Children's Rights in International Social Work

A critical analysis of a campaign by UNICEF

Josefine Carlsson

Supervisor: Anna Lundberg

LiU LINKÖPINGS UNIVERSITET

Abstract

Children's rights and childhood are concepts that are a part of everyday discussions for many people around the world, but the understanding of the concepts shifts through time and space. The Convention on the Right of the Child, CRC, is supposed to protect children's rights and relies upon the idea of childhood that describes children both as active agents and in need of protection. UNICEF, an organization within the UN, has the CRC as a guiding principle to achieve its mission to improve the lives of every child globally. However, previous research has criticized the CRC and UNICEF for ignoring particular children's needs and having a western bias. Thus, even if an international social work program aims to protect children's rights, it can end up excluding the needs of particular groups of children.

This study aims to provide an understanding of how the problem of children's rights discriminations is represented to be in UNICEF's campaign #ENDviolence. The study fulfills the aim by using Carol Bacchi's approach "What's the problem represented to be?" WPR, and its six guiding questions. The empirical data is UNICEF's campaign report, because the present study aims to investigate children's rights discrimination, and the organization works with children and uses the CRC as a guiding principle.

The study uses the WPR approach because it stresses that problems are created and given meanings through policies and programs. This study also uses the social constructionist theory and the two concepts, intersectionality and intertextuality, to provide a broader understanding.

The results show that the campaign does only have a limited intersectional perspective, by not including children's different identities, relating to such as race, nationality, alternative gender identification and sexuality, and abilities/disabilities, and it also does not acknowledge children's multiple identities. Instead, the problem representation solely relies upon the concepts of sex (boy/girl) or age. Hence, the campaign leaves particular children and their needs unrecognized. An explanation for this approach is the campaign's stable intertextual connection to the UN, and the writings, CRC and SDGs, Sustainable development goals. The campaign also tends to have a western bias, through silencing western countries, the data it uses and how it presents the data. The campaign ignores particular children and how institutional structures may affect them differently because of their identities. Thus, discrimination and violence against specific children can continue and suggested solutions would not necessarily help them.

Keywords: Children's rights, international social work, UNICEF, Childhood, WPR, What's the problem represented to be?

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

ACRWC	The African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child
CEDAW	The Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CPA	Certificate in professional achievement
CRC	The Convention on the Rights of the Child
ECHR	The European Convention on Human Rights
ESC/RESC	he European Social Charter
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, and plus
NGO	Non-governmental organization
SDGs	Sustainable development goals
The UK	The United Kingdom
The US	The United States
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WPR	What's the problem represented to be?

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1. Introduction

For centuries scientists in different fields and politicians worldwide have discussed the two concepts of children and childhood. The understandings of the two concepts have shifted through time and place, and through that has the idea of children's rights developed. The present idea of childhood highlights children both as active agents and in need of protection. Thus, the idea of what children's rights entail is not always clear. During the twentieth century, the UN established a working group to create a convention that would protect children's rights. In 1989 the Convention on the Rights of the Child, CRC, came into force after a drafting period of ten years. The convention relies upon the three Ps', provision, protection, and participation, in line with the present idea of childhood (Holzscheiter 2010:3; Reynaert, Bouverne-de-Bie, and Vandevelde 2009:521). The CRC is ratified by all countries, except the United States, US (OHCHR 2020). The convention aims to protect all children around the world, and UNICEF, an organization within the UN, has adopted it as a guiding principle. The document is supposed to guide the organization to improve the lives of all children around the world, focusing on the most disadvantaged children (UNICEF 2018). However, previous research has criticized the organization and the convention for ignoring particular children and their needs (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017).

Ensuring children's rights around the world is a complex task, not least because the idea of children's rights contains tensions, and it requires a sensitivity to children's diverse situations and needs. Previous research has criticized UNICEF and the CRC for encouraging a unitary image of childhood in its work, thus, ignoring the diverse needs of children (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017). Children living outside the hegemonic idea of childhood, produced by the CRC, are perceived as living a harmful way (Kallio 2012:84). Previous research has described the hegemonic picture of childhood as having a western bias (cf. McPherson, Cubillos Vega, and Tang 2019; Thelander 2009). Siobhan E Laird (2016:303, 315) stresses that the concept of childhood produced by the CRC is western biased and not sensitive to cultural differences. Thus, when applying the CRC in Sub-Saharan Africa, it creates fundamental contradictions when incorporating the document into social work practice. Hence, the UNICEF and the CRC, which exist to protect children and improve their lives, tend to exclude particular children around the world. Children who cannot identify with the unitary image of a child and childhood risk ending up ignored and excluded in the programs that aim to protect them. Therefore, this study investigates how programs created to protect children can end up excluding them.

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The present study investigates a campaign by UNICEF to understand its problem representation of children's rights. The aim comes from the idea that social problems are created and defined through policies and programs that aim to change something (Archibald 2020:12; Bacchi and Eveline 2010a:111). Thomas Archibald (2020:6) describes this idea with an example from Du Bois's (1898) article regarding the discourse of "the Negro problem" at the end of the 20th century.

> If a Negro discusses the question, he is apt to discuss simply the problem of race prejudice; if a Southern white man writes on the subject he is apt to discuss problems of ignorance, crime and social degradation; and yet each calls the problem he discusses the Negro problem (Du Bois, 1898:9 cited in Archibald 2020:6).

The quotation exemplifies how two different people or systems can look at the same problem but describe it entirely differently depending on personal experiences and background. Hence, there is an importance to investigate how UNICEF problematize children's rights. To provide a knowledge of alternative ways of understanding the problem because previous research has emphasized that UNICEF and the CRC tend to problematize children's rights issues in a manner that excludes particular children (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017). Thus, in the present study, I use the concept of intertextuality to provide an understanding of how different human rights documents relate to each other. Also, I use the perspective of intersectionality to provide an understanding of how problem representations in international social work portray the diversity among children and structures affecting children concerning their race, culture, abilities/disabilities, citizenship, and alternative gender identification and sexual orientation.

This thesis starts to introduce its research aim and the campaign that I investigate in the analysis. Next, chapters two and three present a literature review and the theoretical framework that the research uses in the analysis. The following chapter presents and discusses the methodology approach and ethical considerations. In chapter five I present and analyze the empirical data, using the "What's the problem represented to be?" approach (WPR). The final chapter discusses the study's findings and relates it to previous research and makes suggestions for future research.

1.1 Previous understandings

My interest in working with problem representations and human rights comes from studying in different countries, and from courses presenting different perspectives on social identities

during my bachelor's degree in social work. During my bachelor's degree, I had an internship at an organization in Australia working with aboriginals. Having programs aiming at helping a particular group of people was a new phenomenon for me. It made me realize that to empower particular people in society, professionals must acknowledge their disadvantages in life. After finishing my social worker degree and working two years at the social services in Sweden, I studied a CPA program (certificate in professional achievement) in human rights at Columbia University in the city of New York. My experience regarding diversity and identities, in Sweden, is that we rarely talk about race/ethnicity and especially not when we are trying to develop social programs to help people. However, both in Australia and the US, I learned different ways of working and talking about issues by highlighting people's differences, I learned that acknowledging people's differences opens up for awareness of problems and, sometimes, enables changes to emerge.

Talking about myself and others concerning race and ethnicity is something I was not used to while growing up in Sweden and as a part of the majority of the population. My first experience of being asked to refer to myself in the form of race and ethnicity was when I applied for universities in the US. During my studies at Columbia University, I read the article "Desubjugating Childhoods by Listening to the Child's Voice and Childhoods at Play" by Kirsi Pauliina Kallio (2012). The article highlights how human rights organizations and documents that aim to protect children's rights, sometimes rather silence them and ignore them. During the fall of 2019, I continued to study international Social Work at the University of Umeå in Sweden. In this course, I continued to focus my assignments to broadening my understanding of inequalities in human rights, and the difficulties of including all people's experiences in human rights documents. Thus, did my interest in conducting this study grow. The interest of being able to provide an in-depth understanding of how international organizations create problem representations in their work, and how it affects the people it is supposed to help.

1.3 Aim and research questions

Social work is an academic discipline but also a profession based on practice. According to the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) social work has four central perspectives: human rights, social justice, collective responsibilities, and respect for diversity. Social workers work with people and structures to address life challenges, improve wellbeing, and advocate for people's rights (IFSW n.d.). This study aims to provide an understanding of how children's rights discriminations are represented in international social work. When using discrimination,

I refer to the unjust or prejudicial treatment of children with different backgrounds, for example, such as when a child with non-traditional gender identification is bullied based on that.

In this study, I use an approach presented by Carol Bacchi, "What's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) to achieve the study's aim. Carol Bacchi and Joan Eveline (2010a:111) stress that social problems are shaped and given meaning through policies and programs. Hence, how social problems are understood depends on who describes them and how they describe them. The campaign by UNICEF, investigated in this study, is called #ENDviolence, and it focuses on ending violence against children worldwide (UNICEF n.d.). The campaign represents a perspective of how UNICEF advocate for children's rights and how they describe the social problem of children's rights discriminations.

The study aims to provide an understanding of how the problem of children's rights discriminations is represented to be in UNICEF's campaign #ENDviolence. The study aims at achieving this by using the WPR approach through the following research questions:

1. How is the problem of children's rights discriminations represented to be in UNICEF's campaign #ENDviolence?
2. How has the problem representation in the campaign come about, and on what deep-seated presuppositions does it rely?
3. What is left unproblematic in the campaign, and how could it be conceptualized differently?
4. What are the effects of UNICEF's problem representation, and how has it been defended and disseminated? How can it be disrupted and replaced?

1.4 Limitations

The study is qualitative and aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of children's rights discriminations in international social work. Thus, I use one campaign, #ENDviolence, and the empirical data is the campaign report. The reason I only investigate one campaign is to enable an in-depth analysis of the empirical data. Kristin Luker (2008:103) states that a researcher's task is to find a case that is realistically representative of the broader phenomenon under investigation. Thus, I argue that the investigated campaign is representative of the broader phenomenon because of UNICEF's size and acknowledgment in the international sphere of both social work and human rights. This study does not provide a generalization to a broader population. However, I discuss its possibilities of providing an understanding of the

broader phenomenon of how discrimination of children's rights is problematized in human rights and international social work. The analysis and discussion test the results with other cases and findings from previous research and theory to achieve a broader understanding (Shaw and Holland 2014:89).

1.5 #ENDviolence

#ENDviolence is a campaign by UNICEF, launched in 2013 as a multiphase initiative to end violence against children through making all forms of violence visible and incite action. The first step was the release of the groundbreaking report "Hidden in plain sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children," in 2014. Today's campaign builds upon the report "A familiar Face: Violence in the lives of children and adolescents," released in 2017, the empirical data in this study. The campaign focuses on four different forms of violence, "violent discipline and exposure to domestic violence in early childhood," "violence at school," "violent deaths among adolescents," and "sexual violence in childhood and adolescence." The campaign ends by presenting four different approaches to end violence against children. The executive summary in the report reads as follows:

> All children have the right to be protected from violence inflicted on them by anyone in their lives – whether parents, teachers, friends, romantic partners, or strangers. And all forms of violence experienced by children, regardless of the nature or severity of the act, are harmful. Beyond the unnecessary hurt and pain it causes, violence undermines children's sense of self-worth and hinders their development.

> Yet violence against children is often rationalized as necessary or inevitable. It may be tacitly accepted due to the familiarity of perpetrators, or minimized as inconsequential. The memory or reporting of violence may be buried due to shame or fear of reprisal. Impunity of perpetrators and prolonged exposure may leave victims believing violence is normal. In such ways, violence is masked, making it difficult to prevent and end. (UNICEF 2017:6)

Furthermore, the campaign relies upon the Sustainable Development Goals, SDGs. These goals are a united initiative by the UN member states that started in 2015. It aims to promote action "to end poverty, protect the planet and improve the lives and prospects of everyone, everywhere" (UN n.d.). The initiative includes seventeen goals, and two are cited in the report and used as arguments for change. The two goals are:

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GOAL 5

Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

GOAL 16

Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (UNICEF 2017:15)

The campaign also uses the CRC to argue for children's right to a life free from violence. Throughout this thesis, I use the two words 'campaign' and 'report' to refer to the empirical data.

2. Literature review

In this chapter, I present literature that relates to the field of international social work and human rights. The chapter relies on two headlines; First, "Human rights and the development of the CRC," which starts with a discussion on what human rights are and what it means to have human rights. It ends by discussing the development of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, CRC. The second headline is "Children's rights and international social work," and this focuses on what other authors have written on children's rights and international social work, emphasizing on critical analyses.

Moreover, the two different areas presented above goes in line with the present study's aim to critically investigate how children's rights discrimination are represented in international social work. Thus, when conducting the literature review for the present study, I used search words such as; "human rights," "international social work," "social work," "UNICEF," "intersectionality and childhood," "CRC," and "The Convention on the Rights of the Child." The literature was conducted through searches on Google Scholar and the Linköping University Library search engine. I limited the searches to the years between 2014-2020 to ensure the information was up to date. To conduct more research, I used snowball sampling by choosing the literature mentioned repeatedly in other writings, to find material with a core value for the field.

2.1 Human rights and the development of the CRC

Children's rights grew from the broader concept of human rights and different perspectives on childhood. However, what are human rights? The basic idea within human rights is that all human beings have rights, based on the biological idea of being human. According to Anna Lundberg and Mikael Spång (2016:421) scientists have questioned this idea and human rights in different ways throughout the years. The understanding of human rights depends on one's method. James D. Ingram (2008:402) makes a distinction between political and philosophical approaches. The political approach puts human rights into practice, while a philosophical approach focuses on what rights are, what they are based on, and which rights are most fundamental. Hannah Arendt is a political theorist that has questioned human rights and the basis of the right to human rights that relies on the fundamental idea of being a human in a biological sense (cf. Ingram 2008; Lundberg and Spång 2016). Ingram (2008:402–3) writes that Arendt talks about the concept of "the right to have rights." Human rights in practice are more available for people in civilized and prosperous countries and not necessarily for the ones that

need them. Thus, human rights can be explained as "hopeless idealism." Arendt also discusses the connection between human rights and the rights to belong to an organized community, hence, that the right to have rights is the same as the right to civic rights (citizenship) (Ingram 2008:403; Lundberg and Spång 2016:427, 434). To understand human rights, one also needs to understand power relations and its imbalances and how human rights depend on external powers (Ingram 2008:405). Another essential factor is social and political capacities and the distribution of recourses and power (Ingram 2008:414). Lundberg and Spång (2016:437) state that restricting the right to human rights to the basis of being human is problematic and affects how rights are actualized or not for people. Hence, children without citizenship, such as those living as refugees or undocumented, that does not have the right to civic right, might end up outside human rights practice.

The CRC, an essential human rights document for this study, was developed from a discourse of childhood and the idea of children having other needs compared to adults. Anna Holzscheiter (2010:100–101) writes that the base for the earliest approaches towards children was an unrestricted paternalism perspective, that saw children as a father's property. That perspective developed into seeing children as 'immanent children', who were incomplete and becoming adults. It then turned into seeing children as natural, untamed, and innocent, who would reach their fullest potential by being free from constraints (Holzscheiter 2010:102–3). In the nineteenth century, the construction of the image of an ideal childhood as we know it today started. The idea acknowledged children as vulnerable and helpless, and thus, needed special assistance. In the twentieth century, through institutionalization and politicization of childhood, children became a subject of national and international politics (Holzscheiter 2010:104–5). This perspective's origin was in cultural spheres in North America and Western Europe because the concept of childhood was mainly investigated in western countries by western researchers (Holzscheiter 2010:213).

The conception of childhood continued to develop during the working process of the CRC. The image of children as mute and helpless in need of protection, shifted to active social agents that should be able to affect their destiny. This change gave children the right to express their views in international law for the first time (Holzscheiter 2010:2). However, during the work with the CRC, different discourses concerning children were brought up, one was the image of the innocent child, connected to vulnerability and happiness. This discourse included how children need protection under challenging circumstances, and the aim is to protect children universally from certain 'realities' and miseries (Holzscheiter 2010:164). Another discourse was how children are the future, thus essential to international development. The CRC working

group wanted to make the new generation better educated, healthier, and so on. In line with the UN's most fundamental values, the CRC working group promoted ethical and educational principles to make the adults of tomorrow more civilized human beings (Holzscheiter 2010:166).

The CRC working group described children as active agents and objects in need of protection. Holzscheiter (2010:171) mentions two sub-discourses that explain this dichotomy. The first discourse concerns the child as irrational, the parent's responsibility, and the 'best interest of the child.' Even though the CRC explains children as active agents, there is still room for third parties and parents to go above children and decide what the children's best interests are. The other discourse regarding childhood is the image of the 'evolving child,' under which children become active agents when they mature. Discourses concerning childhood and especially childhood within international law did have a direct effect on the development of the CRC (Holzscheiter 2010:173). Thus, it is essential to understand the continuing development of childhood discourse and how it might shift between different parts of the world. Kristina Konstantoni and Akwugo Emejulu (2017:15) write that discourses within childhood research developed in line with the CRC have advocated for children's rights, i.e., rights to non-discrimination and the right to participate in matters relating to the child. Thus, some research portrays children as competent agents and, to some extent, recognize marginalized groups, for example, based on children's race, class, and gender.

Furthermore, the UN tends to describe the CRC as a universal document. However, Linde Lindqvist (2018:296) states that there was an overrepresentation of the western countries in the drafting process of the CRC. Views from other parts of the world got only scant attention. Delegates from the developing regions were only attending in the later process of the CRC when the most substantial provisions of the convention were already made. A reason for many of these countries' absence was the lack of personal and financial means to travel to Geneva (Holzscheiter 2010:197). Holzsecheiter (2010:198) references to Le Blanc (1995) and states that wealthier countries in the non-Western world (Asia, Middle East, Latin America) also had low levels of attendance in the working process, which is likely a sign of indifference and opposition to the development of the children's rights norm. Non-governmental organizations, NGO's, also struggled to get their voices heard. Nonetheless, the NGO's presence in the drafting process was repeatedly claimed to represent perspectives of developing countries and being spokespersons for the world's children (Lindkvist 2018:296, 301).

Moreover, due to the sensitivity to other cultures, subjects such as child marriage and female circumcision got excluded from the final drafting, even though the Senegalese delegate (the

only representative from Africa) in the CRC working group was open to discuss these issues (Holzscheiter 2010:243; Lindkvist 2018:301). However, the working group for the "African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child," ACRWC, picked up these topics (Mbise 2017:1235). The dismissal by the western countries could be a way to foreclose debates on problems related to the 'developing countries' and limiting perspectives from developing regions (Holzscheiter 2010:243). Hence, scientists have questioned the CRC for being a product of western values and described the convention's popularity globally as a sign of the globalization of western values in global politics. There has also been an assumption that the CRC carries a specific idea of childhood, instead of transcultural principles, applicable to different societies and legal systems (Holzscheiter 2010:16, 246; Kallio 2012:90–92). Thus, the base principle in UNICEF's work, the CRC, can exclude different cultures.

2.2 Human rights and international social work

Research relating to the CRC have three predominant themes. "(1) [A]utonomy and participation rights as the new norm in children's rights practice and policy, (2) children's rights vs. parental rights and (3) the global children's rights industry" (Reynaert et al. 2009:518). Some scholars see the image of autonomous children as an evolution that makes children in practice and policy more human. However, there have been debates about whether it is desirable to make children more autonomous. Scholars with a more negative approach towards children's autonomy focus on monitoring, standard-setting, and implementations of children's rights (Reynaert et al. 2009:522–26). Another well-discussed topic is how well the CRC is applicable in children's lives. Children's rights discourses are 'decontextualized' and, to a certain extent, exclude perspectives of living conditions in which children are growing up, such as economic, social, and historical contexts. The CRC's discourses also exclude the diversity among children, specifically related to age (Leonard 2016:53; Reynaert et al. 2009:528). Nina Thelander (2009:207–8) states that the CRC's fundamental assumptions on children and childhood are not universal, which appears when political, social, and cultural traditions encounter the convention. The assumptions hold a western-biased view on children, their families, and society. Instead, the convention solely regards children with severe problems and policies, and various social and cultural practices uphold this idea.

The CRC has become a consensus thinking, which means that the convention has gotten a hegemonic status (Quennerstedt 2013:239; Reynaert et al. 2009:527–28), and there are not many analyzes on the CRC as such, or as a phenomenon (Thelander 2009:53–54). Ann

Quennerstedt (2013:239) emphasizes that there is a need for more analyses because the convention was a product of a specific time and context. The research field should encourage different perspectives to open up for more debates on the CRC (Quennerstedt 2013:239; Reynaert et al. 2009:527–28). As I mentioned before, the CRC has been questioned and attacked for being a western product, partly because non-western countries were not as included in the drafting of the CRC (Holzscheiter 2010:197–98; Lindkvist 2018:301). Most fields involving human rights generally propose human rights as universal. However, human rights might not be as identically and universally accepted as the idea of them when translating them into different contexts. Thus, researchers argue that the consensus of the convention has a western bias (McPherson et al. 2019:945; Thelander 2009:207). The convention's hegemonic status in the international sphere makes it acceptable to make arguments based on the CRC without further discussions on the complications embedded in it (Kallio 2012:89).

Furthermore, the CRC has been accepted globally with ratifications from all countries, except the US (OHCHR 2020). However, most regions in the world also have their version of a children's rights convention. In Africa, this convention is called the African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child, ACRWC. The development of ACRWC was a reaction from African countries to their low involvement in creating the CRC and its inadequate representation of children's experiences in Africa. However, the CRC continues to be hegemonic, and the ACRWC is rarely used (Laird 2016:307; Mbise 2017:1233). Amana Talala Mbise (2017:1237) states that one reason the CRC continues to be hegemonic in Africa could be coercive mechanisms through international funding from the western world, and psychological mechanisms that reproduce western superiority and African inferiority. African researchers often depend on funding and implementations from wealthier countries in Europe and North America. Hence, international organizations such as UNICEF and ILO often control these funds. This dependency affects the perspective of different studies, and these funds usually prioritize perspectives based on documents such as the CRC (Mbise 2017:1239).

In children's rights research, a central focus is the CRC. However, this might not always be the most accurate tool in different parts of the world because of its base in western values. For example, in indifference to the CRC, the ACRWC has greater sensitivity to social issues in Africa, such as armed conflicts and harmful customs and traditional practices that limit children's rights (Mbise 2017:1235). Laird (2016:303) stresses that the US and the UK portrait children as vulnerable and in constant need of protection and care by parents. These western-based ideas transmit to sub-Saharan Africa through the CRC. This transmission has happened even though socio-economic and cultural context differs significantly between sub-Saharan

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Africa and the western countries. For example, help from extended family is more common in sub-Sahara, and the distances between children and parents may be more significant than in western countries. Incorporating these values creates fundamental contradictions when practicing parental supervision in sub-Sahara (Laird 2016:315; Mbise 2017:1239).

Furthermore, Kallio (2012:88–89) writes that the CRC has led childhood discourses and represents an idea of childhood on a global level. Thus, children's voices tend only to be heard if they confirm the CRC's discourse of childhood. The image of childhood is not diverse enough to include children's views based on the 'wrong childhood' (Kallio 2012:84). Kallio (2012:90–92) continues to state that UNICEF does not acknowledge children's voices if they do not follow a normative childhood. An example of this is that UNICEF portrays all children married before the age of 18 as oppressed and underprivileged. Nevertheless, marriage and childbirth at a young age in some socio-cultural and geo-economic places can be crucial for providing these children with good living standards and wellbeing. Despite this, UNICEF completely ignores the benefits for young adults living in marriages in their childhood discourses (Kallio 2012:90–92). Thus, the hegemonic status of the CRC can lead to situations where particular children's voices are ignored. However, human rights practice might become more sensitive to the complexity of childhood by applying an intersectional approach. Hence, relating childhood to dynamics such as race, class, gender, and specific places in the world one could dismantle the idea of a hegemonic conception of childhood (Konstantoni and Emejulu 2017:17–18).

Moreover, working with the CRC and children's rights is a complicated task, and there is a need to be aware of the diversity among children. When working within social work, these hegemonic structures need to be acknowledged and encountered. Because of social inequality, these structures affect children differently depending on, such as, their race, class, gender, sexuality, and where in the world they live (Hill Collins and Bilge 2020:19). For example, Alana Lentin (2004:427–28) argues for the importance of acknowledging social structures in society when fighting racism. According to the author, acknowledging it solely as an individual issue is an inaccurate theorization of 'race.' Thus, states will fail to cope with institutionalized racism in political and social structures.

In sum, an essential task for social workers is to battle transnational challenges that hinder human wellbeing and development. Social workers are required to engage in specific practices within organizations, such as humanitarian aid, human rights, and international development (Palattiyil et al. 2019:1046). The profession is equipped for working on a global level with social work and human rights if the professionals get the right tools (McPherson et al. 2019:945; Palattiyil et al. 2019:1050–51). The present study relates to both the field of international social

work and the human rights-field, two stable structures that both have their origin in the western world (cf. McPherson et al. 2019; Palattiyil et al. 2019), and can affect the work by organizations like UNICEF.

3. Social constructionism as a theoretical framework

This chapter introduces the different theoretical frameworks I use in the analysis of the empirical data. The theoretical approach I make use of in the present study is the social constructionist theory and the idea that reality is created through interactions in society, and people's understandings of the reality are historically and culturally specific (Burr 2015:3–5). The focus within this theoretical approach is the two concepts intersectionality and intertextuality. Moreover, the analysis method, "What's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) also relates to the theory because WPR has a base in ideas from Foucault's regarding how knowledge is produced through discourses, and institutional power relations (Bacchi and Eveline 2010b:5–6). Thus, both WPR and social constructionism state that social problems are defined through discourses rather than solely objectively existing in society.

Social constructionism is a broad theory and entails several perspectives, but the following are some of its fundamental assumptions. First of all, social constructionism takes a critical position regarding people's taken-for-granted ways to understand themselves and the world. It challenges the idea that traditional knowledge has an objective base of unbiased observations of the world. The concepts and categories people use to understand the world are historically and culturally specific. How one understands the world is dependent on where in the world one lives. Every person's knowledge is specific to their cultures and to a period in history. Knowledge is a product of that particular culture and history and depends on dominant social and economic arrangements within that context. Hence, people should never assume that their way of understanding the world is superior or better than others. Interactions between people in daily life construct this knowledge. Thus, language is an essential part of social constructionism. These understandings of the world also affect people's actions and, depending on the construction, invites different kinds of actions and excludes others. These constructions have implications of what is acceptable for people to do and how to interact with others. Finally, social constructionism denies that knowledge is a direct representation of reality. Instead, cultures and societies create their versions of reality through the interaction of its people (Burr 2015:2–5, 9). Social constructionism provides a tool for critically approaching the empirical data to provide an understanding of how an international organization constructs a social problem and how children's rights discriminations are represented within it.

3.1 Intersectionality

Intersectionality highlights the importance of acknowledging that all people belong to different social identities, such as race, gender, sexuality, and class. It is through acknowledging these differences that systems truly can help people (Crenshaw 1991:1296). Kimberle Crenshaw introduces intersectionality as a concept in 1989. She draws her ideas from the experiences of black women and states that black women are theoretically erased. At that time, theoretical approaches and politics only met one social identity at a time and undermined subordinated intra-groups. For example, theories within feminism highlighted the experiences of white women, and the antiracist politics highlighted the experiences of black men. Thus, these theories theoretically erased black women as a group by excluding their experiences (Crenshaw 1989:139–40). Crenshaw (1989:149) states that this is problematic because black women experience discrimination in several different ways. Their experiences can be similar to white women's (gender) or black men's (race), but it can also include double discrimination based on both race and gender. Moreover, black women can also experience discrimination, not because of the sum of race and sex, but solely because they are 'black women' (ibid.). Hence, by not acknowledging people's different experiences and backgrounds, as well as their intersections, some groups of people can be "erased" in social programs and politics.

The present study aims to understand the representation of children's rights discrimination in international social work. By using an intersectional perspective, the study can provide a deeper understanding of how diversity among children is represented in the problematization in the empirical data. Crenshaw (1991:1242) elaborates on the concept of intersectionality and in particular discusses structural intersectionality. Identity politics, she suggests, aims to support specific groups in society and highlight their differences and struggles for recognition. However, it does not acknowledge differences within these groups. For example, dimensions of social identities such as race and class often shape violence against women. Thus, if systems do not acknowledge different social identities, they limit the help provided to assaulted women. If legal systems and programs within social work will not look at problems with a perspective of intersectionality, they will not reach all people in need (Crenshaw 1991:1242, 1246).

Linking the intersectional approach to my empirical data, UNICEF states that their work aims to improve the life of every child and uphold the CRC. The organization states that they have a life-cycle based approach and that their programs "focus on the most disadvantaged children, including those living in fragile contexts, those with disabilities, those who are affected by rapid urbanization and those affected by environmental degradation" (UNICEF

2018). Thus, when analyzing the data, the perspective of intersectionality can be helpful to provide an understanding of how UNICEF portrays children's needs relating to their gender, sexuality, culture, race, and so on. Intersectionality can also provide a critical approach when investigating whether the campaign highlight different structural power systems in society that position people differently depending on their identities (Hill Collins and Bilge 2020:19). As a connection to Crenshaw (1989:140, 1991:1242), if the organization does not include an intersectional understanding of children's rights and relating systems, they risk contributing to the discrimination of certain children.

The concept of intersectionality has a strong core for enabling an acknowledgment of social categories, i.e., race, gender, and class. However, this focus can sometimes over-emphasize the effects of these structural forces. Thus, one could give intersectionality more meaning than it has in reality by over-emphasizing the structural forces to social categories, and thereby, disempower people instead of acknowledging and empowering them (Chow 2016:472). Another perspective when looking at intersectionality is that individual identities might shift through time and space. Therefore, it is essential to include people's life experiences (Chow 2016:456). For example, a girl's experiences of discrimination depend on where she lives, if she moves the experiences might change, but her background can still affect her. When professionals use intersectionality in their work with people, they need to be aware of how identities and experiences shift.

Furthermore, intersectionality is always a work in progress. In order to talk about intersectionality, there is a need to capture all aspects of a social group and acknowledge that the work is always just temporary and incomplete. A way to work past this is to focus on what intersectionality does instead of what it is (Carbado et al. 2013:304). Therefore, when using the perspective, the focus should be on how it exposes and dismantle dominant power systems. This perspective can promote the inclusion of subordinated groups, such as women of color, and create an epistemological ground space for them and their experiences (Cooper 2016:405). Intersectionality will provide an understanding of subordinated groups and highlight the structures and power through which they have become subordinated. Thus, intersectionality can provide a better understanding of the representation of different social groups and the power structures that create identities.

3.1.1 Intersectionality and human rights

Intersectionality has allowed for discussions regarding discrimination as a process and has contributed to a change in UN human rights treaty body practice regarding gender discrimination (Chow 2016:480). Intersectionality has highlighted how gender discrimination is interwind with discrimination on other grounds, such as ethnicity, race, and class. Hence, it provides a broader understanding of women's disadvantages (Chow 2016:454). Intersectionality in human rights highlights different social groups and enables discussions about discrimination. A dilemma here, though, is that two rights can sometimes collide. Pok Yin S. Chow (2016:454–55) gives an example of this with the rights of women of minorities. If human rights practices recognize particular practices based on religion or culture as 'harmful' and discriminatory to women, it might discriminate against the rights of women within these cultures or religions that do not agree with the recognition. Scholars are there for concerned whether human rights law is capable of adequately acknowledging multiple rights, i.e., women's rights and cultural rights (ibid.).

Human rights law affects how legislation and policies are encountering problems of marginalized groups. The strong idea of individualism in our society and the human rights field emphasizes an understanding that identity is something stable and fixed. In line with this, the human rights community often focuses on unitary identities, thus, limiting multiple and changing social categories among individuals. The understanding of a social group most often comes from the dominant members within marginalized groups and overlooks subordinated intra-group identities (de Beco 2017:641). However, the challenges of establishing an understanding that includes intersectional identities in human rights, highlight the need for it. Human rights should support all people, and by focusing on universal rights or specific groups, the practice ignores subordinated intra-groups and breaks the fundamental idea that human rights should support all human beings.

The focus of this thesis is on children's rights. Therefore, in this final part, I look at intersectionality concerning children's rights and childhood. Nura Taefi (2009:349) states that children's rights approach tends to be gender-neutral, and women's rights tend to focus solely on adult women. Thus, human rights practice often excludes a discussion about girls' dual marginalization, as children and females. It is essential to include more intersectional approaches within children's rights. The author mainly highlights one social group, girls. Nevertheless, as I mentioned above, there is also a need to highlight other aspects of a person's life, such as race, abilities, and sexual orientation. Because without an intersectional approach, human rights practice can overlook the needs of subordinated groups of children. Konstantoni

and Emejulu (2017:15) stress that childhood studies, together with international policy interventions, such as the CRC, have advocated for non-discrimination within children's rights. The authors also emphasize that children's experiences and their childhoods depended on their class, race, gender, and where they live. They argue that an intersectional approach enables scholars to dismantle hegemonic conceptions of children and childhoods shaped by specific institutional dynamics (ibid.:17-18). As shown in the literature review, the CRC and children's rights, there is one childhood that tends to be dominant, while other kinds of childhoods are ignored (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016).

Furthermore, there needs to be an acknowledgment of children's experiences and factors affecting these experiences. Human rights cannot extract childhoods from a context, and it must be open to social categories such as gender, race, class, time, and how these affect children's lives (Taefi 2009:347). Acknowledging children's diversities and diverse needs is a complicated task. Gauthier de Beco (2017:662–63) states that human rights need to find a balance between universalism and particularism because categorizing is both necessary and unavoidable to fight human rights violations. The focus of monolithic identities can result in heterogeneity of the majority's lived experience within marginalized groups. Hence, an intersectional perspective can provide strategies to acknowledge intra-group differences. The incorporation of intersectionality in this study aims to open a discussion if UNICEF's description of a violation of children's rights includes all children. Hence, what is the problem represented to be in the UNICEF's campaign? How is the diversity of children portraited?

3.2 Intertextuality

Intertextuality was introduced to the western world by Julia Kristeva. It is a semiotic concept, which generally refers to the study of signs, and the production of its meaning (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park 2012:1; Thibault 1990:3). Kristeva's work is, just like this study's analysis method, WPR, situated in relation to Foucault's discourse theory (Lechte 2012:2). Thus, the meaning of a text has more layers than just the textual one. Texts have embedded structures with meanings that create a more significant meaning in the text (Kristeva 2002:3–4). Intertextuality describes texts as connected to two axes, a horizontal axis, and a vertical axis. The horizontal axis refers to the connection between the creator and the text's audience, and the vertical axis refers to the connection between different texts. Shared ideas also connect the two axes across contexts, because preexisting codes in discourses and contexts affect every text and its meaning (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park 2012:1). The understanding of a text relies on

the writer and the reader, and both their contexts. The writer's context affects how it is written, and the reader's context affects how it is understood. These contexts entail both discourses and preexisting texts. Hence, how people understand texts depends on their socio-political-context (Kristeva 2002:3–4) and texts also affect how people will perceive the world.

The use of intertextuality in the present study enables an understanding of how texts are created within a social context that affects texts outcome. However, Wei Wang (2008:364) references to Culler (1981) that argues that intertextuality might not be sufficient to analyze a text. Because texts build upon anonymous discursive practices, that potentially lost its origins. Thus, researchers cannot trace all intertextual elements in a text. Nevertheless, Wang (2008:363, 373) argues that intertextuality is fruitful when combined with interdiscursivity because it situates the concept within particular discourses that connect writings to past writers, readers, texts, and conventions. My use of intertextuality in this study is related to the use of the methodology approach WPR. Since WPR relies on Foucault's discourse theory, I argue that this combination enables an approach in the analysis that highlights both the intertextual and discourse practices in UNICEF's campaign. The campaign's report has a connection to other human rights practices, such as the CRC and the SDGs. Thus, the use of intertextuality can provide an understanding of the creation of the campaign in the context of other texts.

Furthermore, texts are never entirely self-evident but created in relation to previous texts and specific social contexts (Estévez 2008:254). Hence, it is essential to analyze the social systems of intertextuality in a community by understanding the connection between texts, which texts are connected, and how resilient that connection is (Lemke 2005:32). There is a dual process within the creation of texts where they create contexts and are determined by preexisting contexts (Thibault 1990:123). To gain an understanding of meanings in texts, one needs to describe the use of language rather than language as an entity (Lemke 2005:37). Thus, the use of intertextuality enables an analysis of the text's connections to a social context. Language does not rely on a system of rules. It is a resource for creating, realizing, and endorsing social meanings reliant on the context (Thibault 1990:119).

Intertextuality is a tool that critically analyzes texts, through which it challenges the independent and object-like status of texts. The analysis tends to provide neutralization of the text concerning a specific social situation. This neutralization enables the researcher to see the relation between a text and a context as less problematic. It also enables ways of intervention in texts and still broadening intertextual formations (Thibault 1990:124). In the present study, intertextuality can provide neutralization of the campaign that enables me as a researcher to investigate the connection between the text and the context it was created within. Two

intertextual concepts that can tell something about social meanings are "coactional" and "cothematic." These problematize both the unity of the text and the context. Coactional means that two or more texts continually in multivariate social activity-structure enact similarly. Cothematic refers to texts, two or more, that "on the basis of shared lexico-semantic and ideational-grammatical meaning relations from the lexico-grammatical resources of the language" (Thibault 1990:136–37). Therefore, in the present study, these concepts can provide an understanding of what frames impacted the creation of the campaign, its use of textual terminology, and how it delivers its purpose.

3.2.1 Intertextuality and human rights

The perspective of intertextuality captures an understanding of the creation of a text affected by a social context. Ida Elisabeth Koch (2009:30) analyzes whether the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and the European Social Charter (ESC/RESC,) can be separated. The author concludes that they are intertextual since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) influenced both. The author writes, "[t]he intertextuality between human rights treaties gives rise to several considerations concerning the relation between various human rights norms" (Koch 2009:32). Thus, different human rights documents are intertextual and affected by each other. Ariadna Estévez (2008:256) writes:

> From an actor-oriented perspective of human rights, intertextuality allows for an understanding of both how human rights texts and values can be interpreted and reinterpreted to forward new demands and how social agents widen the scope of rights in both courts and politics. (Estévez 2008:256)

Intertextuality can provide an understanding of human rights and be used to promote change and development. Human rights values and instruments are intertextual, but also a discursive formation. Hence, people can reinterpret those values and instruments and enable the opportunity to demand and construct new human rights claims within both legal and political spheres (ibid.). Through intertextuality, one can better understand a text and its context to reinterpret understandings to promote change or alternative ideas.

Moreover, as I mentioned above, the context is essential to the creation of a text. Estévez (2008:254) discusses how contexts play an essential part in the development of human rights conventions. The author focuses on the two human rights documents UDHR and the convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The UDHR,

constructed in the time after the Second World War, contains natural rights and enlightenment philosophy. Thus, the convention needs to be understood within that context. The CEDAW, one of the following human rights documents, needs to be understood in relation to the UDHR. The CEDAW was created in the 1970s when the women's movement was very active. Hence, the convention also needs to be understood in that context (ibid.). What is present at a specific time will affect the creation of texts.

Another critical perspective of a context is the place in which it exists. For example, the UDHR has a robust connection to the European doctrine, and these rights do not reflect human rights practices and traditions in Latin America. The use of genealogy and intertextuality can make human rights more abstract. It enables a reinterpretation of human rights, and they can become more sensitive to a Latin American perspective. Even though the human rights document has a stable connection to the European doctrine, the use of these concepts can open up for making the rights more applicable in other countries (Estévez 2008:256). In the present study, I use a combination of genealogy and intertextuality through the WPR approach. The understanding that this combination provides is an essential part of this study since the campaign aims to support all children around the world, even though documents relating to UNICEF has a robust connection to western countries (cf. Holzscheiter 2010; Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017). Hence, through intertextuality, the analysis can provide an understanding of the campaign's connection to its social context and earlier human rights documents.

4. WPR as a methodological framework

In this chapter, I present the study's methodology approach and procedure. I also introduce reasonings on the study's trustworthiness and its ethical considerations. The last section discusses my role, as a researcher, in the study to unveil any potential biases and to clarify how I encounter them. The present study relies on qualitative epistemology, which affects how the study has approached the subject under investigation. The study aims to provide an in-depth understanding of how an international organization portraits the discrimination of children's rights in their problem representation. Hence, I use a qualitative approach because one of the main goals with this approach is to explore and understand the meaning of a social problem ascribed by a person or a group (Creswell 2014:4). It provides an in-depth understanding by using the researcher as an instrument, because qualitative researchers often both collect and interpret the data themselves (Shaw and Holland 2014:4–5).

Social work is a profession that explicitly aims to empower people and advocate for people's rights. Thus, to know how to empower people or know what to advocate for, one needs to define social problems. In this study, I use the "What's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) approach to provide an understanding of the problem representation in UNICEF's campaign. The WPR aims to analyze policies and programs to understand how these shape different problem representations. The idea is that it is policies that create and give meaning to social problems in society. All policies and programs contain representations of specific problems (Bacchi 2012:21; Bacchi and Eveline 2010a:111; Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:45). The approach describes that policies contain political discourses that can limit the understanding of problems (De Kock 2019:2–3).

Bacchi (1999:1) states that how people or systems understand problems affect how they want to encounter it. Hence, two different programs can define the same problem entirely differently, depending on their origin. When someone addresses a social issue or makes evaluations of interventions, the problem tends to be established and represented already. Hence, evaluators have little flexibility to rethink the underlying issues. Power dynamics also affect the selection of an evaluation process, which narrows down the possibilities to influence the representation of the problem (Archibald 2020:10). Thus, by using WPR in the present study, I aim to promote critical thinking. WPR can provide a critical lens that is culturally responsive and sensitive to power and knowledge concerning problem definitions. The approach offers a precise method that can result in critically informed analyses (Archibald 2020:16; Pereira 2014:399). Thus, by using the approach, I can breakdown each critical consideration and gain information from social, economic, and cultural forces that are shaping the discourses regarding the problem. The

method can destabilize taken-for-granted assumptions in the problem representation (De Kock 2019:34; Pringle 2019:9).

4.1 Sampling the empirical data

The data this study analyzes is an internet-based campaign by UNICEF. The empirical data in the analysis was the campaign's report. When conducting empirical data, I made several judgments regarding the document. Such as evaluating the document's usefulness, its relevance for the specific study, and the quality of the documents (Rapley and Rees 2018:381–82). UNICEF is an international organization that is a part of the UN. The organization is acknowledged on a global level for its work with children's rights. Thus, I focused on the UN and UNICEF in the search for empirical data since the study aims to investigate the representation of children's rights in international social work. The UNICEF campaign was conducted by using the google search engine. The words I used in the search were; "UNICEF Campaign," "UNICEF campaign 2020," and "UN campaign." By this approach, I aimed to find an organization that uses the CRC, as a guiding principle, because of the study's focus on children's rights. The empirical data is a campaign called #ENDviolence by UNICEF. The campaign describes children's rights violations around the world and needed changes to encounter the problem.

Furthermore, the phenomenon under review in this study is the representation of the problem of the discrimination of children's rights. There are other possible focus areas which would affect the sampling of the empirical data. Research can have a different focus, for instance to look for critical or extreme cases (Flyvbjerg 2006:230). In my sampling process for the present study, I aimed to find a pragmatic case that is representative of the broader phenomenon of children's rights discrimination. This approach – looking for pragmatic cases – enables the study to provide a broader understanding of the investigated phenomenon (Flyvbjerg 2006:232; Luker 2008:103). UNICEF is an internationally acknowledged organization working with children, and they have a strong influence in the field of international social work concerning children. Previous research has criticized UNICEF and the CRC for how they portray issues regarding children in different contexts. The critic is that the idea of childhood and the CRC is mainly based on western values and not applicable around the world (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017; Thelander 2009). Hence, I argue that UNICEF is a solid choice for doing a critical analysis of how the discrimination of children's rights is represented in the arena of international social work. In line with UNICEF's influence on international social work and human rights, I argue that their campaign is representative of the broader phenomenon. The

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empirical data also has a direct connection to social work. In the campaign, UNICEF states that; "[f]unctioning social service systems with trained social workers are vital to provide referrals, counselling and therapeutic services for children who have experienced violence" (UNICEF 2017:89).

4.1.1 The empirical data - #ENDviolence

The campaign #ENDviolence, as I mentioned in the introduction, a multiphase initiative to end violence against children. It aims to achieve that by making all forms of violence visible and incite action. More precisely, the empirical data is UNICEF's campaign report "A familiar Face: Violence in the lives of children and adolescents." The campaign relies upon four forms of violence related to children of different ages. The four forms of violence are:

1. Violent discipline and exposure to domestic violence in early childhood[1]
2. Violence at school[2]
3. Violent deaths among adolescents[3]
4. Sexual violence in childhood and adolescence.[4]

The campaign relies upon empirical material from the most recently available sources in different countries. However, when the data was conducted differs between the countries. The report stresses that there is a lack of uniformity regarding the collection of data on violence against children. Therefore, the campaign mainly uses information conducted through internationally comparable sources. Most of the international survey programs the campaign uses were implemented mainly in low- and middle-income countries (UNICEF 2017:14).

4.2 Analysis method – What's the problem represented to be?

In the present study, I use Carol Bacchi's approach, "what's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) to analyze the empirical data. Bacchi (1999:1) states that the most basic idea of WPR is; "how we perceive or think about something will affect what we think ought to be done about it." Thus, WPR enables a critical interrogation of public policies. According to WPR, social

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[1] Physical punishment, severe physical punishment, psychological aggression and violent discipline (UNICEF 2017:20)
[2] Attacks on schools, bullying and school shootings (UNICEF 2017:38)
[3] Interpersonal violence, collective violence and legal intervention and violent deaths (UNICEF 2017:50)
[4] Forced sex, sexual abuse, sexual touching, pressured sex, physically forced sex and unwanted attempted sex (UNICEF 2017:74)

problems do not exist objectively in themselves, this does not mean that there are no "problems" in the world. Instead, it emphasizes that public policies through defining what needs to be changed, produces and gives meanings to social issues. Thus, all policies contain problem representations, because describing what should be done about something creates an image of the problem. WPR aims to understand policies better by exploring the unexamined assumptions and subconscious consensus within problem representations (Bacchi 2012:21). Carol Bacchi and Susan Goodwin (2018:16) emphasize how polices and policy proposals produce problems that affect lives and worlds. Hence, the critical task is to questioning specific problematizations within these policies.

Furthermore, when working with WPR, some essential concepts are context and power. The context is a crucial factor when using the approach because the creation of problems depends on the location, institution, and when in history it happens. This understanding can provide insights into why a specific problem emerges in one place but not at all or in another way elsewhere (Bacchi 1999:7). This insight is valuable in this study because previous research has emphasized that childhood and the CRC are Western-created concepts and that childhood ideas might differ around the world (cf. Holzscheiter 2010; Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017). Thus, when analyzing the data, the WPR approach can provide an understanding of how well diversity is represented in UNICEF's problematization. Bacchi and Goodwin (2018:29) refer to Foucault when they discuss the understanding of power within WPR. The authors describe power as relational and productive, and it focuses on the practices that enable the production of subjects, objects, problems, and places. The way problem representation talks about groups affects how the world understands them as subjects and how it relates to them (ibid.).

The WPR approach highlights that nothing is absolute but instead produced in a context by someone through something, such as a policy. Problematizations shape us as people in society and our perceptions of the world and others. The problem representations become a consensus of how to understand something. An essential question within WPR is, "what does not get problematized?". It draws attention to the silenced aspects of a problem (Bacchi 1999:60; Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:9, 14). All humans are a part of the construction of discourses in time and cultures (Bacchi 1999:48). Hence, I, as a researcher, cannot stand outside the creation of problems. When working with the WPR, it is crucial to acknowledge that I cannot analyze the data with an objectivistic perspective. However, Bacchi (1999:62–63) states, "a What's the problem? approach moves outside the contextual-strict constructionist debate by accepting that objective information is unattainable while insisting that this produces the obligation to debate

substantive social visions." Hence, with the present study, I do not aim to describe a "reality" objectively but rather highlight that there are competing social visions (Bacchi 1999:62).

Finally, to critically investigate policies, Bacchi provides the WPR approach with six questions. The approach might need to be applied more than once on some material, because, sometimes, problem representations can be tangled up within each other (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:24). Bacchi's six questions that the analysis in this study builds upon reads as follows:

Question 1: What's the problem represented to be in a specific policy or policies?

Question 2: What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the "problem" (problem representation)?

Question 3: How has this representation of the "problem" come about?

Question 4: What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the "problem" be conceptualized differently?

Question 5: What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of the "problem"?

Question 6: How and where has this representation of the "problem" been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been and/or how can it be disrupted and replaced?

Adapted from Bacchi, C. (2009), Analysing Policy: What's the problem Represented to be? Pearson Education, Frenchs Forest. (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:20)

4.2.1 Discussion of the WPR approach

The present study used the WPR approach to understand how UNICEF problematize the discrimination of children's rights. Bacchi (2012:21) states that the WPR approach enables researchers to critically evaluate public policies. The approach was developed within political science and was mainly focusing on the investigation of public policies. However, Bacchi and Goodwin (2018:17) state that the approach also can be used on other materials such as theoretical and academic analyses.

Furthermore, other researchers have applied the method within different research fields and on different kinds of data. Archibald (2020:12) argues that the WPR approach applies to both programs and other evaluands (i.e., systems or products) because any action to improve something will suggest a response to a problem. Charlotte De Kock (2019:2–3) argues that the approach applies to theoretical propositions because the idea within WPR is that it is political

discourses that determine suggested solutions for a specific problem. Thus, the method helps the researcher to define the underlying presuppositions in problem representations. In the present study, the empirical data under investigation is a UNICEF campaign through which the organization creates a problem representation and states what actions are needed for change to emerge. The WPR approach has been used within other research fields and not exclusively on policy documents. Researchers have argued that it has been successful to use the approach outside political science and not only on policy proposals and policies (cf. Archibald 2020; De Kock 2019; Pereira 2014; Pringle 2019). Therefore, I argue that the WPR approach is accurate to use in the present study because it deconstructs the object under investigation and seeks to understand the underlying forces affecting the representation of the problem of discrimination of children's rights in UNICEF's campaign.

4.3.2 Analysis procedure

In this section, I present how I approached the empirical data, using the WPR approach. The analysis started with me reading the internet campaign by UNICEF, #ENDviolence, (UNICEF n.d.) to gain an understanding of the organization's focuses and main arguments. At this point, I had not started working on the theoretical chapter and had only limited knowledge about intertextuality and WPR. However, intersectionality was a concept I had worked with before, and I had comprehensive knowledge.

The next step was to read the campaign report. At this point, I had a more in-depth understanding of both the WPR and the theories. When reading the report, I coded the material to get a comprehensive understanding of the material before applying the WPR approach. The codes were "problematization," "intersectionality," "intertextuality," "focus areas and presentation," "past and future effects," and "topics for further investigation." I collected ideas and notes for the analysis throughout the work with other parts of the study. I also read the report to make a summary of the campaign.

The WPR was applied by approaching the report with one question at a time. When approaching the data with the first question, I started at the suggested "solutions." The aim was to find the campaign's problem representation by critically investigate the material because what someone wants to do about something, shows what they perceive as the problem (Bacchi 1999:1). After collecting the empirical data for each question, I applied the theoretical framework to analyze it. I also related the findings to previous research to show similar results or enhance the analysis explanations. WPR's second question tries to understand presuppositions and assumptions within the problem representation. When approaching this

question, I reread the data with this perspective. The question had three parts it aimed to highlight presuppositions, concepts/binaries, and governmentality to understand the problem representation's background. When I looked at binaries and concepts, I used the search function in the PDF-document of the report to find what it said about the specific words. I did that for words such as gender, sex, girl, boy, adolescent, child, and cultural norms/practices. The analysis followed this structure throughout the process.

Question three tries to investigate where this problem representation comes from and challenge the origin or easy traceable development. The next question highlights silenced parts of the text and how it can be conceptualized differently. This question builds upon earlier questions. Hence, throughout the analysis, I made notes and then reread the data to see if I could find more silenced parts. Question five builds upon questions two and four. Thus, I started by looking at those findings and reread the report to approach this question's three goals, to highlight 'discursive effects,' 'subjectification,' and 'lived experiences.' The last question builds upon the earlier questions two and three. The aim is to investigate how the problem representation has been produced and defended and how it could be disrupted and replaced. This question sums up the analysis and the critical investigation of the report. In the study's final chapter, I discuss the findings further and connect it to previous and future research.

4.4 Trustworthiness

It is essential in research to choose a methodology design and empirical data that can provide accurate results for a study's aim. When assessing this in a qualitative study, the concept of trustworthiness is central. Trustworthiness relies on four criteria; credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Thus, credibility is obtained by carrying out the research with good principles and making the findings available to the subject under investigation. Transferability is reached by providing an in-depth understanding so the reader can judge the transferability of the findings. Dependability entails providing complete records of the different research phases so the process can be followed. Confirmability means that the researcher is aware that complete objectivity is not obtainable, and its role in the study (Bryman 2016:384–86). Thus, this study aims to obtain trustworthiness through the presentation of the methodology approach and ethical considerations in this chapter, by the in-depth analysis through the WPR approach and that the thesis will be published and available at Linköping University.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Sally Holland and Ian Shaw (2014:102) state that ethics in research concern the safety and interest of those that can be affected by the study, for example, the participants in interview studies. The authors mention three specific principles within ethics, "informed consent," "anonymity," and "confidentiality." In this study, the empirical data is a public document available online. The campaign under investigation is a part of UNICEF, an internationally acknowledged organization with worldwide coverage. Thus, I have not collected consent for working with the empirical data because no specific human subject is at risk for any harm as a consequence of this study. A study's probability of causing harm is what determines if the researcher should collect consent or not. Hence, obtaining consent is not necessary when the research subject is not considered to be human (Tiidenberg 2018:470). The research subject is UNICEF, as the responsible organization for the campaign. Further, I decided not to make the organization anonymous because of its size, worldwide coverage, and influence around the world. By naming the organization, this study opens up for further discussion within the international human rights sphere.

Finally, in a qualitative study, researchers are used as an instrument in the process by conducting the data themselves and interpreting it (Shaw and Holland 2014:4–5). It is essential to reflect on the impact I have as a researcher in this study. Thus, in the introduction, I presented my previous knowledge to reflect on my background, culture, and experiences, which potentially can affect the shaping of interpretations in the study, such as ascribed meanings in the analysis (Creswell 2014:186). To overcome these challenges of biases, I have, throughout this process, discussed the empirical data continuously with my supervisor and fellow students. Furthermore, the WPR approach gives guidelines on what to look for and how to critically approach the report. The aim of this approach and this study is not to give an objective description of problem representation, but instead, highlight that there are competing social visions. The use of the theories and previous research also guided me as a researcher to provide a broader understanding of the empirical data.

5. Analysis

In this chapter, I analyze the data using the WPR approach. In each section, I first introduce the empirical data and then use the theoretical framework to analyze it. I also relate the data to previous research to show similarities or to enhance the explanations of the analysis. In this chapter, if nothing else is written, all citations come from UNICEF's report "A familiar Face: Violence in the lives of children and adolescents," released in 2017. Furthermore, the questions in the WPR approach builds upon the idea of challenging the problem representation and its unquestioned consensus. Thus, throughout the analysis, some aspects are lifted multiple times in different questions to gain a broader understanding of the problem representations in various aspects.

5.1 Question 1 - What's the problem represented to be in UNICEF's campaign?

The WPR approach starts with defining what the problem is represented to be in the campaign under investigation. The analysis I start by approaching the data "working backward." Thus, in the first step, I challenge the stated "solutions" to understand the campaign's problematization. Because what someone wants to do about something tells us what they believe is the problem (Bacchi and Eveline 2010a:211; Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:20). The end of the report presents approaches to end violence and promote more sustainable development in the world, and this is where I start the analysis.

The problem representation in the campaign highlights that violence against children is a societal problem and that there are cultures that condone violence against children. Also, there is not enough legal and social support and help for children. The campaign states that there needs to be a change to promote sustainable development in the world so that children can develop in a safe environment. The solutions rely on four bases.

1. Support national coordinated plans and action to address violence against children
2. Strengthen the legal and policy framework
3. Shift norms that perpetuate violence
4. Implement policies to curb violence and improve services
   o (Page 88-89)

The report states that there are cultural and social norms that perpetuate and justify violence against children. Thus, there is a need for national plans, programs, and actions to address this problem and change the way people are living today. The responsibility for change relies upon both governments and civil society. However, most suggested reforms rely on the government, such as changing legal and social protection and support systems for children. The campaign stresses a need for a more robust legal protection of children and a need for closer work with families and improved social welfare services. Another highlighted factor is the importance of acknowledging that children sometimes have different needs depending on their age or sex. When talking about age in the "solutions," the problem representation refers to children and adolescents, and when it talks about sex, it relates to girls and boys. The campaign builds upon the idea that there are different forms of violence against children.

Next, I analyze the problematization presented above with the help of the perspectives of intersectionality and intertextuality. First, I use intersectionality to provide a broader understanding of how well different social identities are represented in the problematization. An intersectional perspective in the analysis is essential to understand whether the report's suggested solutions are enough to help all children. The campaign must acknowledge children's diverse identities and needs to reach out to all children (Crenshaw 1991:1296). In the campaign, I identify only two different social categorizations, age, and sex, and the problematization does not use the two concepts together. Thus, the problem representation only has a limited intersectional inclusion of children. An essential aim of intersectionality is to acknowledge subgroups within bigger minority groups, such as children (Crenshaw 1989:139–40). However, the problematization in the campaign only recognizes the two sub-groups sex (girls/boys), and age (children/adolescents).

According to Crenshaw (1991:1242, 1246), all people belong to multiple social groups and by not acknowledging that the campaign can end up erasing the diversity among children and their diverse needs. Even though the problematization does not include a variety of social groups, the report mentions different social identities. It discusses categories such as nationality, race, and class. However, there is no problematization of these parts of children's characteristics and the effect it has on violence against children, nor does it problematize how different structures in society affect children differently depending on their social categories. Acknowledging the inequality in structures is also an essential part of intersectionality (Hill Collins and Bilge 2020:19). Hence, the campaign excludes the reality of different social groups in the suggested solutions and problem representation.

However, UNICEF could argute that they aim to make the suggested approaches useful for all children, by using universal identities solely related to age and sex. As Chow (2016:454–55) states, there is a complexity of including multiple rights (i.e., gender and culture) at the same time and that human rights law might not be adequate to do that. For instance, if the report acknowledges one right, it risks discriminating against another right. An example that Chow (ibid.) discusses is that if a cultural practice is recognized as discriminating against women's rights, the recognition could lead to discriminating against cultural rights for minority women that want to continue that practice. Thus, there is a dichotomy in working with social identities. If different categories are not acknowledged, there is a risk that what the report suggests doing will not help all children. Nevertheless, identifying different social groups also poses a risk that the solutions will end up challenging each other, as I showed with Chow's example. However, the report does not discuss that dichotomy, and thus, it silences the reasons for the chosen approach.

Furthermore, I use the perspective of intertextuality to highlight other aspects of the problem representation. With the intertextual perspective, I look for intertextual connections that can have affected both the text as an entity and the social meaning of the report. First, the section with suggested approaches starts with referring to the Sustainable Development Goals, SDGs. Thus, to understand the campaign, one needs to understand its connection to the SDGs. That document is a collected initiative by the UN member states. To understand the meaning behind the campaign and its origins, one must recognize the context within which it was created (Kristeva 2002:3–4). The reference to the SDGs shows an intertextual connection between the goals and the report.

The problem representations lack, including more social categories than sex and age, and it can be a result of the intertextual connection to the SDGs. The SDGs that the report refers to uses the concepts, age, and sex. Hence, it can have affected the way the report uses terminology as well. There might not exist a vocabulary for other social groups, or other social groups might not be acknowledged in that context. Since all UN member states have adopted the SDGs (UN n.d.), the international sphere has recognized its terminology. Thus, one explanation for the campaign's use of age and sex could be its intertextual connection to the SDGs because texts are determined by their social context. Further, texts also create social contexts (Thibault 1990:123). The way the campaign chooses to refer to social identities also establishes a reality and affects the world it exists within. Examples for how the report influences the world was shown above with the intersectional perspective.

5.2 Question 2 - What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie UNICEF's representation of the "problem" (problem representation)?

Question two contains three different goals to understand the problem representation's background. The first goal is to identify the meanings within the report that was needed to enable the construction of the particular problem representation. These meanings are found by looking for "presuppositions, assumptions, unexamined ways of thinking, knowledges/discourses." Through knowledge and discourses, the approach aims to encounter understandings that are assumed to be 'true,' by highlighting the background knowledge, essential in epistemological and ontological norms, and the relatively limited social perceptions, i.e., in forms of disciplines. The next goal is to look at the construction of the problem representation and what binaries and concepts on which the problem representation relies. The last goal is to "identify and reflect upon possible patterns in problematizations that might signal the operation of a particular political or governmental rationality" (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:21).

In this first part, I discuss presuppositions and unexamined ways of thinking in the report, which is essential to the construction of the problem representation. I recognize an 'unexamined way of thinking' in the problematization, an idea that improved social services and legal systems, would protect children against violence. A central concept in the suggested solutions is the importance of developing more comprehensive laws and social services. However, neither the problematization nor the campaign reflects on the idea of children existing outside these systems. The report instead writes about how the legal systems are not broad enough to protect all children. Thus, the campaign wants governments to expand their legal system to include laws protecting children against violence, such as corporal punishment at home. Also, the report does not include any problematization or discussion about whether more comprehensive legislation would protect all children. Nevertheless, it describes more extensive social services and legal systems as an essential part of safeguarding all children against violence.

> A crucial step towards achieving this universal imperative is the mobilization of political will and the promotion of evidence-based strategies to address multiple contributing factors, including social and cultural norms that condone violence, *lack of adequate policies and legislation, insufficient services for victims* [Emphasis added]*,* and limited investments in effective systems to prevent and respond to violence. (Page 88)

> The development of legal and policy frameworks to protect children and adolescents from all forms of violence, exploitation and discrimination is an *essential component of building a protective environment for every child* [Emphasis added] […] The greater challenge is to ensure that laws and policies are implemented and enforced in ways that *protect all girls and boys from harm* [Emphasis added]. (Page 12)

The citations above show how the campaign describes the legal and social systems and protection as insufficient that needs improvement. The report does mention that a significant challenge is to make sure that these laws and policies protect all girls and boys. However, there is no explanation of what these challenges include. Thus, there is no description of difficulties in reaching children such as undocumented or refugees that might not be part of any legal or social systems. The problem representation describes the improvement of legal and social structures as essential to protect all children, and there is no reflection on how these systems might exclude particular children. Hence, there is an unexamined way of thinking that all children can use these systems.

Another presupposition that I identify in the campaign is the idea of cultural and social norms/practices as something that can perpetuate violence against children. Throughout the report, it describes cultural and social norms only as something harmful to children, and that these practices can perpetuate violence against children. However, the campaign does not specify what these norms and practices entail or how they are harmful, but it solely uses them as arguments for making changes emerge. Thus, there is an assumption that these norms and practices do not need to be described nor identified. This assumption could either highlight that UNICEF has a superior position in defining human rights violations, and social problems or the campaign assumes that these practices are widely recognized, hence, that the public should already know what the report refers to with these norms and practices.

The second step was to identify concepts and binaries that the problem representation uses. The first concepts that I identify were the words, child and adolescent. The report does not define either of the two words, but it uses them both throughout the document. The problem representation sometimes refers to solely the "child," and sometimes to "child and adolescent." The latter I recognize as a way to relate and discuss age-differences and children's diverse needs depending on age. However, since the campaign does not define these words, the problem representation relies upon a presupposition that the reader knows what a child and adolescent mean. Thus, it assumes that readers from different parts of the world would understand the words in the same way. Another binary that the report relies upon is sex, as in boys and girls.

This binary describes the different needs for boys and girls, but just like the other concepts, this binary is not challenged or described. There is no reflection on whether all children fit within these two concepts, or on how children identify. Hence, the campaign uses the binary of sex as an absolute truth with no room for alternative ways for children to identify. The problem representation relies upon the presupposition that all children fit the description of boys and girls. The concepts, sex and age are central throughout the report and sometimes used together, i.e., to talk about adolescent girls. However, the problematization does not connect these parts of children's identities. Instead, it uses the concepts of age and sex separately. It either talks about 'children of different ages' or 'children of different sex.'

In this last part of question two, I identify and reflect upon different patterns in the report relating to specific political or governmental rationalities. The governmentality perspective in WPR goes beyond the state, power is relational and productive, and discourses are central. It rejects theorizing in a way that supports solely one focus on a specific practice. Instead, it recognizes similarities among problematizations to find political coherence and to find potentially harmful effects. Thus, governmentality enables the WPR approach to interrogate the problem representation in the report. It aims to destabilize taken for granted ways of thinking regarding the construction of the campaign (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:45). Hence, I recognize that the report favors previous practices of the UN. This governmental rationality allows the campaign to use earlier works such as CRC, SDGs, and empirical data, without argumentation for its choice or reflection on the effects. UNICEF uses the CRC and the SDGs as arguments to make change emerge. The campaign states what the documents have said before and then builds a case upon that consensus. One part of the report quotes goals five and sixteen in the SDGs to show what it aims to achieve. There are also citations from the CRC in different parts of the campaign to strengthen the campaign's arguments. However, there is no questioning of these practices. Instead, the report uses them solely as goals and facts of what to achieve and why.

Further, I here use the theoretical framework to analyze these findings and relate the results to previous literature to provide a comprehensive understanding. The first identified 'unexamined way of thinking' in the campaign is the idea that more comprehensive legal systems would protect all children against violence. The report introduces this idea without challenging or discussing children that might end up outside these structures. Thus, the problem representation excludes children living as refugees or undocumented. The campaign erases these children by not problematizing the idea of what children the systems include and excludes and how that affects children in different ways (Crenshaw 1989:140, 1991:1246; Hill Collins

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and Bilge 2020:19). It also eliminates the needs of this subordinated group of children, non-citizens. These findings show that the report ignores children living as refugees or undocumented and their needs and how systems affect them differently. I also use intersectionality to understand the binaries and concepts within the problematization. The problem representation only uses either sex or age to refer to children and their needs. That description of children can affect how well the suggested approaches can help children. Thus, the highlighting of only one social identity excludes the subordinated groups among children (Crenshaw 1991:1242). When the campaign refers solely to boys, they exclude experiences and needs of, i.e., boys of color. This exclusion will result in limited help for boys of color.

However, as Chow (2016:427) argues, identities can shift through time and space. Thus, by emphasizing children's multiple characteristics, the programs and policies can instead disempower children as they move through time and space. From this understanding, the report's approach can be a tactical move. The campaign aims to reach a global arena and to use broad concepts as age and sex might be an approach for making the suggested plans more adaptable around the world. Another explanation for the report's exclusion of multiple identities could be the strong idea of individualism in human rights and society, and that identities are something stable. This view often contributes to a focus in the human rights community solely on unitary social groups (de Beco 2017:641). Nevertheless, the campaign does not reflect upon the use of these binaries and concepts. Hence, by not acknowledging the diversity of children or reflecting on the used approach, the problematization solely ignores children's multiple identities. Previous research has criticized the CRC for focusing on unitary groups. The CRC focuses exclusively on one kind of childhood and describes childhoods that are different as harmful (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016). Thus, the governmental rationality adopted from the CRC can explain the use of unitary identities in the campaign.

Furthermore, I use intertextuality to analyze the findings in the report. Intertextuality relates the construction of a text to the connection with a community, and I use the perspective to understand the campaign's governmental rationality (Lemke 2005:37; Thibault 1990:123). Since the report relies upon previous work by the UN, intertextuality can provide an understanding of the presuppositions in the text and unexamined ways of thinking. To understand the creation of the report, I look at the intertextual connected document, the CRC (Estévez 2008:254). One of the concepts the problem representation use is the word child. However, the report never defines what it entails, such as when a person is a child. Instead, the campaign builds upon a presupposition of the concept. However, the report's intertextual connection to the CRC can explain the use of the word child and its definition. In its first article,

the CRC states, "a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (UN 1989). The outcome of a text, both the grammatical/language and the social meanings, is affected by intertextual concepts (Estévez 2008:254; Koch 2009:32). Thus, the intertextual connection between the two documents can describe the campaign's use of the word child and its definition.

Lastly, I examine the presupposition of cultural practices and the report's intertextual connection to the UN and the CRC. The campaign draws upon a collective understanding within its social context, where a presupposition of what harmful cultural and social norms/practices include. As I mentioned before, cultural practices are not described in the report but are solely explained as a factor that can perpetuate violence against children. When I connect these findings to previous research, I find similar results. Kallio (2012:90–92) states that CRC uses one exclusive definition of childhood. Thus, when UNICEF works with children, practices such as marriage between adolescents is solely described as harmful even though these practices sometimes can empower children and provide possibilities in life. Laird (2016:315) stresses that the CRC's universal idea of childhood creates contradictions when professionals apply it in Africa because the definition sprung from a western perspective, and exclude an African view. Holzscheiter (2010:197, 243) writes that practices such as child marriage and female circumcision got eliminated in the development of the CRC due to cultural sensitivity. The author writes that this was likely a dismissal by the western countries to foreclose debates on problems related to 'the developing countries' and limiting their perspectives. Therefore, by relating the findings of a presupposition of cultures, to previous research, the report's way of using 'cultural practices' can be understood as a way of referring to specific cultures that do not fit the universal description of childhood.

5.3 Question 3 - How has UNICEF's representation of the "problem" come about?

Question three aims to examine how this specific problem representation has come about, to open up for challenging the campaign's origin or an easy traceable development. Thus, the question's goal is to highlight the plethora of alternative constructions and to challenge assumptions. This question uses a form of the concept of genealogy from Foucault. An essential part of the following sections is differential power relations and detailed mapping of those practices that produced the report's problem representation. The focus is towards "subjugated knowledges," i.e., the subordinated knowledge that challenges the scientific consensus in the

campaign (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:22). In this question, I map out these understandings to destabilize what seems to be self-evident (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:47–48). To do this mapping, Bacchi and Goodwin (2018:49) suggest the following four questions, which I use in the following sections; "What types of knowledge are disqualified in the problem representation under study?" "Which 'objects' have been produced ('objectified')?" "Which culture-bound concepts require a history?" and "What kinds of political "subjects" are elicited? Which are diminished?".

First, I start by identifying disqualified understandings in the report. Building on question two, I recognize a consensus in the campaign built upon the SDGs and the CRC. The report excludes alternative ways of looking at the problem and children and does not question or challenge that consensus. Throughout the campaign, there are no reflections on different ways to describe the world. Thus, the campaign excludes understandings that challenge the governmentality of the SDGs and the CRC. As I mentioned above, concepts such as child, adolescents, girl, boy, and cultures, are used for argumentations and built upon on presuppositions of their meanings. None of these words are defined, and thus, the report fails to give room for alternative explanations, it solely relies upon the consensus in the SDGs and the CRC. The following section introduces some disqualified alternative understandings in the campaign.

One complementary idea that I identify as excluded in the report is the knowledge and experiences of children. The report relies upon four different forms of violence, and the report presents various UNICEF programs relating to these forms. However, there are only two citations in the whole document offering children's direct experience and opinions. Both these citations are in line with UNICEF's approach. Thus, the campaign eliminates any alternative views from children, and children's thoughts are strictly limited. UNICEF could argue that the statistics are children's experiences. Nevertheless, these do not reveal children's understanding of violence. By excluding children's knowledge, the report also excludes children's experiences of multiple identities. Hence, it ignores how a child's various characteristics can increase its risk of exposure to violence.

As I stated before, the problem representation only reflects on violence connected to children's sex or age. Parts of the campaign use the interconnection of race, age, and sex, related to violence. However, UNICEF's problematization does not include this knowledge. The exclusion of these understandings of children, affects the outcome of the report. The following citation shows the interconnection of a child's age, sex, and race.

In the United States, the homicide rate among non-Hispanic Black adolescent boys aged 10 to 19 is almost 19 times higher than the rate among non-Hispanic White adolescent boys. If the homicide rate among non-Hispanic Black adolescent boys was applied nationwide, the United States would be one of the top 10 most deadly countries in the world. (Page 49)

This quote shows that if the US homicide rates of non-Hispanic black adolescent boys were connected to the data around the world, the country would be one of ten deadliest places. However, when the report later presents "the [ten] most deadly places in the world for adolescent boys," it excludes the concept of race. Thus, the US is not included in that statistic. These findings show how it affects the results to exclude children's alternative knowledge and their diverse experiences. These findings also show how alternatives to the problem representation's unitary identities could affect the results, and thus, better highlight children's diverse needs.

Furthermore, another concept regarding children's identities, that I recognize as disqualified in the problematization is the concept of class. The campaign mentions the categorization class in some parts. At one point, it refers to class as not affecting children's exposure to violence. Nevertheless, in another segment, the campaign writes that the place where particular children live can influence the prevalence of violence in these children's lives.

In MOST of the countries with data, children from wealthier households are equally likely to experience violent discipline as those from poorer. (Page 23)

However, race and other individual factors should be viewed in light of the fact that children and adolescents from marginalized groups also tend to be more likely to live in communities with macro-level dynamics that have been linked to higher levels of homicide. These factors include income and social inequality, availability of weapons, presence of drug trafficking, widespread use of drugs and/or alcohol, lack of employment opportunities, disorganized urbanization and urban segregation. (Page 51)

The citations show a discrepancy of images regarding how the categorization class affects the prevalence of violence in children's lives. According to the report, a child can experience violence no matter a family's financial situation. However, the area, the family lives in, can affect the prevalence of violence in children's lives. The campaign mentions how children's class can affect the presence of violence but does not problematize it further. Thus, it eliminates

a broader understanding of the effects of class, and by not including a more elaborate reflection or discussion, the knowledge becomes erased in the problem representation. Further, other factors, such as race, also need to be understood in the light of these understandings. The last quotation shows how structural and systematic forces in society affect the prevalence of violence, and results in inequality among children. However, the campaign does not elaborate further on the effects of disparity in society and how children are affected differently of violence related to structural inequality concerning their race, class, and other social characteristics.

Moreover, I discuss an "object" that the problem representation produces. One produced object in the problem representation and throughout the report is 'the cultures that condone violence against children.' As I presented above, the campaign does not describe the idea behind cultures or define what cultures entail. Thus, it creates an object-like perspective of culture that includes an understanding of what it is and where it exists. It enables the report to use cultures as an argument for promoting the suggested approaches. The campaign describes that cultures affect the prevalence of violence and victims' tendency to seek support. Hence, it argues for a need for services to promote a positive change in cultures and norms.

> National approaches *should address systemic societal beliefs and attitudes that perpetuate violence against children,* [Emphasis added] in any setting, including the home, school, community or online. *This will require altering deeply ingrained social and cultural norms and behaviours,* [Emphasis added] in particular, the idea that some forms of violence are not only normal, but even justifiable and thus tolerated. (Page 89)

> A crucial step towards achieving this universal imperative is the mobilization of political will and the promotion of evidence-based strategies to address multiple contributing factors, *including social and cultural norms that condone violence* [Emphasis added]. (Page 88)

These quotations show how the report writes about cultures with an object-like perspective. In line with the findings in question two, the object-like description of culture has an unexplained idea that the report uses. The diversity of cultures or positive ideas regarding culture disappears in the campaign. Thus, cultures solely become something that needs to change.

Next, I discuss culture-bound concepts in the report. The first identified culture-bound concept is the concept of a child. As I showed above, the concept child most likely comes from the intertextual connection between the campaign and the CRC. However, the definition of a child is not necessarily transferable through time and space. Since there is no explanation of

'child' throughout the report, it most likely relies upon the definition created in the CRC. Hence, it is a culture-bound concept within the campaign's social context.

Two other culture-bound ideas the problem representation relies upon are "professional help" and "social welfare." For many people, these concepts might seem obvious, both what they mean and entail. Nonetheless, what these concepts involve can differ around the world. The report defines "help from institutions such as police, medical centres, legal aid or social support services" as professional help (Page 75). What it entails, though, is closely connected to a society's culture, and specific contexts and societal norms. The other concept, welfare, also differs around the world. Improved social services and social welfare are something that the world needs according to the report. It writes the following:

> Improved social services are also needed to respond to the diverse needs of children and adolescents. These should include a range of options across different sectors, from the sensitive treatment of child abuse victims by law enforcement and justice systems to the physical and psychosocial support provided by health and social welfare systems. (Page 89)

The quotation is an example of how the report describes the need for improved social services to protect children. However, there is never a reflection around what social services include, even though this is a culture-bound concept. It does not discuss how social services might shift in different countries and how they could understand the needed improvements differently.

The last part of question three refers to different political subjects that the problematization either elicit or diminish. I identify five subjects that the problem representation relies upon, 'children,' 'adolescents,' 'boys,' 'girls,' and 'caregivers/parents', and it includes their different responsibilities and needs. By highlighting these subjects solely in the problem representation, it diminishes other subjects. Some of these subjects are children without citizenship, children identifying as LGBTQ+, children with disabilities, and children of color. The campaign highlights, in one part, how children's race can affect their risk of experience of violence. However, this perspective disappears in the problematization. The same exclusion in the problem representation happens for the other social groups of children that I mentioned above. By diminishing these children in the problem representation, specific knowledge regarding their needs and experiences disappear. Hence, the suggested approaches might not meet the needs of all children. In question four, I discuss the diminished subjects further.

Furthermore, I use the perspectives of intertextuality and intersectionality and relate the findings to previous research. Intertextuality can provide an understanding of why the report disqualifies alternative knowledge, and relies upon the CRC and SDGs, by using the two intertextual concepts, 'coactional' and 'cothematic.' Coactional refers to when different texts acts within similar structures and ways (Thibault 1990:136–37). As I showed above, the campaign is influenced by the CRC and the SDGs, and it uses the same terminologies, such as child, girl, and boy. The report does not challenge the SDGs and the CRC, and it disqualifies alternative knowledge that could. The way these documents use the same terminology also makes them cothematic. These connections show that the writings have stable intertextual ties (Lemke 2005:32; Thibault 1990:136–37). Hence, the campaign eliminates alternative ways of thinking and relies upon the intertextual connection. Intertextual links like this can provide an understanding of how human rights norms are established and contained (Koch 2009:32), such as the definition of a child. When the report uses other documents terminology, it excludes alternative knowledge, and these human rights standards continue to grow.

As I presented in the literature review and the earlier questions, previous research has questioned human rights documents such as the CRC for being uniform and biased towards western perspectives (cf. McPherson et al. 2019; Thelander 2009). According to previous research, the CRC relies upon a unitary idea of childhood that excludes children's alternative ways of living (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016). I develop the idea whether the campaign has a western biased in question four. However, what previous research can provide here is an understanding of how other human rights documents have excluded alternative knowledge. Thus, the report eliminates alternative beliefs that are similar to what previous research has stated that the CRC does. As I showed above, the campaign excludes alternative understandings of cultures. Since the concept culture is used throughout the report but never defined, the report relies upon an unexamined idea of cultures. This idea is similar to what Kallio (2012) and Laird (2016) argue that the CRC does by having a monotonic concept of childhood and excluding understandings of childhoods from non-western countries. Hence, through the exclusion of knowledge, these human rights norms can continue to be western biased and ignoring the experiences of those excluded from the established standards.

Further, I analyze the findings by using intersectionality. The report's choice of not defining cultures can be understood in line with Chow. As I mentioned before, Chow (2016:454–55) states that working with multiple human rights can be difficult, i.e., women's rights and cultural rights, this could be similar for children's rights and cultural rights. The campaign excludes the description of cultures even though it uses the concept. UNICEF's choice of approach could be

a way of not risking that children's rights and cultural rights could collide, and to contain the focus solely on children's rights. However, by excluding an explanation of cultures and excluding cultures as a part of children's identities, the report does not acknowledge children's diverse experiences and needs (Crenshaw 1991:1246). Including an intersectional perspective in the report opens up for challenging the uniform human rights norms and the idea of children (Carbado et al. 2013:456; Cooper 2016:405). As I presented above, the campaign excludes several inferior understandings, such as children's experiences, cultural diversity, and children's multiple identities. For example, as with the statistics on non-Hispanic black adolescent boys in the US, the problem representation eliminates subordinated groups and their needs, when ignoring multiple identities (Crenshaw 1991:1242, 1246). Thus, to enable an acknowledgment of diminished children, the campaign needs to have more sensitivity towards how children belong to different social groups.

Finally, children belonging to different social groups also affect children differently on a structural level. Systematic inequalities result in power systems positioning children differently in society depending on their identities, regarding such as race, class, and gender (Hill Collins and Bilge 2020:19). As I showed above, the report indicates that structural forces affect the prevalence of violence in children's lives differently depending on their identities. However, it does not elaborate on this understanding or problematizes it. Excluding the structural forces can result in failing to encounter these unequal systems. In line with Lentin (2004:427–28), that shows how states in Europe have been unable in the fight against racism because they do not acknowledge institutionalized racism in political and social structures. An intersectional perspective in the report could have enabled an understanding of structural power systems in society.

5.4 Question 4 - What is left unproblematic in UNICEF's problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the "problem" be conceptualized differently?

The fourth question aims at destabilizing the existing problem representation by highlighting silences or unproblematized components within the report. Thus, there is an opportunity to be creative with alternative worlds where elements are either problematized differently or not at all (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:22). For this question, I highlight practices that the problem representation relies upon and show how other methods could have produced a contrasting problematization (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:22–23). Thus, in the following sections, I discuss

silenced parts of the problem representation and how the campaign could have problematized it differently.

The first, I discuss is the silencing of Western Europe and North America. The data used in the campaign relies mainly on data conducted in low- and middle-income countries. The report explains this by emphasizing the importance of having comparable data that it does not find to the same extent in high-income countries. The report discusses the absence of data from wealthier states at the beginning. However, it never elaborates on how this exclusion can have affected the outcome of the problematization. Neither does it reflect upon the knowledge it produces and how the problematization mainly represents parts of the world.

> Given the general lack of uniformity in the way data on violence against children are collected and the distorting impact that such discrepancies have on prevalence levels, this report relies mainly on information gathered through internationally comparable sources. […] With the exception of the HBSC [the Health Behaviour in School-aged Children], these international survey programmes have been implemented primarily in low- and middle-income countries. So while the focus of this report is largely on these countries, it should in no way be interpreted to suggest that violence against children is not found in high-income nations, or that no data are available since data may have been collected using methods and tools that are largely inconsistent with prevailing approaches. (Page 14)

This citation shows the only explanation the report provides about only including limited data from wealthier countries. The campaign writes that the problem exists in more prosperous countries as well, but there is no problematization of the lack of data. It stresses that there is not enough comparable data from wealthier countries but does not express a need for more, specified for these countries. Thus, the report silences the problem in the more affluent states and silently stresses that there is no need for more comparable data from that specific region. In contrast, when there is not enough data on one particular form of violence, sexual violence against boys, the report highlights the need for more data in that specific field. The campaign does stress a need for more data in general as a first step in fighting violence against children. However, the report does not highlight a specific need for more comparable data in Western Europe and North America, where it states that there is a lack of this kind of data.

Furthermore, I can observe the silencing of the wealthier countries throughout the report. The way UNICEF chooses to highlight issues excludes experiences from more affluent countries. The report presents 15 programs that fight violence against children. All these

programs were from areas outside North America and Western Europe, even though the report states that the worst numbers of some issues are within these areas. Furthermore, when problems are mainly in "Western Europe" and "North America," the report does not name countries in the same way as if the issues are outside these areas, as I show in following quotes:

> These close to 500 incidents occurred in 14 countries or areas with situations on the agenda of the Security Council *(Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Mali, Myanmar, Somalia, State of Palestine, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen) and four countries with other situations (India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand)* [Emphasis added]. (Page 43)

> The largest number of these incidents – a total of 43, or nearly 3 in 4– occurred in the United States. Nine of the documented school shootings took place in seven European countries, while the remaining seven incidents occurred in other countries of *North America, South America, East Asia, Southern Africa and the Middle East* [Emphasis added]. (Page 43)

The quotations above show that all countries are named when the problem exists outside the wealthier countries. However, when the issue is mainly within that area, only the different regions are mentioned. These findings show how the problem representation silences violence against children in "North America" and "Western Europe," through the limited data from of these areas, and through how it presents the data. Another essential issue here is the lack of reflection on lack of wealthier countries in the campaign and how it affects the outcome of the report.

Another silenced part I identify in the text is cultural diversities. As I mentioned earlier, the report presents the concept of culture in a monotonic way. When the campaign writes about cultures, it refers to obstacles relating to fighting violence, such as hindrances for victims to seek professional help or cultures that condone violence against children. These explanations create an idea that there is one kind of culture, a harmful one. Thus, it is silencing the diversities among different cultures. This silencing excludes understandings of how all children belong to different cultures and how that affects how they comprehend their world. Also, it excludes how people from different cultures in the world will understand the campaign in different ways. The silencing also affects the suggested solutions and the sensitivity to cultures within them. The lack of sensitivity to cultures could discriminate children's cultural rights in the problem representation.

Furthermore, as I showed before, several different groups of children are eliminated in the campaign. First is the social category race. In some parts, the report highlights race as a factor affecting the prevalence of violence. These statistics, though, do not show a global phenomenon, but instead, connected to some specific countries, and the report does not problematize the issue. The problem representation silences race and the needs of children of color and the structural power systems that position children differently depending on their race. As I showed in question three, i.e., with homicide rates among non-Hispanic black adolescent boys in the US, the inclusion or exclusion of race is crucial for the report's outcome. Thus, by not incorporating race, the needs, and the prevalence of violence for children of color risks being ignored. Even though the report discusses race, it does not problematize and does not include it in the problem representation or elaborate on structural forces that it expresses position children differently depending on their identities. Hence, it silences children of color.

The next silenced social group is children identifying as LGBTQ+. Girls and boys are used continually throughout the campaign and in the problem representation. However, the report never questions these sexes or discuss alternative concepts. Thus, it silences alternatives to the traditional forms of sex and sexuality. The report mentions sexual orientation and gender identity at one point and describes it as a contributing factor to the presence of violence. Nonetheless, it does not problematize it further and does not reflect upon the exclusion of these children's needs and how it affects the report's outcome. The following citation is all the campaign says about these children.

> Those who develop a non-traditional sexual orientation and/or gender identity can be especially vulnerable to targeted acts of violence. (Page 39)

In this citation, the campaign acknowledges that children with alternative sexual orientation or gender identity are at an increased risk of violence. Even though the report recognizes that these children are at risk, it chooses to exclude their needs and experiences. Nevertheless, it does not discuss its reasons for this approach. Hence, the campaign actively silences children identifying as LGBTQ+.

Moreover, I here discuss the silencing of children with disabilities and children without citizenship. In contrast, to the other social groups I mentioned above, UNICEF does not recognize children with disabilities and children without citizenship in the report. One of the presented programs in Serbia, though, talks about children with disabilities. Still, the campaign does not acknowledge these children's needs or experiences in the statistics or the problem

representation. Thereby, UNICEF leaves children with disabilities unrecognized in the problematization of violence against children. Children without citizenship, such as children that live as refugees or undocumented, are not mentioned once in the report, and it does not problematize whether all children have access to legal and social services and human rights practices. Nonetheless, one of the main ideas in the problematization is the need for more comprehensive legal and social systems. There is no reflection on whether all children can have access to the suggested solutions or if children have other needs. Hence, the campaign silences children living without citizenship, and it also silences their needs and experiences of violence.

Another essential and relating idea to different social groups is the concept of children having multiple social identities, which the campaign also silences. For example, there can be a boy of color living with disabilities, and his experiences or needs might be different from those of a white boy living with disabilities. The campaign talks about children with multiple identities when it presents the data and statistics. Nonetheless, the report's problematization does not include these perspectives. As I showed in the example concerning non-Hispanic black adolescent boys in the US, excluding children's multiple identities can silence their needs and experiences. Hence, when UNICEF in the campaign silences children's various identities and the reality that comes with these complex personalities, it excludes the needs and experiences of particular children.

Next, I use intertextuality and intersectionality to analyze these findings and previous research to elaborate on these understandings. First, I examine the silencing of 'Western Europe' and 'North America' by using the intertextual perspective. Intertextuality refers to how texts within a context are intertextual and affect each other's outcomes (Estévez 2008:254; Thibault 1990:123). Thus, once again, I look at how the social background has influenced the creation of the campaign. This context includes the UN, and its earlier works CRC and SDGs. The report has quotes from both these documents, and it relies upon the consensus within them. That intertextual connection is essential when analyzing the silences in the campaign. An intertextual relationship between texts affects both the social and the lexico-grammatical outcome of the writing (Thibault 1990:136–37). The report's intertextual connections can provide an understanding of the silencing of Western Europe and North America when connected with previous research. Previous studies has stated that the CRC and UNICEF build upon on a western biased idea and excluding alternative views (cf. Holzscheiter 2010; Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017; Palattiyil et al. 2019:1050). Kallio (2012:90–92) exemplifies this by describing how UNICEF solely describes child marriages as bad for children, even though it could provide children with more possibilities in life. Therefore, UNICEF silences

alternative understandings of child marriage and children's diverse experiences and needs. Hence, the silencing of western countries in the campaign could be a tactic to uphold specific ideas and social values. The campaign's silencing of Western Europe and North America enables a western hegemony to continue within human rights and international social work because the problematization of the problems in the 'western world' are both limited (inadequate data) and sometimes excluded (i.e., non-Hispanic boys in the US).

Furthermore, I here use intertextuality to provide an understanding of the silencing of different social groups and multiple identities. The report's intertextual connection to the CRC and the SDGs can explain its choice of terminology and focus on specific children (Thibault 1990:136–37). The intertextual connection between the CRC and the campaign can explain the use of the word child and its definition. In the findings, I found similar links between the campaign and the SDGs, concerning the silencing of different social categories. Instead of acknowledging various social groups, the problem representation uses only sex (boy/girl) and age (child/adolescent). A similar way of describing children, I identify in the SDGs. The following citations are parts of the SDGs goals five and sixteen cited in the report.

> 5.2.2 Proportion of women and *girls* [Emphasis added] aged 15 years and older subjected
> to sexual violence by persons other than an intimate partner in the previous 12 months, by
> *age* [Emphasis added] and place of occurrence. (Page 15)

> 16.1.1 Number of victims of intentional homicide per 100,000 population, *by sex and age*
> [Emphasis added]. (Page 15)

These quotes show that the SDGs uses the same terminology as the report uses in its problematization, such as age and sex. Thus, the intertextual connection between the campaign and the SDGs can explain the report's use of the terminology and its silencing of other social groups in the problematization.

Lastly, I here use intersectionality to provide an in-depth understanding of how the silences above can affect the report's potential to reach all children. De Beco (2017:641) stresses that there is a strong idea that identities are stable and fixed within the human rights field. Hence, practices within human rights have left out both multiple and changing identities. The focus is, instead, the more dominant members within a specific social group. The reports focus on gender, and age can be a result of that. However, when the problem representation silences the intersectionality of children, it will not reach all children in need with its work (Crenshaw

1991:1242). The problematization's narrow focus could leave needs for particular children unrecognized, such as children with alternative identities or multiple identities.

In sum, as I showed above, when the campaign does not include an intersectional understanding of identity, it risks leaving the needs of particular children unrecognized (Crenshaw 1991:1242, 1246). Thus, they might not get the help they need by suggested approaches. Like the example I showed above, the experiences and needs of an adolescent boy of color living with disabilities can differ from those of a white adolescent boy living with disabilities. Furthermore, none of these boys might be able to identify with the statistics of just adolescent boys. The boys described above, their experiences of violence are affected by all their social identities, all the time. These children might not be able to identify with either the statistics of boys with disabilities or children with disabilities. Instead, their complex identity creates a situation that affects their experiences of violence with all identities interconnected (Crenshaw 1989:139–40). Hence, by excluding an intersectional perspective of children and silencing some children's experiences and realities, the report further disadvantages these children. Besides, when an intersectional perspective of children is excluded, there can not be a recognition of the unequal hegemonic structures in society, which places children differently depending on their identities.

5.5 Question 5 - What effects (discursive, subjectification, lived) are produced by UNICEF's representation of the "problem"?

Question five aims at highlighting the effects of the problem representation. Effects such as political implications and not solely the "outcomes." Thus, I identify the problem representations limitations on how to discuss the topic, how it shapes people's understandings of themselves and the problem, and finally, the material effects on people's lives. Through this, I aim to reflect on the complexity of the problematization's implications in specific contexts and encourage other interventions to decrease the harmful effects the problematization has on particular groups. Therefore, the question has three focuses, 'the discursive effects,' 'the subjectification effects,' and 'the lived effects,' which are all interconnected (Bacchi 2012:22; Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:23).

First, the discursive effects are the limits the problem representation sets on what one can think and say about something. This part of the question builds upon the silences identified in question four and how these create discursive frames. When the report constructs the problem representation, it also creates limits to what is considered relevant to discuss. The report's

limited amount of data from Western Europe and North America in the problem representation silences the problem in these areas. When the report chooses not to challenge or reflect on these limitations, it also limits the way the reader can question it and how they perceive the problem. The campaign does not reflect on what effects the selected data has on the outcome. Nonetheless, it does not discuss the impact it will have on the context where it is presented. The report establishes a consensus that it is not needed to discuss the issue in the western world by the lack of data and its implications. That consensus also affects the discursive space, by not introducing as many statistics from Western Europe and North America, the created idea will be that the problem mainly exists outside these regions. It will also limit how people can include these regions in discussions based on the campaign's information. Hence, the problem representation creates an understanding of where the problem exists and limit the possibilities for widening the discourse.

The hegemonic status of the SDGs and the CRC in the campaign also limits the discourses on the issue. As I showed before, the two documents have created limits for how the problem representation has come about. The writings have created boundaries to the use of specific terminology and social meanings, such as the words and definitions of 'child,' 'age,' and 'sex.' Thus, it limits the possibility of talking about alternative ideas of these concepts. The stable connection between the campaign and these documents has made it possible to use them as arguments in the report.

> Protecting children against violence is a path towards more peaceful and inclusive societies, *as called for by SDG 16* [Emphasis added]. It will take individual and collective action to right this global wrong. (Page 8)

> *Article 28(2) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* [Emphasis added] explicitly mandates that children be protected from violent discipline while at school […] Still, children living in 73 countries today lack full legal protection from this form of violence. And even where it has been outlawed, its use may continue. (Page 45)

These quotes are representative of how the campaign uses the CRC and SDGs as arguments for discussing the issue of violence against children. Thus, the use of the CRC and the SDGs and the exclusion of challenging them limits alternative discourses. The way the earlier writings talk about the issue and refers to children becomes the "only" way to talk about the problem. The report's lack of more variety in the presented data and the hegemonic status of the CRC

and the SDGs limits the discourses of the issue. Hence, the campaign restricts the discussions of the problem to a particular terminology and specific places in the world.

In this step, I look at the effects of subjectification in the problem representation based on the findings in question four. I examined how the problem representation involves 'subjects' and how they get produced as particular forms of subjects. Included in this examination are the possible effects on the understanding of one's self and others. The idea is that, when the report produces 'subjects,' it also creates what is possible for people to become as subjects (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:23, 29, 52). The problem representation relies upon the concepts' children,' 'children and adolescents,' and 'boys and girls.' The following citation shows how the campaign includes the ideas of age and sex in suggest approaches.

> Coherent and well-coordinated national plans and subsequent action are needed to reduce the persistently high rates of violence against both girls and boys from early childhood through adolescence. (Page 88)

The quotation is representative of how the problem representation refers to children and their diverse needs. This subjectification in the problematization creates limits on who can be included in discourses regarding the issue. It also limits the way the problem is presented and understood. The restriction in the problem representation that only involves these subjects, affects the understanding of the diversities among children. Thus, it excludes children that cannot fit into these descriptions, both in the suggested solutions and in discussions about violence against children.

As I presented before, the problematization diminishes children's multiple identities and several different groups of children. These social groups are children of color, children identifying as LGBTQ+, children living without citizenship, and children with disabilities. These children's experiences of violence do not necessarily fit with the description of children in the campaign since their needs are not problematized and, in some cases, not even recognized. The subjectification in the problematization limits the possibility to discuss these children's needs and experiences. The report's exclusion of a problematization of the issue concerning different social identities and multiple identities also creates a limited knowledge of children's diverse needs. Thus, the help provided from this problematization might not help particular groups of children. The subjectification establishes an understanding of "who" experiences violence and "whom" the approaches and discourses can include.

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In this last part, I discuss 'lived effects,' thus, the discursive and subjectification effects in children's lives. The lived effects for excluded children in the discourses, or the subjectification could be that they feel ignored and do not get help with their needs. Those children that feel excluded in the problem representation risk not getting any or solely limited help with their needs. The lived experience of this could also lead to groups of children feeling disrespected or erased in the programs that aim to help them. Since the problematization does not discuss alternative understandings of the issue, professionals working with the suggested approaches might feel limited to respond to children's needs that do not fit into the problematization. Also, professionals working in line with the problem representation, might not even see that there are children with other needs. Hence, the problematization's exclusion of alternative understandings of the issue and children's diverse identities can lead to children feeling disrespected and ignored, and also to professionals not being able to respond or even acknowledge children's diverse needs.

Furthermore, by not including alternative understandings of children's needs or a sensitivity to the diversity of children, the report cannot highlight the prevalence of violence for all children. Thus, excluded children will continue to be vulnerable to violence that they might experience or are at risk of experiencing. Also, the children that get silenced in the report might not be included in the traditional idea of children. Hence, these children are likely to be marginalized in present social structures and already feel excluded from society. In these situations, the problematization can confirm these negative experiences and strengthen the feeling of being marginalized in society.

Moreover, to provide an in-depth understanding of these effects, I use the perspective of intertextuality, intersectionality, and previous research. As I demonstrated above, the report has robust intertextuality to the documents SDGs and CRC. Thus, these documents and the report's social context is essential to understand the effects of the report and the implications for how society recognizes the problem (Thibault 1990:123). The campaign's narrow description of children in the problem representation could be a result of the intertextual ties to the SDGs and the CRC. Those ties also affect the context the report creates. The findings above show how the report establishes a context for how people can talk about the problem. This understanding also affects how people perceive the issue. Hence, these intertextual connections can explain the exclusion of the diversity of children in the problem. It can also clarify the possibilities people have to talk about the issue. For example, the exclusion of data from wealthier countries limits the possibility to talk about the violence in these regions. It can make people believe that there is no need to talk about and problematize violence against children in these areas. By being

aware of this intertextuality, one can understand the representation in the text and challenge it (Hiramoto and Sung-Yul Park 2012:1). Thus, intertextuality can open up for challenging the problem representation and promote alternative ways to problematize the issue.

The limitations and exclusion of children's experiences in human rights documents have been discussed in previous research. Laird (2016:303, 315) writes how the CRC creates a context that excludes children in some parts of Africa. The CRC is used to describe how children should be cared for and what is a good childhood. However, these values are based in the western world and not necessarily applicable in an African context. Hence, it can be harmful to apply practices based on these views in all places, because it might end up trying to "fix" something that is not a problem in a particular context. The author talks about child protection services and that if these are applied with CRC's western views in Africa, many parents will be questioned just because they live in another way (ibid.). This example shows how a document can create a social context that excludes particular children.

Further, I analyze the findings with an intersectional perspective. The limitation and exclusion of children's diversity could be understood as the absence of an intersectional perspective. It acknowledges the diversity of people and people's multiple identities (Crenshaw 1989:139). The problem representation does not include more social categories than age and sex. Thus, it excludes particular groups of children. Intersectionality can provide an understanding of subordinated groups, and it can dismantle the dominant systems that limit the discourses around the problem representation (Carbado et al. 2013:304). Hence, the discursive and subjectification effect could then include alternative ideas and views of the issue and the subjects. The approach could also make more children feel heard and seen, and professionals might be able to have a more inclusive understanding of children's changing identities (Crenshaw 1991:1246). For example, the intersectional perspective could provide an understanding for children without citizenship. These children might belong to other subordinated groups too, but because of their citizen status, the problem representation excludes them.

Arendt talks about the right to have rights and how rights often get connected to the right to civic (Ingram 2008:402). Children without citizenship do not have their civic rights fulfilled and might not have the right to legal and social protection and support in the country where they live. Hence, with an intersectional perspective, one could see how structures affect and help children differently depending on their identities. A structural perspective could explain and help the needs of a more significant variety of children. Acknowledging all social groups and their needs can be challenging for programs such as the campaign, which would have to be

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far more comprehensive to include that diversity. However, by continuously problematize and acknowledge different understandings, the problem representation could become more sensitive to the diversity among children and open up for more inclusive discourses on the issue.

5.6 Question 6 - How and where has UNICEF's representation of the "problem" been produced, disseminated, and defended? How has it been and/or how can it be disrupted and replaced?

Question six aims at destabilizing the taken-for-granted perspectives within the problem representation. The question looks for understandings accepted as real. There are two different steps in this question (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:24). First, I identify the practices that have constructed and authorized this particular problem representation. Secondly, I reflect on different kinds of resistance to universal and respected problem representations. In this part, I somewhat summarize the findings introduced throughout this chapter, focusing on questions two and three.

In this first part, I discuss how and where the problem representation was produced, disseminated, and defended. To provide this understanding, I look at what the problem representation presents as 'real.' One unexamined idea in the report is that more comprehensive legal and social systems could protect all children against violence. Thus, by understanding the problem representations origin, I could also say something about what could have defended it. In line with the problematizations strong belief in social and legal services, the report was likely produced in a context with functional legal and social systems. Therefore, dissemination of the campaign most likely happened by organizations and states that share that belief. The report has a stable connection to the UN, and the organization is involved in producing human rights conventions, and it advocates for these rights. Thus, it is likely that they would promote that states around the world uphold steady systems to protect human rights. Hence, the campaign's intertextual ties with the UN and that it promotes a consensus involving legal and social systems can have an importance for the dissemination of the report. Another unquestioned concept in the problem representation is the cultural norms/practices. The idea of culture is never defined but used throughout the report. Thus, to enable the dissemination of this problematization, a static description of cultures has to be accepted. As I explained before, there has been a hegemonic way of defining good and bad cultures within the UN, UNICEF, and the CRC.

Hence, these structures can have disseminated and defended the problem representation, since it upholds a strong belief in the legal and social systems and has a consensus of what cultures entail.

Further, other ideas that have contributed to the production of the problem representation is the different binaries and concepts that it builds upon, such as 'child,' 'child and adolescent,' and 'boy and girl.' The use of these concepts relies upon the campaign's governmental rationality that relates to the CRC and the SDGs. Both those documents are widely accepted, the CRC is ratified by all countries except the US (OHCHR 2020), and the SDGs is adopted by all UN member states (UN n.d.). The use of these documents can, therefore, have contributed to the campaign's acceptance and dissemination within the international sphere for human rights. The connection to the organizations behind the writings can have helped to spread the campaign since it acknowledges and support their work. Since most countries worldwide support both the CRC and the SDGs, they would likely also defend a campaign that builds upon the consensus in these works.

In this part, I discuss how the problem representation could have been questioned or replaced. Thus, I use the result in question three, which addresses disqualified knowledge, objects, culture-bound-concept, and political subjects. First, the report relies upon the CRC and the SDGs, and the writings have affected its creation. Thus, the connection to these documents has created culture-bounded concepts such as child, a core concept in the campaign. The campaign disqualifies understandings that question these structures and uses the CRC and the SDGs as presenting the truth on the topic. Hence, including alternative knowledge could disrupt the problem representation, or replace the strong consensus from the CRC and SDGs. For example, alternative understandings, such as other ways of talking about children or the definition of a child, would challenge the knowledge from the CRC. Another example could be including different ways to talk about children in the problem representation, and not only including age and sex.

Moreover, as I presented earlier, the problem representation excludes the children's direct experiences, the diversity of children, and children's multiple identities. By including these understandings, it would disrupt the problem representation as it looks today. The exclusion of these understandings creates a problem representation regarding children, which does not include all children. Children living with disabilities, children living without citizenship, children identifying as LGBTQ+, and children of color are all excluded from the problematization. Thus, the problem representation does not include their needs and experiences or the structures in society that can position children differently depending on their

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identities. By including these realities, it would disrupt and replace the present problem representation with more sensitivity for a significant variation in both identities and needs. Because by including children's multiple characteristics, the results will shift, as I showed before, with the example of non-Hispanic black adolescent boys in the US. Hence, including children's multiple identities in the problematization will affect the outcome of the results. This example shows how the problem representation, could, through an intersectional perspective, highlight the diversity in children's needs and experiences and also replace problem representation as it looks today.

Lastly, another concept that could be questioned or disrupted, with alternative understandings, is the objectification of the concept of culture. As I stated before, the idea of culture is never defined or reflected upon in the campaign. Instead, the report relies upon the concept of culture as something static that it uses to incite actions against violence. As in the following citations:

> Research indicates that parents' expectations of their children's cognitive abilities, such as understanding and complying with complex instructions, often misalign with developmental norms. This lack of knowledge, in combination with other factors such *as cultural practices, can result in the use of disciplinary methods that are both ineffective and harmful* [Emphasis added]. (Page 21)

> Cultural and social norms can also drive a victim's reluctance to come forward or can dictate to whom she or he is expected to look to for assistance. (Page 75)

These citations show how the campaign uses the concept of culture solely as an object that can perpetuate violence. The report describes cultures solely as something that condone or perpetuate violence or hinder victims from seeking support. Hence, including definitions of culture and describing what different cultures entails could challenge the present problematization. There could be other ways to talk about cultural practices, and by including cultural diversity, a variety of definitions of concepts such as child could occur. As I mentioned before, the word 'child' is a culture-bound concept, and by including alternative understandings of cultures, the definition of a child might differ.

Moreover, to elaborate on these findings, I use the theoretical framework of intertextuality, intersectionality, and previous research. This question aims to understand how the problem representation has been defended and disseminated. As I showed above, the intertextual

connection to the CRC and the SDGs could lead to both spreading the campaign and protecting it. Previously in this analysis, I discussed how the report has a stable intertextual connection to these documents through how it uses the writings and how they affected the textual outcome of the campaign (Thibault 1990:136–37). The campaign's intertextual connection to the structures of the CRC and the SDGs can thus, also provide a platform of defense and dissemination. Both these writings are acknowledged in the international sphere through the UN. By using concepts from them, the report builds upon an already established knowledge within the international human rights sphere. Hence, the campaign could be easily spread within this sphere and protected by upholding already established ideas or norms. These ideas are concepts such as child, sex, and age, that the campaign uses and are defined or well-known in other documents. The use of these norms also contributes to their stronghold, especially by not including alternative knowledge that could challenge this base. Thus, the intertextual connection shows how ideas can become taken for granted perspectives and be upheld as such (Koch 2009:32). The exclusion of alternative understandings in the report could be a strategy by UNICEF to make the ideas and arguments seem consistent and not open up for questioning. Nevertheless, the social context, within which all these products were produced, can have made these concepts as taken-for-granted perspectives.

However, the acknowledgment of this intertextual connection opens up for challenging the campaign. By knowing what ideas that are taken for granted within an intertextual context, these perspectives can be reinterpreted and alternative approaches produced (Estévez 2008:256). Thus, the intertextual view shows how to encounter the report to disrupt it. In this problem representation, these "truths" are concepts such as social welfare, child, adolescent, sex, age, and culture. By including alternative ways of understanding culture, it might not be possible to use the concept in itself as an argument. Also, as I mentioned above, by adding diversity in cultural-bound concepts, such as children, it can get a different meaning, and it could disrupt the problem representation as it looks today.

Furthermore, an intersectional perspective can open up for further investigation of the report. First, the intersectional perspective provides an understanding of the diversity among children. It acknowledges that children are more than just 'children of age' or 'children as boys or girls.' By excluding this understanding, the help will not reach all children, and it risks contributing to the discrimination of particular children (Crenshaw 1989:140, 1989:1242). Hence, intersectionality can challenge and replace the campaign's ideas and better provide the inclusion of children's diverse needs. However, Carbado et al. (2013:304) argue that intersectionality is always a work in progress, and capturing all aspects of people's identities is a non-achievable

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goal. Instead, the focus needs to be on what the perspective does, which is to reveal and dismantle dominant systems. The perspective can provide an understanding of the dominant systems that position children differently in a society based on their identities, and thus, challenge them. Intersectionality exposes the campaign's dominant ways of describing children in the form of sex and age, and this understanding can challenge the problem representation.

Finally, according to Crenshaw (1991:1246) intersectionality highlights the need for including people's diverse needs regarding their multiple identities. Thus, by using the perspective, the campaign can be challenged on how it refers to children, and how it creates identities. As I showed above, the report does not include an intersectional understanding of children's social identities and their specific needs. By acknowledging multiple identities among children, the statistics would show different results, and the problematization would be different. Children might belong to several different social groups that have various disadvantages in society. When the problem representation only highlights one of these identities, it cannot capture a child's reality. Thus, the help created from the idea of unitary groups of children will not reach all children. The campaign's social context and intertextual connection to other human rights documents can explain its narrow focus on social groups. De Beco (2017:641) states that there is a robust idea of individualism in both society and the human rights field. This context and other documents affect the creation of a text, like this campaign (Estévez 2008:254). Hence, by approaching the campaign with an intersectional and intertextual perspective, the present problem representation can be dismantled and replaced.

6. Discussion

In this chapter, I summarize the analysis and discuss alternative ways to understand the findings and how future research can use them. This thesis aims to provide an understanding of how the problem of children's rights discriminations is represented to be in UNICEF´s campaign #ENDviolence, by using the WPR approach and its six guiding questions. The following section summarizes the analysis, answers the research questions and discusses the findings.

The analysis of UNICEF's campaign #ENDviolence shows that the document has a robust intertextual connection to the UN and the documents, the CRC, and the SDGs. The intertextual connection affected the report's outcome, both textual and in how it presents the issue. However, this intertextual connection creates a consensus that never challenges or questions these documents. Thus, they are accepted real and used to make arguments. The consensus results in excluding alternative knowledge, such as multiple identities or other forms of social groups. The problem representation solely relies upon the idea of age (child/adolescent) and sex (boy/girl). Thus, it excludes alternative understandings of children's identities. Some social groups that I identify as being silenced in the problematization are children without citizenship, children with disabilities, children identifying as LGBTQ+, and children of color. This exclusion silences them as people, their experiences and how institutional structures may affect them differently because of their identities.

Furthermore, the disqualification of children's various and multiple identities may ignore specific needs for particular children. When the problematized statistics show experiences solely for 'adolescent boys' and not for 'adolescent boys of color' or 'adolescent boys with disabilities,' the results might not represent all adolescent boys. If the report problematized more statistics for experiences related to children's multi-identities, it would have gotten other results and shown other needs. By only using sex or age in the problematization, the report excludes the realities of many children. Hence, the suggested solutions might not support where children need it.

Moreover, in my analysis, I identify that the report silences the problem of violence against children in the western world (Western Europe and North America). The report uses data mainly conducted outside these regions, and the campaign defends this approach by stating that there is not enough comparable data in these regions. However, the report never reflects upon the effects of this or how that can make the problem representation biased. Also, the campaign presents the data differently depending on the area of the world it presents. Low- and middle-income countries are more likely to be named by country and not solely by region. These

findings could be a result of a western bias as previous research has acknowledged within the CRC and UNICEF (cf. Holzscheiter 2010; Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017; McPherson et al. 2019).

Finally, what do these findings tell us about how the problem of children's rights discriminations is represented to be in UNICEF's campaign #ENDviolence? What are the deep-seated presuppositions and effects of this problem representation? The problem representation does only have a limited intersectional perspective since it only relies upon 'children of age' or 'children as boys or girls.' Thus, it does not represent the diversity of needs among children, and it highlights the needs solely in particular areas of the world. The campaign's strong intertextual connection to the UN, and the writings, CRC and SDGs, could explain the exclusion of diversities and areas of the world. However, by excluding some social groups and children's multiple-identities in the problem representation, suggested "solutions" might not be accurate for supporting particular children and also limiting discourses regarding the violence against children. Hence, children's needs risk being ignored, and they risk experience further discrimination, discrimination such as when particular children are treated in a harmful or disrespectful way on the bases of their background. An alternative approach could be to acknowledge the diversity of children more throughout the report and especially in the problem representation.

As I showed in the analysis, the problem representation only highlights two social categories and ignores children's multiple-identities, and it tends to acknowledge only the majority among children. Thus, subordinated groups of children risk being discriminated by not getting their needs recognized. What these children need might be the opposite or something different from what the majority of children need. For example, the campaign talks about how the laws against corporal punishment at home need to be changed. However, children that identify as LGBTQ+ might first of all need laws that acknowledge them as people with the right to love and be loved, since many countries around the world have laws against same-sex marriage and sexual intercourse (Amnesty n.d.). That might not be a representation of these children's needs, but since the report does not highlight the needs of children identifying as LGBTQ+, one would not know. Thus, discrimination and violence against particular children could continue to happen, and suggested solutions would not necessarily help them.

6.1 Further discussions

In this section, I discuss alternative aspects of the findings and the analysis. First, in the analysis, I highlighted different social groups that are silenced in the problem representation. Social identity is not something stagnant. Instead, it is always changing (Chow 2016:456). Our perceptions of ourselves and others change when we experience new things and as we develop. Thus, the social groups I mention in this thesis might not represent all children around the world. Nevertheless, it highlights the need for understanding children in different ways concerning their identities. Also, it shows the need to listen to children's own experiences, so problem representations can represent those it aims to help.

Furthermore, another important aspect when talking about social groups in the global arena is to reflect upon what categorizations that sphere has acknowledged. As I mentioned in the analysis, the lack of acknowledgment for other social groups in the world can have affected the report's choice to only focus on age and sex. The CRC and SDGs have acknowledged or defined child, sex (boy/girl), and age. Thus, the international sphere has accepted those concepts by adopting or ratifying these documents (OHCHR 2020; UN n.d.). The use of this approach can be a strategy to get the campaign admitted to international social work around the world. For example, if the report would have included experiences of children identifying as LGBTQ+, countries that criminalize homosexuality might not have accepted the campaign. However, by not acknowledging the subordinated groups, UNICEF strengthens the idea that these groups do not exist, or their needs are not essential for the fight against violence. Hence, if there is specific violence against these children that is not acknowledged, the children will continue to be hurt, and the discrimination against the subordinated groups can continue (Crenshaw 1989:140). UNICEF could have acknowledged the groups and made an active reflection on why they are excluded and expressed a need for further acknowledgment in other programs. By doing this, UNICEF would still be able to use the globally accepted terminology regarding children but would not risk contributing to the discrimination against particular children.

The use of social categories in the problem representation needs to be related to the diversity in the world. When making a document aimed to be used all over the world, one needs to use terminology that is adaptable worldwide. Thus, it is essential to know how different countries refer to different social categories. For example, the concept of race is well acknowledged in the US, but in countries such as Sweden, it is foreign to use concepts like that in social work. These countries might use ethnicity or culture to refer to these issues, or they might not have acknowledged the issue at all. Hence, including terminology that is not acknowledged in

different countries, might hinder the possibilities to implement the work in different parts of the world. No matter there might be a need for these terminologies in other countries as well. Nonetheless, without a system acknowledging differences based on, i.e., race, it might be hard to implement suggested solutions based on that.

Moreover, the data on the topic might be extremely limited or nonexistent in some parts of the world if the concept is not nationally acknowledged. Jane McPherson, Carla Cubillos Vega and I-Chen Tang (2019:946) discuss implementing tools in different countries. The authors are looking at how human rights are culturally specific and are trying to measure social workers' commitment to human rights in different parts of the world by using a tool developed in the US. One part of the tool highlighted the experiences of 'black men' (race). However, when the authors applied the tool in other countries, this issue was changed because "mass incarceration of individuals of African descent" was not an identified issue (ibid.). Hence, an international organization's approach must be acknowledged on a global arena to be able to implement these tools in different countries.

Thus, it is fair to ask if it is possible at all to create a global campaign that includes all kinds of identities, and should organizations even aim to do that? By trying to include all kinds of identities among children, it might take the focus away from what the organization aims to do, in UNICEF's case, end violence against children. Since identities are something unstable and constantly changing, and connected to cultures and contexts in the world, achieving this inclusion of identities might not even be possible. However, being aware of people's diversities can open up for seeing institutional structures in society that affect people differently depending on their identities. I believe that instead of focusing on what identities to include or exclude, organizations could acknowledge that there are limitations regarding categorizations.

Furthermore, I argue that these challenges should not be a reason for avoiding talking about diversities and multiple identities. As the results of this study show, when social groups or children's multiple identities are excluded, the suggested help will not reach all children or solely in a limited way (Crenshaw 1991:1246). No matter how an organization chooses to approach these challenges, children's experiences need to be acknowledged, to avoid further discrimination. By recognizing that different social groups exist and openly reflect on that, an organization can still acknowledge them as a group with particular needs and show that the specific document does not include all areas of the issue. An organization needs to reflect both on potential effects of the problem representation and reasons for why identities are excluded. That reflection can show where more research is needed. That is essential because problem representations shape how people understand themselves, the world, and others (Bacchi

1999:60). An international organization can still recognize subordinated groups that are not acknowledged everywhere and explain that they do not include them in the program or policy. Thus, future research would know that there is a need for more information.

Finally, two other essential findings in the problem representation are the campaign's intertextual connection to the UN and the documents, CRC and SDGs, and the silencing of western countries. As I mentioned before, the CRC has been questioned for being a western biased product (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017; McPherson et al. 2019; Thelander 2009). These biases have made the CRC less adaptable in some parts of the world (Laird 2016:315; Mbise 2017:1239). Kallio (2012:90–92) stresses that these western biases and its hegemonic definition of childhood can ignore children's experiences and needs. As I showed in the analysis, the campaign does not acknowledge children's diversity in the problem representation. Thus, it is ignoring the experiences and needs of particular children. When connecting the silencing of the western countries and the intertextual connection to the CRC and SDGs, with previous research, the report shows a tendency to have a western bias (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017; McPherson et al. 2019; Thelander 2009). I argue that this bias silences the experiences and needs of children in western countries, thus, limiting the possibilities of discussing the issues of violence against children in these areas. Also, in line with the previous research, it risks silencing children not included in the western-based idea of a child.

6.2 The relevance of the study

My purpose with this thesis is not to dismantle UNICEF's purpose with the campaign: I wish to highlight the importance of challenging the way we, as people, think, and talk about problems. Because it is essential when creating problem representations in policies and programs around the world. Against this backdrop, I wish to contribute to a way of talking about children's rights that can be more inclusive and reflexive. Also, I want to stress the importance of investigating international social work's problematizations to ensure that what an organization aims to do is also what it does. Nevertheless, when creating policies or programs, and the problematization within it, one needs to be aware of the subjectification that follows. I would argue that no matter what categorizations an organization chooses to use, there should always be a reflection on the choice for a specific approach or method, and how it will affect the outcome of the policy or program. Because it will always affect the outcome of the problematization and how suggested solutions reach people. The problem representation will

also affect how people in society understand the issue, themselves, and others (Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:16).

Furthermore, in this study, I use Carol Bacchi's approach, "What's the problem represented to be?" (WPR). One of the strengths of this method is that it acknowledges the importance of critically investigating policies and programs because they play an essential role in defining and giving meaning to social problems (Bacchi 2012:21; Bacchi and Goodwin 2018:45). The method provides a tool, with six predefined questions, to critically investigate a program and destabilize the taken-for-granted ideas within it. One limitation of using the method solely on one document is that question six, how the problem representation has been disseminated, defended or disrupted, cannot be elaborated and give comprehensive answers. However, this could provide a starting point for further research because it still provides an understanding of what can have disseminated, defended or disrupted a program. Nevertheless, I argue that the WPR approach is a helpful approach to investigate problem representations in the field of human rights and social work. For the present study, it was useful because it focuses on the forces that have shaped the problem representation, which provided an understanding of how the problem representation could be perceived in society.

To sum up, this study has provided an understanding of how children's rights discrimination is represented in a UNICEF campaign. Throughout my analysis, I show how the campaign silences particular children and not even acknowledges others, and also, that the campaign has a tendency towards a western bias. I also show that UNICEF might not fully accomplish what they want to do for all children. As previous literature has shown, by applying unitary human rights ideas in a diverse world, organizations exclude children's diverse experiences (cf. Kallio 2012; Laird 2016; Mbise 2017; Thelander 2009). Thus, for future research, is there a way to create problem representations that do not discriminate against subordinated groups? How can problem representations be created with a broader openness from the start?

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