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The United Nations Security Council and Children in Armed Conflict: The Council's upholding of children's rights in Sierra Leone and Sudan

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The United Nations Security Council and Children in Armed Conflict

The Council's upholding of children's rights in Sierra Leone and Sudan



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1. Introduction.....3
- 2. Conceptual Framework and Vulnerabilities of Children Vulnerability.....5
- 3. Literature Review and the Institutional Context of Children’s Rights.....12
- 4. Theory.....15
- 5. Research Design.....18
 - 5.1 Methodology18
 - 5.2 Case selection.....18
 - 5.3 Data selection & Operationalization.....20
- 6. Results & Analysis.....22
 - 6.1 Sierra Leone.....22
 - 6.2 Sudan.....24
 - 6.3 Comparison: Sierra Leone-Sudan.....26
- 7. Conclusion.....29
- 8. Appendix.....31
- 9. Bibliography.....32

1. INTRODUCTION

Children are vulnerable individuals. Due to their inherent physical and mental vulnerabilities, children need special protection in their everyday lives. This need has been gradually and widely recognized by states, governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as individuals. The increased importance attached to the recognition of children's vulnerability is evidenced by the almost universal ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) dating back to 1989. Children's vulnerability reaches an extremely high degree in situations marked by violence. The use of force has negative effects not only on the political independence and territorial integrity of a state, but on the civilian population, of which children constitute almost half in low and middle-income countries (Berckmoes & al., 2015, p.3). Child violence has a profound affect in relation to their mental health in the near and far future. Human rights score high on the agenda of the Security Council (UNSC). In this regard, one may argue that the UNSC efficiency in the field of human rights may be judged in its success in children's protection in the situation of armed conflicts. In 1999, the UNSC passed Resolution 1261, concerning children in armed conflicts, following the path with subsequent resolutions that, while recognizing the normative improvement of children's rights, raised concern about the application on the ground. In 2005, it established monitoring and reporting mechanisms to consider violations such as killings, recruitment of child soldiers, attacks on schools, abduction, and denial of humanitarian access. During the same year a Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC) was established to order missions and steps to be taken in respect of children's rights in armed conflicts and to issue recommendations to the Security Council. According to the Watch List on Children and Armed Conflict (2009), the UNSC and the Working Group 'have created tangible changes on the ground for children since 2005' (p.4). Whether such tangible changes have occurred is the theme of this research. This finding needs to be qualified in practice through a comparison of the UNSC efficiency before 2005 and after this period. In this context, this thesis analyzes to what extent does the UNSC consider the vulnerability of children as an element of humanitarian action on their agenda? The question is going to be answered through a comparison between two periods of time, before and after 2005, because of the success that has been supposedly put on the ground since then. These questions are important to see whether the vulnerability of

children has been better addressed by the Council. Moreover, they examine whether the UNSC is a tool of self-interest as realists posit, or a forum where the great powers cooperate on matters of common interest as liberalists argue, or a platform whereby identities and interests are formed and norms of humanitarian action and cooperation are developed as constructivists contend. This thesis hypothesizes that concerning its role regarding human rights, the UNSC is highly concerned with questions of the right and the good, and it efficiently considers the vulnerability of children as an element of humanitarian action and cooperation. The advocated protection of children's rights reflects the wider beliefs and norms of the international society, of which international organizations are a key element. The role of the UNSC thus helps contribute to the development of norms as constructivism in international relations contends. The analysis is based on the qualitative analysis of the documents issued by the Working Group, and the UNSC concerning conflict areas in which the UN has been carrying peacekeeping missions. First, the thesis provides a brief literature review concerning children in situations of violence and the role of the Security Council with respect to children's violations and abuses. The second section addresses the qualitative analysis of the official documents of the Working Group and the UNSC regarding the selected cases. The thesis analyzes whether the Council engages in the promotion and implementation of children's rights in its resolutions, and addresses the grave abuses perpetrated against them. Finally, conclusions are drawn concerning whether or not children's rights are effectively considered by the UNSC.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND VULNERABILITIES OF CHILDREN

The child is the most vital piece of this researching process. According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), a child 'means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier' (Article 1). The Preamble of the Convention states the child is a human being that, because of their physical and mental immaturity, needs special attention and care 'before as well as after birth'. The child is the core element and the future of society. From the time children are born, they should be safeguarded with special attention and care. Furthermore, children's rights should be protected both during violent and peaceful times. Especially in situations of violence, the CRC regulates state responsibility to protect the child from all forms of violence (Art 19), respect the rules of international humanitarian law (Art 38), and promote recovery and reintegration of any child victim of '[...] any form of neglect, exploitation, or abuse; torture or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; or armed conflicts' (Art 39). The thesis analyzes whether the Council engages in the promotion and implementation of children's rights in its resolutions, therefore, whether it addresses the grave abuses highlighted in the following paragraphs.

The need of protection follows from the vulnerabilities children in armed conflicts face. The first ones being mental health problems and the deficiency the medical treatments. The most common mental health problems recognized are post-trauma disorder (PTSD), psychopathology disturbances such as anxiety, depression, panic disorders, and dependency disorders (Berckmoes & al., 2015; Schauer & Schauer, 2010). Analyses show that approximately 89.3% of war-affected refugee children show PTSD issues, 43% depression, and 27% anxiety disorders (Pacione, Measham,& Rousseau, 2013, p.3). These issues have spillovers on the future lives of children such as unemployment, poor education, instability, disability. According to Schauer & Schauer (2010), the trauma faced can provoke other consequent traumas, higher mortality chances, a weakened immune system, concentration problems, substance abuse which design a vicious circle with low chances of escape. During pregnancy violence can have negative effects of potential mental illnesses on the fetus (p.398). In this regard, low and middle-income countries (LMICs) present epidemiological discrepancies as well as a scarcity of human and material resources in humanitarian emergencies. There is a lack of health care systems, no human or economic resources, inequality of

distribution of resources, therefore, medical treatment is generally weak. In addition, the medical treatment of children in armed conflict is way lower than the adult population even though children constitute half of the population in low and middle-income countries. Evidence concerning Sierra Leone shows a treatment gap for youth [...] to be over 99%' (Berckmoes & al., 2015, p.3). In addition, Berckmoes & al. (2015) raise concerns about the research gaps existing in the field. There is limited knowledge of children and interventions in LMIC countries making the causes and the treatments of mental issues that affect children are typically unknown. Likewise, the medical sphere focuses mainly on the negative impacts of war, disregarding further research on a wide variety of mental problems and the effective interventions related to them. For example, Betancourt & Khan (2008) recognize the importance of research on the negative effects of violence on mental health (e.g. trauma). They also stress that knowledge should not be limited to it, but also focus on resilience and its advancement. In this regard, some scholars argue that the effects of armed conflicts on mental health influence and are influenced by the microsystem (family, school), the mesosystem (interaction between two or more environments), the exosystem (interaction of multiple formal and informal environments), and the macrosystem made of political, economic, religious, cultural institutions and environments (Fazel, Reed, & Stein, 2015, pp. 577-579). This means that cooperation among these systems could enhance children's resilience. Another connected problem is whenever there is humanitarian assistance on the ground, it often focuses only on the 'social, scholastic or economic, rather than as evidence-based psychological rehabilitation' (Schauer & Schauer, 2010, p. 389). The lack of efficient mental health interventions has a silencing effect on both the victims and the broader community and causes dysfunction within the society. If the victim does not receive support from the society, the former is not going to open up about their experiences and feelings. The community and political leaders, instead, will respond with a form of denial and blindness towards human cruelty and suffering because of unconsciousness. There is a lot of work to be done to mandate and enhance medical treatments and interventions towards children in situations of armed conflict.

Another concept relating to children's rights violations in armed conflict is their recruitment as child soldiers. The persistence of child soldiers is connected to limited protection ensured by international law. Rosen (2007) states that the idea of 'child soldier' is in fact, a political construct connected to the existence of a wide variety of

ideologies and stances complicating the matter. The sovereign states, humanitarian agents, and international organizations are directly involved with such politics of age, and the discrepancies and manipulations of the positions hamper the effective protection of children in situations of violence. In this regard, it is not clear whether child recruitment would be acceptable at the age of fifteen or eighteen. Under international humanitarian law, which protects the civilian population and children in situations of armed conflict, the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols are of particular relevance. In particular, Protocol I sets fifteen as the minimum age of child recruitment (Thompson, 2014; Happold, 2010). The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court takes the same position. Other legal instruments, such as the Optional Protocol to the CRC (OPAC), and the African Charter on the Rights of the Child (ACRWC) outlaw the use of child soldiers under the age of eighteen. The discrepancies among the policies towards child recruitment are linked to the contradictory legal definitions of childhood which leave space for doubt and mistreatment of the concept. Under the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), an individual under the age of eighteen is considered a child. Consequently, the African Charter leaves no space for doubt and strictly outlaws the use of child soldiers under the age of eighteen. The CRC, because of its lacunas and the lack of precision, allows for misuse of the definition of the child. According to the UNCRC, a child can attain adulthood even before turning eighteen. Article 38 states that recruitment under the age of fifteen shall be refrained, with no additional requirement to raise the minimum age of recruitment up to eighteen. The Committee on the Rights of the Child, the most important body for monitoring the implementation of the CRC, issued the Optional Protocol(2000) to the CRC on the involvement of children in armed conflict (OPAC) to raise the minimum age of recruitment to eighteen. Nevertheless, the contradictory stances towards the concept of child recruitment and the weak language of both CRC and OPAC, important for the universal reach, seem to undermine the potential effectiveness of the straight eighteen position. There is a great need to foster a clear prohibition of child soldiers, where a child reflects the definition provided by the ACRWC. In conclusion, child soldiers under eighteen would therefore be strictly forbidden.

Children in armed conflict need to face frequent misconduct perpetrated by non-state actors. The United Nations and non-governmental organization personnel have often

been accused of involvement in the sexual exploitation of children, like in the case of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)¹. Allegations of sexual misconduct by the UN forces were identified in the Republic of Congo, Haiti, Mozambique, East Timor, Bosnia, Kosovo, Cambodia, Guinea-Bissau, and Liberia². Even if the observance of international law is obligatory, practice shows that in armed conflicts, abuse against children is frequent. In these situations, the Council more often than not needed to call on all the relevant actors and non-state actors to observe international humanitarian law and human rights (Clapham, 2006, p.500). In theory, humanitarian actors on the ground during violent conflicts should follow policies strictly within the 'parameters of international human rights law'. In addition, international humanitarian law should apply when 'peacekeepers become engaged as combatants in an armed conflict' (White, 2015, pp. 12-14). The UN guiding principles on humanitarian intervention, the UN Zero Tolerance Policy (which bans misconduct, sexual exploitation, and abuse by the UN personnel), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child should receive a wide degree of compliance as well. In the face of so many breaches of international law, the issue of non-state actor accountability is of great importance. Especially when violations of human rights are committed by the agents who are mandated to protect the civilian population. Although the International Court of Justice has ruled that 'the UN is an international person which can be subject to international law' (Chapman, 2009, p.4), no existing mechanism adequately enforces compliance with international humanitarian law nor international human rights. Commissions for claims have not been established, consequently 'many abuses will go unpunished, and victims will remain without redress' (White, 2015, p. 13). Aside from the practical side of the story, the explicit mandate to observe human rights by non-state actors still needs to be adjusted by international lawyers (Clapham, 2006, p.523). In respect of so many breaches by non-state actors, Chapman (2009) calls for the need for a permanent ombudsperson and a permanent claims commission, whereas Feinstein, Giertsen, & O'Kane (2009) support the need for 'child-friendly complaints

¹ Found in UNSCR S/2002/267)

² Vanessa Kent, Protecting Civilians From UN peacekeepers and Humanitarian Workers: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse, in *Unintended Consequences of Peacekeeping Operations* 44, 45 (Chiyuki Aoi, Cedric de Coning, & Ramesh Thakur eds., 2007).

procedures [...] and the development of comprehensive child protection systems' (p.21). Child-friendly claim commissions are far to be achieved, and their importance should be raised.

Another vulnerability caused by armed conflicts is children are often forced to leave their home country to escape persecution to live and find better living conditions away from violence and death. In 2011, the estimated number of refugee children amounted to 16 million (Fazel, Reed, & Stein, 2015, p.575). In 2017, the Committee on the Rights of the Child recognized that refugee children face a double vulnerability, one inherent to their nature and other linked to migration³. Pre-migration, migration, and post-migration amount to violence and abuses, disintegration of the family unit, malnutrition, uncertainty, adaptation to new environments and language, acceptance by the new community, or in worst cases detainment in refugee camps. Refugee children can face repressive and restrictive policy agendas, resulting in the possibility of being removed from the hosting country. Often, they are detained in arrangements resembling prisons and nurturing 'anxio-depressive symptoms and poor social adjustment' (Pacione, Measham, & Rosseau, 2013, p.4). In the face of so many abuses, the Refugee Convention is silent towards a specific refugee regime, therefore states have wide discretion about their policies. Pobjoy (2017) highlights that this lack of universal policy limits children's immigration status to derive from that of their parents but not the other way around. The removal of the child from the country without an independent analysis amounts to a violation of the non-refoulement norm, prohibiting the return of a refugee 'to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened' (p.54). On the other hand, the acceptance of the child's refugee status and the rejection of the parents amounts to the disintegration of family unity. The CRC posits a great limit to these discretionary and unjust policies. According to the CRC each child, irrespective of whether accompanied or not, has the right to access and claim refugee status independently from their parents. The Convention grants the right to be heard and maintains that children's views should be given due weight with regard to their age and maturity. It further considers the family as the natural environment with positive attributes for the growth of the child. Nevertheless, the implementation and compliance to the Convention remain a challenge. Therefore, it is important to ensure

³Joint General Comment of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and No. 22 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child

children's protection in situations of armed conflict and all the circumstances related to it, such as migration.

The lack of substantive attention to the constant breach of children's rights is still occurring. Multiple cases show that children's needs and views differ from adults', and they are still left unheard (Feinstein, Giertsen, & O'Kane, 2009, p.4). The right to be heard ensured by the UNCRC is widely breached. The UNCRC grants the right to be heard and participation which are crucial for the improvement within the fields of research, public health, accountability, policies, interventions, and medical concerns. In this regard, children need to be seen as actors holding rights rather than mere victims. Some scholars raise the crucial issue of the lack of children's participation in the pre and post-assessment of the medical interventions (Berckmoes et al., 2015; Feinstein, Giertsen, & O'Kane, 2009). The authors recognize the important participatory power of children in the process of peacebuilding, and they call for the fulfillment of children's rights as called by the UNCRC. Collins, Tisdal & Grover (2016) maintain that the participation of children in sharing their needs, views, experiences, and problems has positive effects on the child's development, reduces mental health illnesses linked to violence, and results in better policies and interventions. Children are longing for peace and can make huge contributions to a safer world.

For all the issues described in this section, the UNCRC posits a great limit to the perpetration of the abuses and the vulnerabilities mentioned. However, it remains only a piece of paper if not implemented. 'Some rights are immediately enforceable, while others are subject to progressive realization over time' (Sloth-Nielsen, 2018, p.2). Children's rights are part of the second category. The abuses against children will not stop unless the necessary actors raise their efficiency of action. According to Schapper (2017), the current situation of children's rights in weak states is often stagnating (p.105). Moreover, each violation 'increases vulnerability to other rights violations' (Field, 2013, p.151). To improve the situation, multiple actors ranging from the micro to the macro level must engage to achieve the aim. Vučković-Šahović, Doek & Zermatten (2012) argue for the protection of the rights through monitoring systems such as the judiciary, independent human rights institutions, international courts, and national institutions. Promotion and dissemination through advocacy groups and lobbying are important as well. States, international organizations, civil society organizations (e.g. NGOs), national human rights institutions, and the individuals

themselves play all a significant role in the protection and dissemination of children's rights. In such regard, the actions and mandates of the Security Council, one of the most powerful institutions to ensure international peace, stability, and human rights protection, are of particular importance.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

The achievements in the field of human rights have been subtle and gradual, with the UN being one of the key organizations concerned with human and children's rights. In this regard, the UN Charter (1945) states that one of the main aims of the organization is human rights protection. Consequently, the UN's engagement resulted in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) signed in 1948. Other conventions on specific human rights issues, such as the one against genocide, programs, and institutions followed (Henkin, 1965, p.505). Concerning children's rights, in 1989 almost all the states ratified the UNCRC. The UN established the Committee on the Rights of the Child to monitor the implementation of the Convention.

The Security Council is the organ of the UN that can take decisions regarding to the armed conflicts and the use of force and enforcement actions to achieve peace and security (Weller, 2015, p.9). Before the end of the Cold War, references to human rights in the Council's decisions and resolutions were rare and indirect (Stagno Ugarte & Genser, 2014; Weschler, O'Flaherty, Ulrich, Kedzia & Müller, 2011). Since the 1990s, the institution has engaged with human rights in a more intensified and direct way. It started to recognize human rights violations as a threat to international peace and security. The Council increasingly included human rights on its agenda, established humanitarian missions and commissions, and called for monitoring and accountability systems. It fostered cooperation with international institutions and initiated thematic public debates. Its engagement with human rights was mostly achieved because of external pressure, especially from nongovernmental organizations (Stagno Ugarte & Genser, 2014, p.27). Nevertheless, the UNSC made crucial improvements regarding human rights which facilitated the gradual recognition and inclusion of children's rights. The evidence for this development is constituted by a great number of child-related resolutions initiated in 1999. These resolutions reinforce the internationalization of children's rights through the phases of agenda-setting/raising awareness, institutionalization, and consolidation (see Appendix I). In resolution 1261 (1999), the UNSC pointed to the long-term consequences of violations of children's rights in armed conflicts for international peace, security, and development. Resolution 1612 (2005) is particularly important since it established the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict which 'reviews reports on the situation of children in

country situations and gives guidance to parties to conflict and the UN' (Bode, 2018, p.7). Moreover, the Council recalled the violations concerning children in armed conflict, with particular attention directed to child soldiers and the need for monitoring and reporting mechanisms. In resolution 1882 (2009), the Council called for the implementation of the CRC and the CAAC recommendations. It requested to foster and include 'the protection, rights, well-being and empowerment of children affected by armed conflict' both during and after the conclusion of the peace processes (para 15). Resolution 1998 (2011), condemned 'killing and maiming, rape and other sexual violence, abductions, attacks on schools or hospital [...]' (para 1). Moreover, it added the importance of the right to education, and health services applying even in emergencies and called for 'national [...] and international justice mechanisms and mixed criminal courts and tribunals' (para 11).

Since 2005, it is argued that the United Nations Security Council improved its engagement in children's rights (Thompson, 2014, p.111). These resolutions constitute evidence in this regard. However, scholars advance contradictory conclusions as to the effectiveness of such engagement. Some scholars see the Council's engagement with human rights, in particular children's rights, as an important contribution to their promotion and implementation (Happold, 2010, p.377). Others recognize the importance of such engagement, but conclude that it is often flawed, casual, and mostly a reaction to external pressure (Stagno Ugarte & Genser, 2014; Weschler, O'Flaherty, Ulrich, Kedzia & Müller, 2011). For example, in Resolution 1614 (2005), the Council included protection and monitoring in respect of the six main violations of children's rights⁴. Nevertheless, according to Happold (2010), the Council's resolutions directed most of its attention on the issue of child recruitment. In addition, the institution never established concrete action plans for children's demobilization (pp.367-376). The Council and the CAAC's engagement led to many government forces to sign action plans towards children and armed conflict, their implementation remains a challenge (Thompson, 2014, p. 112). The use of sanctions is one of the available tools the Council

⁴ The six grave violations involve killing and maiming of children, recruitment or use as soldiers, sexual violence, abduction, attacks on schools or hospitals, and denial of humanitarian access. From 'Children and Armed Conflict: Working Paper n 1. The six grave violations against Children During Armed Conflict: The Legal Foundation' UNICEF, 2009, *Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict*

and CAAC can use against violators of children's rights. Practice shows that sanctions are barely used (Happold, 2010; Weschler, O'Flaherty, Ulrich, Kedzia & Müller, 2011). The Council 'threatened targeted sanctions [...] but has rarely made good on the threats', whereas the CAAC only twice suggested the need for sanctions (Thompson, 2014, p.112). Consequently, the UNSC and the Working Group use their soft power to foster compliance with children's rights (Happold, 2010; Field, 2013). These institutions issue declaratory mandates that have a recommendatory approach, however, do not raise expectations for protection in practice (Shesterinina & Job, 2016, p.243). Even if resolutions concerning human and children's rights have a rather non-binding declaratory effect, they still have a legal effect. They foster the consolidation of customary international law (Field, 2013, p.134). The advancement of children's rights on the agenda shows the commitment of the institution towards the matters of the right and the good and resolution 1612 can be seen as the first step towards compliance with international law. The thesis tries to advance and clarify existing knowledge as to the Council's engagement with children's rights.

4. THEORY

Children's rights are a subset of human rights embedded in international law. Some scholars see international law under the pessimistic lens, almost impossible to be implemented universally (Henkin, 1965, p. 515). Realists conceive it as a weak force of international relations, dominated and controlled by states, whereas liberals regard it as being only functional to regulate specific areas and functions. These two approaches face many unresolved problems. Realists cannot explain the growing body of international law, how it constrains strong states and how it is utilized by weak states to shape different outcomes. On the other hand, liberals ignore the historical development of international law, its use for legitimate actions, obligatory force, and the cosmopolitan understanding of individual and group rights. In contrast, constructivists address these concerns and maintain that international law is a key element of normative structures (Reus-Smit, 2004, pp. 15-22). They consider the social nature of international relations and argue that ideas, identities, and beliefs shape actors' behavior and vice versa. They make important conclusions concerning the politics of states, international law, and international organizations. In their view, international law is not merely a tool of the states. Rather it provides a ground for states to engage in debates over legitimate actions and purposes (i.e. the logic of argumentation), and they make sure their actions reflect the established norms (i.e. the logic of appropriateness). Therefore, international law is inevitably intertwined with politics. Both are 'rule-governed and rule-constitutive form of reason and action'. Constructivists view international law as 'a central component of the normative structures that are produced by, and constitutive of, such politics' (Reus-Smit, 2004, p.23). On the other hand, international organizations have an important role for international law since they are highly dependent on the 'questions of the right, the good, and the fair' which affect the content of the institutions. Such institutionalisation of the norms further enhances their effectiveness. International institutions produce soft and hard rules, and when actors adhere to these rules, it is assumed that the rules reflect their beliefs. The votes that states cast in negotiations is clear evidence that they consider the need to oblige to the rules in case of positive outcomes (White, 2008, p.184). Taking customary international law as an example, constructivists underline the significance of the historical evolution of international law (Reus-Smit, 2004; White 2008; Brunnée & Toope, 2012). Since the nineteenth century a new type of

international society began to emerge based on the European standard of civilization. With the development and evolution of international society, so did international norms and rules. The principles of non-intervention and human rights became the elements of good governance (Reus-Smit, 2004, p.33). Many scholars speak of the modern 'age of human rights', which has been rather slow in coming and making (Stagno Ugarte & Genser, 2014, p.4). As Henkin states (1965), although originally human rights were not a universal obligation and responsibility of all the nations, rather 'required of defeated nations' (p.508) respect to and protection of human rights gradually evolved into customary law that all states needed to observe. The concern of human rights, such as children's rights, and democratic values, has become even more important today. This reflects the solidaristic view of the international society that embodies states, non-state actors, and individuals. In this regard, human rights are intertwined with politics of the states and more broadly of the international society. Human rights reflect universal beliefs and norms, whereas international organisations enhance their implementation and promotion. In respect of children's rights, politics is starting to be widely intertwined with the recognition and implementation of such rights. States have increasingly financed national human rights institutions (i.e. children's ombudspersons) to monitor and report to the legislature and the government the human rights situation at the national level. In 1981, Norway was the first country to establish an independent ombudsman for children followed by 80 more countries. (Vučković-Šahović, Doek, & Zermatten, 2012, p. 24). The evolution of children's rights as an almost universal norm follows the almost universal adherence to the UNCRC. International organizations and institutions, such as UNICEF or the Committee on the Rights of the Child are two examples of institutions established to be directly concerned with the safeguard and implementation of the UNCRC. In this respect, children's rights reflect the norms of the international society. Furthermore, international organisations, of which states are the main actors, take into account children's rights and increasingly enhance their promotion and institutionalisation. As highlighted in the previous section, the UN in general and the UNSC in particular made great advancement towards the field of children's rights. This commitment shows the importance of the questions of the right and the good of international institutions. There is a great importance in relation to the soft power used by the UNSC and the Working Group for the consolidation of customary practice and rules concerning children. Such consolidation reflects the engagement of the institutions concerning normative questions of the right

and good. These developments are crucial for the endorsement of the constructivist approach in respect to the relation between the UN Security Council and children's rights.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1 Methodology

A recognized problem within the legal sphere of children's rights is the lack of empirical data concerning the exact number of children involved in armed groups, internally displaced and refugee children. There are huge gaps in the individual or cross-sectoral time-series data connected to child soldiers (Haer, 2019, p.79). It has been widely recognized that there is a lack of empirical data, awareness, and interest in the field. (Kilkelly & Liefwaard, 2019, p.621). This lack of quantitative data does not provide the opportunity to examine the UNSC effectiveness based on quantitative methods. The research is based on the textual (or content) qualitative analysis of data like official documents, resolutions, and reports issued by the CAAC and the UNSC. The original idea was to conduct a longitudinal study of the same country with peacekeeping missions involving the period before and after 2005. The lack of documents issued by the Working Group concerning different cases has been a serious limitation. Thus, the analysis uses the most similar system design. The cases share alike settings but vary on one variable which takes into account the timeframe and the activity of the working group in bringing children's rights to the UNSC. The research compares two cases of peacekeeping missions before and after 2005. It examines the resolutions issued by the SC for the case before 2005. For the peacekeeping mission after 2005 the documents of the working group and the UNSC are examined. Finally, the UNSC documents are compared and conclusions are drawn.

5.2 Case Selection

The thesis examines the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL 1999-2005) and the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS 2005-2011). These cases share the violent setting of civil wars that fall within the concept of non-international armed conflict, which refers to the fights between the government forces and non-governmental opposing forces, or several forces fighting against each other. International and non-international armed conflicts are regulated by international humanitarian law which applies when the conflict reaches a minimum threshold of intensity and organization. It regulates how war should be fought, who may be targeted, and in what circumstances. One of the key principles of humanitarian law is that civilians, including children, who do not directly participate in the conflict are protected

undisputedly. In civil wars, achieving peace and security generally requires a great amount of time, effort, and support from the international community. Upon consent of the host state, the UN Security Council authorizes peacekeeping missions to monitor ceasefires, facilitate security, respect of the rule of law, humanitarian assistance, and civilian protection. Peacekeeping missions are based on three important norms advanced by international law, consent, impartiality, and the defensive use of force (White, 2015, p.2). The primary goal of the peacekeeping missions examined is the implementation of the different peace agreements established between the government and the rebel groups. UNAMSIL (1999-2005) in Sierra Leone was established by the UNSC in 1999 ‘to implement the Lome Peace Agreement’ (Olonisakin, 2015, p.1) between the Government and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), UNMIS (2005-2011) in Sudan was established to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 between the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). The period of implementation of the peace agreement is seldom connected to immediate peace, rather it often covers human rights breaches and civil disorder which negatively impact the situation of the civilian population and children. In fact, the parties involved not always want to abide by the established deal. The issues concerning the vulnerability of children in armed conflicts described earlier recur in these situations of internal armed conflict. In the case of Sierra Leone, international humanitarian law has been widely overlooked as civilians and children were randomly killed, half of the population displaced (Yoder, Tol, Reis, & Jong, 2016, p. 2). The Human Rights Watch stated that ‘several thousands of civilians had been killed’⁵, families were disrupted, homes and residential buildings were destroyed, women and children sexually abused and abducted, ‘between 5,000 and 7,000 child combatants have fought on each side of the civil war’ (Zack-Williams, 2001, p.73). According to Yoder, Tol, Reis, & Jong (2016), children aged 8-20 showed depressive disorders, PTSD, and conduct disorders. The adult population was primarily treated, with a treatment gap for children of 99.8– 99.9 % (pp. 3-6). The society showed stigma (discrimination, stereotypes) towards deviant children and civilians who were seen as ill or evil. In the case of Sudan, implementation of the CPA agreement, whose main goal was to establish a Government of National Unity and an

⁵Found in Human Rights Warch concerning Sierra Leone (1999)
<https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/sierra/SIERLE99.htm>

autonomous Government of Southern Sudan, involved security threats caused by the clashes between the fighting groups. The clashes caused, among others, over 100 casualties in Dinka sub-tribes in Southern Sudan, the same amount of casualties resulting from the conflict between Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), and around 50 000 civilians left displaced (Hansen, 2015, p.5). The U.S. accused Sudan of genocide of more than 2 million civilians since 1983, with an estimated 16 thousand child soldiers recruited in the SPLA only.⁶ All these violations were recalled earlier in the theoretical framework. These issues happen whenever conflicts take place, and they need to be prevented through the initiative of different actors, the Council being one of them.

5.3 Data selection & Operationalization

In the documents issued by both the UNSC and the CAAC, found in the official website of UNSC⁷, the general content and specific words are analyzed. Attention is paid to the issues highlighted in the theoretical framework, and whether the UNSC and the working group raise awareness and action towards the challenges within the field of children's rights. The first theme refers to the references made to the vulnerability of children in situations of armed conflict. The next two themes deepen the knowledge on the vulnerability and the abuses faced by children in armed conflict. The UNSC and the CAAC documents are analyzed to see whether they pay attention to the issue of child soldiers, refugees, and internally displaced individuals. Moreover, children are part of the humanitarian situation, therefore the calls by the UNSC and CAAC for children's assistance, care, and protection are searched for. Furthermore, the presence of the UN peacekeepers is not enough to ensure effective assistance, action, and implementation of children's rights. Thus, calls for cooperation of individual, national, international actors are analyzed. Finally, compliance with children's rights and accountability of those who breach these rights, including non-state actors, shall be addressed so that children could make claims, and those who breach international law are effectively punished, including humanitarian agents. The specific terms examined are shown in Table 1.

⁶ Found in 'SPLA to demobilize all child soldiers by the end of the year,' by J. N. Uma, 2010, *Sudan Tribune. Plural News and Views on Sudan*

⁷ Official Website of the Security Council: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/security-council-documents>

TABLE 1: CODING SCHEME

TERMS	THEMEGROUPS
Child/Children/Youth/Girls	Object of the Analysis
Child Soldiers/Combatant	Child soldiers
Disarmament/Demilitarization	
End Recruitment	
Release	
Rehabilitation	
Refugee Children	Vulnerability of Refugee/
Internally Displaced Children	Internally Displaced
Migration	Children
Killing/Maiming	Abuse of children
Rape	
Sexual Violence/Exploitation	
Abuses/Violation	
Assistance	Assistance of children
Attention	
Care	
Protection	
Preventative action	
Humanitarian	
Assistance/Support	
Cooperation (e.g. regional)	Cooperation to implement
Coordination	the effective protection of
Commitment of States,	children
international actors, IGOs,	
NGOs (e.g. UNICEF)	
International Community	
Donors	
Human Rights	Compliance and
CRC	Accountability with respect
International Humanitarian	to children's rights
Law	
International Law	

6. RESULTS & ANALYSIS

6.1 SIERRA LEONE

TABLE 2: RESULTS FOR SIERRA LEONE 1999-2005

CODE COUNTS RELATED TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION	% DIRECTLY RELATED TO CHILDREN	THEMEGROUPS
15	15	Object of the Analysis
59	(6) 10.2%	Child soldiers
26	(7) 27%	Vulnerability of Refugee/ Internally Displaced Children
33	(21) 63.6%	Abuse
29	(10) 34.5%	Assistance
96	(3) 3.1%	Cooperation
37	(3) 8.1%	Compliance and Accountability

The case of Sierra Leone offers an image of how the UNSC dealt with children's rights violations in armed conflict before the establishment of the working group. The resolutions issued by the Council from 1999 until 2005 are considered (Table 2). The reference to children was explicitly used 15 times. The results show a wide degree of attention towards the abuses perpetrated against children, such as sexual exploitation, killing,

maiming, and abduction. Of the 33 terms related to the abuses against the general civilian population, 21 terms related to children amounting to 63.6% of the total references. The Council expressed concern towards the widespread violation of the children's rights occurring in camps for refugees and internally displaced people. Surprisingly, the resolutions until 2005 did not differentiate between boys and girls, resolutions 1734 (2006), and 1793 (2007) recall the need for protection of gender-based violence with particular attention to girls. The importance of assistance and support of children in armed conflicts follows with 10 of the 29 terms. In resolution 1370 (2001), 1400(2002), 1436(2002), and 1508(2003), the UNSC repeatedly showed concern towards the situation of children and called for the need to ensure appropriate initiatives for their protection. Refugee children, internally displaced children, and children involved in migration are taken into account in a lower degree (only 7 times) than the civilian's situation. In resolutions 1400 (2002), 1436 (2002), and 1508 (2003), the

Council expressed particular attention towards refugee children, and in resolution 1400 (2002) it showed concern towards the abuse of children in the camps for refugees and internally displaced people. The Council addressed 6 times the issue of child soldiers and the need for their disarmament, demilitarization, release, and rehabilitation, whereas it dealt with the same issues concerning the general population 52 times (89.3% of the total). The Council focused on disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and rehabilitation of ex-combatants, including child soldiers (S/RES/1270, 1999; S/RES/1508, 2003). Finally, cooperation, compliance, and accountability are the least addressed themes with respect to children's rights. Cooperation with institutions and the importance of donors related to child protection have been mentioned only 3 times. In resolution 1270 (1999), the Council:

‘[...] welcomes the continued commitment of the Government of Sierra Leone to work with the United Nations Children’s Fund, the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict and other international agencies [...]’ (para 18)

In resolution 1370 (2001), the Council calls for donors to support the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and to the Special Court anticipated in resolution 1315 (2000). The importance of compliance with international law concerning children and the importance of accountability was mentioned three times. The Council has drawn attention towards compliance with human rights, international humanitarian law, monitoring, investigation, and punishment of those responsible for such crimes. The implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child was never raised.

The Secretary-General’s thirteenth report 267 (2002) regarding UNAMSIL was recalled by the UNSC in resolution 1400 (2002). The Secretary-General raised concern on the situation of Sierra Leone which involved child recruitment and forced labor in diamond mining operations. The Secretary-General put forward concerns relating to the increased number of street children, war-related sexual violence of minors and girls perpetrated both by the armed groups, as well as the UN and non-governmental organizations personnel. In the fifteenth report (S/2002/987), recalled by the UNSC in resolution 1436 (2002), the Secretary-General reminded that children constitute almost 50 percent of the total population of Sierra Leone. He recalled the breach of children’s

rights, the issue of child soldiers, their reintegration, children's separation from their family, the increased number of street children, and the sexual exploitation of girls. It stressed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should prioritize children's experiences and views, whereas the Special Court should have a child-friendly environment and procedures. The resolutions consequently issued by the Council disregard in a wide degree the issues highlighted by the Secretary-General. The context of empowerment and participation of children (addressed once in 2013 S/RES/2097), attention towards child soldiers as well as refugee and internally displaced children are low. The Council never dealt with the separation and preservation of the family unit, and the concern related to girls lacked until 2005. Finally, the institution never advanced the idea of child-friendly judicial procedures.

6.2. SUDAN

TABLE 4: CODING SCHEME SUDAN

CODE COUNTS RELATED TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION	% DIRECTLY RELATED TO CHILDREN	THEMEGROUPS
57	57	Object of the Analysis
64	(0) 0%	Child soldiers
91	(0) 0%	Refugee/ Internally Displaced Children
214	(99) 46%	Abuse
121	(19) 15.7%	Assistance
251	(15) 6%	Cooperation
159	(54) 34%	Compliance and Accountability

Regarding Sudan, the Council mentioned the term 'child/children/youth' 57 times along the documents. The issue of child soldiers was never mentioned. Most of the resolutions called for the creation of the Safe Demilitarized Border Zone, the demilitarization of the Abyei Area, and programs for demilitarization. Similarly, the issue of children belonging to the refugee and internally displaced

groups was never directly mentioned. The Council rather, expressed concern towards the killing and the displacement of civilians, calling for the safe and peaceful reintegration and movement of people to their homes. The theme of abuse of children was touched upon multiple times (46% of the total). The Council asked all the parties

involved in the conflict to stop violence and human rights abuses perpetrated against children, requesting investigations in this regard. It further raised the need for monitoring and reporting mechanisms, recalling the substantiality of the UN zero-tolerance policy. The Council addressed children's assistance, attention, care, and protection 15.7 % of the time. It regularly reaffirmed its previous resolutions on children in armed conflict and the importance of including such provisions and resolutions for each of the mandates of the UN. Cooperation to protect children's rights was mentioned only 6% of the time, reiterating the lack of cooperation by the parties with the Secretary-General towards human rights monitoring of violations committed against children. Regional cooperation or cooperation with non-governmental organizations concerned with children's rights (e.g. UNICEF) was never mentioned. Indeed, the Council stressed in the more general meaning, the importance of the assistance provided by regional organizations, the African Union and its institutions, the UN Member States, the international community, and donors. The Council often called for coherent assistance of the UN, cooperation among different UN missions in the region⁸, and appreciated the work of troop-contributing countries. Finally, the need for human rights monitoring and the cease of violence and abuses perpetrated against children was mentioned 34% of the time, regularly, and through the same wording. Otherwise, the Council stressed violations against the civilian population committed by the parties as well as the UN personnel. For each theme analyzed, the Council often used the same sentences and wording without bringing on the agenda any new features, issues, or propositions.

In its fifth meeting held in 2006, the working group raised different issues regarding children in armed conflict in Sudan. The concern towards the violations and abuses, with particular attention towards gender-based violations, protection, and assistance especially of girls was stated. The working group stressed the abuse of child soldiers and the need of their disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. It stressed the need for humanitarian access, monitoring and assistance. It raised attention to end impunity and advance accountability of the perpetrators of violence and abuse. In 2008, the CAAC recalled the just-mentioned issues, further stressing the priority of girls' protection and adding some more issues related to the situation in Sudan. The working

⁸UN Regional Missions: United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)

group raised concerns about the attacks committed on schools, the importance of cooperation with UNICEF to release children from armed forces, the urgency to raise the minimum age of recruitment, and the criminalization of the recruitment of underaged children. It directly asked the Security Council to disseminate protection, and create mechanisms to ensure children's protection, the criminalization of child soldiering and their release from the Sudan People's Liberation Army, the Sudanese armed forces, and other armed groups involved in the conflict. In response to the recommendations of the working group, the Council never mentioned the concern of girls, child soldiers, and their disarmament. The Security did not criminalize child soldiering by the mentioned groups nor called the parties to raise the minimum age of recruitment. Cooperation with children-related organisations (e.g UNICEF) was not raised.

6.3 COMPARISON SIERRA LEONE-SUDAN

TABLE 5: COMPARISON SIERRA LEONE/SUDAN

THEME	SIERRA LEONE	SUDAN
Object of Analys	15	57
Child Soldiers	6 (10.3%)	(0) 0%
Refugee/Internally Displaced Children	(7) 27%	(0) 0%
Abuse	(21) 63.6%	(99) 46%
Assistance	(10) 34.5%	(19) 15.7%
Cooperation	(2) 2.1%	(15) 6%
Compliance and Accountability	(3) 8.1%	(54) 34%

As noted in Table 5, the two cases analyzed show the Council's improvement in the number of times it mentioned the term 'child' (15 in the case of Sierra Leone, 57 in the Sudan case). After the establishment of the working group, the Council in the case of Sudan never raised the issue of child soldiers nor the risks connected to children's migration (although the institution treated both themes in a sporadic way already in the case of Sierra Leone). Concerning abuse and assistance related to children, the Council demonstrated less attention after 2005.

Abuses and exploitation in Sierra Leone counted 63.3% of references towards children, against 46% in the case of Sudan. The assistance of children counted 34.5% of the total references in the first case, against 15.7% in the second one. Finally, after 2005, the Council showed improvement concerning cooperation, compliance, and accountability in respect of children's rights. The call for cooperation increased by 3.9% whereas attention towards compliance and accountability by 25.9% in the case of Sudan.

In the case of Sierra Leone, whenever issues concerning children were brought on the agenda by the UNSC, these were more variegated, since they touched upon different issues. The Council seldom addressed the issues in the same and regular manner. In its resolution 1270 (1999), the institution stated the need to train UNAMSIL personnel with child provisions, the importance of the rehabilitation of child soldiers with the needed cooperation of the United Nations Children's Fund and the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. In the subsequent resolution 1289 (2000) the Council showed concern towards 'the lack of progress on the release of abductees and child soldiers' (para 4). In the case of Sudan, the Council did not address the armed groups (e.g. the Sudan People's Liberation Army, the Sudanese armed forces) even if requested by the Secretary-General. Contrarily, in the case of Sierra Leone, the Council demanded the cease of human rights abuses' (S/RES/1370, 2001, para 4). In resolution 1400 (2002) it added the concern toward abuses by the UN personnel against children happening in camps for refugees and internally displaced people. In its resolution 1620 (2005), it requested the Secretary-General to establish the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL) to help the Government in 'developing initiatives for the protection and well-being of youth, women and children' (para 1). Finally, in resolutions (2002) 1436 (2002) 1508 (2003), the Council reiterated particular attention towards children in the processes of the reintegration of ex-combatants, in the return of refugees and internally displaced persons.

After 2005 and in the case of Sudan, even though the Council showed improvement towards the number of times it used the term 'child, children, youth', enriched its address towards cooperation, compliance, and accountability, it did not bring new issues or proposals on the agenda. Most of the time, the institution used the same wording and paragraphs in each resolution. With the same wording, the Council reaffirmed its previous resolutions on children in armed conflict, stressed the need for

human rights monitoring of gender-based violence and abuses committed against children, and raised the lack of cooperation by the parties to achieve the aim. In the resolutions 2205 (2015), 2287 (2016) and 2318 (2016), the Council urged to stop all forms of violence and abuses against children since they violate international humanitarian and human rights law. In resolutions 2251 (2015) and 2352 (2017), and 2386 (2017) the institution stressed the importance of including the provisions regarding children in armed conflict in the mandates of the UN. All these issues were recalled in the same manner in different resolutions. Surprisingly, in resolutions 2445 (2018), 2469 (2019), the Council added a new feature on the agenda since it welcomed the creation by the UNISFA⁹ of a civilian Women and Child Protection Advisor. Moreover, in resolution 2497 (2019), it called upon UNISFA to sustain adequate expertise on women and child protection' (para 28) and stressed the importance of bringing to justice the perpetrators of the abuses against children. In both cases analysed, the Council made improvements in some fields and regression in others.

⁹ United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei

7. CONCLUSION

The two cases examined show that after the establishment of CAAC, there has been a substantial improvement of the Security Council in addressing the issues of cooperation, compliance, and accountability. Nevertheless, the UNSC showed poor results concerning child soldiers, migratory flows of children, and abuses against children. Moreover, before 2005, the resolutions regarding Sierra Leone, touched upon more matters than in the case of Sudan. For example, abuses in the camps of refugees, children's well-being, training of the UN personnel about children's provisions, and cooperation with UNICEF were raised in the case of Sierra Leone but never addressed in the case of Sudan. The UNSC rarely brought new issues on the agenda in the case of Sudan, it rather focused on recalling the same issues with the same wording in most of the resolutions. The usage of the same sentences seems to make the provisions and mandates of the institution weaker, since they could provide the addressed parties with less willingness to actually fight for children's rights in armed conflict. Surprisingly, in both cases none of the resolutions called for a great degree of attention towards the refugee status of children, and the violations encountered throughout their pre-migration, migration, post-migration phases. The institution never provided attention to the issue of the separation of the family unit, which goes against the child's right to life, survival, and development involved in Article 6 of the UNCRC. The need of assistance and protection was raised in both cases, however, the need for effective mental and medical interventions was not addressed. Furthermore, the Council never mentioned the participatory rights of children which are important for their well-being, the improvement of the UN mandates, and medical interventions. The right to education, which applies both in peaceful and violent times, was never raised. Finally, the vulnerability of girls was raised in a sporadic way and only in the case of Sierra Leone.

The overall activity of the Council in respect to children's rights has not shown great success after 2005 and the hypothesis of improvement was not met. Nevertheless, the analysis does not undermine the constructivist idea towards this institution. The documents issued by the Council show a wide degree of attention towards human rights of the civilian population. The Council is driven by norms and rules connected to human rights, international humanitarian law, and the customary international law that foster the need to protect the civilian. Furthermore, the implementation and promotion

of children's rights are increasingly being consolidated within the international customary law framework. International institutions foster this development through the use of their soft power in relation to human rights. They are increasingly concerned with normative issues, not only political ones. In this regard, the realist and liberal views can be dismissed. Promotion and protection of these norms are not the focus of an institution driven by self-interested states, as realists argue. Furthermore, the Council does not seem to be a tool through which states try to maximize their respective interests and solve cooperation problems, as liberals posit. The Council's activity fosters the legitimacy of constructivism in international relations.

The thesis has some pitfalls. It does not analyze the empirical improvements made on the ground since 2005, but rather, the documents issued by the Council. There can be a great difference between what has been achieved on the ground, and what is written on the paper. Research should be improved in that regard, starting from a greater interest in the topic and presence in the places affected by armed conflict. Even though the constructivist explanation of the Council's engagement with norms and rules cannot be undermined, further research should enhance the argument through the longitudinal analyses of one or more cases. It is important to note that many of the children's issues have been delegated to the CAAC and its resolutions are regarded as UNSC binding resolutions. Therefore, the documents and the work of the CAAC and the results on the ground in conflict areas should be examined. The different issues neglected by the Council in the cases examined, such as participatory rights, should be analyzed in other cases for more generalizable conclusions. Moreover, the resolutions analyzed in this thesis showed a limited attention towards the separation of sexes and the different abuses perpetrated against girls and boys. The focus on the differentiation between girls and boys, women and men, could be enhanced in other cases to see whether the Council is concerned with the equality of sexes.

8. APPENDIX I: UNSC RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING CHILDREN (1999-2012)

Phase I: Agenda-setting and awareness-raising

- 1998 S/PRST/1998/18
- 1999 **Resolution 1261**: notes 'long-term consequences' of grave violations against children during conflict for 'durable peace, security, and development' ([Security Council, 1999](#): 1); SG requested to provide annual report; annual open debate on CAAC
- 2000 **Resolution 1314**: detailed list of measures, for example, encouraged ratification of OPAC, child protection advisers in peacekeeping
- 2001 **Resolution 1379**: SG requested to list parties in annual report who recruit and use children on *annual list of shams*; parties are listed in Annex I if they concern a situation already on the agenda of the UNSC and in Annex II if they are not
- 2002 S/PRST/2002/12
- 2003 **Resolution 1460**: action plans: requires listed parties to enter into talks with the UN and work towards an agreement to halt violations; upon UN verification that the action plan has been implemented and violations stopped, the parties can be removed from the SG's list
- 2004 **Resolution 1539**: agrees on the possibility of sanctions (e.g. arms embargoes, asset freezes, travel bans) against parties violating the rights of children

Phase II: Institutionalization

- 2005 S/PRST/2005/8
Resolution 1612
- Creates MRM on grave human rights violations against children; MRM for one trigger: the recruitment or use of children as soldiers
 - Creates WG; WG reviews reports on the situation of children in country situations and gives guidance to parties to conflict and the UN
 - WG toolkit: drawing the attention of the UNSC to specific situations, field trips, emergency meetings, media statements ([Security Council, 2006](#))
- 2006 S/PRST/2006/33; S/PRST/2006/48
- 2008 S/PRST/2008/6; S/PRST/2008/28
- 2009 S/PRST/2009/9
Resolution 1882: New triggers for SG listing/MRM: parties (1) who kill or maim children and (2) use sexual violence in conflict
- 2010 S/PRST/2010/10
- 2011 **Resolution 1998**: new trigger for SG listing/MRM: parties who attack schools or hospitals

Phase III: Consolidation

- 2012 **Resolution 2068**: focus on persistent perpetrators

¹⁰ From 'Reflective practices at the Security Council: Children and armed conflict and the three United Nations', by I. Bode, 2017, *European Journal of International Relations* 24(2), p.7. Copyright 2018.
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5949707/table/table2-1354066117714529/?report=objectonly>

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