

Measuring Children's Human Rights Violations: Constructing an International Index of Children's Human Rights

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Abstract

Despite UNICEF's programs to promote their welfare, children's human rights are not a priority for the international community. An International Index of Children's Human Rights (CHILDEX) is proposed with the primary goals of monitoring children's human rights in all countries and strengthening international awareness about children's human rights internationally. There is a significant correlation between CHILDEX and Freedom House's Index (FHI) (Pearson correlation test $r_s = 0.65$, $P < 0.05$). From this positive correlation we can infer that open and democratic societies, independent of their degree of development, were more attentive to children's human rights than non-democratic societies. CHILDEX could serve multiple purposes: (1) it could become an international tool to enhance children's welfare in a standardized manner, (2) it could be useful to children's rights advocate NGOs and IGOs, (3) it could serve as an academic tool that provides data to researchers on children's human rights's progress, and finally (4) it could also serve as a public policy mechanism that could pressure governments to improve their children's human rights policies and their CHILDEX ranking.

Introduction

Children's rights need to be measured and monitored independently from other overall human rights because they constitute a vulnerable sector of the population that needs special protection. (Ensalaco in Ensalaco and Majka, 2005:9, 14) A diversity of indexes has been developed to measure human rights. Indexes such as the Human Development Index (HDI), developed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Freedom Index, developed by Freedom House represent significant contributions for human rights monitoring. These indexes address "human development" and "political/civil rights". However, these do not specifically monitor children's human rights.

Some children's rights indexes have been proposed that measure certain factors related to children's rights such as the International Monitoring Children's Rights Project and the Child Risk Measure. A Children's International Human Rights Index is proposed that specifically measures children's human rights. While HDI and FI might include children in their overall measurement, they do not specifically measure children. In keeping with the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) philosophy, the Children's International Rights Index specifically addresses the need for specific monitoring of children's rights. International conventions and declarations on children's rights state the particular significance of children's rights, and consequently of monitoring these. "The children of the world are innocent, vulnerable and dependent." (World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children 1990) The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), states "that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance" (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989:Preamble paragraph 4) and that "the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, ..." (Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989:Preamble paragraph 9).

An index that monitors implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child has not been developed. UNICEF has published an Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child (2002), which provides guidelines on the implementation on the law, policy and practice of the Convention.

While it is understood that there are limitations to its analytical capacity the Children's International Human Rights Index proposed could still be useful for comparing and following on states' progress. Claude and Jabine (1992) argue that "while the importance

of qualitative perspectives on human rights cannot be denied, the selective and discriminate use of statistical approaches to the topic is useful.” Moreover, these same authors state that “measurement (of human rights), although it might not represent the central feature, must play a role in studying, assessing, and planning for human rights.” (Claude and Jabine, 1992:21).

The Children’s International Human Rights Index emphasizes civil and political rights over social and economic rights. This is modeled on the Convention on the Rights of the Child. According to UNICEF “It is clear that almost all articles (in the CRC) include elements which amount to civil and political rights.” (UNICEF, 2002b:53) This paper’s objective is constructing an index that provides the international community with a quantitative tool to assess children’s human rights.

Children’s Human Rights in the International Context

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) bounded signatory states to implement children’s rights and established a monitoring mechanism under UN Committee on the Rights of the Child supervision. Seventeen years after the international community adopted the Convention progress regarding implementation of children’s human rights has been slow. Even in democratic countries, the situation is far from ideal in terms of enforcement (Hewlett, 1993). Reported children’s human rights and humanitarian violations include: 1) recruitment of children into armed forces and irregular forces, 2) violations against humanitarian rules that protect them in conflict situations, 3) child labor and enslavement, 4) child pornography and prostitution, 5) trafficking of children, 6) child abduction, 7) civil rights violations, and, 8) torture and

mutilation. (Human Rights Watch, 2006) The Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children states that “They (children), suffer immensely as casualties of war and violence; as victims of racial discrimination, apartheid aggression, foreign occupation and annexation; as refugees and displaced children...”.

The international response to the crisis has not been as forceful as the situation requires. It has come mostly from some IGOs such as UNICEF, the UNCRC and ILO and NGOs such as AI, HRW, International Save the Children Alliance and Defense for Children International. While there is an international children’s human rights regime that has enforcement as one of its main tasks, other organizations need to become involved for enforcement to be effective. Among these the following are to be mentioned: the UN Security Council, and the ILO. Children’s human rights violations could be considered no less threatening to international peace than Iran’s, Iraq’s or North Korea’s weapons’ programs. These violations generate immense potential for future conflict (Jongman, 2001). However, the international community has not forcefully implemented any measures to enforce children’s international human rights law. For example, child slavery in Sudan or violations of humanitarian rules protecting children by Russia on Chechnya has not been met by any Security Council response. While greater attention has been placed on these as reflected in the 1990 UN World Summit for Children and the 2002, children’s human rights do not receive priority attention in international fora.

Though the Security Council has adopted resolutions expressing concern for children’s rights violations, it has adopted no further measures to improve the situation. No consideration has been given to the possibility of sanctions or operations to improve the situation. No sanctions have ever been proposed against any government for

tolerating child slavery (e.g. Sudan). This could be considered a “threat to international peace and security” considering that the Security Council has widened its definition of “threats”. (Hawkins, 2003:64-65) The Security Council cannot act on every issue but could certainly stop genocide and slavery against children. This issue is important not only from an ethical standpoint (e.g. children are entitled to human rights and citizenship) but also from a political standpoint since it represents a potentially serious threat to international peace and stability since children’s rights violations can potentially generate conflict.

There have been some advances, such as the consideration of child recruitment as a war crime in the ICC Statute of Rome and the adoption of the Protocols to the Convention of the Rights of the Child. Unlike in the UNHRC, no country ever receives a rapporteur, like in the human rights regime, or is systematically revised. No children’s rights cases have been treated judicially. Children’s human rights violations do not receive enough media coverage. This regime is late compared to the human rights regime.

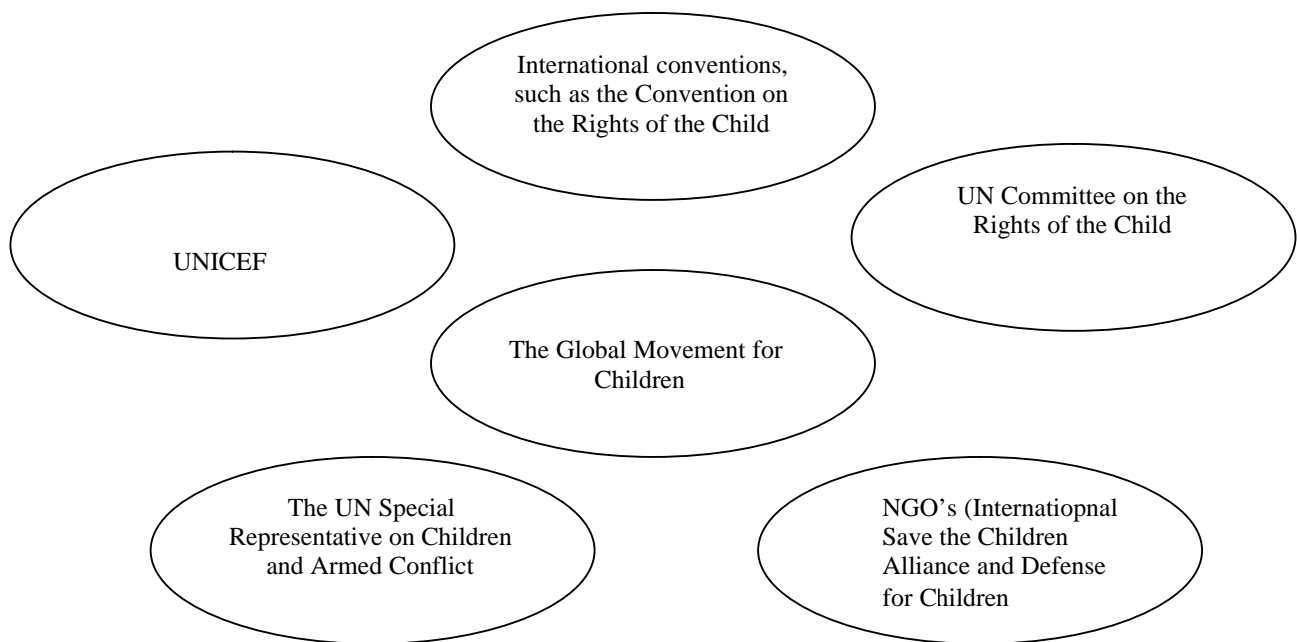
International Regime of Children’s Rights Protection

The regime provides an international institutional and juridical framework to children’s rights, and ideally, establishes an enforcement mechanism for these rights. The regime was consolidated in 1989¹, when the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was adopted, with the primary objective of recognizing their human rights internationally. Children’s rights had been largely marginalized. Though there had been a

¹ The 1959 Declaration on the Rights of the Child was not a convention. Therefore, it had no mandatory character.

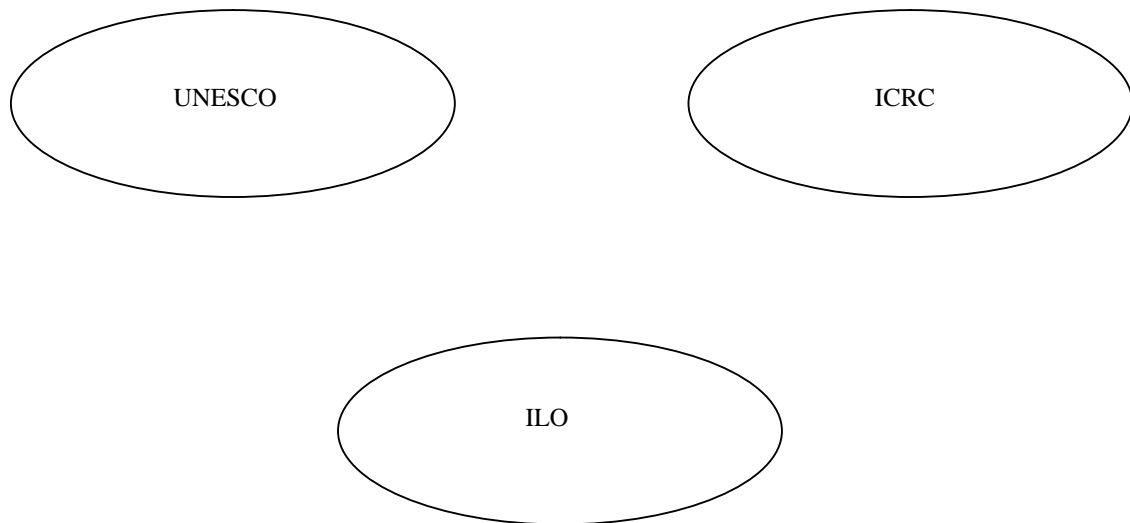
Declaration on the Rights of the Child (1959), this was not legally binding. The importance of the CRC resides in that “The CRC considers the child to be the “subject of rights” rather than the “object” of concern for the state...” (Ensalaco in Ensalaco and Majka, 2005:14) Moreover, the CRC brought about a compulsory character to its rules on children’s rights, making “children rights independent from their parents”. (Saulle, 1995:xiv)

Regime for international protection of children’s rights includes the following institutions:



Some institutions and actors specifically protect children’s rights. The UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF), is an IGO charged with providing emergency and humanitarian aid to children and promotes the adoption of international conventions that protect children. It is the oldest and most basic institution in this regime. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) establishes the rules by which the regime functions. The UN Committee on

the Rights of the Child monitors the situation of children world-wide and each state's implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Some NGOs provide emergency, humanitarian and educational aid to children. These are International Save the Children Alliance and Defense for Children International (these are part of the NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child).



Other institutions and actors protect children indirectly. IO's, such as the UN, the International Labour Organization (ILO), and UNESCO establish specific programs for children, and promote adoption of international conventions on children's rights or undertake summits on children's rights. Humanitarian NGO's, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), pay significant attention to children's issues. Other actors in CRC implementation include: 1) UN Security Council, 2) World Bank, and, 3) WHO (Gerschutz, 2005:32) Other relevant conventions, while not directly targeted at children, have important implications regarding the international recognition of their rights and the protection due them by international law¹.

International human rights regimes are not extremely effective. While the establishment of an independent UN Committee on Children's Rights that monitors the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child constituted a landmark in establishing a children's rights regime, its effectiveness is limited. It is even less effective than the international human rights regime. While a complaint can be filed at the UN Committee on Human Rights, no such mechanism exists at the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. "Child rights" individual complaints can be presented before other committees with competence to consider these. No country is ever condemned by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, they only receive recommendations. No country ever receives a rapporteur like in the human rights regime. Human rights violations against children do not receive as much media attention. Moreover, this regime developed lately in comparison to the human rights regime.

The international community recognizes that every human being is entitled to human rights.² While the international community has developed some instruments to protect children's rights, the enforcement is still limited. Strengthening these instruments is not a priority for governments. Human rights legislation and enforcement mechanisms need to be developed specifically for vulnerable sectors like children (UNICEF, 2001a:3-7). While enforcement is limited in overall human rights, it is still more so regarding children's human rights. Though some advances must be recognized, such as the inclusion of child recruitment as an international crime by the International Criminal Court (International Criminal Court, 1988:13). "Since human rights treaties, like treaties in general, may deal with some aspects of an issue but not others, the processes of implementation frequently include efforts to expand the definition of protected rights,

² See Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

first, by increasing awareness and, second, by negotiating supplementary protocols. (Gershutz and Karns, 2005:33)

Despite universal ratification of the CRC, children's rights legislation and execution remains undeveloped, as exemplified by lack of fulfillment of various articles in the CRC. For example, some countries (e.g. Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Serbia and Montenegro, United Kingdom) still recruit children from 15 to 17 into the armed forces, (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2004:119-288) In some states "children can be liable under criminal law for major offences at a younger age than they can be liable for minor offences." (UNICEF, 2002b: 12). Some states (e.g. United States) breach the prohibition of the death penalty's application for offences alleged under the age of 18 as contained in article 37 (a) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). (UNICEF, 2002b:13) States limit the right to have access to knowledge about one's biological parents, "in some States the capacity to inherit property transactions is achieved only with majority...", (UNICEF, 2002b:14) "Some States indicated in their Initial Reports that there is an age below which children are not permitted to join associations...." (UNICEF, 2002b:14) These policies violate children's freedom of association as guaranteed in articles 12, 13 and 15 of the Convention. "few States as yet have legislation specifically upholding the child's right to freedom of religion....", as established in article 14. (UNICEF, 2002b:14)

Enforcement is executed mainly by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC). A body of independent experts, the CRC monitors implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by its State parties. All States parties are obliged to submit regular reports to the Committee on how the rights are being implemented. (Office of the High

Commissioner for Human Rights, 2006). According to the CRC, the reporting mechanism provides an opportunity for monitoring progress in the Convention's implementation and for facilitating "Popular participation and public scrutiny of government policies." (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 1991) Reports must include evidence of national legislation intended to harmonize with the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Despite the fact that political decisions have a very large impact upon children's lives, children are still denied of political rights and civil rights such as the right to make claims in a court or to have a voice in public affairs (UNICEF, 1997:3). The absence of recognition for their rights "...weakens the position of children seeking redress against violations of rights and diminishes the likelihood of formal channels for so doing" (UNICEF, 1997:3). Both at the national and international levels, children lack voice or representation (UNICEF, 2002c:38-39). By denying them the means to protect themselves, this lack of recognition of civil and political rights weakens the international regime capacity to function properly. Taking into account the limited efficiency of IGO's and children's non-recognition "(t)he tasks of monitoring governments' compliance, publishing data on violations, lobbying for governmental action, educating people about human rights conventions, and organizing grassroots initiatives fall largely to networks of human rights NGOs, making them key actors in the implementation process." (Gerschutz and Karns, 2005:32)

Implementation

While it is one of the most universally ratified human rights conventions, limited implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child has resulted in little real impact in the lives of children in some states. (Kilkelly, 2005:53). According to Kilkelly, the CRC has prioritized the establishment of structures and systems for monitoring and coordinating implementation of the convention. This author explains that this has been done in the European Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and national courts in Canada and the U.S.A. The CRC has promoted greater respect for children's rights by encouraging greater legal reliance on children's rights values throughout the domestic and international legal systems. (Kilkelly, 2005:55) "Nondiscrimination" and "Best Interest" have acquired the standard of customary international law. (Kilkelly, 2005:55) Universal ratification makes reliance on its provisions relatively uncontroversial. (Kilkelly, 2005:55)

Children's Rights Indexes

Children's human rights conventions and UN Summits on children's human rights are fundamental in building a children's human rights regime. However, monitoring also plays a significant role in strengthening this regime. "Indicators for implementation of human rights are essential for developing a strategy for the promotion and protection of those rights and, indeed, for democratic development." (Thede, 2001:259)

Childwatch International Monitoring Children's Rights Project

There are some predecessors to CHILDEX. These are mostly related to UNICEF. The Indicators for Children's Rights project, later known as the Childwatch International Monitoring Children's Rights Project was developed to monitor the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), was proposed in 1993 by the Swedish and British Save the Children, the CRC, UNICEF and Childwatch International to identify and develop indicators for the use in monitoring the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. (Childwatch International, 1993:2) This Index was created as a method to measure to what extent states parties were implementing the Convention. Thus, the Index had a practical and very specific purpose. The Index takes into account that the Convention establishes rights and conditions that are very difficult to measure and that some concepts, such as "the best interest of the child" in the CRC are not clearly defined.

Child Risk Measure

The Child Risk Measure is another index developed by UNICEF to measure the level of risks that a child faces as well as the chances of a "full and healthy development" that a child has in every individual country. Its indicators include: 1) under-five mortality, 2) moderate or severe underweight, 3) primary schooling, likelihood of risk from armed conflict, 4) likelihood of risk from HIV/AIDS. "One limitation of the Index is that it does not incorporate a number of important risks that children face in industrialized countries, such as alienation and loneliness, which are quite difficult to measure." (UNICEF, 1999:1) Other factors that affect adolescent development (i.e. child labor, sexual exploitation, lack of family support) do not form part of this composite index. (UNICEF,

1999:1) While the Index is useful in terms of measuring the variable “risk” as it affects children, it does not measure the overall children’s human rights situation.

Children’s International Human Rights Index

An International Index of Children’s Human Rights (CHILDEX) could contribute to the monitor the evolution of children’s rights worldwide. Furthermore, this index could serve as a pressure tool for governments to improve their children’s human rights standards. Public opinion and international pressure can have a positive impact in terms of pressuring governments to abide by international human rights standards.³

Indicators

CHILDEX is made up of thirteen indicators that measure different categories of rights found in the CRC and that consider the main dimensions of children’s rights. While they do not cover the full range of rights included in the CRC, CHILDEX includes some of the most important internationally recognized categories of human rights contained in the CRC, such as education, gender equality, civil rights, health, rights of minorities, political participation, labor rights, humanitarian protection, socio-economic rights, child abuse, legislation and participation in public affairs.

Some articles of the CRC cannot be measured. There is no reliable data or data for most countries on the rights covered by these articles. Moreover, some of these articles would be, by their own character, very difficult to measure (e.g. privacy, honor and reputation). These include article 3 (Best interest of the child), article 5 (Parental

³ Public opinion can have a positive impact in terms of pressuring the international community to act in favor of human rights. Though the UN Security Council has reacted slowly and lately to Darfur’s genocide, its policies have responded laergely to international public opinion.

guidance), article 16 (Privacy, honor and reputation), article 18 (Both parents common responsibility), article 21 (adoption), article 23 (rights of mentally and physically disabled child), article 31 (right to play), article 33 (protection from narcotic drugs), article 34 (sexual exploitation), and, article 35 (trafficking of children).

However, CHILDEX includes rights that can be measured and that are generally recognized as essential and generally universal to human rights treaties. Many convention provisions reflect those of the UN's more general human rights instruments, but the CRC also recognizes rights specific to children, such as the right to play, the right to maintain regular contact with both parents, and the right to protection from abuse, neglect and ill-treatment. (Kilkelly, 2005:54) The indicators used measure "capacity" of governments to fulfill different rights' categories. It does not take into account "willingness" as a function of its capacity. (Green, 2001:1080)

In its *Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (2002), UNICEF establishes implementation checklists requesting both qualitative and statistical information in order to determine if a country is fulfilling its obligations under the CRC. No "indicators" however are mentioned. (Green, 2001:1080) Its indicators reflect those aspects that are most essential to human rights of the child.

1. Ratification of International Instruments that protect children's rights. International conventions are essential because they protect children's rights universally. International instruments protecting children's rights were adopted lately compared to other human rights conventions. It was not until 1989 that a major convention on children's human rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, was adopted. The two additional protocols protect children against human traffic, prostitution and pornography and from

military recruitment respectively. There are also the International Labour Organization conventions against child labour (No. 182) and a convention (No. 138) that establishes a minimum age for work. These conventions are all children-specific. Other instruments include the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*. There are also other international instruments that, while not specifically directed to children, contain some articles that particularly protect children. These include: the *Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War* (1949), and the *Second Optional Protocol aiming at the abolition of the death penalty* (1989).

This indicator is important because the adoption of international instruments creates an obligation by the signatory countries to respect certain rules that protect international children's rights. When states sign international conventions they are making a compromise to change their internal laws to protect children's rights. It is also important that the international community subscribe children-specific treaties because these conventions underline the importance of children's rights, call international attention to the issue, recognize children's world citizenship and create a legal mechanism that allows denouncing the violation of international compromises.

2. Repression of child labour and enslavement. This variable is highly important in terms of demonstrating a country's commitment to children's rights. The International Labour Organization estimates that 352, 000, 000 children work world-wide. (International Labour Organization, 2003:1) Child labour and enslavement violates the basic civil and social right of children not to work, to obtain a basic education and to have a joyous life

at this crucial moment in their lives. Working and/or enslavement has long-term consequences for the development of the individual as it limits the opportunities for further advancement.⁴ Article 32 falls within this category.

3. Enforcement of children's civil rights. Despite its significance, enforcing children's civil rights is tainted by controversy. The recognition of children's civil rights is highly undeveloped, even in the most advanced, open and progressive societies. While almost every country has ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, enforcement of these rights is rather incomplete. Children's civil rights confront a philosophical and political problem: no doctrine or country fully recognizes granting children civil rights. Major civil rights violations reported by NGO's and IGO's against children include: sexual exploitation, slavery, torture, forced-conscriptions, violation of humanitarian rules as applicable to children, child abuse and child labour. Some international legislation exists that guarantees certain civil rights to children.⁵

⁴ Since 1992, the ILO has distinguished itself in terms of the defense of children's right not to be exploited nor enslaved. Through this program, the ILO has implemented initiatives to prevent child labour and slavery in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The approach of this program consists in pulling children away from labour by combating poverty, ignorance, lack of education and lack of law enforcement, which are the main causes for child labour exploitation. The International Labour Organization has established the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour. More than 90 countries now support this initiative and 65 countries benefit directly from projects that prevent children from becoming involved in labour, that remove them from situations through rehabilitation and education and that provide them with livelihoods for their families through decent work. (UNICEF, 2000:28) Also in 1999, the ILO adopted unanimously the Convention on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The Convention addresses issues such as child slavery, recruitment of child soldiers, forced labour, trafficking, bondage, serfdom, prostitution, pornography, and hazardous and exploitative work. The International Labour Organization created an International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), a decade ago, which gathers data and research on child labour. The programme has also had a significant impact in terms of gathering momentum to achieve the goal of eliminating child labour.

⁵ The International Convention on the Rights of the Child establishes a compromise to protect children against any type of discrimination, independent of race, colour, gender, language, religion, political opinion or any other consideration. The Convention also recognizes the supreme right to life of every child. The Convention also guarantees other basic liberties like: the right to a name and nationality, the right to preserve the identity, the right to express opinions, liberty of expression, liberty of thought, conscience and religion, liberty of association, protection of the children privacy, right to security and protection by the

4. Policies to correct child abuse. Child abuse is one of the most widespread types of violence tolerated. It is so embedded in human culture that almost no country outlaws parents' violence against children. Only 16 countries (e.g. Austria, Finland, Norway, Sweden) have established legislation that protects children from physical punishment.⁶ (Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment, 2006)

5. Internal legislation to protect children's rights. This indicator measures each country's progress in terms of children's protection legislation. The Scandinavian countries are the most advanced in terms of legislation that protects children's rights. Internal legislation is generally highly. Children tend to be one of the least protected sectors by legislation. "...the Committee on the Rights of the Child has emphasized the particular importance of ensuring that all domestic legislation is compatible with the Convention..." (UNICEF, 2002b:53)

state against abuse, special protection to refugee children, right not to be tortured, the right not to have his/her liberty curtailed. It also provides protection for humanitarian rights such as not to be recruited or forced to participate in armed hostilities. With respect to individual guarantees in case of confronting an accusation by the penal system, the Convention guarantees his/her fundamental liberties such as presumption of innocence, that he be informed of the accusations that are being made against him, to have legal assistance for his/her defense, to receive justice diligently, that his age circumstances will be taken into consideration, not to be forced to declare nor to declare himself/herself guilty, to have his/her case submitted to an impartial, neutral tribunal, to receive adequate translation if the case is conducted in a language different to his/her native tongue, to have his private life respected throughout the process. The Convention also establishes that the state parties shall take measures to establish children-specific institutions for the administration of justice, a minimum age for establishing responsibility for penal accusations, the adoption of measures that may substitute a penal case, and the adoption of measures that can serve as a substitute for internment. It also establishes a minimum age for marriage consent. In view of the alarming humanitarian situation of children's civil rights certain measures should be adopted such as having the human rights NGO's reporting a special chapter on children's rights, adopting a convention on children humanitarian rights and giving children greater voice in international and public affairs.

⁶ Child abuse has been demonstrated to have long-term consequences such as violent behaviour and low self-esteem. Millions of children fall victim to child abuse yearly.

6. Access to education and intellectual development. Children's levels of education and intellectual development are an indicator of a country's policy towards children, and reflect to what extent they are a priority or not. Investment in education correlates with children's welfare. (UNICEF, 2002b:431-432) Education has been measured mainly in terms of literacy, even though there are other concerns about education that also need to be addressed. The extent to which priorities are not well-established is illustrated by the fact that many societies The common policy of greater investment in defense than in education indicates to what extent children's rights are not a priority in many countries.

On education, UNICEF emphasizes budgets, progress, NGO's/civil society partners that might help in the process, monitoring and evaluation, and educating both adults and children about the process. UNICEF criteria deal more with operationalizing the right. CHILDEX focuses more on whether the right is being fulfilled.

7. Access to health services. This indicator concerns one of the main issues concerning children's human rights. Many governments do not invest enough resources on it, resulting in unnecessary deaths and suffering for children, which is particularly vulnerable to health problems.⁷ Many children die from lack to vaccination, lack of hygiene or dehydration. These are relatively easy to solve-problems. But their persistence demonstrates how misplaced political priorities are in most states.

8. Measures to correct child abandonment. It refers to children who face particularly harsh circumstances such as working children, abandoned children and children who face humanitarian crises. Many countries face absolutely staggering conditions of child

⁷ UNICEF has established a programme for achieving the concrete goals of the International Convention on Children's Rights

abandonment, a problem that leads to further social problems. These children fall under a category proposed by UNICEF, the “Children under Especially-Difficult Circumstances”. (Espert, 1988)⁸ This is one of the threatening situations currently facing the international community (Jongman, 2001). However, the issue evades public debate.

9. Children’s voice in public affairs. Political and social systems provide extremely limited or no voice to children in public affairs. It has only been recently that institutions have been created in order to give children some say through public institutions such as the Children’s Ombudsmen. These were first established in Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Countries and regional jurisdictions like Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, the Canadian Provinces, Colombia, Costa Rica, France, Guatemala, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Macedonia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, South Africa, the Spanish Autonomous Communities, Sweden and Wales have followed the example of Scandinavia by establishing Children’s Ombudsmen or parallel institutions. (UNICEF, 1997:14-19) Some, like Finland and Israel have NGO-funded institutions. However, children’s voice in public affairs remains highly limited by the reluctance to consider their interests seriously. (UNICEF, 2001a:13-14) While the establishment of Ombudsmen offices constitutes an advancement in terms of providing children with some public voice, there are still almost no mechanisms for allowing children to manifest their voice in public affairs.

⁸ Other categories, such as working children, abused children, children in situations of armed conflict, and children in situations of natural disaster are also considered “Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances.

10. Rights of female children. Female children's rights could be an indicator of how far a country has advanced in terms of achieving equality for all its citizens. Female children are in an even worse situation than male children basically in every country. Education, health and other indicators, as related to female children, reveal this tendency. (UNICEF, 1993:1-11). Some states restrict their rights, for cultural or religious reasons, to such an extent as to make it very difficult for them to ever achieve equality or to progress. (UNICEF, 1993:3-4) Some instances of female children abuse are particularly dramatic, such as female circumcision, forced marriages without the girls' consent, discrimination in educational opportunities and continuous sexual abuse. (UNICEF, 2002b:31-34)

11. Child military recruitment and violation of humanitarian rules that protect children. This problem has become widespread, particularly in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Instead of receding, the problem has aggravated in the last decades. The easy accessibility to light weapons and the uncontrolled arms trade has made it easier to manipulate children for these purposes. (Machel, 1994:6) Children are kidnapped and recruited into both armies and irregular forces, forced to become soldiers. They usually perform the worst functions in these armies, acting as servants and first rank soldiers. (Machel, 1994:6-7) ⁹ Conflicts generate large-scale violations of human rights, including

⁹ The international community has tried to correct this problem by adopting the Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. States that sign this protocol are required to report regularly on the measures that they have undertaken in order to implement the Protocol. The Protocol raises from 15 to 18 the age at which forced recruitment into the armed conflict is permitted. The Protocol, adopted in 2000, has been signed by 80 countries and ratified by 4. Child-recruitment is considered an international humanitarian crime as .

situations of mass murder, torture and genocide in which children become the main victims. Consequently, child recruitment and humanitarian rules violations constitute an essential indicator in measuring children's rights.

12. Treatment of minority children. Children who belong to minority groups have a probability of being subjected to discrimination and marginalization associated with belonging to minority groups. (UNICEF, 2002b:30) These include discrimination in educational opportunities, restrictions to the free expression of their cultural heritage and discrimination in access to basic social services such as education, health services and housing.

13. Measures to correct children's poverty. Children are particularly vulnerable to poverty because of their dependence and lack of independent income. Children live in poverty world-wide. Poverty limits the possibility of progress for children. (UNICEF, 2002b:379)

Theory

Human rights theory has become accepted to the extent that governments can no longer ignore it. Every UN member state has accepted legal and moral compromises on human rights by virtue of signing the Charter of the United Nations.

According to the universalist theory of human rights, being human entitles all to recognition of their rights. All human beings are entitled to human rights regardless of any juridical context. Human rights are, from a Kantian perspective, a categorical

imperative (Reiss, 1988:18). Human rights are independent of any cultural, historical and philosophical context (Peces-Barba, 1993:11-12). Finally, human rights are universal and transcend any local value system (Peces-Barba, 1993:11). This theory does not make any exceptions. In this context, children would be entitled to participate in any recognition and enforcement of human rights.

Johan Galtung's theory (maximalism) interprets peace as a concept that transcends just the "absence of violence" (del Arenal, 1990: 349).¹⁰ A strong link is established between human rights, children's rights specifically, and peace. Children's human rights come particularly under attack during conflicts. (Jongman, 2001). As part of a feedback system, conflicts are frequently generated by human rights violations. Conflicts often result in gross human rights violations such as genocide, war crimes, torture and ethnic cleansing, in which this sector is the most vulnerable object. Considering the high frequency of military conflict in the international system, the need to protect children from its catastrophic consequences becomes an ethical imperative.

Various models could be proposed to conceptualize children's human rights. One possibility is using the CRCs typology of the rights included in the Convention on the Rights of the Child into the following categories: 1) General principles, 2) Civil rights and freedoms, 3) Family environment and alternative care, 4) Health and welfare, 5) Education, leisure and cultural activities, and, 6) Special protection measures. (UNICEF, 2002b:674-688) Another is Gibson's Typology that establishes the following categories: 1) civil and political rights, 2) legal rights, 3) economic, social and cultural rights and, 4)

¹⁰ From the perspective of Galtung's theory, the violation of children's human rights would constitute structural (indirect) violence and would consequently create a permanent state of violence. Peace does not exist unless its root causes have been overcome. The violation of children's human rights creates a state of *latent* violence that will eventually become *manifest*.

collective rights. (Green, 2001:1069) The advantage of UNICEF's is that is it children-specific and children oriented. It centers on their needs and peculiarities.

The thirteen indicators that compose CHILDEX are based on three different theoretical approaches. Consequently, CHILDEX is based theoretically on a standard that establishes that, as human beings children are entitled to: 1) basic needs, 2) participatory rights, peace rights¹¹ and humanitarian protection, and 3) guarantees against the political system and protection by the international system.¹²

Hypothesis

It was hypothesized that free and democratic countries will perform better (have higher rankings) on the CHILDEX than countries that are not free or are only partly free.” This hypothesis makes logical and intuitive sense, given that free and democratic countries tend to respect the rights of their citizens to a greater extent than countries that are not free or are only partly free.

The second hypothesis tested whether countries with a high Human Development Index will perform better (have higher rankings) on the CHILDEX than countries with a low Human Development Index. This hypothesis is based upon the assumption that countries that address HDI indicators like education, participation and health significantly will be likely to give greater attention to the rights of their child population.

¹¹ The concept of peace rights is proposed and includes the right to a peaceful development, the right not to be recruited militarily, the neutralization of children in wars, the right to receive humanitarian protection in war-time and protection from landmines, which are particularly cruel to children.

¹² For a discussion on participatory rights and basic needs see Claude and Weston, 1989:46-180.

Methodology

Constructing CHILDEX

CHILDEX is a composite index based on thirteen indicators. Taking into account different theoretical approaches to human rights, this index gives equal weight to the human needs, participatory rights and humane governance approaches, considering the application of these all essential for the realization of children's human rights.

Therefore, the indicators are classified into three categories that include human needs, participatory rights and humane governance indicators. Human needs emphasize social goods essential for human subsistence (Claude and Weston, 1989:116). The human needs indicators include: 1) child education, 2) child health, 3) child labor, and, 4) child poverty. Participatory rights imply respect for basic human dignity, such as the right to personal liberty, security and survival, and claims to equality through participation and guarantees against discrimination (Claude and Weston, 1989:46). Within this category are included indicators such as: 5) children's participation in public affairs, 6) implementation of children's civil liberties, 7) rights to humanitarian protection, 8) rights of female children, and, 9) rights of minority children. Lastly, it has also been considered necessary to include humane governance indicators¹³ that imply greater enforcement of

¹³ The concept of governance implies a transformation of the international political order and institutions that would allow enforcement of international legal rules and would subordinate sovereignty to universal rules.

international rules. (Falk, R., 1981:29) These indicators, related to the adoption of international law instruments and to internal legislation, legally bind governments to implement these rights and provide guarantees to children citizens. The humane governance indicators included are: 10) international conventions protecting children's rights and, 11) internal legislation protecting children's rights.

Data derived from Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGO's), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in particular, was obtained for a sample of 169 countries from all continents. CHILDEX was calculated for 161 of these countries. Data was incomplete for 8 countries, for which CHILDEX could not be determined. A rank from 1 (low) to 10 (high) was assigned to each country for every indicator based on a scale in which those factors considered most significant were assigned values. For example, the ranking on the International Instruments Indicator was assigned based on the number of children-relevant treaties that a country has signed or ratified. Table 2 illustrates the values that were assigned based on the children's human rights conventions signed or ratified.

Table 2. Factors considered in determining the International Instruments Indicator

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Value</i>
Convention on the Rights of the Child	4 points on ratification, 2 points on signing, 0 points on failure to ratify or sign
Protocol on the Recruitment of Children	2 points on ratification, 1 point on signing, 0 points on failure to ratify or sign
Protocol on Sale, Pornography and Prostitution	2 points on ratification, 1 point signing, 0 points on failure to ratify or sign
International Labor Organization (ILO)	2 points on signing both
Convention 182 and Convention 138, protecting children from child labor	1 point on signing one, 0 points on signing none

† Greater value is attributed to the Convention on the Rights of the Child than to other conventions because it is the most important and thorough convention on children's rights. The other conventions are specialized. how you got the numbers 4,2,1

Some are composite indicators, such as the Right to Humanitarian Protection/Child Recruitment Indicator. This indicator was determined taking into consideration a number of the factors (Table 3) considered relevant.

Table 3. Factors considered for determining the values of the Humanitarian Protection/Recruitment Indicator

<i>Child Recruitment Situation</i>	<i>Values</i>
Child Recruitment	6 points on no recruitment-no conflict or political terror 5 points on no recruitment-political terror 3 points on voluntary recruitment-no conflict 2 points on forced recruitment-no conflict 1 point on forced recruitment-political terror or conflict
Level of Political Terror that children are exposed to and level of war violence that children confront	2 points on high political terror or war violence 1 point on some political terror and war violence 0 points on no terror and no war violence
International conventions that protect children from military recruitment	2 points on ratification of Protocol on Child Recruitment 1 point on signing of Protocol on Child Recruitment 0 points on failure to ratify or sign Protocol on Child Recruitment

The Female Rights' Indicator was determined taking into consideration female children's education and health levels as compared to male children's levels.

Table 4. Factors considered in determining the values of the Female Children's Indicator

<i>Female children's literacy rates (%)</i>	<i>Values</i>
90-100	10
80-89	9
70-79	8
60-69	7
50-59	6
40-49	5
30-39	4
20-29	3
10-19	2
0-9	1

Female children's under-5 mortality ranking

Values

170+	10
150-169	9
130-149	8
110-129	7
90-109	6
70-89	5
50-69	4
30-49	3
10-29	2
1-9	1

With regard to the children's health indicator, the factor taken into consideration was the under-5 mortality rank. This factor is considered essential because under-5 mortality correlates with overall children's health.

Table 5. Factors considered in determining the values of the Children's Health Indicator

<i>Under-5 mortality rank</i>	<i>Values</i>
4-10	10
11-15	9
16-20	8
21-25	7
26-35	6
36-44	5
45-60	4
61-80	3
81-120	2
121+	1

Table 6. Factors considered in determining the values of the Education Indicator

Children attending primary school is the fundamental factor in determining the education indicator. Achieving primary school education is considered the first and foremost goal in educating children. “Primary education for all is not only a right; education has a major positive effect on the well-being of children and adults.” (UNICEF, 2001b:10)

Children attending primary school (%)	Values
90-100	10
80-89	9
70-79	8
60-69	7
50-59	6
40-49	5
30-39	4
20-29	3
10-19	2
0-9	1

The CHILDEX for each country was estimated from the arithmetic mean of 8 of the 13 indicators originally selected. Data for the other five was not found or was incomplete.

The CHILDEX for each country was subsequently ranked and classified according to the scale represented in table 7.

Table 7. Values and levels in the Children International Human Rights Index

<i>CHILDEX</i>	<i>Level</i>	<i>Description</i>
10-9	High	These countries reflect concern about children rights. Some of them have established institutions specialized in monitoring these rights. They reflect high values in almost every indicator. Some problems are always probable.
8-7	High-Medium	High-medium countries have applied policies that attempt to correct children human rights abuses, but problems persist on different indicators.
6-5	Medium	Medium-level countries have implemented policies concerning children human rights but have omitted almost completely other policies that are also essential to preserve these rights.
4-3	Low-Medium	These countries reflect serious problems regarding children human rights. They rank low on most indicators, though they might rank medium on a few.
2-1	Low	These countries reflect grave and extreme children human rights abuses. Their alarming situation merits international mobilization.

Countries were then classified by geographical-political regions. Then, CHILDEX was also determined for each region and these were also ranked. CHILDEX expands the number of indicators that have usually been used in previous indexes. It transcends the basic needs and participatory rights approaches to include rights to humanitarian protection as well as international conventions.

Analysis

A Pearson Correlation Test was performed to establish the degree of association between CHILDEX and other variables. It demonstrated that there was a positive significant correlation between CHILDEX and the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI is published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). HDI's scale is compatible with CHILDEX's (10 maximum, 1 minimum). A Pearson Correlation Test was also performed to determine the degree of association between the CHILDEX and the Freedom Index. Freedom Index is published by Freedom House. The Freedom Index measures civil liberties and political freedom in every country and territory. It is constructed on a scale that starts from a maximum of 1 to a minimum of 7. To make it comparable to CHILDEX, the FI was converted into the 10 maximum and 1 minimum upon which CHILDEX is based. This correlation was used to test the initial hypothesis.

Results

Overall, the CHILDEX ranges from a low of 1.88 in the case of Sudan to a 9.63 obtained by Sweden. Brazil and Botswana represent the middle range with 6.50. The pattern suggests that democratic countries in general obtain a high or high/medium

CHILDEX. Even countries with developing economies but with a high or relatively high Freedom Index, such as Uruguay and Seychelles, rank relatively high on CHILDEX. The socialist and former socialist countries also rank relatively high on certain indicators of the CHILDEX.

Correlation tests were performed to determine if there was a significant correlation between the established indexes and CHILDEX. CHILDEX is consistent with the Human Development Index (HDI) after a significant correlation coefficient with HDI ($r= 0.85$, $P<0.05$) resulted. Based on a Pearson correlation test, CHILDEX was significantly correlated with FHI ($r= 0.72$, $P< 0.05$). Green (1089) A UNDP Index was considered reliable (“...extensive use of UNDP and World Bank numbers, for example, is made by committees overseeing economic, social and cultural rights, and by NGOs that monitor and report on national human rights compliance issues.”)

Inferences

CHILDEX has allowed a quantitative assessment of children’s human rights. CHILDEX is proposed as an instrument that measures violations of children’s human rights. The development of this index responds to the need of a quantitative measure of the massive violations of human rights that children confront worldwide. CHILDEX could also allow a comparison by countries that can be used to monitor the progress of children’s rights universally. CHILDEX has been applied to 169 countries. In order to analyze the results and tendencies countries have been classified by levels of democratic and economic development. In the appendix, countries are organized geographically to reflect regional tendencies.

Results reflect correlations between children human rights and levels of freedom and human development. A high value on the FI (9-10) is associated to high and high/medium values on CHILDEX (7-10). There are various reasons that can explain this:

- 1) Democratic and free countries tend to have greater respect for human rights. One can conclude that these countries would value more their children's human rights and welfare, even though even democratic countries still do not fully implement them.
- 2) A greater degree of freedom can increase the public pressure on governments to enforce children's rights.
- 3) A greater degree of press freedom can result in a greater possibility of children's rights violations being publicized.

Countries like Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, and Sweden are representative of this group of countries that are free and reach high levels of human development that obtain a very high CHILDEX value. Most countries obtaining a 9-10 value in CHILDEX are found within this group.

Some former socialist, economically-developed countries in transition to a market economy reflect a high-medium value in CHILDEX. Socialists and former socialists, both developed and developing countries, such as Cuba, Kazakhstan, Libya, Poland and Zimbabwe obtain high values on human needs indicators, like child education. Despite the limited success of some of these countries in terms of their economic development, policies have been implemented to improve children's human needs indicators.

Free countries with developing economies like Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Papua New Guinea and Uruguay reflect a pattern of high and medium values in participatory rights indicators (rights to humanitarian protection, children's voice in public affairs) and high or medium levels in some human needs indicators, like child education. Despite their lack of economic development, these countries implement policies that reflect some degree of concern for their citizens' rights, in this case their children population. The fact that some of these countries score relatively well on the participation in public affairs indicator reflects a willingness to guarantee participatory rights and constitutes a measure of relative advancement in children's rights.

Democratizing/developing countries (e.g. Colombia, Brazil) obtain medium or medium/low ranks on CHILDEX and on the individual indicators. Authoritarian/developing countries (i.e. Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Sudan) obtain medium/low or low rank on all types of indicators. This range suggests an association between levels of freedom and development with children's rights.

By measuring application of human rights indexes to children, CHILDEX has supplemented an existing gap in terms of human rights indexes. Results include all sovereign nations. Non-sovereign territories have been mostly excluded, not for lack of relevance, but for difficulty in obtaining data. UNICEF and other relevant IGO's do not usually provide data about these territories. Constructing a children's human rights index allows for correlating its results with other human rights indexes.

There is an indication also that implementation of children's rights is also correlated with human development. Countries with a high HDI perform well on CHILDEX. This correlation sustains the possibility of a link between human development and children's

human rights. This research project has been undertaken assuming Galtung's theoretical construct that peace is correlated with human development and with implementation of international human rights standards. (Galtung, 1969: 167-191) As the latter two variables have been associated, further tests could be performed to determine a possible association among these two and peace.

In regional terms, Europe, particularly the Nordic countries, executes the most progressive policies towards children. North America, Japan and Australia also rank high or medium/high on CHILDEX. Asia reflects a disturbing pattern of low scores on children's participatory rights (female children, public affairs and civil liberties). Latin American countries obtain medium ranges on almost all indicators. This is to be interpreted neither as average nor as acceptable ranks on children's rights since their situation is rather grave. It can only be interpreted as medium compared to other regions and continent. Africa obtains the lowest CHILDEX values. Its situation is rather disturbing on child recruitment/rights to humanitarian protection and child poverty.

The hypotheses have been tested through tests that indicate a correlation between freedom and children's human rights, as well as between human development and children's human rights. The correlation test sustained the initial hypothesis of this research project: "Given that free and democratic countries tend to respect their citizens' rights, these will perform better in the CHILDEX than those that are not free or are only partly free". It also sustained the second hypothesis of this research project: "Countries with a high Human Development Index will perform better (have higher rankings) on the CHILDEX than countries with a low Human Development Index".

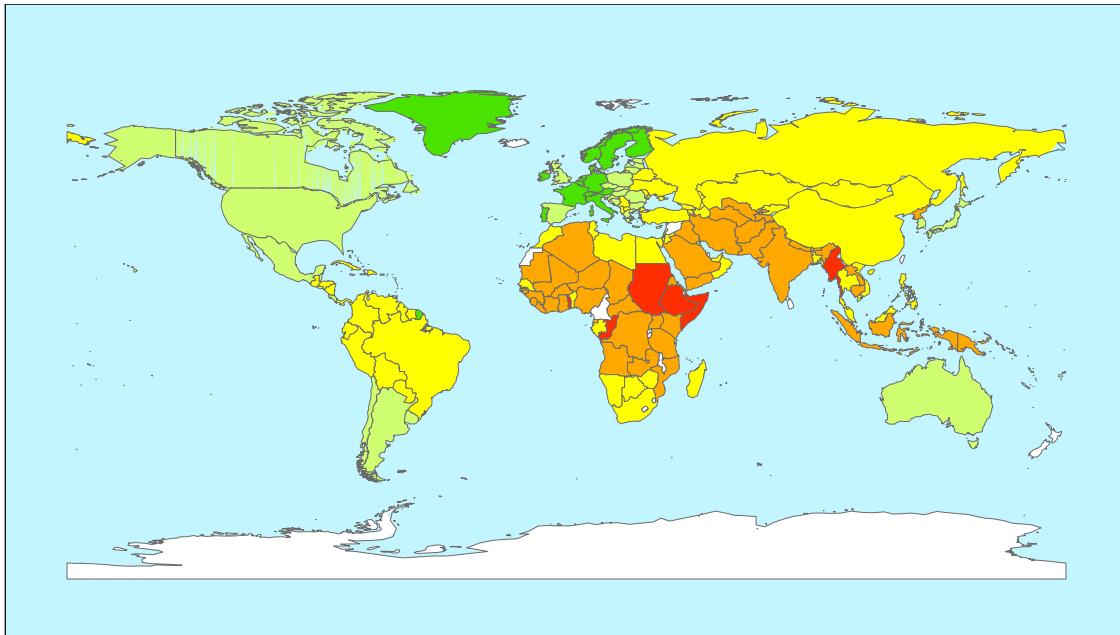
Results have been organized by groups of countries. Countries have been classified in five groups, according to levels of democracy and of economic development.

Table 8. Comparison of CHILDEX, FHI and HDI indeces among continents. CHILDEX was based on a mean 13 indicators. Ranks were assigned as follows: 10-9 (high), 8-7 (high-medium), 6-5 (medium), 4-3 (low-medium), 2-1 (low).

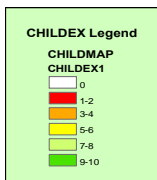
<i>Continent</i>	<i>CHILDEX (Rank)</i>	<i>FHI (Rank)</i>	<i>HDI (Rank)</i>
Europe, North America	7.93 (1)	8.57 (2)	8.57 (1)
Australia & Oceania	7.24 (2)	9.00 (1)	7.24 (3)
Latin America	6.63 (3)	7.77 (3)	7.68 (2)
Asia	5.05 (4)	4.08 (5)	7.06 (4)
Africa	4.29 (5)	4.58 (4)	4.95 (5)

CHILDREN'S INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MAP AND CHILDEX

VALUES DATA



0 1,300 2,600 5,200 7,800 Kilometers



CHILDEX: Children's International Human Rights Index Map
Waldemar Arroyo-Rojas
Geographical Representation of CHILDEX

Table 9. CHILDEX World Rank, CHILDEX, FHI and HDI values for European and North American countries.

<i>Country</i>	<i>CHILDEX World Rank</i>	<i>CHILDEX</i>	<i>FI</i>	<i>HDI</i>
Sweden	1	9.63	10.00	9.41
Belgium	2	9.57	10.00	9.37
Norway	3	9.50	10.00	9.44
France	3	9.50	10.00	9.25
Denmark	3	9.50	10.00	9.30
Italy	6	9.25	10.00	9.16
Portugal	7	9.25	10.00	8.96
Ireland	8	9.13	10.00	9.30
Switzerland	9	9.00	10.00	9.32
Austria	9	9.00	10.00	9.29
Finland	9	9.00	10.00	9.30
Germany	9	9.00	10.00	9.21
Netherlands	9	9.00	10.00	9.38
United States	14	8.88	10.00	9.37
Slovenia	15	8.86	10.00	8.81
Malta	16	8.71	10.00	8.56
Luxemburg	17	8.63	10.00	9.30
United Kingdom	17	8.63	10.00	9.30

Canada	19	8.50	10.00	9.37
Hungary	19	8.50	10.00	8.37
Cyprus	21	8.43	10.00	8.91
Andorra	22	8.40	10.00	-
San Marino	22	8.40	10.00	-
Spain	24	8.29	10.00	9.18
Croatia	25	8.25	9.00	8.18
Monaco	26	8.20	-	-
Liechtenstein	-	-	-	-
Slovakia	29	8.00	10.00	8.36
Czech Republic	34	7.86	10.00	8.61
Lithuania	35	7.71	10.00	8.24
Estonia	36	7.63	10.00	8.33
Serbia & Montenegro	37	7.50	8.00	-
Greece	40	7.43	10.00	8.92
Latvia	41	7.38	10.00	8.11
Romania	44	7.29	9.00	7.73
Bosnia-Herzegovina	47	7.14	5.00	7.77
Poland	48	7.00	10.00	8.41
Bulgaria	48	7.00	10.00	7.95
Macedonia	48	7.00	7.00	7.84
Albania	60	6.63	7.00	7.35
Russian Federation	76	6.00	4.00	7.79

Ukraine	78	5.86	5.00	7.66
Georgia	83	5.63	5.00	7.62
Moldova	83	5.63	3.00	7.00
Azerbaijan	98	5.13	3.00	7.44
Belarus	102	5.00	2.00	8.04
Armenia	102	5.00	5.00	7.29

Freedom House publishes a yearly Freedom Index. These results correspond to 1999-2000. The Freedom House's Index has been transformed into the 1-10 system.

Table 10. CHILDEX World Rank, CHILDEX, FHI and HDI values for Latin American countries. CHILDEX was based on a mean of 13 indicators. Ranks were assigned as follows: 10-9 (high), 8-7 (high-medium), 6-5 (medium), 4-3 (low-medium), 2-1 (low).

<i>Country</i>	<i>CHILDEX World Rank</i>	<i>CHILDEX</i>	<i>FHI</i>	<i>HDI</i>
Barbados	29	8.00	10.00	8.88
Bahamas	29	8.00	10.00	8.12
Uruguay	29	8.00	10.00	8.34
Costa Rica	37	7.50	10.00	8.32
Chile	41	7.38	10.00	8.31
Belize	41	7.38	10.00	7.76
Mexico	45	7.25	9.00	8.00
Argentina	48	7.00	7.00	8.49
Trinidad/Tobago	48	7.00	7.00	8.02
Panama	54	6.88	10.00	7.88
Venezuela	54	6.88	6.00	7.75
Peru	59	6.75	8.00	7.52
Dominican Rep.	60	6.63	9.00	7.37
Cuba	63	6.57	1.00	8.06
Brazil	64	6.50	7.00	7.77
Paraguay	65	6.38	6.00	7.51
El Salvador	70	6.25	8.00	7.19

Guyana	72	6.13	9.00	-
Colombia	72	6.13	6.00	7.79
Honduras	72	6.13	7.00	6.67
Guatemala	79	5.75	7.00	6.52
Ecuador	86	5.50	7.00	7.31
Suriname	92	5.38	10.00	7.62
Nicaragua	94	5.36	7.00	6.43
Bolivia	98	5.13	10.00	6.72

Table 11. CHILDEX World Rank, CHILDEX, FI and HDI values for Australia & Oceanic countries.

<i>Country</i>	<i>CHILDEX World Rank</i>	<i>CHILDEX</i>	<i>FI</i>	<i>HDI</i>
Niue	-	-		
Australia	29	8.00	10.00	9.39
Cook Islands	-	-	-	-
Tonga	-	-	-	-
Palau	62	6.60	-	-
Micronesia	-	-	-	-
Marshall Island	85	5.57	10.00	-
Samoa	91	5.40	9.00	7.75
Timor Leste	114	4.75	7.00	-
Kiribati	126	4.33	9.00	-
Solomon Islands	-	-	-	6.32
Papua New-Guinea	142	3.33	10.00	5.48

Table 12. CHILDEX World Rank, CHILDEX, FI and HDI values for Asian countries.

<i>Country</i>	<i>CHILDEX World Rank</i>	<i>CHILDEX</i>	<i>FI</i>	<i>HDI</i>
Japan	28	8.14	10.00	9.32
Korea, Rep.	28	8.14	9.00	8.79
Kuwait	37	7.50	5.00	8.20
Brunei Darussalam	46	7.17	3.00	8.72
United Arab Emirates	54	6.88	3.00	8.16
Bahrain	58	6.86	4.00	8.39
Israel	66	6.43	9.00	9.05
Malaysia	68	6.29	4.00	7.90
Oman	69	6.25	3.00	7.55
Philippines	76	6.00	8.00	7.51
Thailand	79	5.75	8.00	7.68
Lebanon	86	5.50	3.00	7.52
Kyrgyzstan	86	5.50	3.00	7.27
Jordan	86	5.50	3.00	7.43
Viet Nam	92	5.38	1.00	6.88
Turkey	97	5.14	6.00	7.34
Mongolia	98	5.13	9.00	6.61
Kazakhstan	102	5.00	3.00	7.65
Maldives Islands	102	5.00	3.00	7.51

China	102	5.00	1.00	7.21
Bangladesh	102	5.00	5.00	5.02
Saudi Arabia	111	4.86	1.00	7.69
Indonesia	111	4.86	6.00	6.82
Tajikistan	113	4.83	3.00	6.77
Iran	120	4.57	3.00	7.19
Nepal	123	4.43	5.00	4.99
Palestine Autonomy	124	4.40	-	-
Iraq	124	4.40	1.00	-
India	127	4.25	9.00	5.90
Pakistan	134	3.75	3.00	4.99
Laos	136	3.63	1.00	5.25
Bhutan	140	3.38	3.00	5.11
Uzbekistan	142	3.29	1.00	7.29
Yemen	142	3.29	3.00	4.70
Afghanistan	142	3.29	2.00	-
Turkmenistan	145	3.25	1.00	7.48
Korea, Dem. P. Rep.	148	3.20	1.00	-
Cambodia	151	3.00	3.00	5.56
Myanmar	155	2.67	1.00	5.49

Table 13. CHILDEX, FHI and HDI for African countries. CHILDEX was based on a mean 13 indicators. Ranks were assigned as follows: 10-9 (high), 8-7 (high-medium), 6-5 (medium), 4-3 (low-medium), 2-1 (low).

<i>Country</i>	<i>CHILDEX</i>	<i>CHILDEXFHI</i>	<i>HDI</i>	
	<i>World Rank</i>			
Seychelles	48	7.00	7.00	7.86
Libya	54	6.88	1.00	7.60
Botswana	64	6.50	9.00	-
South Africa	67	6.38	10.00	6.84
Tunisia	72	6.13	3.00	7.40
Madagascar	79	5.75	7.00	4.68
Gabon	79	5.75	5.00	-
Namibia	86	5.50	8.00	6.32
Senegal	95	5.25	8.00	-
Morocco	95	5.25	4.00	5.89
Benin	98	5.13	9.00	4.11
Zimbabwe	102	5.00	3.00	5.55
Egypt	102	5.00	2.00	6.23
Malawi	110	4.88	5.00	-
Mali	114	4.75	8.00	3.80
Kenya	114	4.75	5.00	5.08

Tanzania	117	4.63	6.00	4.15
Uganda	117	4.63	4.00	4.09
Burkina Faso	117	4.63	4.00	-
Ghana	121	4.50	8.00	5.56
Mozambique	121	4.50	6.00	-
Gambia	128	4.14	4.00	-
Algeria	129	4.13	3.00	6.83
Nigeria	129	4.13	5.00	4.63
Niger	131	4.00	5.00	2.92
Sierra Leone	132	3.88	4.00	2.52
Equatorial Guinea	132	3.88	1.00	5.55
Zambia	132	3.88	5.00	4.20
Mauritania	135	3.75	4.00	7.61
Guinea Bissau	137	3.63	2.00	3.31
Chad	139	3.50	3.00	3.67
Congo, DR.	139	3.50	2.00	-
Lesotho	-	-	8.00	5.10
Cote d'Ivoire	146	3.25	3.00	3.96
Central African Rep.	146	3.25	4.00	3.71
Liberia	150	3.13	6.00	-
Eritrea	150	3.13	1.00	4.08
Angola	152	3.00	3.00	4.05
Guinea	152	3.00	3.00	3.94

Ethiopia	155	2.75	4.00	3.09
Togo	157	2.50	4.00	4.71
Congo	158	2.29	4.00	5.07
Somalia	159	2.00	1.00	-
Sudan	160	1.88	1.00	4.77
Western Sahara	-	-	-	-

Potential Application of CHILDEX

CHILDEX has been conceived as an applied tool that should contribute to enhance children's rights. As proposed, CHILDEX could contribute to achieve this purpose in the following manners:

- 1) CHILDEX can be useful to the academic community for monitoring of children's rights in every country. It is hoped that, by inserting it into human rights subfield, it could stimulate greater discussion and research on children's rights among Political Science and International Relations scholars. Children's human rights have been a marginal subject to political science and international relations scholars.
- 2) CHILDEX could permit country and regional rankings, serving as a comparative tool of governmental policies toward children's rights, and providing a quantitative assessment of children's rights violations. Consequently, it can contribute to increase the pressure over governments to enforce international conventions on children's rights, to uphold higher standards of human rights for children and to improve their ranking in CHILDEX. HDI and FI have established precedents in terms of pressuring governments. The data can also be used to make policy recommendations on children's human rights to specific countries or to IGO's. It could serve as a tool to standardize measuring of children human rights. This would contribute to strengthen the ideal of human governance, which proposes that these rights be protected beyond the state boundaries.
- 3) As was the case with HDI, which sparked the development of other indexes, CHILDEX could lead to the development of other child-related, more specific

indexes that could allow analysis and policy recommendations. As also was the case with HDI, CHILDEX could lead governments to adopt the instrument and monitor their own progress, allowing them to implement reforms.¹

- 4) It could provide data to human rights NGO's and IGO's, allowing them to publish annual country reports on children's rights. These organizations publish annual country reports on human rights globally. But only UNICEF and Human Rights Watch regularly publish reports specifically on children's rights. It can also help them identify children's rights priorities by geographical areas. CHILDEX could be used by NGO's and IGO's to identify specific problems in specific countries and increase their aid in that particular area.

Conclusions

Application of children's rights seems to be associated with other variables like freedom and human development. Correlations among CHILDEX and other variables, such as peace, political terror, and levels of economic development could be established to determine additional associations. This would contribute in the analysis of political and social scenarios that explain children rights violations. It is expected that the analysis of children's rights from a Political Science/International Relations perspective (e.g. CHILDEX project) can contribute to a better understanding of the children's international rights regime. The long-term goal is that CHILDEX can become an applied tool useful for children's human rights analysis and policy-implementation. CHILDEX has been designed under the ethical perspective that there is neither a reason to exclude children from the human community in terms of their rights nor to deny them their citizenship

rights. Excluding children from exercising their rights goes against universally-accepted standards of human rights and democracy. As human rights violations are a major cause of military conflicts, the current children's human rights situation is potentially threatening to international peace and makes international governance less achievable.

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