a role in implementation, monitoring, technical assistance and advice, research and recommendations regarding children's rights in the Convention. Defence for Children International was recognized as the "organization which would accept the role of championing the Convention in the NGO communities"³ during the General Assembly in which it was first brought in front of the UN, and the International Institute for Children's Rights and Development is connected to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the independent body of experts

³ Interview, Executive Director, Defence for Children International, June 30, 2011.

monitoring State Parties' implementation of the Convention. Additionally, Eglantyne Jebb, Save the Children's founder, drafted the UNCRC's predecessor, the original *Declaration of the Rights of the Child*, in the 1920s (Save the Children Canada, 2011).

The most common activities in which organizations made use of the UNCRC involved their role in supporting and monitoring governments which had ratified the Convention and its use as a starting point when explaining their particular RBAs to partners and potential sources of funding. Another way organizations used the UNCRC was as a basis for discussion in conducting education and public engagements on children's rights. Interviewees at a couple of organizations indicated plans to make the Convention more foundational to their work in the future, while others described much of their engagement with rights as not necessarily making explicit reference to the Convention. While Beyond Borders finds that reference to the concrete - as opposed to abstract - rights and obligations in the UNCRC makes legal work easier, they do not base their policies and decisions on the Convention or make it part of their regular communications, commenting that children can have many rights "which aren't articulated anywhere but still are of equal value."⁴

Long-Term/Short-Term Goals

All relevant literature and research consulted thus far on a RBA has indicated that this approach is not possible with a short-term focus and that long-term transformation and projects are inseparable from a RBA. Thus, a count of terms indicating organizations' long- or short-term focus, as shown in Table 3 below, was conducted.

⁴ Interview, Co-Founder and Senior Legal Counsel, Beyond Borders, April 14, 2011.

TABLE 3: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING LONG OR SHORT-TERM FOCUS

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Time frame for programs, activities, and goals	Sustain (sustainable, sustainability)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. ...to build education infrastructure that is nationally sustainable.</i>	
	Long(term)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. Save the Children campaigns for long-term change in addition to providing shorter-term support to improve children's lives.</i>	
	Last(ing)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.</i>	
	Short(term)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. Save the Children campaigns for long-term change in addition to providing shorter-term support to improve children's lives.</i>	
	Immediate	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.</i>	

Even when an organization appears to focus on meeting needs more than rights, a long-term approach can be indicative of a RBA, as this can develop into promoting rights to self-sufficiency, participation, livelihoods, and access to basic needs. In fact, a couple of needs-meeting organization types and subtypes showed some of the highest mentions of long-term goals, as did the Christian organizations. Not all organizations made use of any of the terms indicating long-term goals, and fewer mentioned a short-term focus, but there were no organizations in the website analysis sample that mentioned short-term goals more than long-term ones.

Often, when short-term goals were mentioned, it was in response to emergency situations. This type of work was more common among the larger, 'Broad' organization types and subtypes, and interviewees stressed that a RBA was still evident in emergency situations requiring attention to immediate needs, in the entrenchment of children's rights,

protection, and well-being into all such activities and procedures. In general, capacity-building activities were explicitly or implicitly identified as being long-term in focus, and several organizations had both long-term and short-term aims, performing complementary activities in both spheres.

Access

Plipat (2005) claims that an often overlooked implication of a RBA involves creating and ensuring access to services and resources needs largely encompassed by economic, social, and cultural (ESC) rights, rather than simply meeting the needs themselves. Use of the term 'access' in this sense, as illustrated in the phrase, "Increasing access to relevant and quality education, literacy, and skills training for children and youth are the goals of our education projects," (Save the Children Canada, 2011) was counted in an attempt to reveal long-term goals related to these rights. The organizations which mentioned terms related to long-term goals, including the Christian organizations, were among those which also mentioned activities related to supporting access for ESC rights most frequently. Christian Children's Fund of Canada, for example, in recognizing that some government capacities are too weak to provide sustained access to education, will help organize educational structures while working to build these capacities (Wessells, 2005).

However, interview data was more informative in showing the extents to which organizations worked on enabling access to ESC services and resources, as interviewees were directly asked about this implication. While only four organizations claimed to specifically do so as part of their mandates, a sentiment generally expressed by interviewees was that organizations aimed for sustainability of the benefits and results of their programs after they exited a country. This is accomplished in a number of ways,

from training and supporting local facilitators, teachers, professionals, and ministries and capacity building of local communities and organizations, to more systemic change accomplished by governments adopting models or policies that they own and operate themselves. Some of the organizations mentioned making self-sufficiency of communities in maintaining the advances gained by their projects a part of their exit strategy during their initial program planning.

While Save the Children Canada, for example, plans to work with local partners for up to 7 years to ensure sustainability, other organizations pointed out that ensuring access to ESC rights was beyond their mandate. Furthermore, this element was seen to be beyond the capabilities of some, due to their small size and the contingencies and constraints of local circumstances. Therefore, their role in promoting it was dependent on local partners and often limited to advocacy and support for others in ensuring this access.

Several organizations claimed that this element was not part of their core mandate, but it was pointed out in the interview with Beyond Borders that support for sustained access to ESC rights may result from "overflow"⁵ from other work, particularly that regarding child protection.

Participation

As one the four core guiding principles of the Convention, respect for the views of the child is a major facet of their participation, which has also been identified in the literature as one of the most important elements of a RBA. For the content analysis of this element, I searched several terms related to children's participation and leadership (see Table 4), whether they indicate organizational support of these within communities

⁵ Interview, Co-Founder and Senior Legal Counsel, Beyond Borders, April 14, 2011.

or within the programs and activities of the organizations themselves. Despite the use of many terms in attempting to encompass this element, it was clear during subsequent qualitative analysis of the text that they did not fully capture the prominence of child participation and related activities in certain organizations. Thus, while a high frequency of these terms does appear to indicate an organization's high priority on child participation, a low count does not necessarily mean an organization places a low priority on it but often rather reflects a difference in terminology used.

TABLE 4: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING PARTICIPATORY ACTIVITIES

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Participation terms	Participa* (participate, participated, participating, participation)	This indicator refers to children's (as target population of programs) participation in society, community, and aid activities as active partners, decision makers, and evaluators during project processes <i>E.g. Measures should be put in place to encourage and facilitate their participation in accordance with their age and maturity.</i>	
	Club(s) Group(s) Organization(s)(organisation/s) association	Includes child rights clubs/groups of which children are members and/or leaders. <i>E.g. ...through peer education and child rights clubs</i>	
	Represent (representative)	References to children as youth representatives in projects or activities <i>E.g. ...a permanent team of 24 boys and girls representing approximately 350 youth from the area</i>	
	peer	Reference to children/youth as peer-educators or peer mentors <i>E.g. become 'peer educators' in their communities</i>	
	decision	References to contribution to decision making by children <i>E.g. create support for children to take part in decisions that affect them and their communities</i>	
	leader	References to children/youth as leaders or taking a leadership role. <i>E.g. ...encouraging youth to participate and take an active leadership role in their communities</i>	
		Total:	

The three organizations mentioning participatory terms most frequently were, understandably, the three 'Youth leadership' organizations. In counts of specific rights, shown in Table 20 in Appendix 3, participation (including mentions of civil/political

rights), was among the most frequently mentioned altogether, and it was specifically referred to as a right by the most organizations (12), indicating a strong general focus on participation as a right among many organizations.

Interview questions specifically addressed both community and child participation in organizational decisions, activities, and programs, and while every organization in the interview sample acknowledged the importance of all such participation, they incorporated it to different extents, with some describing it as being largely dependent on individual projects and on local partner organizations. Due to the scope of individual organizations' mandates and noted difficulties in engaging communities outside their home countries, community participation in program design was an element more often directly incorporated into activities within Canada. Whether it is undertaken in Canada or overseas, the importance of partnerships with local organizations, institutions, leaders, and other stakeholders was strongly emphasized as a facet of successful community participation. Often, the role of the organizations interviewed was that of facilitator, capacity builder, and supporter in encouraging local partners to undertake community participation and consultation in program design, analysis and initiatives.

It is important, some noted, to incorporate participation at the community level from the very beginning of a project, starting from the initial situational analysis stage. While often working within the constraints of existing guidelines and funding contingencies, a project's support and ownership by affected communities is integral to its success, so there must be space within these guidelines to share program design decisions with them.

While all organizations acknowledge the importance of children's participation in many or all of their activities, there are several inherent concerns and challenges

regarding participation of this particular group. The interviewee at Children/Youth as Peacebuilders pointed out that some cultural differences may make it difficult to separate attempts to incorporate the participation of children and other community members, noting that in some of the less industrialized countries, particularly in conflict zones, autonomy and independence are less constitutive of youth identities while "family is often the biggest source of security."⁶ Children/Youth as Peacebuilders often tries to preserve this connection to family in making participation intergenerational. In addition, it was noted by a couple of organizations that child participation and child protection may come into conflict in certain situations; working with issues such as child trafficking and sexual exploitation may expose youth to offensive and damaging materials and information, and listening to children may reveal, for example, that they want to work under often harmful conditions because they and their families lack alternatives to earn much-needed income. Plan Canada found it necessary to address this particular issue through "interpretation, consultation with local context, duty-bearers and children themselves,"⁷ resulting in an adapted child labour focus toward making work safer rather than attempting to stop it altogether.

The biggest concern regarding participation of children brought up during the interviews was that it had to extend beyond token consultation to become ongoing meaningful consideration of their views, opinions, experiences, and recommendations. Rhetoric and practice, according to Children/Youth as Peacebuilders' respondent, can often be quite different, particularly in societies where elders are not traditionally

⁶ Interview, Executive Director, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, June 21, 2011.

⁷ Interview, Director of Programs, Plan Canada, June 13, 2011.

expected to listen to young people. Youth and those supporting their meaningful participation need to be patient, persistent, and resourceful in making their voices heard, and flexibility is required on both sides.

The International Bureau for Children's Rights interviewee claimed that there is often a tendency to incorporate the participation of children mainly with those aged 12 or older, as issues of ethics and access may become more complicated when trying to include children who are younger. Additionally, the respondent from Children/Youth as Peacebuilders argued that, while there is a lot of time spent "on the right to participation...we need to spend an equal amount of time on the mechanisms of participation."⁸ Techniques of participation need to be developed which reflect the differences in the ways issues are framed and prioritized by children and consider these differences within their various age groups and capacities. Providing a space for new modes of expression that allow for these differences is a strategy identified by some organizations, which may elicit children's voices and opinions through art, craft, poetry, storytelling, music, and drama workshops.

During a couple of interviews, social media and other interactive technologies emerged as new mechanisms for participation which may change the traditional dynamics of power and communication among adults and young people. Even in many poor countries, access to cell phones and the internet is becoming increasingly common and in many ways, noted some interviewees, children adapt better than adults in maximizing the use and benefits of these technologies. Formerly reliant on adults for enabling their voices to be heard, often through geographically limited modes, many children and youth

⁸ Interview, Executive Director, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, June 21, 2011.

can now communicate with each other and receive and send information all over the world while bypassing adults altogether, and organizations are starting to investigate how these techniques can be used to maximize meaningful child participation.

Those organizations which directly incorporated children's participation did so at one or many points along a continuum of influence over program decisions, from initial consultation and input during initial analysis to ongoing roles in planning, monitoring, implementation, media engagement, advocacy, evaluation, and recommendations for future activities or program improvements. Some organizations support children's rights clubs, focus groups, and youth-led associations, and youth leadership is also supported through peer training, interviews, and mentorships. Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, the only organization in the interview sample with the 'Youth leadership' characteristic, also supports its youth leaders in finding space and recognition for their voices directly within national mechanisms.

Empowerment

As empowerment has been identified in the literature as a key goal of participation, capacity building, and human rights fulfillment in general, this term, in reference to empowering children, was included in the textual analysis in order to determine its prominence in organizational policies, programs, and activities. Ultimately, this term was not very useful in the website analysis, as almost half the organizations in the sample did not use it at all. However, it is interesting to note that 'Capacity building' organizations (two of them for youth and/or communities) were among three of the four organizations mentioning empowerment the most.

Empowerment was not explicitly discussed very much during interviews, although one organization identified children's empowerment in standing up for their rights as one

of the key goals of human rights education. Another pointed out that, even with children as a primary focus for empowerment, the focus of interventions must extend to teachers, parents, and community leaders, “as key stakeholders and duty-bearers that we feel need to be involved in the process.”⁹

Roles and Responsibilities

Repeatedly mentioned as a major implication of a RBA, an emphasis on roles and responsibilities, mainly regarding States Parties and other duty-bearers, was an element I attempted to capture in the content analysis, with limited success. As Table 5 below shows, I searched for terms referring to roles, responsibilities, and obligations regarding the protection, implementation, monitoring, etc. of children's rights for duty-bearers, including governments, caregivers, and organizations themselves.

TABLE 5: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Role (of organization/s, government, caretakers)	Duty(duties) Obliga* (obligation, obligated, oblige/d) Responsib* (responsibility, responsible)	These terms were searched, and results were further divided by who had the duties/obligations/responsibilities below.	
	Organization	<i>E.g. Save the Children Canada must act as the custodians of children's rights, sharing the responsibility to fight for their recognition and defence</i>	
	Government	<i>E.g. ...best practices which could be shared with other States Parties to assist them in meeting their obligations as outlined by the CRC.</i>	
	Caretaker/s	<i>E.g. the rights and responsibilities of adults to children</i>	

This element was difficult to capture using content analysis, as a number of organizations did not use the terms in the applicable contexts at all, and I found no pattern among organizational types or characteristics. Overall, however, governments were the

⁹ Interview, Director of International Programmes, Christian Children's Fund of Canada, July 18, 2011.

primary group identified as duty-bearers, while organizations and caregivers were each named as duty-bearers about half as much. Save the Children Canada, for example, recognizes its own responsibility for ensuring the recognition and defence of children's rights in naming themselves as "the custodians of children's rights" (Save the Children Canada, 2011). These findings are reflected in the UNCRC, which holds States Parties primarily responsible for implementing and fulfilling rights and for supporting families and caregivers in doing so, while organizations or "specialized agencies" in the field of development and rights are identified as playing a role in assisting with and monitoring these obligations (UNICEF, 2009, p. 82).

During the interviews, participants were asked if they held governments accountable for their obligations as outlined in the UNCRC and other human rights laws. As an organizational activity, holding governments accountable initially seems more geared towards the 'Violations' approach to advocacy as described in the literature review, and thus is likely not universally considered to be an element of a RBA. Three of the ten organizations interviewed explicitly claimed that they did not do so, because it was not within either their capabilities as small organization or their mandate. Many organizations engage in dialogue with governments, "making a government aware of its obligations and ...working with the government in terms of how it might meet its obligations."¹⁰ However, one interviewee pointed out that this type of engagement generally does not put organizations "in a position where you can hold them accountable"

¹⁰ Interview, Special Advisor for Child Protection and Partnership, International Institute for Children's Rights and Development, April 14 2011.

and falls under “too broad a definition”¹¹ of actually holding governments accountable for their obligations regarding children’s rights.

The main caveat offered by organizations which did hold governments accountable for upholding children's rights was that a country's own citizens and civil society organizations are far more effective than foreign NGOs in accomplishing this; thus, some organizations claimed to perform this type of activity almost exclusively in their domestic activities. UNICEF Canada, for example, is holding our own government accountable for children's rights by petitioning for a National Children's Commissioner, and other organizations mentioned the use of democratic mechanisms and the media in engaging with the accountability of the Canadian government.

The organizations which claimed to hold governments accountable for children's rights were of the ‘Advocacy’ types and subtypes, but almost all of those interviewed took care to note that, whenever possible, they aimed to avoid being confrontational and antagonistic with governments. Doing so could potentially jeopardize future projects as well as relationships with governments, which may be a source of funding for several organizations, but it was seen as a wise caution even by organizations which did not accept government funds. An example of a less confrontational and critical strategy to advocate for more stringent fulfillment of children's rights involves demonstrating to governments how the infringement or support of particular rights may affect other issues of national interest. Many organizations said they focused more on good practices and policies adopted by governments, therefore reflecting the promotional approach to advocacy described by the literature.

¹¹ Interview, Special Advisor for Child Protection and Partnership, International Institute for Children's Rights and Development, April 14 2011.

The most common method of holding governments accountable was through the media, identified by some as a powerful source of influence, with its potential to engage populations whose governments are accountable to them, although diplomacy was still stressed as an important facet of media engagement, particularly when pointing out government's shortcomings in meeting responsibilities. A difficulty identified regarding this type of engagement was that occasionally, the media is insufficiently informed about the issues to effectively advocate for accountability. Local civil society organizations and other local partners were also named as powerful groups for promoting accountability, and thus some organizations reported encouraging and lobbying these groups to hold their governments accountable.

Advocacy

Preliminary research and RBA literature have shown that advocacy activities can take on a variety of forms and be understood differently by various groups, and this heterogeneity was reflected in both the textual analysis and interview data collected. As Table 6 shows, content analysis attempted to capture references to any organizational activities intended to change, challenge, or influence policies or opinions regarding children's rights.

Within the websites, most references to advocacy activities indicated they were aimed at governments and policy makers, although they could also be targeted towards corporations, the UN, or citizens and communities. During qualitative analysis of the websites, it became apparent that advocacy activities could range in how confrontational and challenging they were for governments; discussed below, the content analysis indicator 'Relationship with government' is intended to distinguish between these varying characterizations of advocacy activities.

TABLE 6: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Advocacy terms	Advoca* (includes advocacy, advocate, advocated)	Activities intending to change, challenge, or influence policies or opinions regarding children's rights <i>E.g. We advocate with governments and international communities</i>	
	Promot* (promote, promotion, promoted, promoting)	Reference to promotion of children's rights <i>E.g. ...improve education, health, food security, and child protection while promoting child rights.</i>	
	Action	Taken by the organization or those mobilized by the organization with the aim of supporting or promoting rights <i>E.g. INSPIRE through the efforts of Save the Children and our international partners, 60 million people worldwide to take action!</i>	
	campaign	Verb only <i>E.g. ...advocating and campaigning for better practices and policies to fulfill children's rights</i>	
	Monitor (monitored, monitoring)	<i>E.g. We provide monitoring of adherence to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC)</i>	
	Lobby (lobbied, lobbying)	<i>E.g. Lobbying the UN with government partners</i>	
	Protect (protection, protecting, protected)	Count only references to protecting rights, not children themselves <i>E.g. ...protecting the rights of AIDS orphans</i>	
	Fight (fighting) fought	Explicit references to fighting for rights <i>E.g. Save the Children Canada must act as the custodians of children's rights, sharing the responsibility to fight for their recognition and defence.</i>	
	Implement* (implementation, implemented)	Reference to implementing or promoting implementation of rights standards <i>E.g. Implement international standards on the worst forms of child labour</i>	
		Total	

As Table 16 in Appendix 3 shows, while the frequency of advocacy terms used in organizational websites varied widely between organizations, the findings of the content analysis of this indicator generally corresponded with the assigned organizational categories. The organizations which made the most use of advocacy terms all had 'Advocacy' as their main type or sub-type; those cases for which 'Advocacy' was not their

main type had one of the forms of 'Capacity building' as their main type. It seems, whether they are supporting governments, organizations, communities, or children themselves in fulfilling rights, influencing changes in policies and opinions is a major part of many capacity building goals. Understandably, organizations demonstrating the least frequent use of advocacy terms were of the 'Meet-needs' type or sub-type.

Occasionally, however, the frequency of advocacy terms and activities mentioned did not match an organization's self-identification as an advocacy organization. For example, World Vision Canada describes itself as a “relief, development, and advocacy organization” (World Vision Canada, 2010), but, as Table 16 in Appendix 3 shows, advocacy terms in its website were of below average frequency, and a breakdown of their expenditures reveals that only 1% of their spending is on public awareness, advocacy, and education, as compared to over 63% spent on meeting health, water, sanitation, and nutrition needs and emergency/disaster relief (World Vision Canada *2010 Annual Report*, 2010). A partial explanation for this may be that advocacy activities cost considerably less than activities which may be more focused on providing services and resources. Characterizations of organizations' relationships with governments are discussed in more detail in the following section, but analysis showed that advocacy activities and organizations were more likely than other organizations to be correlated with an activism-oriented relationship with governments, while those which performed capacity building for governments and other organizations were more likely to have an information-sharing or cooperative relationship. Many advocacy activities, however, such as engaging in dialogue with government officials and making policy recommendations, exemplified a relationship with governments that was less confrontational and more about sharing information and knowledge.

Despite the potential wide variation in advocacy activities between organizations, many of those that did claim to perform them had similar activities and goals regarding advocacy. A few organizations claimed that advocacy was not officially part of their mandate or that they lacked the capacity to easily incorporate advocacy activities into their main activities, but the interviews revealed that, at the very least, advocacy in the form of awareness-raising and public education implicitly flowed through their programs and informational materials.

As the previous section showed, actions to hold governments accountable were performed more often with regard to the Canadian government; similarly, many interviewees described their direct advocacy activities as being performed more often in a Canadian context. Presumably, this finding also reflects an organization's greater effectiveness, legitimacy, and scope of influence in advocating for change within its own country. Within Canada, organizations may engage with issues affecting Canadian children or those with more international implications, such as immigration and refugee issues. In this context, advocacy activities may include responding to complaints of rights abuses from children or caregivers, advising and engaging in dialogue with political bodies, running petitioning campaigns for policy change, supporting cases symbolic of structural problems, and presenting in conferences and other forums to educate government officials, other organizations and agencies, or the general public on children's rights issues.

Many of the same activities are performed by organizations in international contexts, although it seems that direct advocacy abroad is more often done by the bigger, broader organizations or in partnership with larger networks of child rights practitioners. This type of advocacy may also take the form of lobbying or otherwise encouraging

governments, ministries, and other institutions to adopt legislation or policies supporting children's rights or creating materials using various media to educate others about children's rights issues. Targets of advocacy activities vary, including multiple levels of government, other organizations, the private sector, community leaders, and individuals and communities themselves. Some organizations claimed to do advocacy work at many of these levels, although the tendency for smaller organizations seems to be to work more often to influence practical change on a smaller scale at the municipal and community levels and to incorporate partnerships with and support for youth, communities, and local organizations into these activities.

Broadly speaking, several organizations claimed that the goal of their advocacy efforts was the fulfillment of children's rights; UNICEF adds that "mutual encouragement and support"¹² for accomplishing this is a part of this goal. More specifically, however, the aim, identified by almost all interviewees, of advocacy activities, was awareness raising, not only of children's rights issues, but also of ways to improve their fulfillment, both in terms of policy change and organizational, community, or individual action. In many countries, Christian Children's Fund of Canada points out, one challenge "is the attitude that children are expenses, not investments;"¹³ thus advocacy not directly aimed at influencing policy often endeavours to change this attitude at all levels. At the government level, another challenge identified was that political leaders may tend to forget their obligations regarding the UNCRC or other agreements they have ratified, so organizations working at this level advocate for them to consider taking these

¹² Interview, International Programs Specialist, UNICEF Canada, June 14, 2011.

¹³ Interview, Director of International Programmes, Christian Children's Fund of Canada, July 18, 2011.

responsibilities into account in all their decisions, and for them to be transparent and accountable in the decisions they make affecting children.

Relationship with government

In order to learn more about organizations' approaches to advocacy, I analyzed website text for references to their relationships with governments, domestic and international. As shown in Table 7, I searched for several terms related to government and political leadership and then explored the context of their use for characterizations of the organizations' relationships with these bodies.

TABLE 7: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Relationship with government(s)	Government Politi* (politicians, politics, political) Decision (makers) Leader(s) state	Searched terms in the cell to the left to capture references to political leaders and decision makers, then looked at their context for key words/concepts below characterizing the relationship.	
Types of relationship:	Information sharing	Awareness, knowledge sharing, and information exchange activities such as forums, submitting reports to governments, training leaders, etc. <i>E.g. To achieve these goals, we collaborate with children, civil society organizations, communities, governments and the private sector to share knowledge...</i>	
	Cooperation	References to working and cooperating with decision makers. <i>E.g. We work with government, non-governmental organizations, and community based organizations to reach the most affected people</i>	
	Activist	References to more critical, confrontational terms related to advocacy, such as "call upon," "hold accountable," and "advocate" itself. <i>E.g. We advocate with governments and international communities to change public policy and private practices that violate children's rights.</i>	

The relationships between government and organizations were characterized into one of three types: information-sharing, cooperative, and activist. For example, terms such as 'call upon' and 'hold accountable' indicate higher levels of confrontation and

activism than the more cooperative ‘work with’ and ‘collaborate.’ The coding generated overall characterizations of relationships between governments and organizations that generally complemented their approaches to advocacy and accountability as revealed through other indicators analyzed.

Understandably, the organizations categorized as ‘Capacity building for governments and other organizations’ generally mentioned engagement with governments most frequently. The organizations which mentioned engagement with government the least included most of the organizations with ‘Meet-needs’ types and subtypes and a couple with the ‘Capacity building for youth and/or communities’ types. In particular, the smaller organizations mandated to meet needs may, understandably, be able to accomplish their goals without going through political channels or attempting to influence policy. However, a couple of the ‘Meet-needs’ organizations with broader mandates did show evidence of higher engagement with governments, as did some of the ‘Capacity building for youth and/or communities,’ particularly those which also had ‘Advocacy’ mandates.

Whereas a ‘top down’ approach of working at the policy level and engaging with political leaders is an implicit part of organizations performing capacity building activities for governments, qualitative analysis showed that organizations may choose to focus on youth and community capacity building at this level, or they may take more of a ‘bottom up’ approach, working with communities, individuals, and grassroots organizations without involving governments, or a combination of both. As one of the ‘Capacity building for youth and/or communities’ organizations which has relatively low levels of engagement with governments, Street Kids International’s work largely involves economic development and engaging with local governments only via partner grassroots organizations; therefore, they neither have direct contact with government nor do they

perform activities which may cause tensions with them. Furthermore, where there are issues or situations which may cause conflict with government, these partnerships may mean they do not have to directly deal with government gatekeepers and restrictions themselves.

Of the three characterizations of relationships, 'cooperative' was mentioned the most frequently and was the most dominant characterization in 15 of the 22 organizations included in the analysis. Exemplified by terms such as 'work together,' and 'support' when engaging with governments, the prominence of this type of relationship reflects a trend for organizations to work in partnership with governments in order to reach their goals most effectively. Because a cooperative relationship was so common among the organizations analyzed, there was no pattern evident in connecting this characterization with organizational types, except that the 'Advocacy' types were less likely than others to have a mainly cooperative relationship. In this type of relationship, cooperation may go both ways; while organizations may help the government to fulfill children's rights, governments were also shown to aid them in their mandates. A closer reading of website text showed that the latter form of cooperation was most often provided by the Canadian government, by providing funds through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) or other channels. Governments may also help organizations in their work by aiding the production and dissemination of informational materials on child rights issues and by being receptive to their capacity building, awareness-raising, and information-sharing activities.

An 'information-sharing' relationship was not dominant in any of the organizations analyzed and was mentioned the least frequently of the three types, although 14 organizations made some mention of this type of engagement. However, only explicit

reference to activities such as conference presentations, preparing reports, and training government officials in organizations' engagement with governments and leaders were counted in this category. Often, reference to 'working with' a government did not elaborate the ways in which an organization did so; thus, many terms counted as indicating a cooperative relationship may potentially encompass information-sharing activities. Therefore, it can be misleading to think of this type of relationship as separate and distinct from a cooperative one; rather, information-sharing could be considered a form of cooperating with governments. 'Meet-needs' organizations tended to mention this type of relationship the least; otherwise, no particular pattern was evident in connecting organizational types and information-sharing relationships. While I expected a strong connection between the 'Capacity building for governments and other organizations' type and an information-sharing relationship with governments, perhaps a lack of specific reference to these activities caused this connection to be missed in textual analysis.

When speaking of an 'activist' relationship as described in this section, it should be noted that the activities in this category are confrontational in the sense that they are directly addressing governments on the issue of accountability for children's rights and aiming to influence policy. As shown in the above section, organizations which engaged in advocacy activities stressed the importance of diplomacy in these activities, so it should not be assumed that this type of relationship with the government as revealed by the analysis is adversarial or hostile. Similar to the finding for organizations which claimed to hold governments accountable for children's rights, the five organizations most characterized by activist activities as compared to information-sharing or cooperative ones were of the 'Advocacy' types or subtypes. This indicates that organizations

mandated to include advocacy activities as one of their priorities are the most likely to directly try to influence policy at the government level. In fact, three out of the four 'Advocacy' main types shared this characteristic; an exception was Youth Coalition, which mentioned engagement with governments the most frequently but indicated a cooperative relationship only slightly more than an informative or confrontational one.

During interviews, organizations were asked to characterize their relationships with the governments they engage with, and many responses to this question mirrored the findings described above. While acknowledging that relationships could vary depending on the particular government, activities, and issues at hand, overall, relationships were described as positive, constructive, and cordial. Several interviewees again stressed the importance of gaining the support of governments in accomplishing their goals. As gatekeepers, decision makers, and primary duty-bearers, governments could directly impact organizations' activities and effectiveness in program countries. A couple of organizations pointed out that national and/or local government involvement, mechanisms, and permission are critical for many of their activities; Christian Children's Fund of Canada elaborates, "...sustainability, exit strategies, working with partners, community strengthening with local institutions [can not happen] outside the framework of the state."¹⁴

The questions regarding accountability and advocacy were more informative in describing organizations' engagement with the Canadian government. On the other hand, this question on characterizations of relationships with government was helpful in revealing how they interacted with various levels of governments abroad. It should be

¹⁴ Interview, Director of International Programmes, Christian Children's Fund of Canada, July 18, 2011.

noted that the term 'government,' as used by interviewees, most often referred to municipal, regional, and national governments, ministries, or departments within a country, but also may broadly encompass more traditional and cultural governing structures, and, occasionally, UN agencies which may act as a parallel government. Beyond Borders continued to point out that most of their engagement was with the Canadian government, and Save the Children Canada worked relatively more with governments internationally. However, both these organizations describe a similar combination of support and constructive criticism in their "civil diplomacy"¹⁵ and "Critical Insider" (Save the Children Canada, 2011) approaches, respectively. These approaches to advocacy and policy dialogue involve working supportively with governments and other targets of advocacy activities towards fulfilling children's rights while holding them accountable "for policies and practices that undermine children's development" (Save the Children Canada, 2011) and for these rights. Beyond Borders explains that while they do not wish to make the government look bad, they will respectfully criticize decisions which are inconsistent or in violation of the rights of the child; alternatively, they will also provide accolades for decisions positively affecting children's rights.

When dealing with governments outside of Canada, it is important, as some organizations pointed out, to maintain sensitivity in dealing with cultural and traditional beliefs that may clash with some ideals regarding children's rights issues, such as children's participation or child labour, while being firm about children's rights. In

¹⁵ Interview, Co-Founder and Senior Legal Counsel, Beyond Borders, April 14, 2011.

walking down this "thin line,"¹⁶ organizations are careful to be respectful and try to protect children's rights while recognizing local contexts and contingencies. In some places, there may be a lot of "lip service"¹⁷ paid to listening to human rights advocates and upholding the Convention, but when they are pushed to uphold their obligations as outlined within the UNCRC, some governments may find their responsibilities to be "a nuisance."¹⁸ Children/Youth as Peacebuilders' respondent described a circumstance where they felt a children's rights issue was being used for political gain rather than for the best interests of children and thus made the decision to pursue the issue through the mechanisms of traditional leadership rather than through the elected government. There is not enough data, however, to determine if this is a situation commonly encountered by organizations.

Within UNICEF's engagements with governments and ministries, formal agreements that clearly outline roles and responsibilities can help maintain good relationships with them. Generally, however, organizations claimed the best strategy for engaging with governments and navigating challenges was to provide them with support and partnership in meeting their obligations, involving them in a dialogue from the outset in connecting priorities and objectives of both the government and the organization. According to one respondent, "Most NGOs globally are coming to terms with the necessary aspect of having state actors involved, whether at the local, village, or national levels or anything in between."¹⁹ Methods of support performed by organizations may

¹⁶ Interview, Director General, International Bureau for Children's Rights, July 12, 2011.

¹⁷ Interview, Executive Director, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, June 21, 2011.

¹⁸ Interview, Executive Director, Defence for Children International, June 30, 2011

¹⁹ Interview, Director of International Programmes, Christian Children's Fund of Canada, July 18, 2011.

include providing advice, capacity building services, human rights education and training for government staff, and assistance in data collection to assess children's rights issues. Some organizations, particularly ones which promote youth leadership, may provide opportunities for children and youth to voice their opinions, in the hopes that they will be taken into consideration by decision makers.

Target Population

Early on in the content analysis, a number of organizations were excluded from further study due to an insufficient focus on children; therefore, broadly speaking, the target population of all remaining organizations is children/youth in the program countries. As described earlier in the section on 'Niche' organizations, some organizations may limit their focus to particular sub-groups of children such as orphans or those affected by conflict. Non-discrimination is an essential element of a RBA and one of the main principles of the UNCRC; however, as stressed in the literature review, it is often necessary to identify those most vulnerable and in need of assistance in order to address existing discrimination and inequity in the fulfillment of children's rights. Content analysis for this indicator was intended to identify whether organizations put forth efforts in order to specifically target particular groups in pursuit of this goal. The search terms related to particular populations or groups, as shown in Table 8, were derived from preliminary research and existing literature but were expanded as the textual analysis uncovered additional terms of interest.

Ultimately, seven potentially overlapping population sub-groups were distinguished often enough in the website texts to be analyzed as specific foci of organizational activities: marginalized/minorities, vulnerable, poor/in-need, displaced/exiled, orphans, girls, and women.

TABLE 8: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING TARGET POPULATIONS

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Target Population	Margin (marginalized) minority	<i>E.g. Save the Children Canada reaches out to the most marginalized girls and boys</i>	
	vulnerable	<i>E.g. Save the Children's programs work to protect vulnerable children</i>	
	Poor (poorest) Need (in need, needy, neediest, greatest need) poverty	<i>E.g. We have been able to help the neediest children</i>	
	Displace(d) Exile	By natural disaster or conflict <i>E.g. ...we are helping with the emergency of thousands of displaced children living in temporary camps.</i>	
	Orphan	<i>E.g. If they are abandoned or orphaned children they are without adequate family care and protection.</i>	
	Girl(s)	Excluding reference to both boys and girls; includes only explicit references to girls as a group targeted for or in need of aid activities <i>E.g. Save the Children works hard to remove obstacles that prevent girls from receiving an education.</i>	
	Women	Excluding reference to both men and women; includes only explicit references to women as a group targeted for or in need of aid activities <i>E.g. ...deliver therapeutic and supplementary feeding to malnourished children and pregnant and lactating women</i>	

Target populations characterized by poverty are the traditional recipients of aid in a needs-based, welfarist approach, but a strong focus on this population does not necessarily mean an organization is not using a RBA, as it remains that the poorest populations tend to be the most marginalized, vulnerable, and at risk of violations of many children's rights. It may be argued that some groups of children encompassed by the search terms, such as those 'in need' or suffering from poverty, marginalization, or vulnerability, are implicit target recipients of most international development and aid organizations operating under any approach, but I aimed to discover the extent to which organizations explicitly mentioned targeting these characteristics in their activities in order to see if some patterns among organizational types emerged.

Populations which are 'poor,' 'in need,' or experiencing poverty were most frequently specified in the website texts and the only target population referenced by every organization analyzed. The three organizations which made the most use of these terms were of the 'Meet-needs' type or subtype, and, of these, the two Christian organizations did so the most. In addressing the roots of poverty, Christian Children's Fund of Canada uses a framework incorporating three factors underlying poverty: deprivation, exclusion, and vulnerability (Wessells, 2005). This framework complements and in some ways parallels a RBA, but Wessells argues that it reflects closer proximity to children's understanding of poverty and offers a more comprehensive means of identifying and addressing the root causes of poverty than does a RBA (2005).

'Vulnerable' populations were identified the fourth most frequently in website text and were mentioned by all but four of the organizations included in the analysis. A focus on children as a vulnerable population understandably may accompany a high number of references to the protection of children and their rights in the text; this was done to various extents by all organizational websites analyzed but three, two of which were classified as 'Capacity building for youth and/or communities' types. There was no particular pattern among organization types which mentioned vulnerable populations the most frequently, but, interestingly, the four organizations which made no reference to this sub-group were all of the 'Advocacy' type or sub-type, and three of these possessed the 'Youth Leadership' characteristic and combined 'Advocacy' and 'Capacity building for youth and/or communities' types and subtypes. Perhaps those organizations wishing to promote youth leadership and participation aim to highlight the empowerment of children and youth rather than focus on their vulnerability as a group dependent on others to fulfill their rights and needs.

In order to counteract existing dynamics of exclusion and discrimination, deliberate targeting of marginalized or minoritized populations might be expected. The textual analysis of website text may not offer sufficient evidence to confirm or refute this, but it did show that these terms were mentioned with the second lowest frequency of the seven groups. No patterns among organizational types and high or low targeting of these groups were found.

The most significant finding in the analysis of target populations identified in website texts was that a strong focus on girls and women is a major facet of the programming and activities of many organizations, although four of them made no specific reference to either group. Despite the fact that the organizations analyzed have all been determined to have a main focus on children, 'women' were specified as targets of their programs the second most frequently, only slightly less than those 'poor' and 'in need.' In the UNCRC, there are articles which describe States Parties' obligations for assisting parents in their roles and child-rearing responsibilities. Furthermore, Kapur and Duvvury argue that the right to livelihood for women is intrinsically connected with the girls' right to education (2006). The employment of women, as mothers, is a major factor in the economic security of many households (Kapur & Duvvury, 2006). Therefore, it seems that an approach consistent with the UNCRC and aiming to fulfill children's rights and needs may also address those of women, as they are often the primary caregivers for children, with their health, education, and livelihoods inextricably linked with the well-being of their children.

Girls were the population sub-group targeted the third most by organizations; a common explanation was that, in many countries, they are essentially marginalized, having long been the victims of gender discrimination and inequity when it comes to

access to resources and services, particularly education. Furthermore, some organizations identified the education and well-being of girls and women as being key for community development, family support, and lasting change and therefore highly important elements of approaches aiming to ameliorate the situations of children and their rights. Perhaps because improving the fulfillment of women's and girls' rights can have a broad impact in several areas, there was a tendency for the 'Broad' organization types and sub-types to place a high emphasis on women and/or girls in their website text.

As a particular sub-group of children who are inherently vulnerable without the care and protection of their parents, orphans were identified as a target of organizational activities the fifth most frequently, by 14 of the organizations. Not surprisingly, SOS Children's Villages Canada, the niche organization explicitly focusing on neglected, abandoned, and orphaned children, mentioned targeting orphans the most frequently.

The sub-group specified the least frequently as a target of activities was that of displaced or exiled children. It was expected that the niche organizations specializing in children affected by armed conflict would make the most reference to these groups, as they are often conditions associated with situations of war. While this is true for two out of the three organizations with this characteristic, the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee - Children and Armed Conflict Working Group is an exception in that it makes very little mention of these groups, instead placing a strong focus on marginalized and minoritized children as well as girls and women. The Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee - Children and Armed Conflict Working Group is different from the other two organizations focusing on war-affected children in that it is classified as a capacity building organization for governments and other organizations rather than for youth and communities. One explanation for the disparity in these

organizations' terminology referencing target populations may be that they can more effectively reach their goals in engaging governments or youth by identifying and targeting either marginalized or displaced/exiled groups, respectively. While its mandate and self-descriptions are slightly too broad to classify it as a 'Niche' organization, qualitative analysis shows that a 'Capacity building for governments and other organizations' organization, the International Bureau for Children's Rights, does focus its activities on child trafficking and sexual exploitation, child victims and witnesses of crime, and on war affected children, and this latter focus is reflected in a high frequency of references to displaced and exiled children.

While the textual analysis provided some insight into what specific populations may be targeted in organizational activities, interview questions aimed to explore two particular questions: First, how do organizations identify their target populations? Secondly, how do the claims of organizational staff regarding target populations compare to the foci indicated by their organizations' website text?

Broadly speaking, a majority of the organizations interviewed claimed that they make efforts to reach children who are the most vulnerable, at risk of exploitation or other rights violations, and/or marginalized. A couple of organizations pointed out that, beyond these aims, they are concerned with ensuring the rights of all children are fulfilled and thus do not limit their attention to specific groups. Placing a focus on those most disadvantaged and in-need and seeking out those who may be excluded from the fulfillment of rights, some organizations pointed out, is consistent with the UNCRC, which recognizes in its *Preamble* that special consideration is needed for children living in exceptionally difficult conditions (UNICEF, 2009). As Save the Children Canada's respondent noted, "We want to work with those whose needs are highest and whose rights

are not being achieved."²⁰ Furthermore, organizations expressed the desire to maximize the impact and benefits of their activities by focusing their activities in areas of greatest need, a strategy supported by a UNICEF study which claims that development goals encompassing issues of poverty, hunger, education, gender equality, and health can be reached more quickly and cost-effectively with a focus on the most disadvantaged (UNICEF, 2010). Termed an 'equity-focused strategy,' the study explains, "Because national burdens of disease, ill health and illiteracy are concentrated in the most impoverished child populations, providing these children with essential services can greatly accelerate progress [towards meeting development goals]" (UNICEF, 2010).

The most common method of identifying target populations for organizational activities is through dialogue with local partner organizations and community members who can locate the areas and populations of greatest need. This is the main strategy used by most of the organizations interviewed and is often accomplished through a participatory process that allows these local partners to have a say in not only the target populations but also the issues activities are focused on. This participatory process is often part of the situational analysis conducted by several organizations in the initial planning stages of a project, during which the current situation of rights and needs in a particular community or region are assessed. In trying to address potential gaps in aid, a couple of organizations stated that they also performed assessments of existing geographical and issue areas of activity by NGOs so that they could reach populations which may be excluded from rights fulfillment and avoid overlap.

A number of organizations, however, noted that certain constraints and

²⁰ Interview, Director of Programs, Save the Children Canada, June 13, 2011.

contingencies mean that choosing target populations for programs may not be as simple as identifying and focusing on areas of greatest need. Issues which must also be assessed include those of feasibility and practicality, particularly regarding cost-effectiveness, and thus logistics and geography considerations may influence program decisions. In circumstances where organizations' programs are reliant on funding from governments or other donors, their choices of activities and targets may be limited as they attempt to connect donor priorities and organizational mandates and objectives. As a sponsorship organization, Christian Children's Fund of Canada engages with Canadian stakeholders who are committed to long-term relationships with children in communities abroad in which they work, and thus stability and security in maintaining these relationships are factors affecting the choice of program communities and populations by this organization.

A few organizations place an inherent focus on particular issues or populations of children through the nature of their mandates. For example, niche organizations may target children affected by armed conflict, trafficking, or sexual exploitation, or those living on the street. As a small organization, the International Bureau for Children's Rights finds that limiting their mandate to particular issues gives them the advantage of developing specialized expertise and knowledge in some potentially very complicated rights issues. Within their mandates, however, Beyond Borders and Children/Youth as Peacebuilders were careful to point out that they deliberately do not segregate particular groups or segments of child/youth populations. Doing so, Beyond Borders claims, would be misleading and dishonest to the problem at hand. For example, targeting girls in efforts to stop sexual exploitation may send a message that sexual exploitation of boys is less of a problem, and Beyond Borders stresses that "there is no one type of child that is

fully protected from the risk of victimization."²¹ Furthermore, argues the respondent from Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, participatory research with young people has shown that they do not want to be reduced to being labeled as victims or problem groups. In their work, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders notes that there are often lingering consequences and stigma associated with many young people's particular experiences with war; therefore, the organization is careful to treat youth in conflict countries as a collective group at risk of rights violations rather than as segregated victimized populations.

Several other organizations, however, in aiming to reach the most disadvantaged and vulnerable and to maximize impact, do profess to target certain population subgroups. A couple of organizations noted that it is important to go beyond children and empower families and communities in order to ensure sustainability of benefits. Reflecting the findings of the textual analysis, girls were emphasized most as a segment of the youth population targeted by organizations, because of the discrimination and marginalization they have traditionally faced in many countries; their exclusion from education is an issue of particular concern to some organizations. Street Kids International notes that, as street youth, girls are often involved in sex work and thus may require special efforts to access for participation in their programs. Other groups recognized by organizations as potentially requiring extra protection from rights violations include disabled populations, minorities, orphans, and those affected by HIV.

²¹ Interview, Co-Founder and Senior Legal Counsel, Beyond Borders, April 14, 2011.

Partnerships

As a rights-based approach is one that requires large-scale, long-term efforts, partnerships are necessary and integral for its adoption. In addition, solidarity and consistency between organizations in advocacy activities are necessary to make a coordinated effort. One element in common among all the organizations analyzed, whether they claim to use a RBA or not, is an emphasis on collaboration with other organizations, governments, communities, the private sector, academics, the media, and/or children and youth themselves. The textual analysis included several terms related to partnerships and working with other entities, as shown in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING ORGANIZATIONS' PARTNERSHIPS

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Partnership terms	Partner (partnerships) Coalition Network Group Collaborate Organization Coop (cooperate, cooperation)	Searched these words to look for indicators of the organization working with other institutions, organizations, or stakeholders, then looked at the context to determine who the partnership was with. <i>E.g. We work with program partners to reunify separated children</i>	

Although there was considerable range in the frequencies to which organizations used partnership terms in their website text, they all mentioned these terms to some extent, more prominently than other major children's RBA elements such as the UNCRC, participation, and advocacy. I expected to find that the organizations that were coalitions or networks comprised of a number of member organizations and institutions would mention partnerships the most prominently, but there was actually no link found between organizational types or characteristics and either high or low frequencies of partnership terms. Perhaps because partnership and collaboration is implied in coalition

organizations, they do not find it necessary to explicitly mention it frequently in their websites.

More informative was the breakdown of specific partnerships, which uncovered the types of partnerships engaged in by the various organizations. Once one of the partnership terms was located, its context was explored to determine whether reference was made to a specific type of partnership, or to partnerships in general. A summary of the frequency of each type of partnership mentioned is included as Table 21 in Appendix 3. By far, the most common type of partnership was with other organizations, with local, community, or grassroots organizations being mentioned slightly more than other NGOs. This finding is consistent with the RBA literature and with what the analysis thus far has revealed about the importance of developing relationships with groups that have knowledge of local circumstances and can help sustain benefits and changes when international organizations leave. When references to 'other NGOs' were counted, the characteristics of these organizations (i.e. local or international) were not specified further, so the emphasis on working with local organizations could potentially be higher than this count reveals.

The second most common type of partnership specified was with governments, although whether they are domestic, international, municipal, regional, national, or otherwise often was not specified. Considering the high levels of cooperation characterizing most organizations' relationships with governments, this finding is not surprising.

Perhaps a reflection of the participatory nature of many organizations' programming, partnerships with children/youth groups and communities are respectively referenced the third and fourth most frequently in website texts. Collaboration with

children and child/youth groups is the most common type of partnership specified by two of the three 'Youth Leadership' organizations.

Other types of partnerships were mentioned by fewer organizations and with less frequency than those discussed above; therefore, the difference in their relative frequencies may not be significant. However, the other partnerships specified, in order of prominence, were corporate/foundations, academic, donors (individual, corporate or otherwise not specified), religious, and media. It is worth noting that the majority of academic partnerships were mentioned by the 'Capacity building for governments and other organizations' organization types, reflecting the emphasis on research involved in many of these organizations' activities

Interestingly, partnerships with religious institutions were explicitly mentioned by only one of the Christian organizations, World Vision Canada. This is not to say that Christian Children's Fund of Canada does not engage in these partnerships, but their website text suggests they place a much higher emphasis on highlighting their work with local organizations.

All of the organizations interviewed confirmed the high level of importance held by partnerships in general. Although interviews with three of the organizations revealed that they found partnership especially important due to their small size, this element seemed to be no less important in bigger organizations, and the interviews did not uncover many differences in the nature and benefits of various partnerships between large and small organizations. Types of partnerships mentioned during interviews largely reflected the findings of the textual analysis: other organizations working in children's rights and/or development; local cultural, religious, or community leaders; academic partners; and governments and authorities at the national, regional, and local levels.

The nature of these collaborations varies by the type of partnership, but generally speaking, partnered activities include information-sharing, training, and capacity building on children's rights issues and best practices through workshops, presentations, and conferences; funding and financial management assistance; and joint projects. Most organizations claimed that their programs abroad are implemented through local partners, which helps maximize their effectiveness, as these partners are rooted in their respective communities and can bring to the partnership community knowledge, support, and engagement. Partnerships with local organizations are essential, according to Street Kids International's respondent, for "learning, the capacity to do our work, and ... understanding what the needs are on the ground."²²

In engaging with these local groups, organizations train and support them in delivering their programs and methodologies, while encouraging their participation in decision making. Several organizations, particularly the larger ones, stated that their partnerships with other organizations are long-term and generally formalized; however, Street Kids International, while not necessarily typical of all small organizations, finds that many of their partnerships are ad hoc and informal.

Any partnership, argues the International Institute for Children's Rights and Development's Special Advisor, should be "symbiotic," mutually beneficial for all partners involved, and its main goal and benefit is "to get to a higher place, with synergy for systems change."²³ With regard to partnerships among international organizations, interviewees mentioned advantages including shared information and resources, as well

²² Interview, Program Manager, Street Kids International, June 14, 2011.

²³ Interview, Special Advisor for Child Protection and Partnership, International Institute for Children's Rights and Development, April 14 2011.

as greater recognition, visibility, and media attention contributing to more effective advocacy, lobbying, and public engagement. They also noted that all parties can benefit from the different strengths, networks, and skill sets contributed by each. In learning about the activities of other organizations, they could identify areas of overlap.

Depending on the organization's goals, this can result in two benefits: finding another organization working with similar programs, localities, and goals can reveal possibilities for collaboration and sharing knowledge of effective strategies; alternatively, identifying these areas of overlap can allow organizations to better address gaps in aid.

Education

Children's right to education is explicitly included in Article 28 of the UNCRC (UNICEF, 2009), and UNICEF Canada's website argues that "Few actions have as profound an impact on not only children but on society as a whole as ensuring quality education" (UNICEF Canada, 2011). According to UNICEF Canada's website, quality education for children will lessen their vulnerability to exploitation and abuse and positively affect their wages, health, nutrition, and socioeconomic standing in not only their own lives but those of their future generations (UNICEF Canada, 2011).

Considering these links, it is understandable that education in general seemed to be a focus in activities of most organizations, as it was mentioned by all those analyzed. Most often they mentioned education for children, but education for community members, caregivers, teachers, governments, other organizations, and the Canadian public was also a focus for some, although this finding may have encompassed references to human rights education that were not specified as such. Ensuring sustained access to education, in addition to simply providing education, particularly for girls, marginalized, disabled, rural, and/or poor populations, appears to be a goal for many organizations'

programs. As Table 10 shows, in the content analysis, I searched for references to education and training.

TABLE 10: SEARCH TERMS INDICATING EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Education	education	Education of children in general <i>E.g. ...to improve the quality of education for children</i>	
	Train(ing)	References to training of children in general <i>E.g. Save the Children also carries out skills training of children.</i>	
		Total:	

A pattern evident in the frequency of references to general education was that the 'Advocacy' and 'Capacity building for governments and other organizations' tended to include them less frequently than other organization types. Education for children as a specific right was mentioned by half of the organizations (11) and was referenced considerably more frequently than other specific rights, although a majority of these references were made by UNICEF Canada.

Human Rights Education

The context of 'education' and 'training' search terms was explored to determine the prominence of human rights education (HRE) in organizations' activities. RBA literature indicates that training in human/children's rights is a prerequisite for effective capacity building, advocacy, and participation with regard to rights fulfillment, and thus it was predicted that this type of education would be a focus of organizations aiming to meet these mandates.

Qualitative analysis showed that the search terms often did not fully capture the prominence of HRE related activities, but content analysis found that 15 of the organizations explicitly mentioned participating in some sort of HRE for children and/or others such as caregivers, community members, government officials, activists, and other

stakeholders. Organizations with mandates largely related to meeting needs were less likely to refer to HRE in their website text; otherwise, however, the analysis did not reveal a pattern between organization types and references to HRE.

During interviews, participants were asked about their organizations' engagement in human/children's rights education activities, both among staff within the organization and for children and others outside of the organization, and the nature and goals of these activities, if applicable.

Of the organizations interviewed, five claimed that they did not engage in HRE with staff members. The most common reason given for this was that these organizations looked for a human or children's rights background in their hiring practices; thus staff members did not need HRE, although their participation in conferences and colloquiums surrounding child rights issues was mentioned as a less direct method of rights education. Several organizations pointed out that, due to their small size, their staff members often worked with them on a temporary, project by project, volunteer basis, and some claimed they did not have the funding or bureaucratic structure to train such employees in skills and expertise beyond what they already brought to the organization.

When HRE was conducted within an organization, it was most often done as part of orientation training on topics such as the UNCRC, child protection, and other rights related to program priorities with staff in the field as opposed to staff working in Canada, although a couple of organizations explicitly claimed to perform HRE for both. As an organization promoting youth participation and leadership, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders perhaps performs HRE uniquely for staff and volunteers in giving perspective and understanding for children as rights-holders, rather than on a focus on protection aimed at duty-bearers.

Only one organization, Street Kids International, did not engage in HRE for children and others outside the organization, as it was beyond their mandate as a small niche organization. Among the other organizations which do engage in HRE for children and others outside the organization, five of them, mostly of the ‘Capacity building for governments and other organizations’ and the ‘Advocacy’ types, did so within Canada only; this often involved giving presentations on the UNCRC and rights issues in schools. UNICEF Canada, through its ‘Rights Respecting School’ program, provides a rights-based framework promoting global citizenship, awareness, and participation in children's rights issues for children in Canadian schools.

In program countries, rights education for children is also often conducted through schools, as well as child rights clubs and other youth organizations. This education most commonly focuses on the UNCRC, and one strategy mentioned by a couple of organizations for making such content more accessible and relevant for children is the production of books featuring child-friendly translations. Other strategies for educating children about their rights, such as participation in drama and other expressions of rights issues, have been discussed in the section on children's participation.

The goals of HRE for children, both within and outside of Canada, are similar in that they aim to promote the awareness and participation of children in rights issues affecting them. In doing so, the ultimate goals of this HRE are the empowerment of children in being involved in voicing their opinions, defending their own rights and providing them with the knowledge and tools to do so.

HRE is done on demand for government officials by some organizations, often aiming “to raise awareness of children’s rights and children’s rights issues and to increase

the prominence of children's rights in government priorities."²⁴ For adults in program countries who have direct contact with and responsibility for children, such as parents and teachers, HRE involves training that aims to ensure these caregivers are listening to children and providing a safe and supportive environment for them. Finally, some of the larger, broader organizations mentioned performing less direct HRE for citizens in general through media and other social mobilization campaigns, aiming to raise awareness, knowledge, and support of children's rights issues.

Health

The textual analysis found that, while not as prominent as education, health was mentioned often as a focus of organizations' programs by all but three websites analyzed. Because a focus on health care issues was not explicitly discussed in the literature as an element of a RBA, the context of references to health in the text was not examined in great detail. However, qualitative analysis showed that 'health' may be addressed by organizations in a number of different ways, from meeting basic health care needs, to ensuring access to health care clinics and centres. Other priorities related to health include promoting healthy development, healthy environments, health knowledge, maternal health, and sexual and reproductive health, including HIV/AIDs issues. The latter two issues place a strong focus on women, and Youth Coalition, as a niche organization specializing in sexual and reproductive health issues, correspondingly mentions these with very high frequency. Interestingly, explicit reference to health as a right was not among the most frequently mentioned specific rights.

²⁴ Interview, International Programs Specialist, UNICEF Canada, June 14, 2011.

HIV/AIDS

Since HIV/AIDS seemed to be mentioned prominently by several organizations as a focus of activities, I decided to include it in my content analysis so that I could explore how organizations engaged with this issue, particularly because I was not expecting it to be a major focus of a RBA. However, as a population that may be particularly vulnerable, marginalized, and in need of basic assistance, its prominence may be consistent with a focus in rights-based approaches on targeting populations with these qualities. The organizations analyzed are varied in their extent and use of a RBA, so frequent mentions of HIV/AIDS does not automatically mean this is a key element of a RBA, although it certainly is a key element of any health-related programming in certain target countries.

Fifteen organizations made some mention of HIV/AIDS in relation to their goals or activities. Occasional mention was made to linking HIV/AIDS issues with sexual and reproductive rights, but most engagement with HIV/AIDS issues could be categorized into one of two types of activities: education or support. HIV/AIDS education was performed through workshops, conferences, and community groups, focusing on awareness, prevention, and occasionally reducing stigmatization of affected persons. Support for those affected by HIV/AIDS may include provision of counselling and support groups, or it may consist of more general support for the basic needs of affected children as a particularly vulnerable population. These activities are most often aimed at children but may also target families and communities, and those affected by HIV/AIDS may include infected persons and also those who have had family members living with or killed by the disease.

Children's Rights and Spending Priorities

The information presented in organizational websites was not suited for addressing certain questions of interest, including that of the place of children's rights in spending priorities. For the most part, even the annual reports and other financial data that were occasionally available were not informative in addressing this enquiry, as expenditure breakdowns did not separate or specify spending on children's rights. Similarly, when asked during interviews where children's rights fit within organizations' spending priorities, respondents were not able to quantify resource allocation specifically for children's rights.

Most organizations claimed either that children's rights were fundamental as a starting point for all program and funding decisions, or that their focus and thus all organizational spending was based exclusively on children's rights. Several organizations that identified themselves as being 'smaller' pointed out that their funding is project-based and thus their spending priorities may vary between projects, based on funding proposals. It was common, particularly for the 'Broad' organizations, to say that a focus on children's rights was embedded in all program priorities in areas such as health and sanitation; while some program areas might be inherently more rights-focused - child protection, for example - most organizations did not have budget lines dedicated specifically for children's rights.

RBA challenges

As with the above issue, information on challenges to implementing a children's RBA was generally not a part of organizations' website content and thus was an inquiry better suited for interviews. The most common challenges identified by organizations interviewed were related to engagement with governments: in some countries, they were

described as being resistant to advocacy and activity efforts related to children's rights or to honouring their obligations after having ratified the UNCRC. Some governments may feel threatened by organizations, particularly from other countries, challenging their policies and exposing weaknesses in children's rights fulfillment. Defence for Children International, an advocacy organization, responds to this resistance by using media to direct public attention towards the issues, thus creating increased pressure for government action.

Other organizations aiming to continue their activities and programs in such countries may be less confrontational, instead training government staff on the importance of the fulfillment of the rights of children - often a huge proportion of the population in many countries - in developing a future nation of taxpaying, voting, working adults. Another way to circumvent government resistance is through avoidance of terminology which may be offensive or sensitive for them; by doing so, organizations may be able to continue with activities that have children's rights as a basis without the use of traditional rights or advocacy language.

As discussed in the 'Participation' section, true respect for meaningful child participation was shown to be a challenge, mainly due to a reluctance of decision makers and other adults to take them seriously, to listen to them, or to allow them to influence decisions. By governments, this reluctance may be attributed to a perceived lack of importance and voting power held by children; in other contexts, it may be due to social or cultural definitions of childhood and children's place in society, and parents may feel like their own rights are being undermined. Some organizations address this by training leaders, duty-bearers, and other stakeholders on the benefits of allowing children to voice their opinions and participate meaningfully and by developing a vocabulary to promote

child participation while maintaining respect for family, culture, and ancestry. As an organization promoting youth leadership, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders encourages its youth leaders to take initiative, speak out and take action without asking for permission, in the hopes of showing that these serious and committed young people will prove that they are worth listening to.

Accessing children to participate can also be difficult for organizations wishing to reach those from certain backgrounds and marginalized populations, and finding these children through the help of local partner organizations was said to be the best solution to this problem.

Another major challenge organizations identified was a lack of understanding of a RBA and the use of the UNCRC as a frame. Outside of the RBA discourse among researchers and practitioners, it seems that international aid and development work is still perceived in terms of a welfare, needs-based model, and it may be difficult for some partners or donors to understand the fundamental ontological differences of a RBA and its goals. Organizations responded to this challenge by aiming to be as clear, up front, and simple in explaining their objectives, approach, and framework as possible when engaging with partners and stakeholders and by training their staff to do the same. However, even with an understanding of a RBA and its elements, some organizations mentioned that constraints related to funding and small capacity may limit the extent to which they can truly incorporate a RBA.

An organization specializing in programming in conflict zones, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, experiences challenges particularly relevant to working in these areas, although they may be salient in many areas of other organizations' programs. First, in many conflict zones, as in other emergency response situations, rights-based goals may

necessarily come secondary to more immediate concerns, so organizations must determine which activities are most important in a given situation and try to support children's rights as much as possible within these activities. Second, the UNCRC defines children as being under the age of 18, but in a war zone where children and young people have undergone extreme and varied experiences and often do not know how old they are, age can lose its meaning, and withdrawing certain protections once a person turns 18 may contradict the goals of an organization. Finally, another challenge identified in conflict zones is a general lack of respect for women and children; while, as Children/Youth as Peacebuilders' respondent noted, some organizations will offer special programming targeted at girls and children considered to be especially vulnerable, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders prefers to address the issue thorough peer education and mentor programs. "In some places, there's a tendency to become embedded in the 'victim' or 'beggar' mode...as adults or foreigners, it's very hard to challenge that."²⁵ In such cases, young people's confidence and capacity to exercise rights may be undermined; thus, peers can more effectively challenge and support each other in such situations than can outsiders.

Rights-Based Approaches in Practice

My third and final research question asks, "How does their official commitment to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child and a RBA compare to and reflect in their practices?" In answering this question, I took as starting points organizations' stated extent of the use of a RBA and the UNCRC and the elements of a RBA as described in my literature review. In comparing these with my findings for the second research question - the ways in which a RBA and its elements are translated and incorporated by

²⁵ Interview, Executive Director, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, June 21, 2011.

organizations - I revealed similarities and differences in how this is accomplished. In doing so, I discuss organizations which use approaches that may differ from or be used in conjunction with rights-based approaches as described by the literature, and I argue that a RBA may be legitimately and effectively used and translated in a variety of ways and extents.

Because the extent to which organizations incorporate a RBA and its elements is more conclusively stated in interview data, my discussion of this research question is limited to the ten organizations in my interview sample, although it also draws on information from my website analysis as supplementary data. These ten organizations represent each of the 6 categories of mandate in their main activities except for the 'Meet-Needs' type, although a few have this category as their sub-type. The organizations discussed here also possess some of the most common characteristics I identified: Children/Youth as Peacebuilders promotes youth leadership, focuses on youth affected by armed conflict, and is a coalition; Christian Children's Fund of Canada is a Christian organization; and Street Kids International's activities target mainly street-affected youth. Thus, while a small sample is used to address my third research question, it is diverse enough to explore the answer across a variety of organizations.

My findings regarding organizations' explicitly stated use of a RBA are discussed in detail earlier in this chapter, but I am simplifying the information for this research question by assigning organizations one of three levels of RBA use. All organizations possess at least a minimal engagement with children's rights, mentioning them somewhere in their mandates or self-descriptions, and one organization in the interview sample, Street Kids International, is classified at this minimal RBA level. This is because they do not necessarily use a RBA in practice or mention rights engagement as a highly

prominent facet of their activities. Another organization, Christian Children's Fund of Canada, was assigned to the second level of RBA adoption, as they do claim to use a RBA, but not exclusively, and children's rights are not strongly emphasized in descriptions of their approach, mission, and value statements. The remaining 8 organizations were all assigned the highest level of RBA use, as they all claimed to use a RBA and their mandates, missions and other self-descriptions focused prominently or exclusively on children's rights. Perhaps this is a consequence of self-selection bias in being most likely to agree to be interviewed for my project, as in the website analysis sample of 22 organizations, they were among those that most prominently engaged with rights. Therefore, although my sample here is skewed towards being more explicitly rights-based, I still have representation for all three levels of RBA use and my discussion shows that there are differences among even explicit RBA adopters in the ways they implement this approach.

In comparing organizations' levels of RBA use with the ways and extents to which they incorporate RBA elements, my assessments take into consideration those indicated by the literature to be most essential to the approach. These include engagement with the UNCRC; a long-term program focus; advocacy activities; local partnership, ownership, and participation in projects; participation of children and youth themselves; focus on access to resources and services encompassed by ESC rights; partnerships with other organizations; targeting of particular groups as needing the most rights protection; and ensuring that stakeholders within and outside of organizations have knowledge of human/children's rights. I have already discussed these elements in detail; however, I will now explore how their incorporation and use by organizations may differ from expectations prompted by the literature.

As an organization that endeavours to uphold and support the rights of children and youth in its work without necessarily adopting a RBA, Street Kids International incorporates a relatively low number of the RBA elements identified above. Their engagement with the UNCRC, advocacy activities, and human/children's rights education is admittedly low, and they do not directly work on establishing sustained access to ESC rights. They do, however, employ a long-term focus towards making their programs and their benefits self-sustaining, and they target populations that are in most need of their vocational and entrepreneurship training, encouraging the participation of the youth they work with in evaluating and suggesting improvements for projects. Described during the interview as having a "small capacity,"²⁶ Street Kids International places a high emphasis on partnerships, particularly with other local organizations based in their program areas and often relies on these partners to perform HRE and to incorporate other elements that may be part of a RBA. The organization's main mandate, focusing on a niche population of largely street-involved youth, is to train youth workers and thus it is classified as a 'Capacity building for youth and/or communities' organization'; incorporating all elements of a RBA directly is simply beyond their mandate and capacity.

Probably the biggest inconsistency between stated RBA use and correspondence with theoretical RBA principles is found in Beyond Borders. This 'Advocacy' organization with a primary focus on "advancing the rights of children everywhere to be free from sexual abuse and exploitation" (Beyond Borders, 2011) is involved in activities surrounding legislation, court cases, and child protection, and its approach as indicated on its website and described in the interview is strongly rights-based. However, as the

²⁶ Interview, Program Manager, Street Kids International, June 14, 2011.

analysis earlier showed, this organization does not always believe it necessary to refer to the UNCRC in its engagement with rights, and it does not emphasize participation or ESC rights in its work. While concerned with the rights of children all over the world, Beyond Borders focuses much of its work on Canadian legislation, so it does not work regularly with local organizations and communities abroad. Beyond Borders has a niche focus and does not claim to incorporate a number of RBA elements in its work, explaining, in the case of HRE for children and others outside of the organization, for example, "Other organizations do that better than us, so we're not trying to replace what they're doing."²⁷ Their website shows that their advocacy activities have been effective in making legislative changes consistent with their mandate, so I would agree with the assertion that they nevertheless employ a RBA.

Christian Children's Fund of Canada's approach is described in one working paper as "child focused," with a RBA used to complement this methodology in a strategy to best "enable children's development and well being" (Wessells, 2005, p. 16). Thus, I did not consider this organization to explicitly engage in the highest level of RBA use, but when considering incorporation of RBA elements, this organization's strategies generally show a high level of consistency with a RBA. This organization makes reference to the UNCRC in policy and programming, but not prominently; it appears to be more focused on needs than rights; and it does not have a high engagement with HRE or advocacy activities. However, Christian Children's Fund of Canada does have many long-term partnerships and relationships with local organizations and communities, which are integral in implementing its participatory processes and identifying the populations of

²⁷ Interview, Co-Founder and Senior Legal Counsel, Beyond Borders, April 14, 2011.

most need. Wessells' (2005) working paper and the interview data show that this organization does not intend to use a RBA exclusively, but it appears to have found a well-rationalized way to use it in a complementary way that supports its mandate and goals, a strategy not covered by the RBA literature.

The remaining organizations in the interview sample are consistent in their stated extent of high RBA use and high engagement with most RBA elements. These organizations are of varied types: 'Advocacy,' 'Capacity building for youth and/or communities,' 'Capacity building for governments and other organizations,' 'Broad,' and 'Funding.' Of these organizations, Plan Canada and Save the Children Canada, although slightly differing in their secondary foci, showed the highest correspondence with the RBA elements in the literature, while UNICEF Canada also showed a very close correspondence. These organizations are of the 'Broad' type and subtype and are among the biggest, most well-known international development and aid organizations working with mandates related to children's rights in Canada; therefore they have the size, capacity, influence, and resources to engage in all the RBA elements I have identified.

As organizations focusing their activities on advocacy and/or capacity building, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders, Defence for Children International, International Bureau for Children's Rights, and the International Institute for Children's Rights and Development, do not tend to engage in ensuring sustained access to ESC rights and show some minor variation in the extent to which they incorporated other elements. However, these variations are largely in line with their mandates and goals.

The literature has outlined several elements that are considered to be essential to the successful adoption of a RBA. However, in practice, not all organizations that promote, support, or aim to ensure children's rights are comprehensive in incorporating

all these elements, nor do they aspire to be. Some organizations are able to fully incorporate an RBA as it is described in the literature, but the majority have chosen to maximize the effectiveness of their often limited resources and capacity by focusing more narrowly on particular issues and/or activities. It seems that the common element amongst all of them, and perhaps the key to successfully implementing an RBA in this way, is partnership, not only in terms of working together and pooling resources towards common goals, but also in sharing information in order to identify gaps in aid and areas of need so that all organizations, big and small, can make progress in advancing children's rights.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

After a process of evolution beginning in the 1980s, the human rights and development fields have become interconnected. Needs-based development approaches have failed to address issues of poverty and increasing wealth disparity. The goods and services development and aid organizations traditionally have provided are being reframed as entitlements supported by international rights standards, while human rights discourses have expanded to include these entitlements as social, economic, and cultural rights, in addition to the civil and political rights that were once their main focus. In a transition aiming for more sustainable improvement in standards of living in the Global South, development work has shifted to focus prominently on capacity building of both governments and citizens of these countries. Non-governmental and civil society organizations aim to support governments in fulfilling their roles and obligations as duty-bearers of human rights, while empowering populations to promote and demand the rights they hold.

Working both from the top-down and bottom-up in these ways, a RBA to development is said to effect systemic change, being embedded in institutions and policies that governments can be held accountable for, that is more sustainable and effective than that of past approaches. However, it has been argued that a RBA's effectiveness may be limited if organizations do not transform themselves fundamentally in order to adopt its full spectrum of concepts and implications (Plipat, 2006).

As rights-based approaches have gained increased prominence in development practice, the academic community has accordingly engaged in discussing what the core concepts and implications of these approaches actually are. Despite considerable overlap and increasing consensus in scholars' descriptions of RBA elements, it is also

acknowledged that there is no universally accepted, clear set of guidelines that define a RBA. Furthermore, more research is needed to determine how this approach is implemented in practice; a children's RBA is particularly subject to a lack of understanding in these areas.

It is this gap in knowledge that my research aims to help bridge. I have posed three main research questions in order to find out how international aid and development organizations working with mandates related to children's rights implement a RBA and its elements. First, I asked the extent to which these organizations explicitly incorporate a RBA, and then I explored the ways in which the organizations put RBA elements into practice in their programs, policies, and activities. Finally, in comparing my findings from these questions with the RBA elements and implications described in the literature, I investigated how organizations' commitment to a RBA and to the UNCRC was reflected in their practices. These questions were addressed in my thesis through content analysis of organizations' websites and interviews with staff members at a number of organizations.

While all organizations in my sample have some engagement with children's rights, few of their websites claimed that they explicitly or exclusively use a RBA, although all incorporate a number of RBA elements in their practices. Some organizations use a RBA as a complement to other approaches as a strategy to most effectively promote and fulfill human rights; such use may arguably expand current understandings of how a RBA is defined. Christian Children's Fund of Canada, for example, uses a RBA in combination with a child-focused approach, arguing that these methods, used together, may be more effective for the organization to reach goals of rights-based programming. UNICEF also combines a RBA with "programmes of

cooperation with national governments and results-based planning and management" (UNICEF, 2011), in aiming to maximize its contribution to children's and women's rights. Other organizations have more narrow mandates that are conducive to promoting a number of children's rights under the UNCRC, and these organizations may operate with attention paid to supporting relevant rights in their activities and policies while not explicitly incorporating a RBA into their programming.

Even organizations that profess to using a strict RBA may not engage with all RBA elements identified by the literature; this characteristic seems to be a luxury afforded only by the largest and most well-known organizations that have the resources and broader mandates allowing them to do so. In fact, aside from these 'Broad' organizations, the organizations studied appear to specialize in particular activities that form a part of the spectrum of RBA elements, such as advocacy; capacity building of governments and other organizations in fulfilling rights or of youth and communities in claiming and fighting for rights; and funding other groups and initiatives in supporting rights fulfillment. Meanwhile, some organizations recognize that immediate, basic needs must still be addressed and do so, while recognizing that these needs are constitutive of several rights in the UNCRC and other international human rights standards.

I found that that the policies, programs, and activities of some organizations may contrast with the theoretical and conceptual discussions of some RBA elements. For example, Beyond Borders acknowledges the value of widely ratified rights instruments such as the UNCRC, particularly in a legal context, but views many children's rights as existing inherently as tenets of human dignity and freedom. In other words, they believe that a right should not have to be validated by such agreements in order to be recognized as such. Other organizations have found that some RBA elements are challenging to

implement in practice. Participation, in particular, may be difficult to incorporate fully for children of various ages who vary widely in their capabilities and accessibility. Several organizations are exploring new participation strategies that take into account these challenges, such as artistic and dramatic expression, and engagement with social media and communicative technology.

Additionally, cultural and institutional barriers may limit the extent and effectiveness of children's participation in some contexts. Identifying and targeting vulnerable populations especially at risk of rights violations may be perceived by many organizations and RBA researchers as being necessary for maximizing the impact and effectiveness of development programs, but some practitioners find it problematic to target particular sub-groups of children and youth. They argue that this may downplay the importance of addressing rights violations for all children, at the risk of ignoring such problems in children not perceived to be most vulnerable. Furthermore, Children/Youth as Peacebuilders notes that allowing certain groups to be identified as 'victims' may be counterproductive to goals of empowering these populations.

It is understandably expected that organizations with mandates related to children's rights engage in human/children's rights training for staff members in all professional capacities within these organizations. However, the reality is that several of the organizations in my sample have limited resources and staff members; many of them rely on volunteers to meet their staffing requirements. I found that a number of organizations relied on the existing human rights expertise and interest of new hires and volunteers to fulfill this expectation, which is understandable under such circumstances.

Academics have noted a potential gap between rhetoric and practice of a RBA; this gap was also noted by some interviewees in my research. Among the organizations

with limited capacities and resources, there tends to be a recognition that they cannot do everything in addressing the full spectrum of RBA elements. In fact, some organizations have focused on issues and populations potentially requiring extra attention that broader organizations may not provide, and they have developed specialized mandates in order to best address these niches. Thus, in spite of the argument that the incorporation of a RBA that falls short of being fully comprehensive is less effective, the reality is that the existing organizations working on supporting and promoting children's rights are diverse in their scopes, mandates, and activities. I argue that this need not mean that a RBA is rarely being implemented effectively, but rather that such specialization may lead to organizations developing strength and effectiveness in their respective arenas. However, success under these circumstances can only be accomplished through partnership, cooperation, and communication between various organizations so that they can streamline goals and strategies and make up for each other's weaknesses and limitations as necessary.

My data and analysis for this project rely on information provided in organizational websites, most of which have been created with at least the partial goal of encouraging public support and donor funding. Additionally, my interviewees, while unarguably experienced and knowledgeable in their organizations' policies, programs, and activities, consisted of only one staff member per organization, and some had limited first-hand knowledge of the implementation of practices 'on the ground.' Supplementing this research with resources such as increased time and access to more organizational staff members would allow me to discuss and either confirm or revise the typology I developed for this project; my categorization is based largely on the language used in mandates and self-descriptions of organizations on their websites, but it is possible that I

interpreted this information and assigned main activities differently than organizations actually intended. In order to more thoroughly explore my research questions, future researchers might interview more staff members in a variety of positions within organizations, but also travel to program countries to personally observe how policies, and programs are put into practice in accordance with theoretical RBA principles. A more comprehensive project exploring a larger sample of organizations based throughout Canada would also be useful in uncovering the full diversity of mandates, activities, and goals of organizations working with children's rights. Case studies relying on first-hand observational data could allow for thick, detailed discussions of organizations' practices and contingencies; this information may also provide insights into RBA application in similar organizations.

While acknowledging that much of the literature defining and identifying the elements of a RBA is based on research and knowledge of actual practices, it is likely that many researchers do not have to face the pragmatic reality of applying a RBA on a continuing basis. I believe it is important, particularly for an approach that is currently lacking in universal understanding and consensus of elements, to regularly compare research and practice. Therefore, if engaging in continued research on this subject, I would further explore practitioners' understanding of a RBA, aiming to contribute to updating and revision of RBA literature.

Finally, as partnership and coordinated advocacy and action seem to be key in maximizing the effectiveness of a RBA as it is currently used in practice, I think future research exploring these factors would be useful. I have determined - and many websites clearly show - that partnership is an important element in every organization studied, and an investigation of the dynamics of communication and cooperation between

organizations and other stakeholders would be useful in fully identifying and maximizing its benefits and challenges.

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APPENDIX 1: WEBSITE CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SCHEME

Total Pages in Word: # - # (TOC) = # pages

# of Web Pages	
Hierarchy (heading level)	
1	#
2	#
3	#
4	#
Total	#

Total word count: #

Total words included in analysis: # - # (TOC and webpage headings) = #

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Extent of focus on children	Child* (childhood, children) Kid/s youth	Excluding use in proper names <i>E.g. A world that respects and values each child²⁸</i>	
right	right(s)	Reference to human/children's rights only, not other meanings of "right". Excl. reference to UNCRC and other proper names <i>E.g. ...fundamental rights of children</i>	
Specific rights	Right(s)	Looked at the context of "right(s)" in web pages and determined if they referred explicitly to specific rights as such	
	Education	<i>E.g. ...designed to improve the quality of education for children</i>	
	Participation, civil, political	<i>E.g. ...a world where every child attains the right to survival, protection, development and participation.</i>	
	Protection	<i>E.g. ...a world where every child attains the right to survival, protection, development and participation.</i>	
	Access to Information	<i>E.g. Children have rights to be listened to, to freely express their views on all matters that affect them, and to freedom of expression, thought, association and access to information.</i>	
	Development	<i>E.g. ...a world where every child attains the right to survival, protection, development and participation.</i>	
	Survival, life	<i>E.g. ...a world where every child attains the right to survival, protection, development and participation.</i>	

²⁸ Unless indicated otherwise, all quotes used as examples of search terms were taken from the Save the Children Canada website (<http://www.savethechildren.ca>) as accessed on January 8, 2011.

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
	expression	Right to be heard and to express their opinions <i>E.g. Children have rights to be listened to, to freely express their views on all matters that affect them</i>	
	Basic, fundamental	<i>E.g. ...awareness of the fundamental rights of children</i>	
	Health	<i>E.g. the right of all children to a happy, healthy and secure childhood</i>	
	Other specific rights	Specify:	
need	Need(s)	Noun only, referring to meeting target population's needs. Contrast with count for "right/s" <i>E.g. We focus on their most critical needs</i>	
UNCRC	Right UN Convention Standard(s) Principle(s) Provision(s) International CRC	Includes references to the UNCRC, its predecessors, and other international human rights instruments or standards that may apply to children <i>E.g. We provide monitoring of adherence to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC)</i>	
Time frame for programs, activities, and goals	Sustain (sustainable, sustainability)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. ...to build education infrastructure that is nationally sustainable.</i>	
	Long(term)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. Save the Children campaigns for long-term change in addition to providing shorter-term support to improve children's lives.</i>	
	Last(ing)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.</i>	
	Short(term)	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. Save the Children campaigns for long-term change in addition to providing shorter-term support to improve children's lives.</i>	
	Immediate	In reference to goals, changes and gains made from organizations' programs and activities <i>E.g. We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.</i>	
		Total	

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Role (of organization/s, government, caretakers)	Duty(duties) Obliga* (obligation, obligated, oblige/d) Responsib*(responsibility, responsible)	These terms were searched, and results were further divided by who had the duties/obligations/responsibilities below.	
	Organization	<i>E.g. Save the Children Canada must act as the custodians of children's rights, sharing the responsibility to fight for their recognition and defence</i>	
	Government	<i>E.g. ...best practices which could be shared with other States Parties to assist them in meeting their obligations as outlined by the CRC.²⁹</i>	
	Caretaker/s	<i>E.g. the rights and responsibilities of adults to children</i>	
Advocacy terms	Advoca* (includes advocacy, advocate, advocated)	Activities intending to change, challenge, or influence policies or opinions regarding children's rights <i>E.g. We advocate with governments and international communities</i>	
	Promot* (promote, promotion, promoted, promoting)	Reference to promotion of children's rights <i>E.g. ...improve education, health, food security, and child protection while promoting child rights.</i>	
	Action	Taken by the organization or those mobilized by the organization with the aim of supporting or promoting rights <i>E.g. INSPIRE through the efforts of Save the Children and our international partners, 60 million people worldwide to take action!</i>	
	campaign	Verb only <i>E.g. ...advocating and campaigning for better practices and policies to fulfill children's rights</i>	
	Monitor(monitored, monitoring)	<i>E.g. We provide monitoring of adherence to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC)</i>	
	Lobby (lobbied, lobbying)	<i>E.g. Lobbying the UN with government partners</i>	
	Protect (protection, protecting, protected)	Count only references to protecting rights, not children themselves <i>E.g. ...protecting the rights of AIDS orphans.</i>	

²⁹ International Bureau for Children's Rights website (<http://www.ibcr.org/eng/>) as accessed on February 4, 2011.

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
	Fight (fighting) fought	Explicit references to fighting for rights <i>E.g. Save the Children Canada must act as the custodians of children's rights, sharing the responsibility to fight for their recognition and defence.</i>	
	Implement* (implementati on, implemented)	Reference to implementing or promoting implementation of rights standards <i>E.g. Implement international standards on the worst forms of child labour</i>	
		Total	
Participation terms	Participa* (participate, participated, participating, participation)	This indicator refers to children's (as target population of programs) participation in society, community, and aid activities as active partners, decision makers, and evaluators during project processes <i>E.g. Measures should be put in place to encourage and facilitate their participation in accordance with their age and maturity.</i>	
	Club(s) Group(s) Organization(s) (organisation/s) association	Includes child rights clubs/groups of which children are members and/or leaders. <i>E.g. ...through peer education and child rights clubs</i>	
	Represent (representativ e)	References to children as youth representatives in projects or activities <i>E.g. ...a permanent team of 24 boys and girls representing approximately 350 youth from the area</i>	
	peer	Reference to children/youth as peer-educators or peer mentors <i>E.g. become 'peer educators' in their communities</i>	
	decision	References to contribution to decision making by children <i>E.g. create support for children to take part in decisions that affect them and their communities</i>	
	leader	References to children/youth as leaders or taking a leadership role. <i>E.g. ...encouraging youth to participate and take an active leadership role in their communities</i>	
		Total:	
Relationship with government(s)	Government Politi* (politicians, politics, political) Decision (makers) Leader(s) state	Searched terms in the cell to the left to capture references to political leaders and decision makers, then looked at their context for key words/concepts below characterizing the relationship.	

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Types of relationship:	Information sharing	Awareness, knowledge sharing, and information exchange activities such as forums, submitting reports to governments, training leaders, etc. <i>E.g. To achieve these goals, we collaborate with children, civil society organizations, communities, governments and the private sector to share knowledge...</i>	
	Cooperation	References to working and cooperating with decision makers. <i>E.g. We work with government, non-governmental organizations, and community based organizations to reach the most affected people</i>	
	Activist	References to more critical, confrontational terms related to advocacy, such as "call upon," "hold accountable," and "advocate" itself. <i>E.g. We advocate with governments and international communities to change public policy and private practices that violate children's rights.</i>	
Target Population	Margin (marginalized) minority	<i>E.g. Save the Children Canada reaches out to the most marginalized girls and boys</i>	
	vulnerable	<i>E.g. Save the Children's programs work to protect vulnerable children</i>	
	Poor (poorest) Need (in need, needy, neediest, greatest need) poverty	<i>E.g. We have been able to help the neediest children</i>	
	Displace(d) Exile	By natural disaster or conflict <i>E.g. ...we are helping with the emergency of thousands of displaced children living in temporary camps.</i>	
	Orphan	<i>E.g. If they are abandoned or orphaned children they are without adequate family care and protection.</i>	
	Girl(s)	Excluding reference to both boys and girls; includes only explicit references to girls as a group targeted for or in need of aid activities <i>E.g. Save the Children works hard to remove obstacles that prevent girls from receiving an education.</i>	
	Women	Excluding reference to both men and women; includes only explicit references to women as a group targeted for or in need of aid activities <i>E.g. ...deliver therapeutic and supplementary feeding to malnourished children and pregnant and lactating women.</i>	

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Partnership terms	Partner (partnerships) Coalition Network Group Collaborate Organization Coop(cooperat e, cooperation)	Searched these words to look for indicators of the organization working with other institutions, organizations, or stakeholders, then looked at the context to determine who the partnership was with. <i>E.g. We work with program partners to reunify separated children</i>	
Types of partnerships:	General	<i>E.g. ...through the efforts of Save the Children and our international partners</i>	
	Corporate/fou ndations	<i>E.g. We encourage the partnership with donors from the chocolate industry and other corporate sectors...</i>	
	Local/commun ity/grassroots organizations	<i>E.g. Our programs operate in partnership with local organizations which implement our projects.</i>	
	Government (e.g. CIDA)	<i>E.g. Lobbying the UN with government partners</i>	
	Other agencies/NGO' s	<i>E.g. We also work with a large number of other local and international partners and non-government organizations</i>	
	Communities/c ommunity elders	<i>E.g. We partner with local organizations, communities, government bodies and international organizations.</i>	
	Children, youth-led groups	<i>E.g. To achieve these goals, we collaborate with children...</i>	
	Donors	<i>E.g. We encourage the partnership with donors...</i>	
	Academic	<i>E.g. ...seeks to develop partnerships with ...relevant research centers and academic institutions³⁰</i>	
Education	education	Education of children in general <i>E.g. ...to improve the quality of education for children</i>	
	Train(ing)	References to training of children in general <i>E.g. Save the Children also carries out skills training of children.</i>	
		Total:	
Human/Child Rights Education	Education Train(ing)	References to rights training of children, parents, teachers, leaders, and others outside of the organization <i>E.g. Help Save the Children train Volunteer Children Officers to protect child rights, report abuse, and ensure justice for children.</i>	

³⁰ International Bureau for Children's Rights website (<http://www.ibcr.org/eng/>) as accessed on February 4, 2011.

Indicator	Search term(s)	Notes and examples of use in context	#
Health	Health (healthy, healthier, health care)	Any reference to physical health of target population <i>E.g. We work to improve the health of children worldwide</i>	
	HIV/AIDS	<i>E.g. We work to prevent HIV/AIDS</i>	
Miscellaneous RBA-related terms:	Protect (protected, protection)	Reference to protection of children and their rights <i>E.g. We provide protection for children without adequate family care</i>	
	Access (accessible)	To information, resources, services, aid <i>E.g. Increasing access to relevant and quality education</i>	
	Violation(s) (violate, violated, violating)	Includes reference to violations of rights only. <i>E.g. Child trafficking is one of the worst forms of the violation of children's rights</i>	
	Exploit (exploitation, exploited)	<i>E.g. ...which places them at high risk of exploitation</i>	
	Discrimination	<i>E.g. working with local organizations and communities to reduce discrimination</i>	
	Empower* (empowerment, empowering, empowered)	<i>E.g. Children were particularly empowered by the training they received...</i>	

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Start time:

End time:

1. What is your name and official title?
2. How long have you worked with [organization]?
3. Can you describe your current responsibilities?
4. How long have you worked in this field? Did this involve working with an international development/aid organization? If so, which one(s)?
5. If you have previously worked in this field, can you describe your experience in your past position(s)?
6. a) In preparing for this interview, I reviewed the website and documents produced by your organization. It suggests that it incorporates elements of a rights-based approach to development. From your point of view, does [organization] use a rights-based-approach?

b) If yes, can you tell me how this approach is evident in the policies, programs, and activities of the organization?
7. a) Several organizations working with issues of children's rights refer to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Does [organization] refer to the UNCRC in policy and programming?

b) To what extent do you and your coworkers refer to the UNCRC when talking about your policies and programs? Can you give me any examples?
8. a) The research in this area suggests that there are challenges in implementing a RBA. Based on your experience, has your organization faced any such challenges? If so, can you give me an example?

b) How does [organization] respond to these challenges?
9. a) How would you describe the relationship your organization has with the government(s) it works with? Can you give me an example?

b) Does your organization hold governments accountable for protecting children's rights? If so, how? Can you give me an example?
10. a) Does [organization] engage in advocacy activities? What institutions, groups, or individuals are advocacy activities aimed at?

b) What are the goals of these advocacy activities?

11. a) My examination of websites and documents of several organizations suggests that many include members of local communities in program and other decisions. I am interested in learning how your organization undertakes community participation. For example, some organizations do community consultations, while others involve community members in all decision-making related to programming in their community. What is community participation like in your organization? [probe involvement in activities, programs, policies]
- b) Does your organization include participation by children in its activities and programs? If yes, how? Can you give me an example?
12. a) Does [organization] conduct Human Rights Education (HRE) for children and others outside of the organization? What is the nature of this HR education? What are the goals of this HRE?
- b) Is HR training conducted for staff within the organization? What is the nature of this education for staff? What are the goals of this education for staff?
13. a) My review of your website showed that your organization engages in partnerships with other organizations, groups, and institutions. In what ways do you work with these partners? What are the benefits of these partnerships?
14. a) How does [organization] identify the target population for aid/development programs?
- b) My research has shown that some organizations working with children's rights and development specifically target certain populations such as orphans, girls, or minorities in their work. Aside from a main focus on children, does [organization] place an additional focus on particular groups in its programs and activities? If so, why?
15. Does [organization] perform activities aimed at ensuring sustained access to social, economic, and cultural rights such as health, adequate standard of living, and education over the long term? If so, how?
16. How are priorities for spending resources set in your organization? Where do you think children's rights fit within these priorities?
17. Is there any additional information revealing the translation and incorporation of elements of a RBA in [organization] that my questions may have missed?

APPENDIX 3: CONTENT ANALYSIS DATA

In Tables 11 to 19 below, the “words analyzed” columns show the total number of words analyzed for each website reviewed for this study. The Tables also present the number of times a particular search term was mentioned in the “words analyzed” and a calculation of the percentage each search term represents of total words analyzed for each organization’s website.

TABLE 11: ORGANIZATIONS' FOCUS ON CHILDREN IN WEBSITE TEXT

Organization	Words Analyzed	References to Children/Kids/Youth	
		#	%
Amnesty International	10514	8	0.08
Beyond Borders	5985	300	5.01
Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee - Children and Armed Conflict Working Group	12287	135	1.10
Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children	5344	201	3.76
CARE Canada	5570	22	0.39
Child Fund Alliance - Christian Children's Fund of Canada	14072	248	1.76
Children First	8660	259	2.99
Children/Youth as Peacebuilder	9221	151	1.64
Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development	12798	300	2.34
Defence for Children International	5948	164	2.76
Equip Kids In Developing Societies International	1115	38	3.41
Foundation for International Training	10310	24	0.23

Organization	Words Analyzed	References to Children/Kids/Youth	
		#	%
Human Rights Internet	5302	17	0.32
International Bureau of Children's Rights	8507	224	2.63
IICRD	4728	151	3.19
OXFAM Canada	9771	8	0.08
Plan International Canada	9659	281	2.91
Pueblito Canada	3503	71	2.03
Save the Children Canada	9771	251	2.57
Sierra Leone-Canadian Children's Aid Society	8835	356	4.03
SOS Children's Villages Canada	10309	256	2.48
Street Kids International	9996	165	1.65
UNICEF Canada	7119	243	3.41
War Child Canada	7004	162	2.31
World Vision - Canada	12241	243	1.99
Youth Challenge International	9876	151	1.53
Youth Coalition	4931	75	1.52
Average	8273.2	166.81	2.15

TABLE 12: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO RIGHTS AND NEEDS, BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	Words Analyzed	Rights		Needs	
		#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	5985	23	0.38	3	0.05
Peacebuild	12287	37	0.30	27	0.22
CCRC	5344	116	2.17	2	0.04
CCFC	14072	8	0.06	30	0.21
Children First	8660	67	0.77	5	0.06
CAP	9221	163	1.77	14	0.15
CGECCD	12798	20	0.16	38	0.30
DCI	5948	84	1.41	3	0.05
Equip	1115	8	0.72	7	0.63
IBCR	8507	87	1.02	6	0.07
IICRD	4728	37	0.78	4	0.08
Plan	9659	25	0.26	4	0.04
Pueblito	3503	3	0.09	6	0.17
Save	9771	40	0.41	5	0.05
SLCCAS	8835	12	0.14	61	0.69
SOS	10309	11	0.11	31	0.30
SKI	9996	11	0.11	11	0.11
UNICEF	7119	22	0.31	11	0.15
War Child	7004	19	0.27	6	0.09
World Vision	12241	5	0.04	20	0.16
YCI	9876	9	0.09	7	0.07
Youth Coalition	4931	72	1.46	2	0.04
Average	8268.59	39.95	0.58	13.77	0.17

TABLE 13: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS AND LONG AND SHORT-TERM GOALS, BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	UNCRC & Human Rights Instruments		Time frame for goals			
			Long-term, lasting, sustainable		Short-term, Immediate	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	6	0.10	0	0.00	0	0.00
Peacebuild	10	0.08	21	0.17	11	0.09
CCRC	81	1.52	0	0.00	0	0.00
CCFC	1	0.01	93	0.66	2	0.01
Children First	45	0.52	1	0.01	0	0.00
CAP	23	0.25	0	0.00	0	0.00
CGECCD	3	0.02	12	0.09	1	0.01
DCI	61	1.03	1	0.02	0	0.00
Equip	1	0.09	1	0.09	0	0.00
IBCR	56	0.66	2	0.02	1	0.01
IICRD	14	0.30	6	0.13	0	0.00
Plan	8	0.08	20	0.21	3	0.03
Pueblito	0	0.00	2	0.06	0	0.00
Save	15	0.15	21	0.21	9	0.09
SLCCAS	13	0.15	1	0.01	0	0.00
SOS	3	0.03	16	0.16	7	0.07
SKI	0	0.00	10	0.10	3	0.03
UNICEF	6	0.08	6	0.08	2	0.03
War Child	0	0.00	9	0.13	1	0.01
World Vision	0	0.00	31	0.25	4	0.03
YCI	0	0.00	5	0.05	0	0.00
Youth Coalition	4	0.08	11	0.22	0	0.00
Average	15.91	0.23	12.23	0.12	2.00	0.02

TABLE 14: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	Roles & Responsibilities					
	Organization		Government		Caretakers	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0
Peacebuild	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00
CCRC	0	0.00	4	0.07	1	0.02
CCFC	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children First	0	0.00	4	0.05	0	0.00
CAP	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00
CGECCD	1	0.01	4	0.03	6	0.05
DCI	0	0.00	1	0.02	0	0.00
Equip	1	0.09	1	0.09	1	0.09
IBCR	0	0.00	3	0.04	0	0.00
IICRD	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Plan	2	0.02	1	0.01	1	0.01
Pueblito	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Save	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	0.01
SLCCAS	2	0.02	0	0.00	1	0.01
SOS	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
SKI	0	0.00	1	0.01	1	0.01
UNICEF	2	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00
War Child	0	0.00	1	0.01	1	0.01
World Vision	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
YCI	2	0.02	0	0.00	0	0.00
Youth Coalition	0	0.00	1	0.02	0	0.00
Average	0.59	0.01	1	0.02	1	0.01

TABLE 15: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS
WITH GOVERNMENT, BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	Relationship with Government					
	Information		Cooperative		Activist	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	1	0.02	0	0.00	3	0.05
Peacebuild	5	0.04	11	0.09	8	0.07
CCRC	2	0.04	1	0.02	8	0.15
CCFC	0	0.00	5	0.04	2	0.01
Children First	0	0.00	7	0.08	11	0.13
CAP	1	0.01	1	0.01	1	0.01
CGECCD	3	0.02	6	0.05	2	0.02
DCI	3	0.05	4	0.07	10	0.17
Equip	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
IBCR	8	0.09	9	0.11	0	0.00
IICRD	2	0.04	10	0.21	0	0.00
Plan	1	0.01	7	0.07	4	0.04
Pueblito	0	0.00	4	0.11	1	0.03
Save	4	0.04	11	0.11	12	0.12
SLCCAS	0	0.00	5	0.06	0	0.00
SOS	0	0.00	8	0.08	1	0.01
SKI	1	0.01	5	0.05	3	0.03
UNICEF	5	0.07	11	0.15	4	0.06
War Child	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00
World Vision	1	0.01	15	0.12	5	0.04
YCI	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00
Youth Coalition	5	0.10	6	0.12	5	0.10
Average	1.91	0.03	5.82	0.07	3.64	0.05

TABLE 16: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO ADVOCACY, PARTNERSHIP,
AND PARTICIPATION TERMS, BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	Advocacy		Partnership		Participation	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	32	0.53	16	0.27	20	0.33
Peacebuild	37	0.30	17	0.14	26	0.21
CCRC	59	1.10	22	0.41	5	0.09
CCFC	3	0.02	123	0.87	37	0.26
Children First	19	0.22	19	0.22	3	0.03
CAP	20	0.22	36	0.39	56	0.61
CGECCD	31	0.24	40	0.31	10	0.08
DCI	22	0.37	13	0.22	9	0.15
Equip	1	0.09	3	0.27	1	0.09
IBCR	59	0.69	79	0.93	7	0.08
IICRD	16	0.34	37	0.78	19	0.40
Plan	17	0.18	54	0.56	14	0.14
Pueblito	2	0.06	20	0.57	0	0.00
Save	31	0.32	38	0.39	15	0.15
SLCCAS	11	0.12	9	0.10	1	0.01
SOS	1	0.01	30	0.29	8	0.08
SKI	16	0.16	49	0.49	16	0.16
UNICEF	27	0.38	46	0.65	6	0.08
War Child	6	0.09	20	0.29	20	0.29
World Vision	24	0.20	40	0.33	3	0.02
YCI	6	0.06	61	0.62	72	0.73
Youth Coalition	50	1.01	41	0.83	63	1.28
Average	22.27	0.31	36.95	0.45	18.68	0.24

TABLE 17: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO POPULATIONS TARGETED BY ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Target Population													
	marginalized, minority		vulnerable		poor, in need		displaced, exiled		orphans		girls		women	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	1	0.02	6	0.10	1	0.02	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Peacebuild	11	0.09	3	0.02	1	0.01	1	0.01	0	0.00	44	0.36	96	0.78
CCRC	0	0.00	2	0.04	8	0.15	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
CCFC	0	0.00	1	0.01	46	0.33	0	0.00	3	0.02	4	0.03	13	0.09
Children First	1	0.01	1	0.01	4	0.05	0	0.00	9	0.10	3	0.03	13	0.15
CAP	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	0.01	6	0.07	0	0.00	5	0.05	0	0.00
CGECCD	1	0.01	2	0.02	9	0.07	1	0.01	1	0.01	1	0.01	13	0.10
DCI	1	0.02	0	0.00	2	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.05	1	0.02
Equip	0	0.00	1	0.09	1	0.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
IBCR	1	0.01	2	0.02	2	0.02	5	0.06	0	0.00	4	0.05	2	0.02
IICRD	2	0.04	4	0.08	2	0.04	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.02
Plan	3	0.03	7	0.07	19	0.20	4	0.04	3	0.03	15	0.16		0.00
Pueblito	1	0.03	1	0.03	7	0.20	0	0.00	2	0.06	0	0.00	0	0.00
Save	3	0.03	6	0.06	12	0.12	1	0.01	8	0.08	8	0.08	3	0.03
SLCCAS	1	0.01	12	0.14	15	0.17	1	0.01	1	0.01	1	0.01	3	0.03
SOS	1	0.01	6	0.06	27	0.26	0	0.00	21	0.20	15	0.15	17	0.16
SKI	5	0.05	3	0.03	10	0.10	0	0.00	4	0.04	6	0.06		0.00
UNICEF	2	0.03	8	0.11	12	0.17	2	0.03	2	0.03	23	0.32	16	0.22
War Child	2	0.03	6	0.09	10	0.14	12	0.17	6	0.09	10	0.14	30	0.43
World Vision	1	0.01	16	0.13	59	0.48	0	0.00	7	0.06	5	0.04	18	0.15
YCI	1	0.01	0	0.00	7	0.07	0	0.00	2	0.02	3	0.03	19	0.19
Youth Coalition	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.04	0	0.00	1	0.02	0	0.00	12	0.24
Average	1.77	0.02	3.95	0.05	11.68	0.13	1.50	0.02	3.18	0.03	6.82	0.07	12.85	0.12

TABLE 18: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO EDUCATION AND HEALTH TERMS, BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	Education, training				Health (general)		HIV/AIDS	
	general		rights					
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	10	0.17	3	0.05	3	0.05	0	0.00
Peacebuild	40	0.33	2	0.02	6	0.05	2	0.02
CCRC	7	0.13	1	0.02	7	0.13	0	0.00
CCFC	159	1.13	3	0.02	87	0.62	33	0.23
Children First	19	0.22	0	0.00	11	0.13	1	0.01
CAP	40	0.43	15	0.16	0	0.00	0	0.00
CGECCD	47	0.37	0	0.00	28	0.22	9	0.07
DCI	13	0.22	4	0.07	3	0.05	0	0.00
Equip	11	0.99	1	0.09	0	0.00	0	0.00
IBCR	20	0.24	6	0.07	0	0.00	0	0.00
IICRD	1	0.02	9	0.19	2	0.04	3	0.06
Plan	51	0.53	4	0.04	28	0.29	8	0.08
Pueblito	28	0.80	0	0.00	6	0.17	0	0.00
Save	38	0.39	0	0.00	13	0.13	49	0.50
SLCCAS	33	0.37	0	0.00	18	0.20	1	0.01
SOS	84	0.81	0	0.00	37	0.36	24	0.23
SKI	85	0.85	2	0.02	41	0.41	5	0.05
UNICEF	38	0.53	1	0.01	32	0.45	30	0.42
War Child	61	0.87	1	0.01	8	0.11	12	0.17
World Vision	65	0.53	0	0.00	66	0.54	95	0.78
YCI	44	0.45	2	0.02	29	0.29	53	0.54
Youth Coalition	28	0.57	8	0.16	43	0.87	33	0.67
Average	41.91	0.50	2.82	0.04	21.27	0.23	16.27	0.17

TABLE 19: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF REFERENCES TO ADDITIONAL RIGHTS TERMS,
BY ORGANIZATION

Organization	Other relevant RBA terms											
	Protect children & rights		Access		Violate		Exploit		Discrimination		Empower	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Beyond Borders	43	0.72	4	0.07	3	0.05	87	1.45	1	0.02	1	0.02
Peacebuild	20	0.16	17	0.14	5	0.04	2	0.02	3	0.02	23	0.19
CCRC	8	0.15	5	0.09	2	0.04	5	0.09	2	0.04	0	0.00
CCFC	8	0.06	22	0.16	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00
Children First	10	0.12	5	0.06	7	0.08	7	0.08	2	0.02	0	0.00
CAP	12	0.13	0	0.00	9	0.10	2	0.02	2	0.02	0	0.00
CGECCD	7	0.05	4	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.01	1	0.01	1	0.01
DCI	19	0.32	2	0.03	2	0.03	1	0.02	4	0.07	2	0.03
Equip	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
IBCR	20	0.24	1	0.01	5	0.06	21	0.25	1	0.01	2	0.02
IICRD	27	0.57	1	0.02	0	0.00	6	0.13	1	0.02	2	0.04
Plan	36	0.37	16	0.17	1	0.01	6	0.06	1	0.01	6	0.06
Pueblito	0	0.00	1	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Save	20	0.20	11	0.11	3	0.03	6	0.06	7	0.07	0	0.00
SLCCAS	27	0.31	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
SOS	5	0.05	12	0.12	0	0.00	1	0.01	3	0.03	6	0.06
SKI	0	0.00	3	0.03	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	8	0.08
UNICEF	27	0.38	7	0.10	1	0.01	3	0.04	0	0.00	0	0.00
War Child	16	0.23	13	0.19	4	0.06	7	0.10	1	0.01	6	0.09
World Vision	10	0.08	35	0.29	0	0.00	6	0.05	1	0.01	15	0.12
YCI	1	0.01	15	0.15	0	0.00	1	0.01	2	0.02	9	0.09
Youth Coalition	2	0.04	23	0.47	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.10	0	0.00
Average	14.45	0.19	8.95	0.10	1.95	0.03	7.41	0.11	1.73	0.02	3.68	0.04

TABLE 20: SPECIFIC RIGHTS BY ORGANIZATION

Within each website's text, the context of the search term "right" was explored and references to specific rights counted. The table below presents the number of times each different specific right was referenced by organizations. Organizations that did not make reference to specific rights were not included in this table.

Organization	Specific Rights							
	Sexual Reproductive	Education	Protection	Participation civil political	Survival, life	Basic Fundamental	Women Girls	Justice
Beyond Borders	0	0	5	1	1	1	0	0
Peacebuild	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0
CCRC	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	1
CCFC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children First	0	1	3	6	3	3	0	1
CAP	0	0	3	7	6	1	0	0
CGECCD	0	1	1	1	4	0	0	0
DCI	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	8
Equip	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
IBCR	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Plan	0	1	3	1	1	1	0	0
Pueblito	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Save	0	1	3	2	1	2	0	0
SLCCAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOS	0	5	2	2	1	1	0	0
SKI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UNICEF	0	22	1	0	1	0	0	0
War Child	0	1	0	1	0	2	3	0
World Vision	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YCI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Youth Coalition	49	1	0	0	0	0	5	0
Total	49	39	28	26	19	11	11	10

TABLE 21: PARTNERSHIP TYPES BY ORGANIZATION

Within each website's text, the context of search terms related to partnership was explored and references to types of partnership counted. The table below presents the number of times each different type of partnership was referenced by organizations. Organizations that did not make reference to specific partnership types were not included in this table.

Organization	Types of Partnerships											Total
	General	Local/grassroots organizations	Other NGOs	Government	Children/youth groups	Communities	Corporate/foundation	Academic	Donors	Religious	Media	
Beyond Borders	1	0	6	1	2	0	5	0	0	0	1	16
Peacebuild	0	4	9	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	17
CCRC	15	0	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	22
CCFC	49	42	16	5	2	5	2	0	2	0	0	123
Children First	3	8	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
CAP	14	6	6	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	36
CGECCD	13	4	12	3	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	40
DCI	1	4	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Equip	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
IICRD	10	7	6	2	3	4	0	5	0	0	0	37
IBCR	17	16	20	7	3	0	4	3	2	4	3	79
Plan	10	10	13	5	5	7	3	0	1	0	0	54
Pueblito	3	10	0	2	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	20
Save	4	12	10	6	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	38
SLCCAS	4	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
SOS	4	6	5	7	0	4	2	1	1	0	0	30
SKI	11	12	24	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	49
UNICEF	9	7	6	10	1	0	6	1	5	0	1	46
War Child	1	10	1	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	20
World Vision	6	6	5	10	0	7	0	3	0	3	0	40
YCI	18	26	5	1	6	4	1	0	0	0	0	61
Youth Coalition	6	1	12	4	15	1	0	1	1	0	0	41
Total	200	193	177	69	58	44	25	18	17	7	5	813