# universität wien

# DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

## An analysis of the empowerment potential of child and youth participation in the youth movement against the commercial sexual exploitation of children

Verfasserin

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# Abstract

The words "empowerment" and "participation" have become well known buzzwords in the development discourse in recent years. But what do they really mean and where is the connection between them? Is one a precondition for the other and do they lead to each other respectively? What is the relationship between "participation" in development and child and youth participation? Are both targeted towards empowerment and if yes, can they fulfill what they promise?

The following thesis will try and answer these questions by looking into the two concepts of participation in development and child and youth participation, as well as analyzing structures of child and youth participation (CYP) on their empowerment potential on a theoretical and empirical level.

It will start by looking at theoretical considerations of the three concepts; their history, their different scope of meanings, their various conceptualizations, as well as critical reflections about them. It will be shown that all three concepts have a range of different meanings and conceptualizations. Even though all of them have a positive connotation, to imply an automatic assumption that they are in fact positive for everybody is wrong. Not only this, but the various critiques also show that the process, implementation, as well as conceptualization as such can be problematic in all three concepts. Especially, the concept of CYP is discussed in more detail, looking at the structures that it encompasses. Are some of the structures more prone to enable empowerment potential than others?

Some might argue that child and youth participation is a goal in itself, therefore positive and always desirable. Although some concepts and their implementation of CYP seem to be more targeted towards empowerment than others, whether they lead to empowerment or not and to what extent needs to be analyzed on an individual level. It can be said, however, that **the *more there exist enabling structures and spaces* that have the potential for people participating within them to see, understand and use the power network, the *more potential for empowerment* is present.** This means on the other hand that CYP can also have disempowering effects and cannot be a goal in itself, but its goals need to be set and measured on the individual level against qualitative                                                                                              criteria.

# Content

# Foreword and Acknowledgements

Writing a diploma thesis is a somewhat more complex undertaking than what students have to do in the course of their previous studies. One never feels prepared enough and for me finishing my studies with this work seems somewhat contradictory, as a thinking and reflection process is put into place that opens up questions rather than answering them. But then again, studying isn´t about finding answers.

I am glad to be able to end my involvement as youth in youth work with this theoretical piece of written work. This is why I have chosen this topic, as I had the feeling that finishing my practical work with reflections and research into it will be a meaningful end. I was involved for about 3 years on various local, regional and international levels of the youth network fighting the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in ECPAT. I am most grateful for having had this chance and meeting all the wonderful and valuable people during my work. Without the professional, but also sometimes close connection on the basis of friendship, this thesis would not have been the same. Further, I am glad to be able to relate this experience with my background in development studies as I think the topic of CSEC, children's rights and development need to be more closely connected. Even though it took me more time to get the necessary distance to finish my research and reflections, I hope that the insights gained will be interesting.

Here I would also like to thank those people that have not only put up with my questions, reflections and brain twisting, but who have also encouraged me to go on, trying to assist me with motivation and discussions. A special thanks goes to my partner, Markus, who has not only encouraged me to finish my studies, but who has been a constant pain in the ass doing so. Further I would like to thank my family, my younger sister Michaela, who has kept my ego going finishing her degree faster than me and also my parents. To my friends, that have made all times between writing this thesis a good and memorable contrast to the life of studies and who have through their own enthusiasm and accomplishments also encouraged mine. Perhaps the biggest thanks go to all those that took yet more of their precious, unpaid time to have an interview with me about their experience or send me material. I am so glad to have been able to meet you, work with you and be inspired and motivated by you! Without you this thesis would have no soul and my own involvement in youth work no meaning. Especially the team of the YPP (Youth Partnership Project) in South Asia has enabled me to have small insights into their lives, who are not only fascinating but highly valuable in the fight against the commercial sexual exploitation of children. Without your openness and friendship a big practical part of my studies would have been lacking- and it wouldn't have been as interesting and as much fun!  Thank you also to the Committee for Youth Action at ECPAT Austria, who were not only my team, but the essential support and fun I needed when having to deal with the area of international youth work. The last thanks go to my fellow students and professors, especially Prof. Dr. Walter Schicho whom I have been challenging with my questions, critical analysis and endless theoretical twisting of thoughts. Let's hope its outcome will be useful for what it is intended to.

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ADA | Austrian Development Agency |
| CIDA | Canadian International Development Agency |
| CSEC | Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children |
| CRC | UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) |
| CYP | Child and Youth Participation |
| DAC | Development Assistance Committee of the OSCE |
| DfID | UKs Department for International Development |
| ECPAT | End Child Prostitution, child pornography and trafficking in children for sexual purposes |
| EICYAC | ECPAT International Child and Youth Advisory Committee |
| GTZ | Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit |
| NGO | Non governmental organization |
| OPSC | Optional Protocol on the Sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography |
| OSCE | Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe |
| PRA | Participatory Rural Appraisal |
| YPP | Youth Partnership Project |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |

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# I. Introduction

> *"The participation of young people is critical in combating the commercial sexual exploitation of children [...] Children and young people must have opportunities to express their views, advocate for their own rights, assist their peers and influence decision- making on issues that affect them. In this way they can contribute to their own protection and to the overall development of their communities."[1]*

The above statement shows, that child and youth participation is seen by some actors as a pre- condition to their empowerment and the development of their communities.

Both concepts, **participation in development** and **empowerment**, have become widely accepted in the mainstream of the development discourse over the past few years. They are so-called "*buzzwords*" that are mentioned in a large number of development activities. More than that, they have been evolving to become the "*new orthodoxy*"[2,] changing the development approach and opening up new perspectives[3].

Likewise the same can be said about the concept of **child and youth participation** within the area of children's rights[4]. On a theoretical level all of the above mentioned concepts are almost exclusively connected to concepts of positive change[5]. They are what we wish to be able to implement on a practical level. Consequently there is a strong assumption that if only we would have 100% participation in development, 100% child and youth participation or 100% empowerment, the protagonists- either beneficiaries of development or children and youth, would be better off and our programs and projects would enable positive change.

*But do we really know what we are talking about? If so, why are different words and concepts such as participation and empowerment often used interchangeably[6]? Are we*

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[1] ECPAT International (2008): ECPAT Youth Journal. Bangkok: ECPAT, from: http://ecpat.com/EI/Publications/CYP/Youth_Journal.pdf , p.3

[2] See Henkel, Heiko/Stirrat, Roderick (2001): Participation as Spiritual Duty; Empowerment as Secular Subjection. In: Cooke, Bill/Uma Kothari (eds). (2001): Participation – the new tyranny. London: Zed Books, pp.168-184, p.168f.

[3] See Quaghebeur, Kerlijn/Masschelein, Jan (2003): Participation making a difference? Critical analysis of the participatory claims of change, reversal and empowerment. Preliminary Version. Prepared for the conference Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development. 27-28 February 2003, University of Manchester. From: http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/events/conferences/documents/Participation%20Papers/Quaghebeur.pdf, last access: 05.06.08, p.3

[4] And also increasingly within the development field- see i.e. ADA (2007): Fokus: Kinder als Partner in der OEZA. Wien: ADA, from: http://www.entwicklung.at/uploads/media/Fokus_Kinder.pdf

[5] Cleaver, Frances (2001): Institutions, Agency and the Limitations of Participatory Approaches to Development, In: Cooke, Bill/Uma Kothari (eds.) (2001): Participation – the new tyranny. London: Zed Books, pp. 36-55, p.36

[6] See Chapters VI. and VII.

*correct in our assumptions? Is participation automatically something positive and does it lead to empowerment as stated for example in the quotation above? Does a person on the contrary need a certain kind or level of empowerment before being able to participate?*

All of these questions touch on important aspects of personal development, and especially of the development of children and of young people and of the ongoing development discourse. Child and youth participation is one of the general principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child[7] and therefore people below the age of 18[8] have the right to participation on matters affecting them.[9] Children are also important in the development discourse as they account for one of the biggest parts of the population in development countries. To give an example, in most African countries children and youth[10] demographically account for more than half of the total population[11]. Further participation is closely connected to the empowerment of marginalized groups in development, where it is not only seen as a right people have, but rather necessary to bring about positive change in their lives and provide the possibility for development projects and programs to have a positive outcome. This holds especially true in programs and projects aimed directly at children and young people, also in the area of combating the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC)[12], where it is increasingly included.

Because the above questions on elementary and important issues often remain unanswered, this paper is trying to throw some light on them. It will not be able to answer all the questions, but has to be seen as a directory pointing the way towards where we must conduct more extensive research.

In order to bring about positive change to people on a practical level, we first need to know what we talk about and therefore discuss and try to answer at least partially the

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[7] See UNICEF (2002): Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Fully revised edition, USA and Switzerland: UNICEF, p.159

[8] The term „child" is defined according to Art. 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989): "[...]a child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier." From: http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/uncrc.asp#One, last access: 23.03.09

[9] This must be interpreted rather widely as "There are few areas of family, community, regional, national or international decision- making that do not affect children."- See UNICEF, 2002:164

[10] The term « youth » is defined according to the UN World Youth Report to talk about people between the ages of 16 and 25. See UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2005): World Youth Report 2005. Young people today, and in 2015. United Nations publication, From: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wyr05book.pdf, last access: 06.07.08, p.24

[11] I.e. the population of 2005 in the countries of Angola, Burundi, Liberia and Uganda between 0 and 25 years accounted for more than 63% of the total population in each country. See United Nations Population Division- World Population Prospects: the 2008 Revision Population Database: http://esa.un.org/unpp/index.asp?panel=2, last access:23.03.09

[12] As defined in Art. 34 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), as well as in its Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. From: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/crc-sale.pdf, last access 01.04.2010

above named questions. It is dangerous to assume that an activity automatically leads to positive change without theoretical and practical analysis. At its best it is not effective. At worst it achieves the opposite of what was intended. Especially in the area of child and youth participation (CYP) there are a lot of positive assumptions, whereas the real effects on individuals are rarely known and/or studied.

There exists substantial literature, including several theoretical models, on the issue of child participation in general.[13] Scholars have so far written on topics[14] such as CYP in the working children's movement[15], in programs for environmental protection[16], etc. So there seem to be several authors that are discussing participation in general and in the development context in specific. But not much has been written specifically on CYP and the connection to the empowerment discourse and on the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC).

Apart from scholarly literature there are various NGOs (i.e. Save the Children[17], Worldvision[18], etc.) that have published good practice examples, recommendations, etc. on CYP. Organizations such as the African Child Policy Forum for example have made general analysis on country specific child and youth participation contexts (i.e. opinion polls and law harmonization)[19] as well as on CYP in general[20] and on African youth organizations in specific.[21] Further, some donor organizations and UN organizations (UNICEF[22], World Bank[23], the Committee on the Rights of the Child[24], etc.) have

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[13] See Shier, Harry (2001): Pathways to Participation: Openings, Opportunities and Obligations. A new Model for Enhancing Children's Participation in Decision-making, in line with Article 12.1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In: Children&Society Volume 15(2001), pp. 107-117, p. 108 for an overview, as well as African Child Policy Forum (2006a): Youth Organizations and Initiatives in Africa: Where do they stand? Addis Ababa. From: http://www.africanchildforum.org/Documents/intiative.pdf, p.13ff.

[14] The following are just examples of a much wider range of topics that have been covered so far.

[15] Liebel, Manfred/Overwien, Bernd/Recknagel, Albert (2001): Working Children's Protagonism. Social movements and empowerment in Latin America, Africa and India. Frankfurt am Main, London: IKO- Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation

[16] i.e. Hart, Roger (2002): Children`s Participation. The Theory and Practice of Involving Young Citizens in Community Development and Environmental Care. UNICEF, First published 1997, London, New York: Earthscan

[17] Cussiánovich, Alejandro/Márquez, Ana María (2002): Towards a protagonist participation of boys, girls and teenagers. Discussion paper prepared for Save the Children Sweden. Save the Children, Jesús Maria: Línea&Punto S.A.C.

[18] See i.e. World Vision (2001): Creating Space for Children's Participation: Planning with Stress Children in Yangon, Myanmar. World Vision Australia's Program Support Unit, Development and Relief Services, Melbourne: Craftsman Press

[19] See i.e. African Child Policy Forum (2006c): What Children and Youth Think. Burundi. A Statistical Presentation of Opinions and Perceptions of Children and Youth in Burundi. Addis Ababa: African Child Policy Forum, from: http://www.africanchildforum.org/Documents/Burundi.pdf, last access: 30.05.09, and African Child Policy Forum (Unknown): Harmonization of laws relating to children. Mozambique. Prepared by Jacqui Gallinetti, Addis Ababa: African Child Policy Forum, from: http://www.africanchild.info/index.php?file=Mozambique final Sarah.doc, last access: 30.05.09

[20] See African Child Policy Forum (2006b): Youth participation. Concepts, models and experiences. Addis Ababa: African Child Policy Forum, from: http://www.africanchildforum.org/Documents/participation.pdf, last access: 26.4.09

[21] See African Child Policy Forum (2006a)

[22] As a comprehensive overview on CYP resources see i.e. UNICEF (2006): Child and Youth Participation Resource Guide. Bangkok: UNICEF East Asia and Pacific Regional Office, from: http://www.eicyac.org/CSEC/PDF/Child%20and%20Youth%20Participation%20Resource%20Guide.pdf, last access: 30.05.09

published material on CYP. Most of the publications (apart from CIDA[25]) are policy papers on children in general. Namely, donors such as Austria (ADA Austrian Development Agency)[26], Canada CIDA[27], Norway and Denmark[28] or Germany GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit)[29], which are among the 15 DAC (Development Assistance Committee of the OSCE) donor countries with the highest net official development assistance in 2007[30], have a policy on children, also sometimes mentioning child participation. GTZ funds specific projects on CSEC and makes this transparent on their website[31], but the focus is mainly on protection, not linking this topic to CYP. Still there are some indicators that also CYP projects are funded.[32]

How far these policies are considered in their programs and projects and transferred down to the level of implementation has still to be researched more in-depth. Especially when considering the direct participation of children and youth[33], especially in relation to combating CSEC. The UKs Department for International Development (DfID) for example has initiated external evaluation of their donor programs on children's rights[34]. This would be advisable for other donor agencies too.

Nonetheless, children's rights and with them CYP are becoming more and more important for development cooperation.

> *"Inadequate protection of their rights means children and youth suffer from many forms of violence, and are denied a role in decisions that affect their position and chances in society. The protection, socioeconomic integration and participation*

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[23] See i.e. World Bank (2005): Children & Youth: A Framework for Action. 2005. Washington: World Bank

[24] As one of the most recent publications on CYP see Committee on the Rights of the Child (2009): General Comment No.12 (2009). The right of the child to be heard. CRC/C/GC/12, Geneva

[25] CIDA has a range of different publications on CYP, which can be found at http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/JUD-121152128-RVG#a4, last access 09.04.2010

[26] See ADA (2007)

[27] CIDA (2003): Results Based Management and Child Participation: A Guide to Incorporating Child Participation Results into CIDA Programs. Child Protection Unit, Policy Branch, CIDA, from: http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUImages/Childprotection/$file/E03.pdf, last access 09.04.2010

[28] See Maguire, Sarah (2007): Child Rights Climate within the UK's Department for International Development. Commissioned by Save the Children UK, World Vision UK (et alt.). From: http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications/child-rights-climate.pdf, last access:30.05.09, p. 15, on Norway and Denmark

[29] GTZ (2008): Toolkit Get Youth on Board!" International Commitments, Eschborn: GTZ, from: http://www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/en-get-youth-on-board-international-commitments.2008.pdf, last access: 1.5.2010

[30] See DAC- Development Assistance Committee (2009): Statistical Annex of the 2009 Development Co-operation Report. Tables 1-14. From: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/52/9/41808765.xls, last access: 17.8.09

[31] See http://www.gtz.de/de/themen/soziale-entwicklung/gesundheit-bevoelkerung/6669.htm, last access: 1.5.2010

[32] See http://www.gtz.de/de/themen/uebergreifende-themen/jugend/2693.htm, last access 1.5.2010

[33] The policy paper of ADA for example mentions in its chapter on *"participation of children [translation of the author]"* that *"the direct inclusion of children and youth seems to be one of the biggest implementation challenges [translation of the author]".* See ADA, 2007:3

[34] See Maguire (2007)

> *of young people are therefore highly significant for international development*
> *cooperation. In many partner countries young people form more than half the*
> *population, and constitute a substantial proportion of those living below the*
> *poverty line. Moreover there is ample evidence that the low participation of the*
> *poor and vulnerable is one of the main factors hampering the sustainability of*
> *international development endeavours."[35]*

Despite the rhetoric and subsequent implementation of child rights policies and CYP in development cooperation, the connection to empowerment, especially in its effects is still unclear. For these reasons, this paper will first focus, in the theoretical part on the evolvement, discussion and definitions, as well as critique of the concepts of empowerment, participation and CYP *(see Chapter V.)*. Followed by a discussion of existing models and the organizational classification of CYP, this leads to the outcome of a relationship model of empowerment and participation *(see Chapter VI.)*. To know within which framework children and youth can participate[36] *(Chapter V.2)* and to understand the relationship of participation, CYP and empowerment *(Chapters VI. and VII.)* are seen as a pre-conditional structure to be able to analyze the empowerment potential of individuals within the youth network. This analysis is incorporated in *Chapter VII*.

In this chapter the empowerment potential of the participation of individual young people within the youth network on combating CSEC will be examined *(see Chapter VII)*. This will be done by discussing some of the structures of this international youth network, by examining the opinions of individual youth on a national and international level and the assessment of experts on CYP.

The analysis of the empowerment of the participation of children and young people within a network fighting the commercial sexual exploitation of children is situated within the framework of the wider development discourse. The commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) is closely connected not only to the discourses of empowerment and participation, but also to development studies. The background factors of CSEC are inter alia poverty, globalization (and with it the growth of tourism[37]), migration, etc. which are

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[35] GTZ, 2008:10

[36] these frameworks include CYP models and within these models the levels of participation, as well as organizational forms within which CYP can take place

[37] On the connection of globalization, poverty, tourism and the forms of CSEC (i.e. child sex tourism or child prostitution) see Nuscheler, Franz (2004): Entwicklungspolitik. Eine grundlegende Einführung in die zentralen entwicklungspolitischen Themenfelder Globalisierung, Hunger, Bevölkerung, Wirtschaft und Umwelt. 5. Auflage, Bonn: Dietz, p.336ff.

all in themselves topics important to development cooperation. Therefore the topic of CYP, within the framework of the fight against CSEC must also be seen within this wider context of development studies.

## II. Research questions

*The main research question of this paper will be:*

What is the **relationship between participation and empowerment**?
- especially between youth participation and empowerment,
- more specifically in the field of the youth movement against CSEC

*Specific questions will be:*

✓ Can empowerment be a pre- condition to participation or vice versa?

✓ What are the conditions/structures under which participation/CYP has a potential to lead to positive change?

✓ What are the effects of CYP, especially in CSEC activities of the youth movement analyzed?

## III. Hypothesis

Participation and CYP more specifically, can never be assumed to automatically lead to empowerment, as the positive or negative effects always depend on the individual and the specific context, and structures within which he/she is participating. Therefore whether the participation of an individual has empowering effects or not and to what extent needs to be analyzed on an individual level.

When we want to analyze the empowerment effects that participation can have, we need to analyze the inherent understanding of power within empowerment. Taking a Foucauldian understanding of power as a network, in connection with Gaventas concept of spaces of power *(see Chapter V. 1.2),* we get to the conclusion that the potential for empowerment participation can have, is closely connected to the structures[38] one participates in. These structures can be created, made visible and adapted in a way that can increase or minimize the potential for empowerment.

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[38] Structures here are understood with a Foucauldian background to be the way the power network is formed. It doesn't only refer to established structures, but also to power network structures that are inherent also in less officially organized forms of interaction.

> **This leads to the conclusion that *the more there exist enabling structures and spaces*, that have the potential for people participating within them to see, understand and use the power network, the *more potential for empowerment* is present.**

This is taking away the sole responsibility off the individual for his/her own empowerment. While the individual is an important actor within his or her own change, the structures and spaces surrounding him or her enable or disable positive change in the understanding of empowerment. This is not to deny that the same structures can have different effects on different people.

The term "potential" has a very heavy meaning in this context, as the individual effects and outcomes have to be analyzed on the individual level, as stated above.

The ***alternative thesis*** in this regard would be that participation automatically leads to empowerment. This assumption will be proven wrong by giving single examples of disempowerment through CYP. The automatic assumption of positive effects of CYP can in my opinion even easily lead to disempowerment.
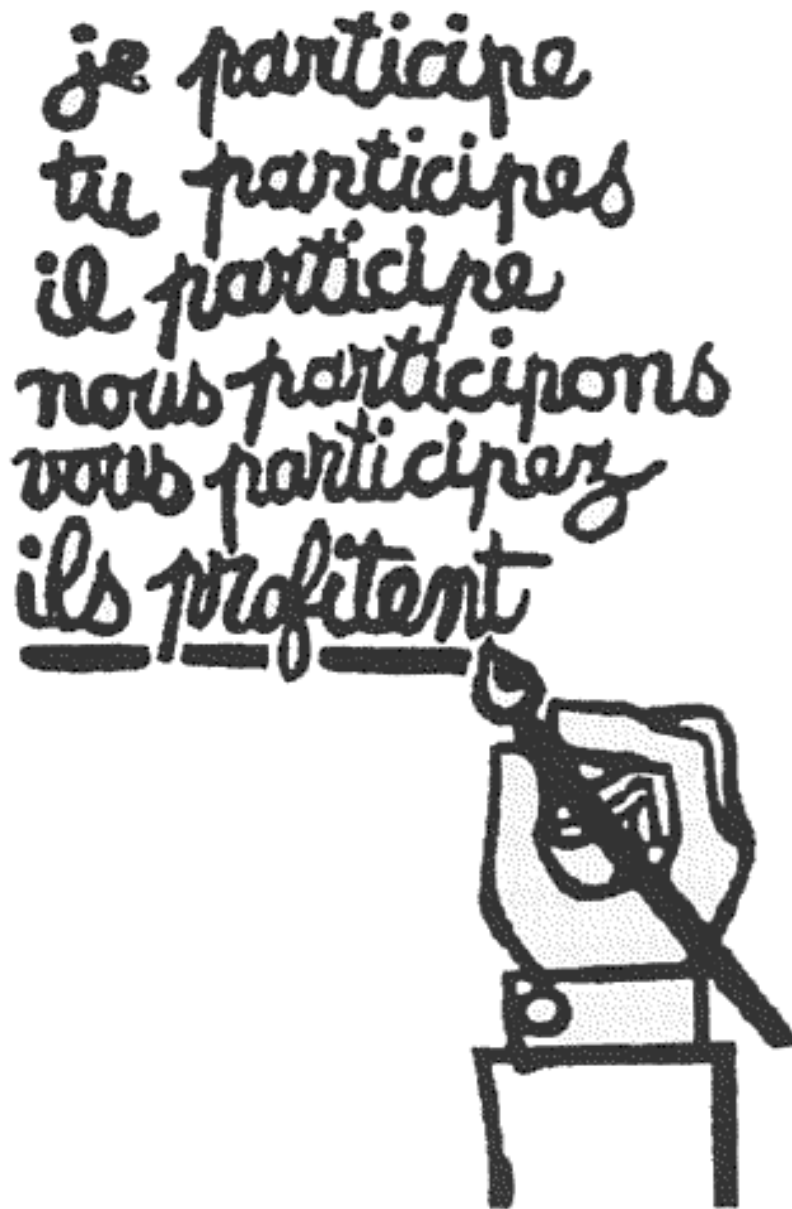
Figure 1. French student poster. In English, "I participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate...they profit."

**Figure 1**- "Je participe,…"
This figure is supposed to start your thinking process. It was originally meant as "they profit" in the sense of all of the actors (I, you, he, we, etc.), but taking a second look one sees that it can also be meant as "they profit" in the sense of the others, who might be imposing participatory methods. Further, "elle profite" is missing…

From: Lithgow, Duncan (2004): A ladder of citizenship participation- Sherry R Arnstein, Originally published as Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969): A Ladder of Citizen Participation. JAIP, Vol. 35, No.4, pp.216/224, from http://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation.pdf

# IV. Practical Research

This chapter starts by giving an insight into the methodology which has been used to conduct the practical research that was used to underpin theory. Especially the personal approach and background of the researcher are central in the following chapters, as well as the specific methodology used. The findings of the practical research will be incorporated in the following chapters. By doing so it will be tried to answer the aforementioned questions and come to a conclusion as to whether the hypothesis could prove valuable.

## 1 Approach

*"The world has to be seen as a conflicting whole"[39] "The whole can only be understood when we understand its parts, whereas we can only understand these by knowing the whole"[40]Interpretation means analyzing the context and structures [all texts: translation of the author].[41]*

This interpretative approach is in conflict with the older approach of positivism, which thought of the world in objective and discoverable truths.[42] The interpretative approach acknowledges that different interpretations of one and the same thing can be done in parallel without meaning that one is more valid than the other.[43] This is because the researcher, as well as the field, structures or individuals he/she researches are inherent parts and interconnected with the research itself. This holds especially true for the researcher's interpretation of reality[44], since they are always based on own personal history, background and approach.[45]

On the other hand, when we take the approach that there are only subjectivities within this world and no objective truth, how can the production of knowledge that is valuable also for other people, take place? The answer to this question can be found within the hermeneutic approach within interpretative research, which perceives, then analyses to again perceive and so on. In this way it is going back and forth, but not

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[39] Novy, Andreas (2004): Entwicklung gestalten. Gesellschaftsveränderung in der Einen Welt. Geschichte, Entwicklung, Globalisierung, Band 5, 2. Auflage, Frankfurt: Brandes&Apsel, p. 15
[40] Novy, 2004:27
[41] Novy, 2004:31
[42] See Novy, 2004:20
[43] See Novy, 2004: 15
[44] See Novy, 2004:27
[45] See Novy, 2004:16

staying at the same place. Rather it moves forward in spirals, getting to know more and more about the researched subject on the basis of the perception of the researcher and the people he researches (with)[46] and in this movement creates knowledge through interpretation. Since the different actors can only be analyzed within their context, as well as their interactions with this context (including with other people), the view must be broadened to be able to analyze and interpret reality.[47] This approach is especially valuable for topics such as CYP and empowerment, as the subjective realities of the individuals in what their participation is about and what the effects are, is essentially connected to the subjectively felt (and possibly objectively measured) outcomes.

Now the way in which this approach can be implemented on a practical level is through **qualitative methods**. This is because they are especially suited for researching social relations.[48] Qualitative methods enable the researcher to choose and adjust his/her methods to the context in contrast to choosing the methods beforehand[49]. Further, it includes the possibility of researching various perspectives as well as including the researcher's reflection of him/herself.[50] Qualitative methods are strongly focused on the subject (individual), which needs to be analyzed in its complexity[51], as stated above. These are all parts that will be included in this research too. Only through using an open approach of choosing methods, the complexity of social situations can be taken account of.[52] Furthermore, also theories and hypotheses are seen as preliminary and will need to be adjusted until the very end.[53] This is what is done within **Grounded Theory**. There is no single definition of what grounded theory is, as this again describes an approach. But some of the key elements are that grounded theory generates theory through research data[54] in contrast to developing theory in advance and then testing it on a practical level. Further aspects are the "theoretical sampling", which means to select sites and sources according to their relevance to testing or refining new ideas, flexibly during the research process, rather than first selecting according to theory and testing this theory. In addition,

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[46] See Novy, 2004:26f.

[47] See Lueger, Manfred (2000): Grundlagen qualitativer Feldforschung. Wien: WUV – Universitätsverlag, p.75ff

[48] See Flick, Uwe (2004): Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung. (2. Auflage). Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuchverlag, p.12

[49] See Flick, 2004:17

[50] See Flick, 2004:16

[51] Mayring, Philipp (2002): Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, p.19

[52] See Flick, 2004:17

[53] See Flick, 2004:22

[54] See Glaser, Barney/Strauss, Anselm (2008): Grounded Theory. Strategien qualitative Forschung. 2., korrigierte Auflage, Bern: Huber, p.11

it analyses data on the basis of coding it into categories to be able to compare them and discover important aspects. Moreover, grounded theory sees the process of data collection as open (i.e. shown above within theoretical sampling). It means that this is not a linear process of theory- data collection- analyzing- writing, but rather a circular approach of ideas- data collection- analyzing- ideas- more data collection- analyzing- and so on. Only when data collection reaches "theoretical saturation" within the categories, meaning that new data doesn't bring new distinctions or refinements within the categories, does the data collection stop.[55] Although this paper has neither the intention nor the pretension to develop theory, the approach of flexibility and grounding one's insights and comparison with theoretical ideas on one's research is a very valuable one and will therefore be used here. More on the methodology used on the basis of the qualitative approach and grounded theory will be discussed in *Chapter IV. 5*.

## 2   Contexts of the Practical Research

> *"The sociocultural context of the young people is the prevailing set of values and priorities upheld by the majority of the people in the society in which young people live. Specific values with regard to the role of young people in society, their rights and responsibilities, the treatment of minority and special groups, and gender biases, if any, may enhance or hinder their participation."[56]*

There are many environments and contexts that are important to consider when looking at the individual child or youth within a given CYP context. Some authors have tried to visualize this as in *Figure 2*.

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[55] See Dey, Ian (2004): Grounded theory. In: Seale et al. (2004): Qualitative Research Practice. London: Sage, pp.80-93, p.80f.
[56] ECPAT, 1999:16
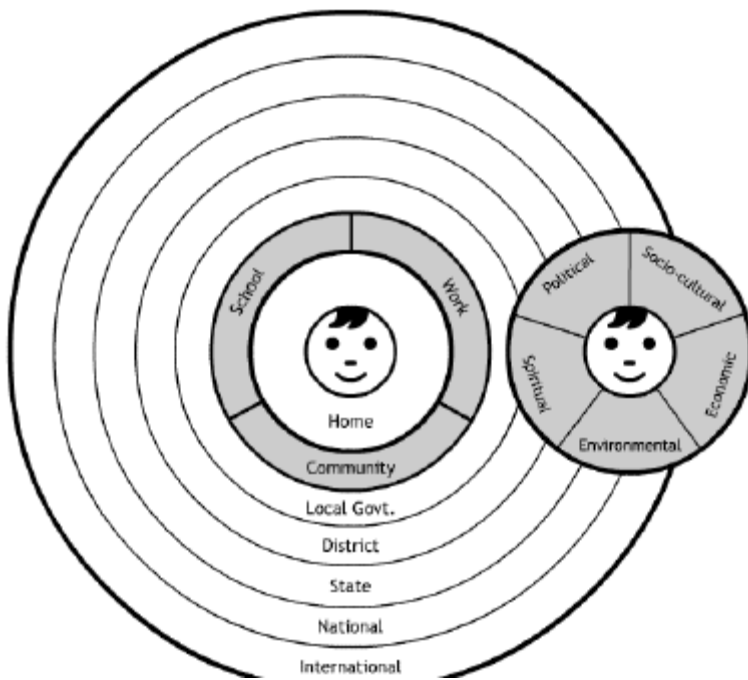
**Figure 2 -** The Environment of the Child
**Source:** Reddy/Ratna, 2002:25

The socio-cultural context is not the only context relevant when looking at the empowerment potential CYP (Child and youth participation) activities and structures can have. It is also important to see the field and topic within one does the activities.

Therefore, I will give a brief overview on CYP in the fight against CSEC (Commercial sexual exploitation of children). Due to my own involvement within the EICYAC (ECPAT International Child and Youth Advisory Committee), the youth movement within ECPAT[57] was given a focus here, as it is the only one specifically concentrating on the topic of CSEC. This is not to say that there are not other youth networks or youth organizations or youth in general that are engaged in this area. However, ECPAT International and with it the ECPAT network is the only globally recognized network of child rights organizations specifically focusing on the fight against CSEC.[58] By 2009 the ECPAT network consisted of more than 80 groups in over 75 countries. Many of these groups have CYP either through direct involvement of children and young people or through separate youth structures, on a national level.[59] Besides CYP on a local and national level, ECPAT International has also been trying to make sure

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[57] ECPAT is an international network of child rights organizations. Its acronym stands for End Child Prostitution, child pornography and Trafficking in children for sexual purposes, when this acronym really has become a name in itself.
[58] See Chowdhurry, Anindit Roy (2008): The EICYAC (ECPAT International Child and Youth Advisory Committee) Review Report. ECPAT International, Unpublished, p.3
[59] See EICYAC (eds.), 2008:4

that there is CYP on the regional and international level, as well as on the highest level of their governance, within the ECPAT International Board.[60] This is done through the structure of EICYAC, where most of the representatives are regional representatives and one representative advises the International Executive Board directly.[61] EICYAC exists since 2001 and new representatives are elected for 3 year terms.[62] Its establishment was an outcome of CYP on the international level during the World Congresses I and II on CSEC in 1996 and 2001.[63] Besides involving youth with national ECPAT Groups, as well as on the regional and international level, there is also a project context that also needs to be mentioned here due to its innovative approach that is strongly connected to the empowerment concept.

> *"The project is seeking to push the boundaries of child participation by applying this approach to the issue of CSEC, an area traditionally dominated by welfare-based approaches. The rationale in psychological terms is to empower youth, by 'giving them the space to distance themselves and to conquer their experience by doing something about it."[64]*

The Youth Partnership Project (YPP) has existed in South Asia[65] since 2004[66] in its various phases and was recently extended to more countries all over the world in 2009.[67] It especially targets, with its CYP- and CSEC-focused activities, children and young people who have experienced CSEC themselves or are within an at- risk group[68].

> *"Through participation, peer support programmes, community awareness campaigns and public advocacy, survivors and at-risk youth are using their knowledge and expertise and stepping forward to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children. […] The YPP is one of the first examples of experiential*

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[60] See Chowdhurry, 2008:3

[61] See Chowdhurry, 2008:10

[62] See ECPAT International (2007): Ensuring Meaningful Child and Youth Participation in the fight against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: The ECPAT Experience. Bangkok: ECPAT International, from: http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Publications/CYP/CYP_report_Ensuring_ENG.pdf , last access 01.04.2010, p. 4

[63] See ECPAT International, 2007:3f.

[64] Naik, Asmita (2007): Youth Partnership Project for Child Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in South Asia (YPP). External Evaluation Report. Unpublished, p.8

[65] See YPP South Asia at http://www.yppsa.org/

[66] See Naik, 2007:5

[67] See YPP World at http://www.ecpat.net/ypp_global

[68] See Naik, 2007:5

*youth playing an active role in the design, implementation, decision making and monitoring of a project designed for their benefit.''*[69]

More on the connection of empowerment within this project context *see Chapter VII. 1.2.1.*

Research, although limited in its scope due to the widespread nature of this network, has been undertaken on all areas just mentioned. Although many of the aforementioned theoretical considerations can also be applied to CYP contexts in general, the CYP setting within the context of the fight against CSEC is a specific one and thus brings with it specific considerations that will be taken into account within the various chapters.

## 3   Researcher's context

*"[…] this means first and foremost to acknowledge one's own anchorage in European middle- class and to be aware of one's limitations, resulting from this privileged place in social-spatial global hierarchy [translation of the author]"*[70]

In this sense, the research undertaken here is essentially connected, on the one hand, with the background, history and context of the individuals with whom it has been undertaken and, on the other hand, with the researcher - myself. This includes, as seen in the statement above, being situated within the middle- class of Europe, having implications for personal approach, prejudices and understanding. It is pointed out for example *"that in Western universities we seem to be praised more for criticism than for writing about success. Our Western education may also leave us feeling that* ~~that~~ *[adaptation of the author] nothing but a perfect solution to a particular problem will do. […] The combined result of these two phenomena is that researchers involved in evaluation may tend to highlight shortcomings and fail to recognize the achievements of the projects, programs or policies that they are investigating, and the obstacles that have been overcome in*

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[69] See Crispin, Vimala (2007): Participatory Midterm Internal Assessment of the Programmatic Aspects of the Youth Partnership Project for Child Survivors of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in South Asia. ECPAT International, from: http://www.yppsa.org/PDF/YPP_Midterm_Assessment.pdf, last access: 17.05.2010, p.3

[70] Novy, 2004:31

*reaching these achievements.''*[71] But then again critique is also seen as a starting point to improve something, enabling new possibilities for actions in the future.[72]

The important thing within interpretative social research is that we as researchers are aware of where we are coming from and what implications (such as the example given above) this might have for our research. Although there is nothing wrong with criticizing something and having improvements in its mind[73], one should be aware if this is limiting the perception and interpretation process and making it one-sided. Because then again there is nothing wrong with acknowledging successes while criticizing other aspects that could still be improved. "*It is considered important to find out about what does and does not work, and (crucially) how things work, so that lessons can be learned and taken forward in future attempts to improve the social world in which we live.*"[74] In this paper, although recommendations will not be included, the approach is still to analyze effects of CYP, as well as enabling structures for empowerment, with the thought in mind to open insights making it possible for others to reduce negative and enable positive change.

On the other hand, this research is also based on the history and context of my own involvement in the researched field, including my relationships with the people that gave me information and those who did not.

Since 2006, I have been active in the fight against CSEC within the youth network of ECPAT. From the end of 2006 to the end of 2009, I was involved in different positions on the national level of youth participation within ECPAT Austria[75]. From February 2007 to December 2008, I was involved as a youth representative for Western Europe in the ECPAT International[76] Child and Youth Advisory Committee (EICYAC)[77]. Although this enabled me not only to take part in the later researched field, experiencing different forms and effects of participation myself, but also to already get to know people I later held interviews with *(see Chapter IV 5.1)* and who provided me with valuable

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[71] Scheyvens, Henry/Nowak, Barbara (2003): Chapter 6- Personal Issues. In: Scheyvens, Regina/ Storey, Donovan (eds.) (2003) Development fieldwork: a practical guide. London: Sage, pp.97-116, p.106

[72] See Novy, 2004:16

[73] Which might even be going in the direction of qualitative evaluation research- understood to be making judgments and examination of accomplishments and effectiveness and doing this in a systematical and empirical way- see Kelly, Moira J. (2004): Qualitative evaluation research. In: Seale et al. (2004): Qualitative Research Practice. London: Sage, pp.521-535, p. 523

[74] Kelly, 2004:522

[75] See www.ecpat.at

[76] See www.ecpat.net

[77] See www.eicyac.org

information. It also limits me in the way that my own experience is first of all limited (to specific people, regions, forms of participation), as well as in the preconceptions and prejudices that were built up. Another issue that results from this involvement is the question of how to include those valuable experiences in the research, as no documentation took place at the time the experiences were made[78]. Since the influence is inevitable and the experiences valuable, it was decided to document the influence/personal experience within the paper. Therefore reference will be given to myself, more than is usually the case anyhow in each paper written, by the author. More than usual, this "going native" without intention relies on a constant self- reflection on assumptions, prejudices and reductions[79]. Nonetheless the advantages that participating within the researched field brings with it; such as not only learning to understand norms, values and behaviors, but also being surprised, changing oneself and accepting at the point of being the structures and system one participates within, to later be able to use this insight in starting a reflection process[80]; all exceed the disadvantages in my opinion. This might also depend on the person his-/herself, the specific character. Does one get, so to say, "corrupted" by the system or is he/she able to live within the system, reflecting during participation, questioning norms, values and normality to withdraw from the system, getting some distance and being able to analyze it to the point where these insights might be useful for somebody else? I know for myself that I am the latter described character and even though I had doubts at some points, I decided to lay my specific involvement not only open to reflect on my own history, background, etc. as is usually done in interpretative research *(see discussion in Chapter IV. 1),* but to also use it for gaining greater insights within my research. This is done with the careful approach to give others[81] the floor and use my own thoughts and experiences only as complementary when they in fact would constitute a majority in natural terms[82]. This self limitation is part of the reflection and learning process that such research brings with it for every author.

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[78] Such as are usually the case when doing participatory observation- see Flick, 2004:206 and Girtler, Roland (2001): Methoden der Feldforschung. (4. Auflage). Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, p.60ff. for an additional description of this method and its use and implications.

[79] See Novy, 2004:30 and Girtler, 2001:188

[80] See Girtler, 2001:79 and 184ff.

[81] As in the persons of my interview partners

[82] This is the case for every researcher and is treated more or less openly

## 4  Limitations

> *"The previous knowledge can never be as comprehensive and exact as not to still be incomplete and preliminary [translation of the author]"*[83]

One has to be aware that this research cannot be expected to be representative research, as individual's experiences and opinions are taken into account. It is not possible from my small sample to draw upon general conclusions and theories[84], but rather the results need to be acknowledged as individual experiences, that are compared and analyzed on the background of theoretical assumptions and ideas to create further ideas. In addition the limitations which a close involvement in the researched field implicates *(see Chapter IV. 3)* have already been discussed. Moreover, there are limitations in researching within the field of CYP, where children and youth are working enthusiastically within their free time. There is a thin line between having interesting talks and discussions while doing interviews and constituting an additional task within their overcrowded "free" time (read more on this in *Chapter IV. 5.6).* Last but not least, the language difficulties that result from researching within an international field need to be mentioned, although efforts have been made to avoid them and keep them limited

## 5  Methodology

As explained above *(see Chapter IV. 1),* through the decision for a qualitative approach, based in the concept of "grounded theory", also the open methodology has been chosen according to this decision for an approach.

### 5.1  Access to the field

There are many theoretical and practical considerations that need to be taken into account when entering a research field[85]. My own field entry in the field of CYP, was not directly connected to the present research (at least not in the beginning), therefore some of the considerations still apply, but were not taken into consideration beforehand (such as

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[83] Novy, 2004:31

[84] This is not to say that this is true for all rather "small samples" when comparing them to samples of quantitative approaches, but rather specific to my own case where the scope of this work limits the research that could be taken on for years, in gaining insights to the point where generating "grounded" theory is possible- see more on the development of theory on the basis of qualitative research in Glaser/Strauss (2008)

[85] See i.e. Leslie, Helen/Storey, Donovan (2003): Practical Issues (5), pp. 77-96 and Leslie, Helen/Storey, Donovan (2003a): Entering the Field (7), pp.119-138, Both in: Scheyvens, Regina/ Storey, Donovan (Hrsg.) (2003): Development fieldwork: a practical guide. London: Sage, as well as Flick, 2004:86ff.

culture shock, etc.). This made the entry itself easier in some points, but poses difficulties in others as described above *(see Chapters IV. 3 and 4).* Especially, the access to interview partners was done according to previous knowledge of the persons and their availability and willingness to work with me. This might have excluded other valuable informants that could have been mentioned if I had stuck to the snowball system, which means getting referred to another contact by your previous ones, commonly applied within grounded theory.[86] Nonetheless the concept of theoretical sampling was applied, where the choice of additional research and selection of persons is done within the process of collecting and analyzing the data.[87]

## 5.2   Research Process

Before the research was started there were already some basic ideas developed on the interrelation of participation and empowerment through previous work. Further, as mentioned above *(see Chapter IV. 3),* my own involvement in the youth network had already formed preconceptions. In order to stay as open-minded as possible, the selection of interview partners, as well as the interview methodology was chosen to be as flexible and unstructured as possible. Rather broad sets of aspects around the general topic of CYP and empowerment were selected. This lead to the semi- structured form of the interviews *(see Chapters IV.5.3 and IV.5.4*), as well as an open selection of interview partners according to practical criteria such as availability, communication possibility *(see Chapter IV. 5.5)* and acquaintance. Especially the last criterion proved to be important, as trust can be the basis of an open, analytic and critical talk.

Before starting to develop the interview methodology it was looked upon which interviews should be made and which groups of people would be available for those interviews within the network.

It was decided to conduct

- Qualitative, semi- structured expert interviews
- Qualitative, semi- structured interviews
    - o   with youth over 18 years of age[88]

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[86] See i.e. Flick, 2004:92

[87] See Flick, 2004:102 and Dey, 2004:83

[88] It was thought about conducting research also with people below the age of 18 years, which was then rejected, as the scope and timeframe of the work would not allow for the qualitative involvement or participation of children. Further the contacts were stronger established to youth above the age of 18 years due to my personal experience already described.

- focus group discussions with youth

Within the research process, after a more open selection, it was decided after a preliminary analysis of data to try and get complementary experiences (in accordance to the above explained concept of theoretical sampling). Interviewees were thus tried to be selected to cover a broader field of experience within different organizational structures and different regions/countries. Further people without much experience in CYP were selected to take this stage of development also into account. This research within two different sets of data collection phases proved to be very valuable in terms of further development of initial ideas.

## 5.3 Qualitative, semi- structured Expert and Youth Interviews

An expert is defined to be "a person who has extensive skill or knowledge in a particular field."[89] Making an expert interview means that not the interviewed person as a whole, but rather their specific function and experience within a topic, are of interest[90]. This differentiates the expert interview from the youth interviews in this research not in the meaning that the youths interviewed are not experts in their work (which they are and which has been taken into consideration and used within this research), but the approach has rather been to look at their experiences and effects of CYP as a whole and on a personal level. Some interviews have been conducted with youth in their function as experts and on their personal experiences. Therefore the two categories are rather theoretical constructs, but nonetheless important.

The semi- structured form was used, in order to be able to pose open questions and follow the direction within a certain topic or question that the interviewee led to. In this way it was tried to touch upon issues of importance to the interviewee rather than follow preconceptions about important topics of the interviewer, especially his or her opinion on a topic[91]. A predefined set of questions or guidelines was not used in order to stay more flexible and allow for the conversation to be kept as natural as possible[92]. Still the initial question was always a question about the beginning of involvement in a specific field,

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[89] "Expert" searched in Collins English Dictionary – Complete and Unabridged 6th Edition 2003. © William Collins Sons & Co. HarperCollins Publishers. From: http://www.thefreedictionary.com/expert, last access 09.04.2010

[90] See Flick, 2004:139

[91] See Atteslander, Peter (2003): Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung. 10. Neu bearbeitete Auflage. Berlin: De Gruyter, p.147f.

[92] See Girtler, 2001:157 and 162

touching upon personal history, in order to start a thinking process. The last question was tried to be a positive one, in order to close the interview with a good feeling. In between it was tried to touch upon a set of topics that were developed according to first ideas about the research topic but it depended on the interview partner which would be covered and to what degree.

Topics often covered were:

- First involvement with youth participation (as the starting question)
- Own personal history related to CYP and CSEC
- General, own and others motivation to be and stay involved
- Effects (positive and negative) of CYP on oneself and others, as well as in general (based on personal opinion)
- Forms of CYP one participated in and the opinion on their usefulness
- Own and others positive and negative experiences within CYP
- Personal experience and opinion on youth working or cooperating with adults
- Specific activities and projects one took part and the above topics within them

## 5.4   Focus Group Discussions

Before starting the first focus group discussion a colleague in the CSEC field with considerable experience also in CYP, known for making focus group discussions in her organization before, was consulted on giving practical insights and tips into the methodology. This was done since only reading in theory about this methodology and being part of one set- up (fake) focus group discussion during education, was not considered enough for conducting one myself.

Positive effects of a group discussion can be that contradictions might be made transparent and are discussed, as well as that fragmental information can be supplemented. Further, the group dynamics as well as the dynamics of the discussion itself can be of additional interest and benefit.[93] Still, the focus will be on rules and normalities within the group rather than on going beyond them,[94] rather than on extreme opinions.[95] This was especially the case in the focus group discussion that was first conducted. Due to the fact that a translator was needed, the discussion could only be

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[93] See Flick, 2004:171
[94] See Girtler, 2001:163
[95] See Flick, 2004:169

followed in fragments. This almost eliminated the positive effects of following the group and discussion dynamics.

Although the time each participant was speaking was tried to be kept equal and participants that did not speak often were encouraged to voice their opinion[96], the limitations of the number of questions one can ask[97] and get answered by only some of the participants became obvious really quickly. Therefore, it was decided after conducting one focus group discussion, that the negative part of a focus group not being able to focus on one person, was outnumbering the positive effects (especially, but not only with the situation of needing a translator). It was frustrating to see that the amount of knowledge in the room was much more than could be collected. In depth interviews with some of the individuals would have been necessary and some of them should have been done before in order not to have the constant impression of losing on information when encouraging other participant to speak. Further, some quieter individuals could hardly input given the time being limited.

## 5.5 Modes of Communication

Besides conducting direct semi- structured qualitative interviews, some other modes of communication needed to be found. Due to the widespread nature of the network (worldwide) it was decided to have some of the experts, as well as youth interviews via Internet- telephone. Therefore, the positive effects of telephone interviews such as saving costs and time could be established.[98] Although this poses some challenges (such as a need to reduce complexity of the included topics, lack of reading expressions and body language[99], etc.) some of those challenges could be eliminated by concentrating on interview partners that were already known personally before. Through this trust was already established before, as was knowledge on reaction and interpretation of sounds (filling sounds, laughter, pauses, etc.).

In one interview, as well as in the focus group discussion, non- professional translators had to facilitate the communication. The non- professionalism could be used as an advantage to the point that translators knew the topic of CSEC and CYP. The use of

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[96] See Flick, 2004:169
[97] See Flick, 2004:169
[98] See Atteslander, 2003:176
[99] For more explanation on the importance of non verbal communication elements see Watzlawick, Paul/Beavin, Janet H./Jackson, Don D. (2003): Menschliche Kommunikation. Formen, Störungen, Paradoxien. 10. Auflage, Bern:Hans Huber, p.51

translators poses problems in itself. This topic will not be discussed in length as it was affecting the minority of interviews. It will be mentioned when relevant in another chapter *(see Chapter IV. 5.7)*.

## 5.6    Ethical Considerations

> *"'ethical research should not only "do no harm", but also have potential "to do good", to involve "empowerment"'."[100]*

Although I agree with the quotation above, one can only try to fulfill this high set goal (and never automatically assume that empowerment really takes place!), especially within the scope of a research work rather limited as the present one. In most cases it will be unrealistic, but at least the willingness should be there, in my opinion. Especially when working with young people that are doing most of their participation in their free time, in addition to other responsibilities. The time taken from them through the research should not pose extra stress on them. This makes an open form of the talk almost necessary, as it should be tried to have a conversation, also interesting to the interviewee, rather than a single sided asking of questions the other side feels obliged to answer. Therefore, as stated above, not avoiding negative effects, but trying to produce positive ones. This could not be achieved in all cases, as some interviews had to be done in the process of a conference, where the youth didn't have much time, also not allowing for a very open and free talk. It was still tried to end the interview, even before it was finished, when the necessity to do so was occurring.

Additionally *"the research process must ensure the participants' dignity, privacy and safety."[101]* This was tried to be accomplished by valuing the input given, informing them of basic rules (see below) as well as keeping the identities of the youth confidential. Although the assumption, that this is the wish of all participants might be wrong, as people also like to be acknowledged for their input[102], it was still decided to make all information from youth anonymous, as doing so only for individual cases would not be possible.

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[100] Scheyvens, Henry/Nowak, Barbara/ Scheyvens, Henry (2003): Ethical Issues (8). In: Scheyvens, Regina/ Storey, Donovan (eds.) (2003) Development fieldwork: a practical guide. London: Sage, 139-166, p.139

[101] Scheyvens, Henry/Nowak, Barbara/ Scheyvens, Henry, 2003: 140

[102] See Scheyvens, Henry/Nowak, Barbara/ Scheyvens, Henry, 2003: 146

Before most[103] interviews or the focus group discussion it was made clear that the individuals were aware of the facts that:

- Their participation is voluntary[104]
- Information about what the research is about and that the information given will be used within it
- they do not have to answer all questions/ questions uncomfortable to them
- that the interview is being recorded for personal use and not being given to other persons
- that the paper will be sent to all participants when it is finished (the latest)
- that their contribution is valuable and a benefit for the research[105]

## 5.7    Team Reflection Process

A team was established to be able to reflect upon the processes of writing the thesis. The persons forming the team were at the time both writing their thesis in a similar time frame and both topics were related to the subject of empowerment in a development context. A basis of trust already exists as we knew each other for almost two years and have previously worked together. Due to a change in timeframe on both sides and the additional change in topic on one side, the team had to unfortunately be dissolved. Nonetheless the idea and trial as such are seen as valuable, also for the beginning of the research process of this paper and are therefore included in its fragments.

## Team Reflection 1, 24.11.08

This first team reflection was held after establishing the team before my first interview/focus group discussion. Topics discussed included the question "What is empowerment". Here I concluded that one of the most important elements for me in empowerment seems to be the level of results one aims at. My partner said that an important criterion in the approach to empowerment is whether it is endogenous or exogenous. In my perception, according Alsop (2006) it contains both elements. Force from inside the individual, but also from his/her surroundings. Although the decision and

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[103] As some people were very well known to the interviewer, this was not always the necessity to the same degree.
[104] See Scheyvens, Henry/Nowak, Barbara/ Scheyvens, Henry, 2003: 142
[105] See Scheyvens, Henry/Nowak, Barbara/ Scheyvens, Henry, 2003: 154

ability to benefit from positive surroundings is up to the individuals will and capability, therefore more focus might lie on the endogenous element.

After talking about how empowerment could be measured a set of topics was written down to be able to look at it during focus group discussions/interviews. It was mainly focusing on agency and opportunity structure and its elements.

## Team Reflection 2, 30.11.08

After having done 1 focus group discussion and 3 interviews (2 youth and 1 expert) another team reflection was conducted. Issues discussed included the following:

- does it matter whether the youth in the interviews are experienced[106] or not in the light of my thesis?

- measuring empowerment: regarding the measurement via self- reflection (interviews with youth) the psychological elements of empowerment have so far often been included in the talks. But also other elements (political, education, etc.) have been raised. To "objectively" measure the element of psychological empowerment one would need to do in- depth studies with the individual (case study) and/or his/her counselor. Further psychological skills would be an asset. This is far more than can be accomplished within this thesis. In this work a strong focus is given on the subjective measurement of the elements of empowerment, through the self- perception of the interviewed youth, as well as the perception of experts working with them.

- Interview with translator: important in this setting (Interview A) was that the interviewee had already established trust with the translator as well as with the interviewer. The trusting relationship between the translator and the interviewee was especially important as the translator was no professional translator. Therefore the setting was established in a way that the conversation could be primarily conducted between the interviewee and the translator, with the interviewer asking the questions in the background. In this setting the translator could get a clear understanding of the content before giving it on to the interviewer. For this to be done, it was also important that the translator herself had considerable knowledge about the subject she was translating. With this setting the conversation could be natural and the misunderstandings reduced to a minimum.

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[106] This term is used within the ECPAT network to refer to people who have experienced forms of CSEC

## 5.8    Documentation

All interviews have been recorded. It was tried to use the recording device without attracting much attention and taking away from a more natural talk situation[107]. Although some technical problems occurred due to recording devices being unreliable, the loss of data could be reduced to a minimum through the use of different recording devices. Nonetheless, because of these technical problems, the devices caused interruptions at some points. Subsequently, full transcripts of all interviews have been made. Mimic, gesture, emotions, pauses, etc. were largely not documented, as this seemed unnecessary for the intention of the research[108]. Where it would be important, it was documented, especially during the focus group discussion where the group interaction was an integral part of understanding the results.

## 5.9    Categorizing, Analyzing and Interpretation of Material

The transcripts of the interviews (and the one focus group discussion) were openly coded by statement (and sometimes by paragraph) into categories. The categories were developed according to topics initially covered in the interview as well as topics that the interviewee mentioned in addition (or the dynamic of the interview led to)[109]. These categories were first sorted in the order they appeared in each interview. They were related to the categories of the subsequent coded interview and it was noted whether categories had to be adapted, added, deleted or changed. In this way it was made possible to get a first impression of similarities and differences between the interviews. The categorized version of the transcript was then made operational by analysis within the categories and identifying main first results. These results were compared with similar/same results of other interviews within the same category[110]. The interpretation was not limited to the comparability and amount of use within the interviews, but rather all aspects mentioned were tried to put into relation to the research questions, the preliminary hypothesis as well as the subsequent theoretical considerations. In a next step the method of axial coding was used, in order to look at categories identified as a focus within the research more closely, compare them with each other and with the other

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[107] See Flick, 2004:245
[108] See Flick, 2004:253
[109] See Dey, 2004:85
[110] See Dey, 2004:85

material as well as with the preliminary ideas of the research.[111] Although not all categories were taken up as a focus of the practical research part of the paper, some of their content and findings was nonetheless used throughout the whole paper, where relevant.

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[111] See Flick, 2004:265

# V.  Theoretical Considerations

This chapter will start by discussing the concepts of Empowerment, Participation, as well as Child and Youth Participation (CYP). What do they mean and imply? In particular, their history and meanings within the development and children's rights discourse will be given a closer look. This is necessary to be able to understand the limitations and possibilities of these concepts to bring about positive change to people, and in our case children and young people. Therefore, after the basic terms and their various critiques have been discussed, their interrelation as well as their limitations will be given a closer look in the following chapters *(see Chapters V. and VII.).* An attempt will be made to give a first answer to the research questions on the relationship between empowerment and participation, in particular child and youth participation. This discussion and its subsequent outcome will be portrayed within specific contexts, where CYP is conceptualized to lead to positive change and analyzed regarding its empowerment potential and effects *(see Chapter VII.).*

## 1  Discussion on terms and concepts

> *"Words do not replace or precede tangible or imaginary reality. Rather they express as best they can how we see and perceive reality. Words externalise and communicate our ideas, emotions, imagination, intuitions, aspirations and actions. Thus, words are products of their time, they have a history, they are history. Being bearers of meaning and concepts we cannot, therefore, fix words once and for all. Born in particular contexts and circumstances, words amplify their meaning through analogies and are enriched through usage."[112]*

A specific word is not used without its history and its various meanings. Subsequently the following chapter will examine where and how the three central concepts developed, as well as explore the range of their different meanings.

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[112] Cussiánovich, Alejandro (2001): What does ‚Protagonism' mean? In: Liebel, Manfred/Overwien, Bernd/Recknagel, Albert (2001): Working Children's Protagonism. Social movements and empowerment in Latin America, Africa and India. Internationale Beiträge zu Kindheit, Jugend, Arbeit und Bildung, Band 8, London, Frankfurt am Main: IKO- Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation

## 1.1 Historical evolvement of basic concepts within the development context

The concept of development is closely connected to the concept of participation. We see participation mentioned, for example in the "magical pentagon" of the development term developed by Nohlen/Nuscheler, where participation is next to work/employment, economic growth, social justice/structural change and political and economic independence, one of five constituting elements of the term development[113]. The focus of participation that is discussed within this development term seems to be on the political aspects of participation. Similarly participation is again mentioned in the concept of basic needs, where it is used in a broader application, referring to *„participation in decision-making, concerning one's own life- and working conditions [translation of the author]"*[114]. The Cocoyoc declaration, one of the earlier documents on improvement of development cooperation, on the other hand mentions participation together with human dignity and a lack of power to determine one's own fate[115], but then later only seems to refer to it in the connection of economic dependency and participation of individuals within the economy (to be found in the chapter self reliance of the declaration).[116]

Thus by looking at some of the earlier concepts and definitions of the term development, one can see that although participation is considered to be closely related to development, it is not clear of what kind of participation we are talking about, whether social, political, economic or a comprehensive understanding of the term.

But what are we talking about when we speak of development as such? What does the term development mean? Dieter Nohlen brings it to the point when he writes about development as a "term, whose definition is a considerable part of the problematic of development itself [translation of the author]"[117]. It can be seen as wide as fulfilling all political, social and cultural human rights.[118] Then again it is a human right in itself.[119]

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[113] Nohlen, Dieter (Hg.) (2002): Lexikon Dritte Welt. Länder, Organisationen, Theorien, Begriffe, Personen. Hamburg: Rowohlt, p. 228

[114] See Nohlen, 2002:343f.

[115] See Cocoyoc declaration, 1974: 2, from: http://www.juerg-buergi.ch/Archiv/EntwicklungspolitikA/EntwicklungspolitikA/assets/COCOYOC_%20DECLARATION_1974.pdf , last access on 09.04.2010

[116] See Cocoyoc declaration, 1974: 4

[117] See Nohlen, 2002:227

[118] See Nuscheler, 2004:233

[119] See Nuscheler, 2004:231

Nowadays there is consensus on the fact that development is more than just basic survival[120], although this was different in the earlier years of the development discourse.[121]

> *"Meanwhile, >development< became a jellyfish-like, amoebae term. [...] its borders are blurred… whoever talks of it says nothing, while it is calling upon all good intentions of this world. It has no content, but a function: it makes every arbitrary intervention the consecration, to be done in the name of a higher, evolutionary goal. [Translation of the author]"[122]*

To establish a **working definition**, we will make the compromise and take a broad definition that fits the context of this paper. In this definition development is seen as a process that enables people to reach their full potential. This means also gaining confidence and living a content and humane life. It is understood to be a process that frees people from the fear of poverty and exploitation and shows them a way out of political, economic and social oppression. In total development means individual and collective autonomy.[123]

A general, neutral definition of **the term development** does not and most probably will never exist, as it differs in time and place and rather reveals an understanding of the people themselves who give a certain definition and how they envision social change. Further, the past failures in development cooperation have influenced and developed the term development.[124] This is most probably also the reason why participation has been included in one way or the other in its conceptualization (see above). But it is not only important to understand what we are talking about when we talk about "development". Within the discourse on "development", there are many other concepts on how this "development" can be brought to or created by the people it is aiming at. One concept that wants to replace older concepts of creating development from outside or helping the "Third World" to develop according to the model of the "First World" is the concept of participation.

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[120] See Fischer, Karin/Hödl, Gerald/Parnreiter, Christof (2004): Entwicklung- eine Karotte, viele Esel? In: Fischer/Maral-Hanak/Hödl/Parnreiter (Hrsg.): Entwicklung und Unterentwicklung. Eine Einführung in Probleme, Theorien und Strategien. Eine Einführung in Probleme, Theorien und Strategien. Wien: Mandelbaum, pp.13-56, p.13
[121] For a summary on the beginning and development of the development discourse and the understanding of the term development see Fischer/Hödl/Parnreiter (2004)
[122] Wolfgang Sachs (1989) cit. In Nuscheler, 2004:225
[123] See Nyerere- Bericht (1991:34) cit. in Nuscheler, 2004:244
[124] See Nohlen, 2002:227f.

The concept of **participation** in the development field has been evolving in opposition to older approaches in the development discourse such as for example modernization theory (transfer of technology approaches, top-down, manipulative, etc.). Although it gained attention through its rhetorical focus on more effectiveness and efficiency[125], it is seen to replace the above-mentioned development approaches by better ones in terms of development, such as bottom-up, people-centered and emancipatory.[126] This emerged after the older concepts showed their failure to enable change by the 1990s at the latest[127]. After that time the two concepts were also adopted by international development agencies and international institutions (such as e.g. the World Bank).[128] Especially this fact of mainstreaming empowerment and participation seemed to lead to suspicion in many critics (*see more in Chapter V. 1.5).*

The roots of the concept of **empowerment** are within the feminist[129] and popular education[130], but also within the black and civil rights movement of the US. But it has also found practical use in management theory and post-socialist political theory.[131] But what does it really mean? To answer this question we first need to look at the underlying concept of power in empowerment.

## 1.2   Empowerment

The concept of power is central to the development discourse, but also to the understanding of the concept of "em (power) ment".

> "*Several development theories, interpretations and conceptualizations determine power, unequal power relations, lack of power, to be a more or less major cause, problem and starting point for intervention in development matters.*"[132]

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[125] See Cornwall, Andrea (2000): Making a Difference? Gender and participatory development. IDS Discussion Paper 378, Institute of development studies, p.6

[126] See Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:3

[127] For an overview on the different development approaches see Fischer, Karin/Hödl, Gerald/Parnreiter, Christof (2004)

[128] See Luttrell, Cecilia/Quiroz, Sitna/Scutton, Claire/Bird, Kate (2007): Understanding and operationalising empowerment. Poverty wellbeing.net, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. From: http://www.poverty-wellbeing.net/document.php?itemID=1547&langID=1, last access 05.07.08, p.3f.

[129] Regarding the development discourse it was especially widely used in relation to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach.

[130] Especially the concepts and writings of Paolo Freire

[131] See Henkel/Stirrat, 2001:168

[132] Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:4

The following discussion will first focus on an understanding of power, before discussing the meanings of empowerment.

The concepts of power and hence its definitions are as diverse as the ones on development. Power can mean anything from getting your own will, even against resistance[133], to being non- subjective and present like a network within all human and societal interaction. [134] Etymologically the word power comes from the Latin word potis, which means powerful[135]. The Latin word potestas already means power, with a negative connotation of force.[136] A once more neutral term, describing power can be found in the word authority[137], coming from the Latin word auctoritas and meaning invention, advice, influence.[138] This is closer to the concept of power not being only negative, although the term authority nowadays has also a negative connotation. Therefore, when talking about power and authority, these terms can easily have a negative connotation[139]. The concept of power usually includes an element of force (as seen in the first definition above where your own will is exercised even against the will of others). But *"power itself is neither positive nor negative, but gets its meaning through the decisions of whoever uses it [translation of the author] "[140]*. This quote contains the underlying assumption, that power can be used, in contrast to the non- subjectivity in a foucauldian power understanding. But before discussing Foucault's understanding of power, a short outline of different concepts of power will be given, as they are also important and inherent in the empowerment discussion.

Some of the more traditional thinking on power[141] has been undertaken by Maximilian Weber, who as stated above, sees power as the chance to exercise one's own will, regardless of where this chance is based, within a social relationship. For him power is limited only to individuals and doesn't exist in its structural forms[142] (as incorporated

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[133] See Weber, M. (1980): Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 5. Auflage, Tübingen: Mohr, p.28
[134] See Sarasin, Philipp (2005): Foucault zur Einführung. Hamburg: Junius, p.151f.
[135] "Power" in the Online Etymology Dictionary Search, from:
http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=power&searchmode=none, last access 09.04.2010
[136] See Boeck, A. (2000): Sozialpsychologische Aspekte des Phänomens „Autorität" im Kontext von Führung. Diplomarbeit Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien, Wien, p. 15 and Kiechl, R. (1985): Macht im kooperativen Führungsstil: Theorie und Praxis. Stuttgart:Haupt, p.109
[137] See Boeck, 2000:3f.
[138] "Authority" in the Online Etymology Dictionary Search
[139] See Boeck, 2000:4
[140] Treier, Ralph (1998): Macht und Ohn- Macht im Management. Wie sie Führungsstärke und Teampower erfolgreich verbinden. Wiesbaden: Gabler, p. 27.
[141] For a more comprehensive overview on other theorists on power see Alsop, Ruth (2005): Power, Rights, and Poverty: Concepts and Connections. Washington DC:The World Bank, p.137ff.
[142] See Weber (1980)

into state institutions as mentioned with other theorists for example). Further, it incorporates the element of force that is to exercise one's will even against the wills of others. In this Hannah Arendt contradicts him by saying that power has to be defined in difference to force. Power itself is not force, but rather the conciliation of opinions. It is thus an end in itself, while force is mostly a means to something. Power is exercised within or with the legitimacy of a group. Where power needs force, it is not power anymore, according to Arendt.[143] In this understanding power can also be something constructive[144], which takes away the negative connotation it often has with more traditional thinkers. Niklas Luhmann, founder of systems theory, also thinks of power as located in the interaction (communicative process) between two or more people. Power to him is not enacted by individuals, but must rather be seen in the context of causality, where power can neutralize the will of the person it is exercised on (the will is not broken, as in Weber's concept).[145] His concept of power is comparable to the concept of power of Michel Foucault[146], in the sense that power can also be productive[147] and understood as a non- subjective and relational concept. Non- subjectivity means that power is not possessed or merely executed on a person on the individual level, but must be understood as a network with a specific structure, surrounding everything and being able to be used by everybody.

Foucault's understanding of power cannot be described in simple terms, as his inherent understanding of theoretical thinking was to stay away from grand theory and rather discuss different aspects of a topic.[148] So for him power is the *"name given to the >diversity of power- relations, that inhabit and organize a space; [...] [translation of the author]"[149]* They are strictly relational. Power is everywhere, because it initiates from everywhere. It is at the same time intentional and non- subjective, which means that it is based on intentions and goals, but the outcomes of those intentions and goals cannot be traced back to the individual. Rather they are the non- intended results of a set of strategic

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[143] See Krause, Ralf/Rölli, Marcus (eds.) (2008): Macht. Begriff und Wirkung in der politischen Philosophie der Gegenwart. Bielefeld:transcript, p.56

[144] See Schönherr-Mann, Hans- Martin (2006): Hannah Arendt: Wahrheit, Macht, Moral. München:Beck, p.143

[145] See Luhmann (2003): Macht. 3. Auflage, Stuttgart:Lucius&Lucius, p.11f.

[146] See Lim, Il- Tschung (2005): Politik der Inklusion- Adressabilität und Ökonomie der Macht bei Niklas Luhmann. In: Krol/Luks/Matzky-Eilers/Straube (Hg.) (2005): Macht- Herrschaft- Gewalt. Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Debatten am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. LIT Verlag Münster, Münster, pp. 135-144 , p.136

[147] See Sarasin, 2005:p.132

[148] See Düman, Yilmaz (2003): Zur Frage der Macht im Werk Michel Foucaults. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ethnologie der europäischen Kultur. Dissertationen der Universität Wien, Band 101, WUV Universitätsverlag, Wien, p. 24 and 66

[149] Sarasin, 2005:151

considerations in the fight of everybody against everybody.[150] Foucault describes further institutional restraints where groups such as children, students, lunatics and colonialized are surveyed, corrected and drilled for a lifetime[151]. Therefore power can be institutionalized in the form of for example state institutions, but can also come from "*resistance- points, - knots and herds [translation of author]*"[152] that can vary in time and place. We are influenced by millions of interconnected factors of power.[153] This metaphor of power being a network shows again that power is everywhere and can have different characteristics. Nobody has power or can get it or lose it. Rather everybody is constantly using power relations, as well as being subject of the use of these power relations by others.[154] For that reason power means for Foucault the totality of all societal power relations[155] that are living within and are organizing space.[156]

This understanding of power is especially important for the development discourse, because if power is to be understood in a Foucauldian way to be non-subjective and present everywhere, power per se is neither positive nor negative.[157] In order to analyze it, we need to look at structures, networks, as described above where power exists and look at its nature and why different power relations are connected with each other.[158]

> "*Power is not a finite resource; it can be used, shared or created by actors and their networks in many multiple ways. […] see power as about capacity and agency to be wielded for positive action.*"

But what does this imply for the concept of empowerment?

The concepts of participation and empowerment still imply being "*intrinsically a 'good thing'*"[159]. We have just discussed that power and with it empowerment can be

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[150] See Sarasin, 2005:151`
[151] See Sarasin, 2005:132
[152] Sarasin, 2005:153
[153] See Duman, 2003:41f.
[154] See Duman, 2003:50
[155] See Sarasin, 2005:151f.
[156] See Duman, 2003:42
[157] See Kesby, Mike (2003): Tyrannies of transformation: a post-structural and spatialised understanding of empowerment through participation. Paper presented at the conference 'Participation - from tyranny to transformation', held at the Institute for development Management and Research, Manchester, Februar 2003, from: http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/events/conferences/documents/Participation%20Papers/Kesby.pdf, last access: 05.07.08
p.3f.
[158] See Duman, 2003:42f.
[159] Cleaver, 2001:36

productive and positive, but it isn't necessarily so. "*The term empowerment enjoys an almost unassailably positive connotation amongst the politically correct of our times*"[160]. The root cause of this is that the concept of development itself is seen as something all institutions and individuals are striving for. This striving is further seen as positive, which implies that the change accomplished through development is also supposed to be positive.[161] Some critics even say that participatory- and empowerment concepts deny some of the inherent power relations[162.], meaning that they do not define power in a foucauldian sense, but rather through other concepts of power (mainly ***power over***- see below). This is the point where power can become negative. Power, according to Foucault, is strongest, where it is not noticed.

> "*Dominated subjects are implicated in transmitting and reproducing the very discourses and practices that constitute them as inferior [...]For Foucault, power is most effective and most insidious where it is 'normalized'; where self-expectation, self- regulation and self-discipline generate compliant subjects who by their own thought, words and deeds actively reproduce hegemonic assemblages without being 'forced' to do so.*"[163] "*Power relations are creating structures, where individuals have to integrate themselves [...] And every individual is sitting in at least one cage, if not in interlaced cages, that are constructing the normality of the displayed society [translation of the author].*"[164]

The power structures that are unnoticed, as explained above, can be defined as "invisible power". This form of power is inherent in people's beliefs, their sense of self and their acceptance of the status quo.[165] Besides this form, power can also be hidden[166]. This is the case when discoursive power is analyzed (who gets to participate in what way, who can say what, which topics are covered and which not, etc.). Hidden and invisible power can easily become dangerous in the sense that they do not enable the possibility to be

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[160] Helve, Helena/Wallace, Claire (eds.) (2001): Youth, Citizenship and Empowerment. USA: Ashgate, p.129

[161] See Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:2

[162] See Kothari, Uma (2001): Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development. In: Cooke, Bill/Uma Kothari (eds). (2001): Participation – the new tyranny. London: Zed Books, pp.139-152 as well as Krenceyová, Michaela (2008): "I don`t know what`s wrong with us girls"- Von Schönheitswettbewerben zu Empowerment? Interpretationen, Differenzierungen und Funktionen eines entwicklungspolitischen Schlagwortes in Nairobi. Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, p.24

[163] Kesby, 2003:4, see also Lim, Il- Tschung, 2005:141

[164] Duman, 2003:53

[165] See Gaventa (2005): Reflections on the Uses of the 'Power Cube' Approach for Analyzing the Spaces, Places and Dynamics of Civil Socity Participation and Engagement. CFP evaluation series 2003-2006: no 4. Mfp Breed Network, Den Haag, p.15

[166] See Gaventa, 2005:15

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analyzed[167] as well as that they deny the individual realization of and/or change in power relations.[168]

Closely related to the concept of power as a network, as well as its invisible forms, is the concept of the power cube of Gaventa (2005). This concept makes visible the spaces, places and forms of power in which participation can take place.
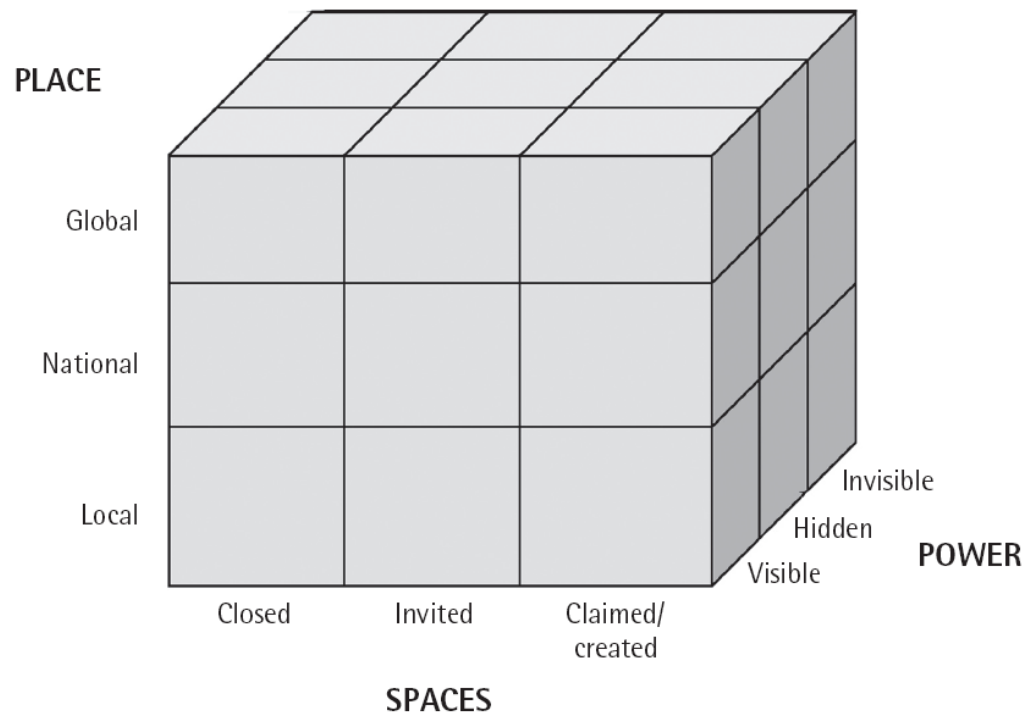


**Figure 3 -** The 'Power Cube': Power in Spaces and Places of Participation
**Source:** Gaventa, 2005:11

It shows not only the way in which power structures are related between the local, national and global level and the ways in which power can be constituted (visible, hidden or invisible- as briefly explained above), but more importantly it entails the concept of spaces, where the power structures are in their network form inherent, and the participation that takes place can be analyzed. These spaces can be closed, invited or claimed/created by "less powerful actors"[169]. These defining criteria bring in yet another aspect of power. In its discoursive form[170] it is relevant to see how a space for

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[167] See Parfitt, Trevor (2004): The ambiguity of participation: a qualified defence of participatory development. Third World Quarterly, Apr 2004, Vol. 25 Issue 3, pp. 537-556, p.543
[168] Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:9
[169] Gaventa, 2005:12
[170] According to Foucault a discourse is the system of structures of statements. It defines when, what and what is not said, by whom and why. See Keller, Reiner (2004): Diskursforschung. Eine Einführung für SozialwissenschaftlerInnen. 2. Auflage. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, p.44f.

participation[171] is constituted and by whom. Because whoever creates a space is more likely to see and understand the power structures within it, which in turn suggests a stronger ability to use these structures for their own purposes[172]. Further, the way spaces are constituted implicates, as in discourses, who is able to enter and therefore who is able to speak, which agenda is being set, who is not able to participate, and so on. This is especially important when we want to look at the empowerment effect that CYP can have, as the basis for empowerment potential is the seeing, understanding and using of power network structures. The concept of spaces is important in that with it we are able to analyze the participation that takes place. It suggests that creating spaces (especially the open forms[173]) creates potential for participation and with this an area to analyze the potential for empowerment.

Rowlands (1997) distinguishes between different concepts of power, in order to better understand the complexity of the phenomenon. She differentiates *"**power over** (ability to influence and coerce) and **power to** (organize and change existing hierarchies), **power with** (power from collective action) and **power within** (power from individual consciousness)"* [174] The concept of ***power over*** emphasizes the fact that if one actor gains power, another has to lose it.[175] This is in contrast to the above-outlined foucauldian understanding of power and embraces yet again a more traditional power understanding. As discussed above, power is not possessed, but rather exercised, therefore there is no finite sum of power[176], but rather an infinite potential to increase the ability of people to see and enact power. Nonetheless these different concepts can help to understand the direction that the use of power structures can take. Does the exertion come from people, who already have a good understanding and use of the power network towards those who don't (then there might be the ability to influence and coerce as in the concept of "power

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In this sense the discoursive power is to be able to understand these structures and in some way define them or at least take part and shape them.

[171] And with it decision making- see below for a definition of participation

[172] See Gaventa, 2005:13 – talking about the power network structures is a slight adaptation of the text as it is discussed in Gaventa, who unfortunately goes back in his wording to the traditional concept of power as something individuals can have.

[173] It seems to be that the distinction between the different forms of spaces is yet again an artificial one as an overlap of the different categories seems possible. Further the more open forms are still limited to be "invited spaces", where less powerful actors are invited from authorities. I think we also need to think of open spaces as such, being maybe a new category, as spaces may also be created by powerful actors and then made open in a wider sense than that of "invited spaces"

[174] See Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:4

[175] See Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:4

[176] See also Craig and Mayo (1995) mentioned in Oakley, Peter/Clayton, Andrew (2000): The Monitoring and Evaluation of Empowerment. A Resource Document. Occasional Papers Series No. 26. Oxford: INTRAC, p.3

over")? Does it come from other actors either in a productive way or against existing systems (as in power to)? Does it come from a group of actors or from within an individual targeted also at personal understandings of the power network (as in power with and power within)? These directions are important in that they let us analyze the level of change that participation can trigger towards empowerment.

Within traditionally powerless communities (the often so- called "local", etc.) there are several "*axes of difference*" where power relations can manifest themselves. These are, next to others that still need to be identified: age, gender, ethnic or social group, poverty, disability, etc.[177]. But these categories are not only relevant within powerless communities. They might constitute power differences for a whole group of actors in general (as with children on the category of age). Although the consideration of children, is improving also in the development discourse, the following statement from the 1990s still holds true for the majority:

> "*In the field of social development, young people, along with women, are perceived as minorities who are ignored in the design and planning of development strategies and programs.*"

For more discussion on the status of children in society see *Chapter V. 1.6.*

We have now discussed the conception, forms (invisible, hidden, visible), appearances (as in spaces) and directions of exercise (power to, over, with, within) of the power network structures. Now I want to see how this is connected to the concept of empowerment.

One abstract, but more general definition of empowerment is that it is understood as "*a progression that helps people gain control over their own lives and increases the capacity of people to act on issues that they themselves define as important*"[178]. Besides placing all the responsibility for change on the individual (it is not clear where the "progression" is coming from) and denying the concept of hidden or invisible power (see above), which will not enable people to always see what might be important for them, this definition lacks a central important point that empowerment includes: namely the level of results in the sense of not only "gaining control", but also achieving was one was aiming for.[179] Empowerment, as said before, is not just about what people and groups could do and actually do, but also whether they will achieve what they desired with their action.

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[177] See Parfitt, 2004:540
[178] Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:10
[179] As somebody can be in control of his/her life in general, but still not be able to realize intended results in reality.

This is in part related to a more traditional understanding of power (see description of concepts above), but can also be used within a foucauldian understanding of power. In this regard we are looking at results in that sense that people see and analyze the network-like power relations they are surrounded by and incorporated in. Through this analysis they are able to see their own place within this network as well as to see enabling structures and possibilities to act. This may or may not increase their potential for results, depending on the complex relations and structures of the power relations network. This is what Foucault also describes as intentional action with a non intentional outcome. Whether there is an increase in empowerment per se (and not just in the empowerment potential) depends on the other actors, their understanding and use of the power network structures, as well as on the context as a whole. Therefore the empowerment can only be the process of increasing the potential to enact and achieve results within the power network structures, not the results per se. This is so as it depends also on other peoples' actions, etc. Still the level of results is important to look at on the individual level as somebody might feel empowered at first wanting to use the power network, but experience disempowerment by realizing he/she is not able to. It might even be more frustrating than before, realizing one's place within the power network structures and seeing the potential, but not being able to act upon it.

To consider the element of results, the following definition will be used as a working definition in this thesis, although it brings with it its own challenges[180]: empowerment is „*the process of enhancing an individual's or group's capacity to make purposive choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.' Using the concepts of asset- based agency and institution- based opportunity structure.*"[181]

The limitations of this definition are that the word "enhance" places the responsibility for change on somebody from outside. While the focus on who can make choices and transform them into action seems again solely be based on the individual. That is not something negative per se, but it needs to be a reciprocal connection of both approaches, where structures and the power relation network can be influenced by various actors including the individuals themselves, enhancing individual's capacities as well as defining them in a way that capacity doesn't need to be enhanced in the first place, but is

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[180] The challenges are especially on the level of "desired" outcomes, as this is not possible with a foucauldian understanding of power relations to have non- intentional outcomes.

[181] Alsop, Ruth/Bertelsen, Mette/Holland, Jeremy (2006): Empowerment in Practice. From Analysis to Implementation. Washington DC: World Bank, p.1

constituted within the power network structures. This takes the sole responsibility off the "disempowered" individual, giving some of it also to other actors able to define and structure the power network.[182]

> *"However, power can also operate in the absence of any apparent agency. The norms and rules governing social behavior tend to ensure that certain outcomes are reproduced without any apparent exercise of agency, apart from compliance with the rules."[183]*

In addition the above given definition mentions the element of "group empowerment". According to Rowland's empowerment has three dimensions where it can be accomplished: the personal, relational and the collective[184]. At the centre of this empowerment concept stands the individual person, developing a sense of self and self-esteem, as discussed above. Collective empowerment means the possibility of groups to exert power on facts that they alone would not be able to influence[185].

In any of the given definitions, empowerment is always the process of increase in potential for choice and result, not the taken choices and results themselves.

Agency as in the definition above, is an actor`s or group's ability to make purposeful choices. This means that the person needs to be able to build an opinion and on this basis make a choice. In my opinion, this would include perceiving the power relation network (including some forms of hidden and invisible power relations), in order to be able to make "purposeful choices". If the person is not constrained by their opportunity structure, which encompasses the aspects of the institutional context within which an actor operates, meaning power relations that are open or hidden, but in the case of constraint non changeable, it will be able to transform agency into action. Within the concept of agency are elements such as assets[186] of various forms (i.e. political, economic, social, psychological, etc.) as well as their interaction included. If one wants to see whether the potential for empowerment has increased the concept of agency is one element that can be measured. The institutional context within the opportunity structure

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[182] This can also be human rights- see Bragée, Ingrid (2006): Perceptions of Empowerment-A Minor Field Study of the Concept Discrepancy between the Dominating Development Discourse and the Reality of Women in Microcredit Groups. Stockholm University: Stockholm, p.35

[183] Kabeer, Naila (1999): The Conditions and Consequences of Choice: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment. UNRISD Discussion Paper No.108, Geneva: UNRISD, p.4

[184] As cited in Alsop, 2005:156

[185] See also Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:5

[186] „Assets refer to a broad range of tangible and potential resources, both material and social, that individuals, households, and communities draw from in times of need or crisis" – see Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:12

includes formal and informal institutions. Among those are rules, laws, cultural practices, value systems, etc.[187]. Those can all be interpreted as part of the power relations network. These again need to be analyzed when looking at the potential for empowerment.

Important is also the fact that empowerment is a process with a starting point at a level where there is no or not much power- in the sense of understanding of the power network structures, therefore having disempowered people or groups.

> *"People who exercise a great deal of choice in their lives may be very powerful, but they are not empowered in this sense, because they were never disempowered in the first place*"[188].

This is not to assume that disempowered people have no power or capabilities at all, but rather that they have little that need to be maximized and/or released.[189] This again places the emphasis on the process of empowerment.

## 1.3    Critique on the concept of Empowerment

> *"Empowerment relies on the assumption that people cannot (longer) be held responsible for their poverty, for their own 'underdevelopment', but they are still assumed to be very much responsible for their development. [...] You are not responsible for being down, but you are responsible for getting up".[190]*

Empowerment is often accused of shifting the responsibility for development to the individual[191], as could be seen also in the definitions above. Authors talk about empowerment *"individualizing social problems and cutting services"*. *"Persons should be empowered to solve their own problems and to manage their own social mobility, or even to solve the problems of the entire social group. This shifts responsibility from statutory agencies to the client."*[192] This is again in line with the neoliberal doctrine, as many concepts within development mainstream are. Empowerment supposedly liberates the individuals from the state and enables them to take on responsibility for their own

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[187] See Alsop/Bertelsen/Holland, 2006:10ff.
[188] Kabeer, 1999:2
[189] See Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:13
[190] Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:18
[191] See Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:8
[192] Helve/Wallace, 2001:24f.

needs.[193] This might lead to participation, as a means of empowerment, replacing more structural reforms, which would have more empowerment potential for the people concerned.[194]

Furthermore, it is important in some contexts not to confuse empowerment with total independence. Young people, for example, still look for leadership, borders, education in social norms, etc., that need to be embedded within the empowerment concept. Otherwise young people looking for leadership and guidance will not want to be "empowered" in this other sense.[195]

Moreover, because empowerment has a heavy positive connotation there is a "strong prescription" for people to go along with this concept (or anything that has its name on it!). Otherwise there is an implicit threat to miss out on something positive for themselves.[196] *"The capacity to choose for oneself is not therefore itself chosen by oneself."*[197] Therefore one has to ask the question of how much control people really have over their own lives if they cannot choose about participation or non- participation in this context freely.

In addition, if the concept of power is not sufficiently conceptualized, it might not be able to analyze existing power structures within the local community before, after or during participation and an empowering process. This can lead to "Anti- social forms of empowerment"[198]: i.e. empowering groups that will/can oppress others, thus leading to even more oppression for the more vulnerable.

Consequently all these considerations need to be kept in mind when analyzing and/or wanting to trigger empowerment potential.

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[193] Krenceyová, 2008:24
[194] See Krenceyová, 2008:25
[195] Helve/Wallace, 2001:25
[196] See Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:18
[197] See Quaghebeur/Masschelein, 2003:18
[198] Helve/Wallace, 2001:25

## 1.4 Participation

As outlined before, many different institutions use the concept of participation.

> "*The term 'participation' appears to offer everybody what they would like to understand it to mean, evoking a warm sense of togetherness, common purpose and mutual understanding.*"[199]

Out of this fact develop big expectations that are placed on the concept of participation that it might not always be able to fulfill. The use by many different actors that are themselves very diverse, shows that there must be several understandings and meanings of the concept of participation. The more central ones will be outlined here, to work out key characteristics of participation.

Initially there exists the "simple" meaning of participation to be an act of "*taking or being part of something*"[200]. But there is more that is included in the various understandings of this complex concept. Some of the elements mentioned in other definitions in the development field include: "*voluntary contribution*", "*involvement in decision- making*", involvement in the project life cycle (analysis, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, etc.), "*increase of control over resources*", influencing the direction and execution of a development project[201], as well as development policies and strategies[202], "*influence decisions*"[203], etc. There are many more, but from this extract the wide spectrum can already be seen ranging from being part of something to being part and influencing decision- making.

Participation is on the one hand understood to be limited to "*contributions*" and "*involvement*", and on the other hand as far reaching as "*control over*" and "*influencing the execution*". Further, the range of activities where participation is relevant goes from the very beginning of planning throughout the whole project cycle, to the policies, strategies and resource control. Participation can therefore be found in all development activities.

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[199] Cornwall, 2000:8

[200] Henkel/Stirrat, 2001:172

[201] Taken from various Definitions in: Parfitt, 2004:538

[202] Taken from the FAO Definition from: http://www.fao.org/Participation/english_web_new/content_en/definition.html

[203] Taken from Bhatnagar, B. /A. Williams (eds.) (1992): Participatory Development and the World Bank: Potential Directions for Change, World Bank Discussion Papers 183, Washington D.C.: The World Bank, from: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1999/10/21/000178830_98101903552081/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf, last access:06.07.08, p.177.

As participation is the core topic of discussion within the concept of child and youth participation, there is no sense in establishing a working definition. On the contrary, that would hinder the analysis that also wants to look at different understandings of participation. With these different understandings of participation come different potentials for empowerment. Further different understandings of participation involve setting up different "spaces"[204] in which this participation can take place. This brings with it a different power structure network, which again influences the potential for empowerment for children and youth participating. The range of different understandings of participation not only offers the possibility to understand more about the people according to what they include in their own understanding, as this already shows their expectations[205] of participation. It also enables us to analyze the potential for empowerment according to specific situations and contexts based on the specific understanding of participation. Further, the underlying understanding of participation, as well as the range of different forms it can take, also lead to a differentiation within the concept. In doing so, it opens up the possibility to have a more diverse analysis, recognizing that some organizational set ups, "spaces" or forms of participation might have structurally more potential for empowerment than others *(see Chapter VII. 1)*.

The following typology *(see Figure 4)* shows that various forms of participation can be implemented in development projects, in close connection to the various understanding of participation.

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[204] As in the concept of Gaventa discussed before *(see Chapter V. 1.2)*

[205] Expectations in this regard are of great importance, especially those of children and young people, as they might influence the experience per se. High expectations that cannot be fulfilled can cause frustration for example for one child, when another one has a good experience with the same participatory activity.

**How people participate in development projects**

| Typology | Components of each type |
|---|---|
| *Passive Participation* | People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. |
| *Participation in information giving* | The information being shared belongs only to external professionals. People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys or such similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research are neither shared nor checked for accuracy. |
| *Participation by consultation* | People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views. |
| *Participation for material benefits* | People participate by providing resources such as labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much on farm research falls in this category, as farmers provide the fields but are not involved in experimentation or the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when incentives end. |
| *Functional participation* | People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organization. Such involvement tends not to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have already been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent. |
| *Interactive participation* | People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple objectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control/ownership over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices. |
| *Self-mobilization* | People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilization and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power. |

**Figure 4 -** How people participate in development projects
**Source:** Pretty et al. (1995): Participatory learning and action: a trainer's guide. London: IIED, p.61

Some of the aforementioned elements of the various definitions can also be found in those descriptions, already suggesting different potentials for empowering elements. Although some of these various understandings of participation, and the different forms that these can take in practice, seem to imply a process participation can take from lower forms, such as being informed, to higher, more empowering forms, such as control over decisions (this is also the basis of concepts that see participation move up a scale from

less to more[206]), one needs to be cautious when applying such automatisms. It can only be assumed that "passive participation" has less potential for empowerment than "self-mobilization", as an overall specific analysis is lacking so far and the effects can only be based on individual and contextual analysis. Further, the underlying goal for participation of various actors in the development process needs to be carefully determined: is participation used to enhance effectiveness or is it seen as the right and ability of those concerned by the development activities to shape their own lives? This will lead to very different perspectives on participation and can even be seen as two different concepts[207] *(see Chapter VI.).*

Another model *(see Figure 5)* of the various forms that participation can take in the development field is better able to describe participation in its meaning for various actors (such as the implementing agency and the primary stakeholders).[208] It also needs to be mentioned that several different forms of participation can be applied i.e. within one project. Therefore the concept is a rather fluid one and the definitions between the various forms not always as distinct as would be desirable for some.

| Form | What 'participation' means to the implementing agency | What 'participation' means for those on the receiving end | What 'participation' is for |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nominal | Legitimation – to show they are doing something | Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits | Display |
| Instrumental | Efficiency – to limit funders' input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective | Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and other activities | As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities |
| Representative | Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency | Leverage – to influence the shape the project takes and its management | To give people a voice in determining their own development |
| Transformative | Empowerment – to strengthen people's capabilities to take decisions and act for themselves | Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves | Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic |

**Figure 5** - Forms of Participation
**Source:** Cornwall, 2000:9

The concept of empowerment is reflected in most of the different definitions, models and understandings of participation. On the relationship between participation and empowerment *see Chapter VI*.

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[206] See i.e. Arnstein`s ladder of participation- 1969, as well as Harts ladder of young people's participation- 1992
[207] See Cornwall, 2000:8
[208] See Cornwall, 2000:9

But before examining the relationship between the two concepts, a discussion on some of the criticism on the concept of participation will be outlined.

## 1.5    Critique on the concept of participation

Due to the fact that the critique is far-reaching and discusses various aspects of participation, the following chapter will focus on the more central aspects regarding the topic of the paper.

There have emerged several key themes around which participation is built. These include: Stress on bottom-up rather than top-down approaches, a stress on empowerment and on the marginal, a distrust of the state and a focus on local knowledge.[209] As already mentioned participation is not necessarily always positive; even though there was great enthusiasm when introducing these new concepts to replace old ones that were not satisfying *(see Chapter V. 1.1)*. During the last couple of years there have been some attempts to summarize critical voices[210] and remind people after their initial enthusiasm about the concept of participation, that there is no automatic relationship between participation and positive effects (inter alia empowerment). The criticisms[211] made can be summarized around several key topics[212]:

- "'*participation' is a discourse which can be attached to a wide variety of political agendas*"- thus fitting the needs of very diverse actors (most importantly fitting mainstream[213]), losing potential for empowerment (as grass roots organizations that helped to promote this concept initially or Paolo Freire had in mind[214])

- "*Participatory approaches can re-inscribe the very power relations they seek to overcome if they are deployed as a technocratic cargo simply delivered to local people*". It can be said that it always depends on how participation is done and with what methods. Especially because its wide range of meanings, the implementation and hence the effects can be very diverse as well.

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[209] See Henkel/Stirrat, 2001:170f.
[210] See i.e. Cooke, Bill/Uma Kothari (eds.) (2001): Participation – the new tyranny. London: Zed Books
[211] As said before some of the core aspects are summarized in Cooke and Kothari's Volume from 2001
[212] According to Kesby, 2003:1, see also Parfitt, 2004:541ff. for a comprehensive discussion around the existing criticism, along similar lines
[213] Which is accused of focusing too much on economism, professionalism and other things- see Hickey/Mohan, 2005:12
[214] See Cleaver, 2001:36

- "*Practitioners of participation have under-theorized the notion of 'community', isolating 'local' communities as discrete and socially homogenous entities and seeking the coherent and consensual 'community view'*"- which again, as stated in the above point reinforce power relations within this very community.

- "'*Insider-outsider' divisions have been over-emphasised and 'local knowledge' romanticised while inter-community divisions have been overlooked and the positive contribution of 'external' agents underplayed*"- Ignoring power differences within the "local" community.[215]

- "*Action at the local scale has been over-emphasised while the need to 'scale-up' and link local interventions to wider processes and institutions requires development*"

- "[…] *participation is not a panacea for the problems of development, but has its own practical and theoretical tensions.*[216]" One of its theoretical tension is in the need that is seen within the participation discourse to establish institutions, in which people can participate ("*Institutional inclusion*"). On a practical level, this often takes a focus on establishment of formal, rather than on the recognition of informal institutions, thus concentrating less on interactions between people that take place outside formal organizations that might be as or even more important in some contexts[217].

- Closely related is also the discussion on the force such positively connoted concepts have on people, implying that there are "good" forms of participation, such as speaking one's mind and taking part and "bad" forms, such as choosing not to take part[218], etc.[219]

These are only some of the theoretical debates and critiques around participation. There are a lot of topics and constraints in participation that need closer examination and analysis. The initial enthusiasm about the relatively new concept of participation in development needs to be replaced by a thorough discussion on a theoretical as well as on a practical level, taking into consideration all the dangers and negative impacts identified by its various critics.

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[215] See i.e. Kothari, 2001:140
[216] Kesby, 2003:1
[217] See Cleaver, 2001:39ff.
[218] If this voluntary exclusion is considered as participation at all
[219] See Cleaver, 2001:52f.

In addition it also needs to be mentioned that much of the criticism on participation in development focuses on prominent methods[220], such as the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).[221] Some of the problems are seen with PRAs[222] potential to produce consensus, thus possibly (not necessarily!) muting dissenting opinions.[223] Participation in development is often almost seen as equivalent to PRA.[224] This is problematic in the sense that participatory development has a range of different concepts and methods[225] that can't be demonized on the grounds of one of its more prominent implementation concepts[226]. Another crucial point seems to be whether one focuses on the efficiency of participation (in terms of helping the project to better accomplish its goals) or on the potential for empowerment of marginalized groups. A lot of the critique focuses on the aspects participation brings with it if targeted primarily at efficiency ("*technocratic cargo*"[227]).

A notion that can be identified in several of the key points is that some concepts of participation (their authors or people implementing it on a practical level) portray an *"insufficiently sophisticated understanding of how power operates and is constituted and thus of how empowerment may occur*"[228]. This has been discussed above in talking about the definition of power *(see Chapter V. 1.2).* Not everybody understands power in a Foucauldian sense and therefore runs the risk of getting into more hidden and often dangerous forms of power by simplifying power relations in the hope to be able to eliminate them[229].

This strong focus on power shows that implementers, but also critics have a particular interest on the potential for empowerment within participation. Still one needs to be careful not to confuse participation with empowerment. Therefore the connection between the two concepts is crucial to understand whether participation can fulfill the

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[220] And their promoters, such as in particular Robert Chambers

[221] See Parfitt, 2004:538, Hickey, Sam/Mohan, Giles(2004): Towards participation as transformation: critical themes and challenges. In: Hickey, Samuel/Mohan, Giles (ed.) (2004): Participation: from tyranny to transformation? Exploring new approaches to participation in development. Zed Books, London/New York, pp.3-24, p.11

[222] For a more in- depth analysis on the critical aspects within PRA see i.e. Kothari, Uma (2001): Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development. In: Cooke, Bill/Uma Kothari (eds). (2001): Participation – the new tyranny. London: Zed Books, pp.139-152

[223] Cornwall, 2000:7

[224] See Parfitt, 2005:548

[225] Cornwall, 2000:8

[226] Some authors also believe that the method of PRA can also be implemented sensitive to local specificities and therefore be of value to get a realistic account of poor people's lives- see i.e. Parfitt, 2004:542

[227] Kesby, 2003:1

[228] Hickey/Mohan, 2005:11

[229] See Parfitt, 2004:543

high expectations (evolving out of the initial enthusiasm), which will be outlined in *Chapter VI.*

All these points, some to a greater and others to a lesser extent, need to be kept in mind when looking at CYP *(see also Chapter V.3).*

Before going on to the relationship of the two concepts of participation and empowerment, the term of child and youth participation (CYP) as a special form of participation, will be discussed now. CYP has not only a specific target group (children and young people), but also a distinct history and background, evolving within the children's rights discourse.

## 1.6    Child and Youth Participation (CYP)

Although Child and Youth Participation (CYP) has a specific target group defined and needs adaptations in its approaches and methods accordingly, it is nonetheless closely connected to participation in general and by other stakeholders in specific.

> *"The two [participation and CYP, addition of the author] are inevitably intertwined and so one must speak of encouraging participation by all, including children."[230]*

Nevertheless the concentration on children and youth as a specific target group is important as they belong to one of the marginalized groups within society (as has been discussed in Chapter- intro already briefly).

There is more to the concept of child and youth participation (CYP) than can be summarized by stating that it is one of the four basic principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and stating the different articles that are further relevant (especially Art. 12, 13, 5, 17, etc.)[231] *(see Chapter V. 1.6.1)* . There is no clear definition on child and youth participation in general. Although the word "participation" is not clearly mentioned in the CRC, it is understood to entail the contents of Article 12- the child's right to be heard.[232] Still, it can not be limited to the provisions of Article 12.

To understand CYP one needs not only to understand what participation means *(see Chapter V. 0),* but also what is meant when we use the terms "child" and "youth" and

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[230] Hart, 1992:5

[231] See i.e. Committee on the rights of the child (2009): General Comment No. 12 (2009). The right of the child to be heard. CRC/C/GC/12, Geneva: United Nations, p.3

[232] See Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:5

the vision of childhood and youth in specific. Further, there are several specifics to the concept of CYP which overlap with the general concept of participation, but are not always identical. These will also be examined here.

As said earlier the term "child" is defined according to Art. 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) as the following: *"[…] a child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier."*[233] Although this definition entails some flexibility, its borders are nonetheless based on a concept that has to be discussed further. The term child often and especially within many national contexts refers to the time before puberty[234] or even before that in some legal definitions. After that we refer to "young people", "adolescents" and "youth". That is to differentiate people from 0 to 18 years of age and give due respect to their difference, especially in physical and emotional development[235]. This needs to be taken into consideration when generally accepting the UN Definition of the term child. For this paper the term child will refer to people below the age of 18 years, whereas the term youth will refer to people between 15 and 24 (see discussion below).

This way to categorize people is a relatively new concept, evolving after the concept of childhood was introduced in the 19th century.

> *"[…] this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children: it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult."*[236]

It must be noted that the concept of childhood itself has also not been a solid one, since its first existence. When the focus of previous concepts of childhood was more on its protection aspects, there seems to be a *"fundamental process of reorganization [translation of the author]"* shifting towards an *"inclusive childhood",* including children into society, entailing an increase in responsibility and participation[237]. This change in the image of childhood is seen by some authors as situated in the increasing importance of

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[233] UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), From: http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/uncrc.asp#One, last access: 23.03.09

[234] See Hurrelmann, K. (1999): Lebensphase Jugend, Chapter 1.3.1, Abgrenzung Kindheitsalter- Jugendalter

[235] See Hurrelmann, 1999

[236] Veerman, Philip E. (1992): The Rights of the Child and the Changing Image of Childhood. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, p.xv

[237] See Liebel, Manfred (2005): Kinder im Abseits. Kindheit und Jugend in fremden Kulturen. Kindheiten- Band 27. München, Weinheim:Juventa, p. 75

children's rights[238]. In my opinion, this can only be partially the case, as still the protection aspects of children's rights are in many cases overwhelmingly given the majority consideration over participation aspects. Further the notion of childhood to be a time of innocence still exists predominantly within Western societies. This also contributes to the marginalization of young people, as *"this image denies the capacity of young people to act on their own, and ignores the contributive and active role of young people within the family and society."*[239] Nonetheless the relationship between the image of childhood and the advancement of children's rights is a close one,[240] with one affecting the other.

Due to the rather recent development of the concept of childhood the conceptualizations of *"youth as a special group that makes diverse socioeconomic contributions"*[241] also took place during the 20th century only.

> *"The word 'adolescence' was first used by Hall in a 1904 psychology text. Burt first referred to 'the young delinquent' in 1926. [...] and the concept of 'youth culture' was first used by Talcott Parsons in 1942."*[242]

The transition between childhood and youth is somewhat easier to make out than the transition between youth and adulthood.[243] There are several definitions of the term "youth"[244] and sometimes they are very vague and fluid, which they also should be as they are not natural but rather context specific and differ in time and place[245].

> *"Mudaly goes further, dismissing the idea that youth are a homogenous group and arguing that the concept is flawed because it infers there are more similarities than differences between young people. The concept of youth homogeneity ignores the diversity of their experiences, levels of maturity, gender, sexuality, abilities, and cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Further, the concept overlooks the role relationships between groups of young people, and*

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[238] See Liebel, 2005:76, as well as Freeman, Michael/Veerman, Philip (1992): The Ideologies of Children's Rights. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, p. 3

[239] ECPAT, 1999:30

[240] See also Veerman, 1992:10

[241] African Child Policy Forum (2006b): Youth participation. Concepts, models and experiences. Addis Ababa: African Child Policy Forum, from: http://www.africanchildforum.org/Documents/participation.pdf, last access: 26.4.09, p.6

[242] African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:6

[243] See Hurrelmann, 1999, Chapter 1.3.2 Abgrenzung Jugendalter- Erwachsenenalter

[244] For a more detailed overview on several definitions see i.e. African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:7f.

[245] See Christiansen, Catrine/Utas, Mats/ Vigh, Henrik (2006): Introduction. In: Christiansen, Catrine/Utas, Mats/Vigh, Henrik. (eds.) (2006): Navigating Youth, Generating Adulthood. Social Becoming in an African Context. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 9-30, p.10

> *geographical location, institutions, economics and politics play in forming identity. Youth is therefore more accurately defined as a relational stage, where young people develop into unique individuals."[246]*

In defining "youth" there are also always aspects of power included[247], in the same way as in the definition of childhood (see above).

Still to be able to conduct research one has to agree on a definition. A generally used definition is that *"youth is the period that marks the physical, psychological and social transition into adulthood. Based on this characterization, many government policies consider youth to include people aged 13 to 25 years old."*[248] The pan-African Youth Charter defines youth or young people as *"every human being between the ages of 15 and 30 years."* But further recognizes: *"Considering the transitional nature of youth that is influenced by social, economic, political, cultural and others factors, this definition does not exclude youth or young people below and above the specified age-range who may be engaged in this transition."* The UN General Assembly defines youth as people between the ages of 15 and 24, also recognizing that there can be different definitions in different countries and societies.[249] To discuss the issue on defining the terms "child" and "youth" is especially important as the ideas about what we mean when we talk about these groups of people, influence behavior and action. This will be discussed in *Chapter VII*. As said above, within this paper the UN definition will be applied, which defines youth as being between the ages of 15 and 24.[250]

## 1.6.1 CYP as a Right

The idea of participation as a right for children in international standards, only developed during the second half of the 20th century. While the 1959 United Declaration of the Rights of the Child didn't mention participatory rights, it became one of the four guiding principles (although the term participation per se was not used for it in the beginning) of the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, as mentioned before. The idea that

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[246] Mudaly, B., 1999. "Building Capacity in Culturally Diverse Communities to Enhance Resilience in Young People and their Families." *Youth Studies Australia*. 1(4). P. 41. Cited in African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:7

[247] See Christiansen, C./Utas, M./Henrik, V., 2006:11f.

[248] African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:8

[249] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:8

[250] UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2005): World Youth Report 2005. Young people today, and in 2015. United Nations publication, From: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wyr05book.pdf, last access: 06.07.08, p.24

there are power relations between children and adults and that the rights of children need to be promoted existed before, though. Already in 1929, one of the first promoters of children's rights, Janus Korczak, was proclaiming the need to fulfill the right of the child to respect. By that he was pointing specifically at the fact, that children were seen to be in development and not to be taken serious in many accounts, whereas adults were already developed and to be respected, a two class-society.

*"Children are not people of tomorrow, they are people today."*[251]

He also already then warns from the "*over-protection*" of children by adults and asks for children to have the *"right to be oneself"*, "*the right to own property*", as well as "*the right to express his or her feelings and thoughts, to ask questions, but also not to express him- or herself."*[252]

Still *"the ideological conflict between those who see children's rights in welfare terms and those who wish to promote a child's self-determination is still present in the Convention."*[253] With this seemingly inherent conflict of protection and participation rights, one has to remember their connectedness. One can not be fulfilled without the other[254].

In talking about child and youth participation an important component that must be added is the fact that children below the age of 18 years have the **right to participation** in matters affecting their lives[255]. This is not, as interpreted in some instances[256], seen to be limited to the provisions laid down in Article 12 of the Child Rights Convention (CRC)[257], but rather as one of the basic principles enshrined in the CRC[258] it needs to serve as a basis for understanding and interpretation of the whole Convention. Especially Articles 12- Respect for the views of the child, Article 13- Child's

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[251] Veerman, 1992:95

[252] Veerman, 1992:96

[253] Freeman/Veerman, 1992:5

[254] See Sax, Helmut/Hainzl, Christian (1999): Die verfassungsrechtliche Umsetzung der UN- Kinderrechtskonvention in Österreich. Studienreiche des Ludwig Boltzmann Instituts für Menschenrechte, Manfred Nowak und Hannes Tretter (Hg.), Band 2, Wien: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, p.13

[255] Although the phrase "in matters affecting their lives" must be interpreted very broadly, since almost everything that happens in our societies concerns children- See Committee for the rights of the child, 2009:10

[256] See i.e. Shier, Harry (2001): Pathways to Participation: Openings, Opportunities and Obligations. A new Model for Enhancing Children's Participation in Decision-making, in line with Article 12.1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In: Children& Society Volume 15(2001), pp. 107-117

[257] See Swiderek, Thomas (2003):Kinderpolitik und Partizipation von Kindern. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, p. 85

[258] See Sax/Hainzl, 1999:20

right to freedom of expression, Article 14- Child's right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, Article 15- Child's right to freedom of association and peaceful assembly, Article 17- Child's access to appropriate information, Article 29- The aims of education, etc.[259], but also all other rights need to be mentioned in this context.

The importance of the CRC can be seen by its ratification by 191 states[260], as well as direct implementation into national law by many states[261]. Further only three states[262] have made a reservation concerning Art. 12- 16 (or17 in the case of Singapore)[263]. This also shows the wide acceptance of the concept of child participation, at least on a formal level.

In conclusion when talking about child participation within the context of children's rights, there is no need to refer to *"children`s citizenship rights"* instead of their participation rights, unless the concept is really broader than the broadest interpretation of child participation[264], which is hardly to be achieved, following the above discussion. Although their citizenship rights might be interpreted broader than their participation rights, the principle of participation needs to be seen as an overall objective of the Convention, rather than interpreted within a single article. Referring to or bringing into the discussion other terms would, in my opinion, just add to the confusion around the concept of child participation. Therefore, in this paper the concept of child participation and analogically, the concept of youth participation, need to be seen as something touching all rights children and youth have, rather than as a single isolated right. When only looking at the text of Article 12, which talks about the right to information and expression of views, that need to be taken into consideration and *"given due weight"[265]*, a rather limited scope of the term seems to be the outcome. Although the Committee on the Rights of the Child in its interpretation and implementation of Art. 12 also mentions the

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[259] Mentioned as "Children's Participation as Recognized in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child" by Hart, 2002:12f.

[260] Status as at : 09-04-2010 12:04:22 EDT, from: http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&lang=en, last access 09.04.2010

[261] A study done by Unicef Innocenti Research Center in 2007 found that 2/3 of the countries included in the study had directly incorporated the CRC into national law. See UNICEF Innocenti Research Center (2007): Law Reform and Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Unicef, Florence, p.5

[262] Namely Kiribati, Poland and Singapore

[263] See United Nations Treaty Collection, Status of the Convention on the Rights of the Child AS AT : 09-04-2009 05:48:12 EDT, From: http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&id=133&chapter=4&lang=en

[264] See Inter- Agency Working Group on Children`s Participation (IAWGCP) (2008): Children as Active Citizens. A policy and programme guide. Commitments and obligations for children`s civil rights and civic engagement in East Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok: IAWGCP

[265] See Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:11

support and encouragement that needs to be given to children and groups of children to form child- led organizations and initiatives[266], the range of CYP can and should be much wider, including also decision- making power. Interpreting the right to participation, as the basic principle it is, given the non- limited nature, that has repeatedly been pointed out also by the Committee on the Rights of the Child, as well as its history of development within the Convention on the Rights of the Child, to not limit it in its scope of application[267], leads to the conclusion that there exists room for a broader interpretation of the concept than seems currently the case. This is also in accordance to a broad understanding of the term participation per se, as discussed in *Chapter V 1.4* and has been asked for already by children's rights experts[268].

At the same time when fighting for the right to participation in its broadest meaning, it must not be forgotten, that CYP is not automatically something that leads always to positive results. Neither does it automatically lead to empowerment. The right to participation, newly proclaimed during the second half of the 20th century and the status of being a subject of rights, bring with them *"new impositions, burdens and risks [translation of the author]"* [269]. *"The speculation is mentioned, that the children's entitled subjectivity and autonomy doesn't already imply their emancipation [translation of the author]"[270]*.

## 1.6.2 Range of CYP

*"In many parts of the world, plans and models are being drafted, projects and institutions created, to bring about an increase in the participation of children. The ideas connected with the slogan participation are so various that it is impossible to place them all in one category [...]"[271]*

As with the definition of participation in general, the understanding of CYP can be either broad or rather limited. Some of the more limited interpretations of CYP were already discussed in the previous chapter *(see Chapter V.1.6.1).* These talk about informing,

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[266] See Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:28
[267] See Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:10
[268] See Percy-Smith/Thomas, 2010
[269] Liebel, 2005:77
[270] Liebel, 2005:77
[271] Liebel, Manfred/Overwien, Bernd/Recknagel, Albert, 2001:171

listening and including the opinions of children where appropriate (with the situation, the age and maturity as qualifications- although applied rather broadly in themselves). Even though it is noted that *"Article 12 stipulates that simply listening to the child is insufficient; the views of the child have to be seriously considered when the child is capable of forming her or his own views."[272]*, the scope is wider with other understandings of the concept. These elements of CYP to be defined in terms of "listening" and "considering seriously" the views are also included in the understanding of the youth interviewed[273], but youth understand CYP in a wider sense. Such broader definitions of CYP go beyond adult control of the outcome of the views heard and define youth participation as *"a process of involving people in the decisions that affect their lives."[274]* Still qualifying the situation when to involve them, this goes one step beyond taking the views into consideration. Rather, children are included in the decision making process itself, not just informing it. Hart uses a similar definition in referring to participation as "*the process of sharing decisions which affect one's life and the life of the community in which one lives."[275]* Although he refers to participation in general, he uses this understanding also when talking about CYP. It is another slight step beyond the before discussed definition in sharing the decisions, rather than involving children in the decisions. Broader definitions such as having "control" over decisions or "controlling" resources, such as within the definition of participation in development *(see Chapter V. 1.4),* don't seem to be considered when it comes to the mainstream definition of CYP *(see Chapter V. 1.6.1).* Nonetheless the concepts where children and youth themselves are in control of decisions and resources exist (such as in the concept of youth organizations *see Chapter V. 2.2.1).*

> *"From the various definitions [...] young people's participation is many things to many people depending on the context of their work and those of their clientele. It is a desired situation, a process, an expression of one's involvement in the community and a tool for development. Most of the definitions focus on decision-making and taking action."[276]*

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[272] Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:11

[273] See Interview A, 30.11.2008, Interview H, 02.09.2009 and Interview D, 01.09.2009

[274] Checkoway, Barry (Unknown): Adults as Allies. School of Social work, University of Michigan, p.1

[275] Hart, 1992:5

[276] ECPAT, 1999:46

As already stated some youth themselves, when asked directly on their understanding of child and youth participation or just talking about youth participation, define the term more broadly:

> *"[Participation means, addition of the author] Not only expressing one's opinion, but also realizing it [translation of the author]"[277]*

One has to be careful with such broad definitions, as this might have negative implications in that sense that high expectations that are not fulfilled can cause frustration. In this specific case the young person when asked further what she means by realizing her opinion, she explained that she understands that also adults don't always realize their opinions, but the opinions should be taken into account (also by oneself in the sense of meaning what one says!). This should not be done according to age, but all expressed opinions should be considered equally.[278]

But some youth see a process in their understanding of CYP. One young woman states that when she started to participate she understood only being part of something as participation. This changed gradually to wanting to be involved in all steps of an activity (from beginning to end). Further, she states that in the beginning she only thought of participation in the sense that youth would demand certain things from other people (such as governments, adults, etc.), when now she includes also collaboration with adults and governments in her understanding of CYP.[279]

Therefore it can be concluded that only some, including especially young people themselves, view CYP as a concept of the child being able to not only influence, but also take his/her own decisions in matters affecting him/her.[280] Broader definitions even go one step further to the level of results, where the taken decisions should also lead to an outcome.

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[277] Interview G, 01.09.2009
[278] See Interview G, 01.09.2009
[279] See Interview A, 30.11.2008
[280] ECPAT, 1999:45

## 2   Structures of CYP

To see and understand which "spaces", understood as in the concept of Gaventa *(see Chapter V.1.2)* are created for participation and therefore also for child and youth participation it is important to recognize the power structures network within and around them. By seeing both spaces and the power structures network, one might be able to see and understand power relations and with this the potential for children and youth to empowerment. One can look at positive and negative effects the power structures network has within these spaces of participation and possibly outside. Further, how the "spaces" and power structures are constituted in the first place might also imply a higher or lower potential for empowerment. The structures of CYP are understood to be the (formally or informally- see Chapter) structured "spaces" participation can take place in, as well as the power structures network in and around those spaces. The models of CYP (see Chapter) try and categorize the interplay of some of these power relations and categorize the predefined power relations between adults and youth. These structures are of especial importance as it is believed, as has been noted before that ***the more there exist enabling structures and spaces* that have the potential to make the power network visible and enable individuals participating within them to see, understand and use the power network, *the more potential for empowerment* is created.** We will therefore in a second step *(see Chapter VII. 1)* look at the potential for empowerment within these organizational structures described below *(see Chapter V.2.2),* as well as within the different models of CYP *(see Chapter V.2.1).* Further different guidelines and standards (whether they are about ethical processes or organizational considerations) also have an effect on how the structures are constituted and which effects they have on children and youth during their participation. Although we will not analyze specific standards, they will nonetheless be shortly discussed (*see Chapter VII. 2*). It can already be noted that structures per se seem to be better for CYP than no structures, especially in the context of CYP against the CSEC. One youth mentioned that when she started participating within ECPAT it was good to have some structures, but that also the freedom to do something and develop one's own ideas within them was available and she perceived that as positive. Even though she doesn't see herself as a person, who is usually in front during activities,- guiding other people- within the structures and resources, including access to an established network of contacts of the organization, she perceived the freedom to design the activities based on one's own ideas as a best practice model. Especially for

new people joining the organization, structures are helpful, in her opinion and experience[281]. This doesn't mean that these structures need to be formalized, though.

## 2.1 Models of CYP

When including models of CYP into the discussion about its effects, there are important aspects that need to be considered. First of all, the question might emerge, as to why we need models at all. They can only describe partially the reality, creating theoretical accounts that might not be implemented/ reflected on a practical level. Still, they give an overview and conceptualization within which a variety of practical implementations of CYP can be looked at. It helps to simplify and reflect on complex practical situations[282]. Whereas in this work mainly the way of thinking of those who created the model, as well as their potential for empowerment that was included, will be looked at, we still need to acknowledge the usefulness of these models on a practical level. Not least because this has implications for their application, which then reflects back on the effects they have on a practical level.

There exist several models on CYP that try to capture the power relations and structures of how the implementation of CYP on a practical level can be constituted. Their different elements, as well as forms and/or stages of CYP are closely related to the above outlined elements within the broader definition of participation and CYP *(see Chapters V.1.4 and 1.6)*. They try to capture the differences in how CYP can and is implemented. Every theory and model has its limitations, as said above. By analyzing them, we will be able to see the way that they structure the power relations between adults and children and within and around "spaces" of participation *(see Chapter V.1.2)*.

Some of the models have been developed in specific contexts of CYP (i.e. CYP in environmental issues), but are nonetheless useful for CYP in general.

### 2.1.1 The 'Ladder' of Participation

One of the most widely used and cited[283] models of CYP is Roger Hart's "Ladder of Participation". It was first developed in 1992, as one of the first attempts to visually

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[281] See Interview E, 25.08.2009

[282] See Delaney, Stephanie (2003): Child Participation: Theoretical Models to Underpin Practice. Unpublished, p.1

[283] See Shier, 2001:107

represent the process of CYP[284], out of an adaptation of Arnstein's 1969 "Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation"[285].
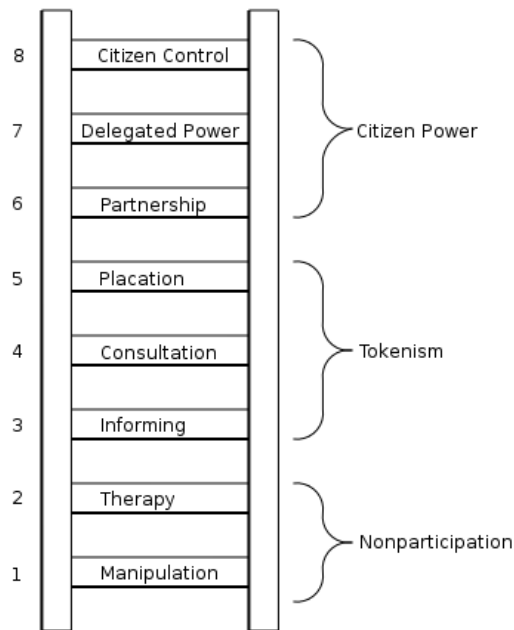
While Arnstein's model is also about inclusion or control of decision- making at the higher rungs of the ladder, it is based within a more traditional power concept, where people are able to gain power and with it control over their decisions. This has been adapted by Hart to a more collaborative model, including the reality of children and adults working together on issues, rather than children and youth taking over some form of power.

The ladder adapted by Hart seems to climb up as responsibility for children and young people increases in their process of CYP. Besides the lowest rungs of the ladder- manipulation, decoration and tokenism, which are also described as non- participation, every higher rung increases the depth of involvement regarding especially the decision- making process. Especially those boundaries between participation and non- participation have been very useful to practitioners in implementing CYP.

> *"[…] the greatest practical benefit of Hart's work may be his exposure of these false types of participation, as much as his classification of the more positive types."[286]*

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[284] See Delaney, 2003:1

[285] See Shier, 2001:108

Theoretical Considerations

Further the element of autonomy seems to be relevant. The second-to-last rung describes young people initiating and leading action. While the "highest" rung is that of partnership between children and adults in decision making, with children being the initiators.



**Figure 7 -** Roger Hart's Ladder of Young People's Participation
**Source:** Hart, 1992:8

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[286] Shier, 2001:110

Between that are the rungs where children are only informed, informed and consulted and then gradually included into the decision- making process, starting with adults initiating activities, but sharing the decisions with children[287]. But as mentioned before, participation cannot easily be understood like a scale from less to more,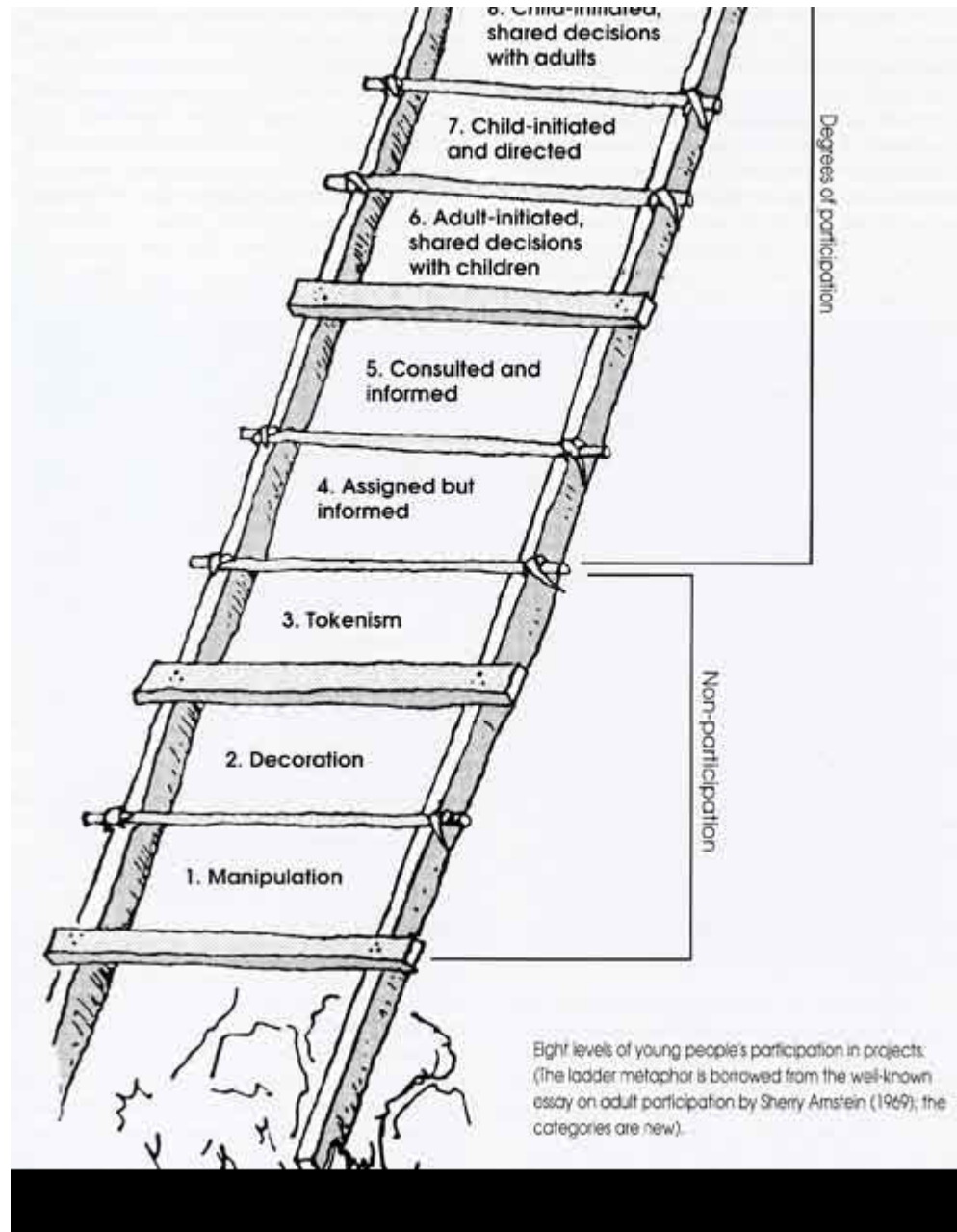 but is rather a more complex concept. This is the reason why Hart's model has also its limitations.[288] It is *"prone to interpretation as a linear process or a series of points to be worked through rather than, as Hart proposed, a way of evaluating the process and the parts of it."*[289]Even though the ladder could also be interpreted as climbing up responsibility, which per se is neither positive nor negative, but has to be analyzed within the specific context and individual child, this interpretation could not be found. In my opinion, a ladder is not the worst metaphor to use, especially when combining it with climbing up responsibility, as for example a child that is not equipped to take on this responsibility as climbing the ladder, might also fall down due to lack of skills. The higher one goes up, the more one can fall down. This also shows the dangers in thinking that the more responsibility children are given, or the more autonomy, the better the effects of CYP are *(see more on that in Chapter VII. 2).* Still, even with that interpretation of the metaphor, the model does not allow analyzing CYP according to its complexity. Various rungs of the ladder might be happening at the same time, one might move from very low to very high in one step, move down one step to go up again within one single activity or between activities, etc. Further, the metaphor of reaching a goal, when one has climbed the ladder must not be mistaken with thinking that the process of CYP is finished.[290] Other elements lacking are the individual child's starting point ("the current capacity for participation") to be considered, as well as other aspects of participation besides that of decision-making.[291]

> *"Roger Hart's ladder is very hierarchical. You move from step to step [...] and Roger Hart himself has said that, I think, you know it was useful at its time, it made us visualize it and [...]some people will start at step one and mix step six in there because of what they are doing and who they are and what they are engaged in [...]"*

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[287] See Hart, Roger (1992): Children's Participation. From Tokenism to Citizenship. Innocenti Essays, No.4, Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre, p.9

[288] For a more in-depth discussion on the limitations see ECPAT, 1999:41f.

[289] Delaney, 2003:1

[290] See Delaney, 2003:1

[291] See ECPAT; 1999:41f.

Theoretical Considerations

Roger Hart not only cautioned at the time when he was first introducing the concept not to consider it "as a simple measuring stick of the quality of any programme"[292], as mentioned above, he also acknowledged its usefulness at the time, but sees too that new concepts have to be found.[293]

## 2.1.2 The Cylindrical Model of Participation

An adapted model of the Ladder of Participation has been developed by Reddy/Ratna[294]. It tries to add to Hart's model more possible roles adults can play, such as e.g. resisting or even being a hindrance to CYP. Further, they include the motivational level from adults for CYP. It might be important for the effects CYP not only how it is implemented, but also what the hidden agendas of adults are. Somebody might be sticking to all guidelines and ethical consideration, but might only be doing so due to outside pressure, leading to no sustainable outcome.

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[292] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:35
[293] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:28
[294] See Reddy, Nandana/Ratna, Kavita (2002): A Journey in Children's Participation. Bangalore: The Concerned for the Working Children, from: http://www.workingchild.org/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20A%20journey%20in%20children%27s%20participation-revised.pdf, last access: 14.05.2010, p.29f.
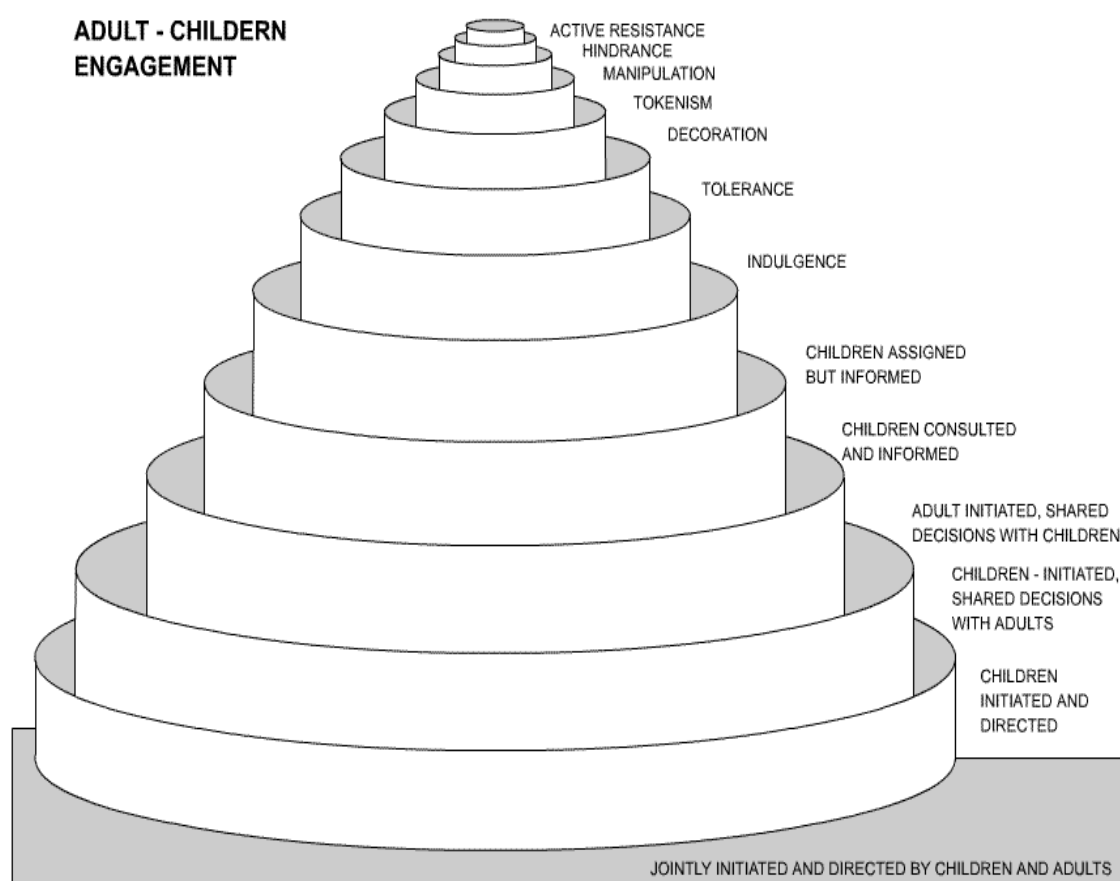
**Figure 8 - Cylindrical Model of Participation**
**Source:** Reddy, V. and Ratna, K., 2002:30

Then in relation to the children's role, they add the levels of "children initiated and directed" (this form of "child organization" will be described later- *see Chapter V.2.2.1).* The most positive level, so to say, is not as with Hart "children initiated, shared decisions with adults", but "jointly initiated and directed by children and adults", stressing the importance of the partnership between children and adults. They point to the fact that these are not rigid levels, but rather only some pinned down roles out of the various shades that exist between them.[295]

What seems hard is distinguishing the roles of children and adults between the various levels described, as some only apply to adults, rather than on the relationship between the two groups. Further it gives no indication as to why the most desirable level would also be the most positive one. Many of the already mentioned critiques on Hart also apply to this model, although it broadens the spectrum of things to be considered when looking at the adult- child power relations and implementation of CYP.

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[295] See Reddy/Ratna, 2002:30

## 2.1.3 The 'Wheel' of Participation

Another model, that describes CYP in a more complex form is the "Wheel of participation", which was developed by a youth facilitator at a capacity building workshop for indigenous people in 1996. The main idea is that things are connected and *"participation is giving to and receiving from this web of connection and inter-dependence."*[296] This is also in line with the concept of power discussed before, which perceives the "spaces" participation takes place in as filled and surrounded by the power structures network. Within this the children and youth interact, as is described in the "Wheel of participation". Its elements are called "gifts" and stand across from each other on the wheel. Expression, for example, is found across from listening. Sometimes listening can be more appropriate and empowering ("a greater gift") in participating than expressing.[297] This model is therefore better able to include more complex facts within CYP. *"The appropriate type of participation depends on the situation."*[298]

> *"Significantly, the non-linear nature of [..., these, addition of the author] models implicitly acknowledge the power nuances and multi-layered relationships that exist in participatory processes, including that children and young people might legitimately exercise varying degrees of power in some aspects of an activity and not others (for example, planning but not implementation), or in some activities but not others."*[299]

## 2.1.4 The 'Climbing Wall' Model of Participation

This model, as the one described above seems to go beyond the "Ladder" of Participation and the "Cylindrical" model, by viewing CYP within a field of many interconnected aspects. This model represents child participation as a 'Climbing Wall', where the wall is

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[296] ECPAT, 1999:44
[297] See ECPAT, 1999:44f.
[298] ECPAT, 1999:44
[299] Graham, Anne/Whelan, Jenni/Fitzgerald, Robyn (2006): Progressing Participation: Taming the Space between Rhetoric and Reality. Children, youth and Environment 16 (2), pp.231-247, from: http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye/16_2/16_2_02_Graham-Progressing_Participation.pdf , last access: 15.05.2010, p.235

not supposed to be a hindrance, but rather seen as a construction.[300] It makes the point for including a more contextual and individual analysis when conceptualizing CYP.

> *"If we look simply at the formal decision- making meeting, we need to take account not just of how much a child says in the meeting and how much notice is taken of what s/he says by the other participants, but also of how well the child understands the issue at stake, the options available and the reasons why certain decisions have already been taken. We need to take account of how much choice the child has over the time and place of the meeting, the subjects for discussion and the people who have been invited. We need to consider whether the child has been given a free choice whether or not to attend, and whether s/he has been offered alternative ways to participate or to be represented. We need to know whether the child understands the context in which the meeting is held and the power which the meeting has, and whether the child knows how to challenge the decisions which have been taken or to complain about the service provided. If we want our classification to apply to the child's participation in informal and everyday decision- making processes too, then it must become still more complicated."*

The author subsequently suggests using the picture (not metaphor!) of a wall, where it is possible for several aspects of CYP to be individually considered and assessed.
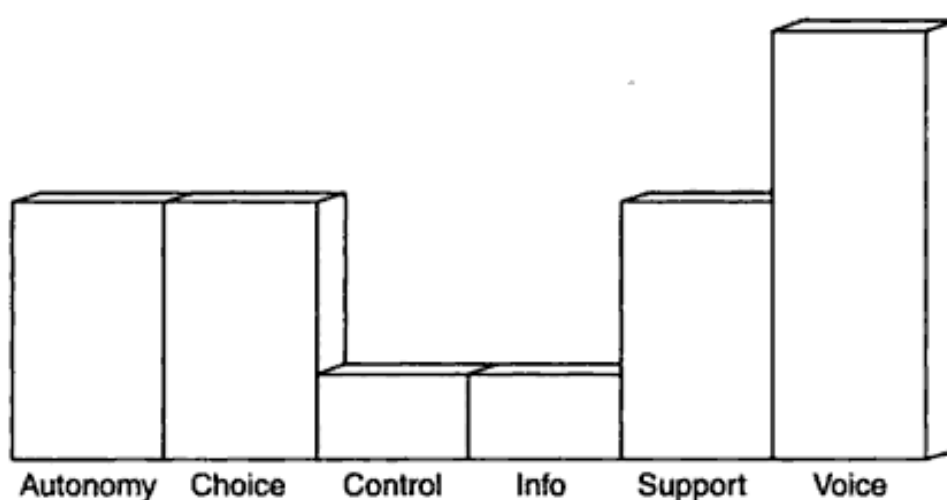


**Figure 9** – the 'Climbing Wall' of participation
**Source:**Thomas, 2002:176

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[300] See Thomas, Nigel (2002): Children, Family and the State. Decision- making and child participation. Bristol: Policy Press, p.175

The aspects considered of key importance are:

- *"the choice which the child has over his or her participation*
- *the information which s/he has about the situation and her or his rights*
- *the control which s/he has over the decision- making process*
- *the voice which s/he has in any discussion*
- *the support which s/he has in speaking up*
- *the degree of autonomy which s/he has to make decisions independently"*[301]

Using these aspects in an assessment of an individual child *(see Figure 9),* shows a child who is able to exercise a degree of choice over her participation, a big degree of autonomy and is vocally given a relatively high level of support in speaking up. However the child has little information about her situation and not much control over what is decided ultimately.[302] This model makes an assessment, as well as comparisons between individuals and specific situations of CYP possible. Further one could also add other aspects of importance in specific contexts.[303]

> *"Using this model it is possible to consider, for example, which child participates the most – one that is given the choice about attending a meeting and decides not to come, or another child that is not given a choice about coming to the meeting and consequently attends and gives their opinion."*[304]

In addition the model by being based on the individual level of each child also takes the individual characteristics into account. Somebody might be outspoken, needing less support to voice their opinion, while another child might be shy or even emotionally bruised, starting off from a different height of the specific aspect in their wall.[305] Thus, we can not only see from where the individual is coming from, but also what kind of support he or she needs to see, understand and use the power structures network in a specific context. Although the individual and specific CYP contexts are taken into consideration, what is lacking is the social and cultural context where the individual is embedded in.

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[301] Thomas, 2002:175f.
[302] See Delaney, 2002:3
[303] Thomas, 2002:176
[304] Delaney, 2003:3
[305] See Thomas, 2002:176f.

*"Children and young people's participation cannot be understood in isolation from the social, cultural and political contexts in which it occurs."*[306]

## 2.1.5 The 'Spherical' Model of Participation

This next model starts where the 'Climbing Wall' model leaves off, including the broader societal and cultural context an individual is surrounded by. The 'Spherical' Model described by Abrioux (1998) shows that the contextual starting point for CYP might influence the meaning and effect it can be given in an individual situation.

*"Where individual rights are socially restricted, any attempts at encouraging children to express themselves is a considerable advancement in participation, although if evaluated using another model it may not seem such a significant step. Taking the example of participation at a meeting, for a girl in Afghanistan just attending the meeting might be a significant degree of participation, even if she does not say anything."*[307]

Nonetheless, the visualization is not as strong as with the previously mentioned models, which is why this specific model might be useful to add as a consideration to some of the other models (specifically to the 'Climbing Wall' model).

## 2.1.6 The 'Mandala Model' of Participation

An even more complex model is the 'Mandala Model' of Participation. The individual child (or even a group of children) is in the center- therefore the model is obviously child-centered. Around it run aspects of the participation process. There one can consider aspects such as who has the final say (authority), who has what information (knowledge), who is included (inclusion), who has most influence (volume), on what aspects does one choose to participate/speak out (choice), what are the specific processes, agenda and forum (i.e. which location or form of participation is used).[308] The child is connected to these aspects of CYP by his/her unique qualities and attributes (social skills, intellectual

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[306] Nigel/Percy-Smith, 2010:357
[307] Delaney, 2003:3
[308] See Delaney, 2007:3

capacity, etc.), experiences, as well as his/her context[309].
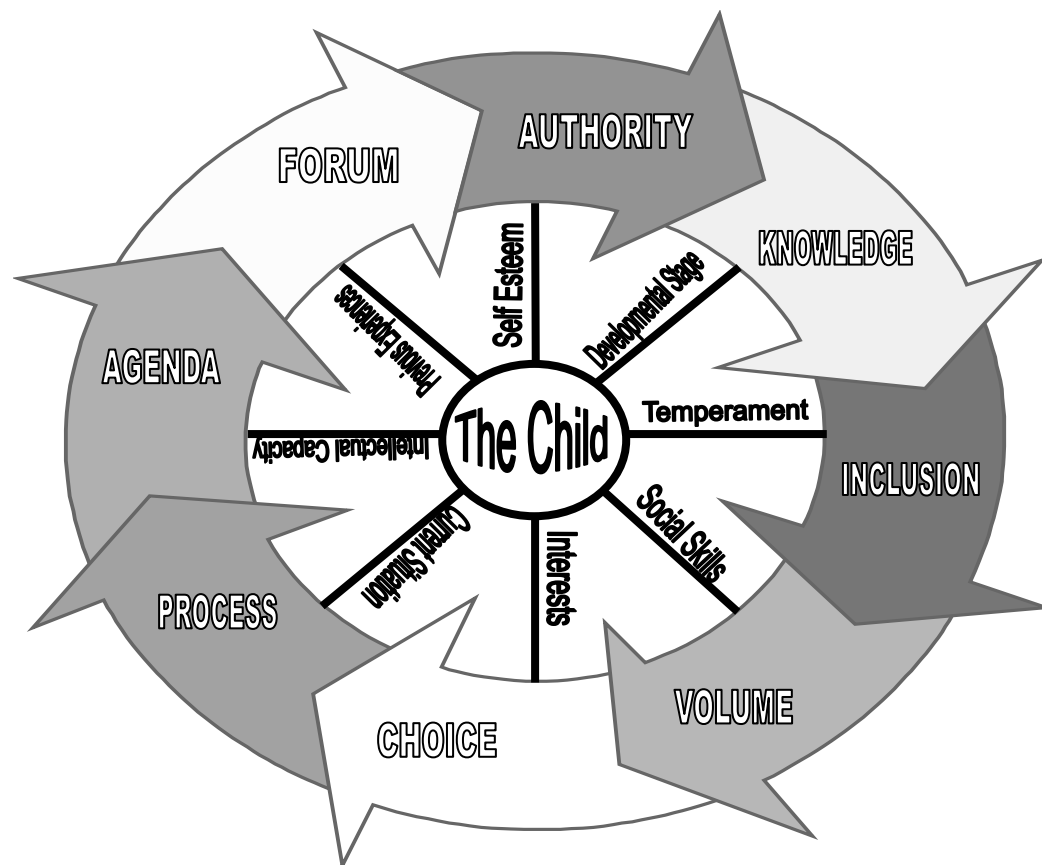


**Figure 10 -** 'Mandala' Model of Participation
*Source:Delaney, 2007:2*

All of the above mentioned models are in their own way useful to visualize and help analyze different aspects of the various facets of CYP. The 'Ladder' and the "Cylindrical Model" show the relationship between adults and children, as well as their specific roles. While the context and specific complexities of CYP are missing with these models, the 'Wheel' and 'Climbing Wall' models include these aspects. The 'Spherical' model can be seen as a complementary consideration, taking the social and cultural "starting point" of each individual and context of CYP into consideration, but not offering a comprehensive visual model. The 'Mandala' model adds all the above elements up into one model (except the social and cultural context, which could be included still). However, they are all limited to some extent in their application and usefulness.

> *"[...] while models of participation [...] provide an important conceptual basis*
> *for progressing the participation agenda, they leave open the challenge of*

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[309] See Delaney, 2007:1f.

*identifying and translating the underlying complexities that impact participation and influence its benefits.''[310]*

Therefore two or more might be used complementary with each other.[311]

*"There is evidence, when reflecting on some of the challenges experienced through children's participation in practice, that any 'one size fits all' model will fail to account for the very contextualised and unique ingredients that make up any children's participatory project within a community."[312]*

## 2.2   Organizational Forms of CYP

*"Organizations and their structures are especially suitable for the handling of specific forms of social problems. Somehow organizations are capable to pursuit systematically, i.e. the production of specific goods or more generally: the combating of scarcity, the learning of skills, the production of knowledge in the long term and largely independent from its respective members."[313]*

Luhmann distinguishes between three forms of social systems: interaction, organization and society. This society; whereas he is talking more about a "world- society"; is the system that encompasses all social systems. Interactions are social communications limited to those that are currently involved and present. Whereas organizations are constituted by specific decisions, which are taken taken regarding their boundaries to other social systems, their membership, who and how participates in decisions and who does not, etc.[314]. Their inherent advantage is that they structure social interaction and with this reduce their complexity by predefining certain structures.[315] This is done by taking or communicating decisions, which are then still not to be understood as fixed.[316] Organizations can therefore be described in terms of their formal structures, including determined communication and responsibility structures[317]. Organizations as such are

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[310] Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:232

[311] See Delaney, 2007:3

[312] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:32

[313] Kieser/Ebers, 2006:430

[314] See Kieser/Ebers, 2006:430f.

[315] See Kieser/Ebers, 2006:429

[316] See Kieser/Ebers, 2006:432

[317] See Kasper, Helmut/Mayerhofer, Wolfgang (Hrsg.) (2002): Personalmanagement. Führung. Organisation. 3.Auflage, Wien: Linde , p.21

only some, more organized and defined form the "spaces" created for CYP, as conceptualized by Gaventa *(see Chapter V.1.2),* can take. Even though "spaces" in the form of organizations are sometimes already defined in terms of hierarchical and communications structures, how the actual power structures network is shaped and enacted within and around them is only partly predetermined and subsequently constructed by the actors participating within them, themselves.[318] Therefore there can be differences in the use of the power structures network by different participants thus leading also to different experiences and effects.

> *"In any case, we experience over and over, that the chances to determine the goals of an organization, to set its rules and to subject oneself to these rules or withdraw from them are distributed unequally [translation of the author]."[319]*

Still it is worth looking at the different potentials for empowerment within organizational structures and settings on a general level. Especially, as becomes clear from the statement above, who defines an organization in the first place and who makes the rules and decisions is also important to understanding the functioning and effects CYP has within these organizations.

## 2.2.1 "Child and Youth organization" vs. "Adult organization"

 If one wants to look at organizational forms CYP might take place in, we can first look at responsibility structures, such as who is responsible or able to take decisions. According to this we see different organizational forms such as "adult-" and "child and youth organizations". The latter can be "child and youth initiated" and/or even "child and youth led". While often child- initiated action evolves out of spontaneous organization, often focused on play, recreation, sports or other shared hobbies[320], there have been considerable establishments of children's official organizations for issues concerning them, including their rights[321].

The organizations can be classified as "child and youth initiated" if young people took the decision to form the organization, but are "adult led" when including adults to a

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[318] Kieser, Alfred/Ebers, Mark (Hrsg.) (2006): Organisationstheorien. 6. Auflage. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, p.32
[319] Kieser/Ebers, 2006:19
[320] See Hart, 2002:69
[321] Some examples are the working children's movement all over the world

major extent in their decision making responsibilities[322]. They are "child and youth led" if the main decision making responsibility remains with youth, even though adults might be included. They can also be both, "child and youth initiated" and then "child and youth led". Further, adults can initiate an organization to turn it over to the decision making power of young people or not. When this is not done, there are still adult- initiated, adult-led organizations that either have children or child rights at their center or still include some form of CYP (they are also called "youth- related", "youth- serving" or "youth servicing" organizations)[323]. These forms of organizations are then not classified as child and youth organizations. Still, they are also important when looking at the empowerment potential of CYP, as many children might be participating in collaboration with or even within these "adult- organizations"[324]. These children and youth might have limited potential regarding decision-making on administrative and higher organizational levels, but can still be participating in activities. These "adult organizations" can also be classified according to their "culture of participation", where they are "consultation-focused" when only consulting children to inform their services, etc., they can be "participation- focused" when they involve a sample of young people in making decisions and they are "child/youth- focused" when CYP is central to these organizations[325].

Where there is a separate project organization within an (adult- or child and youth) organization (see below), the potential for empowerment needs to be examined on this separate level. Further, as has been said before, the way individuals participate within an organization is not something that can rigidly be constituted by the organizational structures (although it might give implications). It is still up to the contextual communication and interaction as well as individual experiences on a practical level.

So we get a typology of three different possibilities for child and youth organizations based on responsibility structures:

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[322] Please note that an important criteria for an adult led youth organization is the primary decision of young people to turn over the decision making power to adults. They may or may not have some decision making power themselves. The main criteria is the starting point, since if they initiate an organization, which is then, against their primary decision, led by adults, this would be classified as an adult organization only.

[323] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006a:20

[324] Most of these organizations, whether youth or adult- organizations are to be analyzed within the framework of the so- called third sector. The third sector is next to the public and the private sector the sector where civil society activities take place. Especially non- profit organizations are situated there. For a more in-depth analysis of the specifics of these organizations see Anheier, Helmut (2005): Nonprofit Organizations. Theory, management, policy. Routledge, New York

[325] See Kirby, Perpetua/Lanyon, Claire et.al. (2003): Building a culture of participation. Involving children and young people in policy, service planning, delivery and evaluation. Research report. Department for education and skills, Nottingham:DfES Publications, p.6

| Initiated | Led |
|---|---|
| Child and Youth | Adult |
| Child and Youth | Child and Youth |
| Adult | Child and Youth |

**Figure 11** - Typology of Youth Organizations

One has to be aware of the fact that the definition of a child- led organization is not unified. The African Child Policy Forum for example defines a child- led organization as an organization initiated and led by children and young people.[326] This is a more limited definition as the one given above.

Then, just because something is set-up in a specific way does not automatically give an indication about the empowerment effects it has and that i.e. the establishment of child and youth organizations is always the highest goal to aim for.

*"Children should be supported and encouraged to form their own child-led organizations and initiatives, which will create space for meaningful participation and representation."*[327]

Although the statement might be true, this does not automatically mean the most autonomic organizational structure has at the same time the highest potential for empowerment. Neither does it mean that adult organizations cannot have empowerment potential. There are further considerations that need to be taken into account, going back to an individual and contextual level. Also child and youth- led organizations are surrounded and embedded within the power structures network. There can be for example youth-led organizations that only serve those that initiated them or lead them at the moment, not letting others share the decision- making power. On the other hand there can be adult organizations that include in their structures elements of CYP, i.e. in decision making processes (such as within governance bodies like the executive board[328]), where a youth representative, representing others who are participating within this organization

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[326] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006a:20
[327] Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:28
[328] There even exist guidelines on how to include young people to governance bodies, see AASB (Unknown): The Power of an Untapped Resource. Exploring Youth Representation on Your Board or Committee. Association of Alaska School Boards.

and democratically elect him/her, has a voice equal to other members in the decision-making process. What is important in this regard is to see whether the structures are permanent ones or up to the "good- will" of the organization.[329]

There are other typologies of organizational categories in the area of CYP, such as displayed in *Figure 12.*

| Type of Youth Organisation | Definition |
| --- | --- |
| Youth alliance | A group of youth organisations or the youth wings of political parties, formally united and working together for common aims. |
| Youth assembly | A large number of young people gathered together, especially a group of youth who meet regularly to make laws, or to provide input to laws. |
| Youth association | An official group of young people sharing an occupation, aim or interest. |
| Youth club | A club where young people meet each other and take part in various leisure activities. They are often run by a church or local authority. |
| Youth coalition | A group consisting of youth from different political or social groups who are cooperating to achieve a particular aim. |
| Youth council | A specially organised meeting of young people. Youth advisory or administrative groups are often also called councils. |
| Youth forum | A youth forum is a place or event in which young people exchange ideas and take part in discussions. |
| Youth foundation | An organisation that provides money for special purposes of relevance to youth. |
| Youth group | Generally, a youth group is a number of young people who come together in one place at one time. A youth group can also be a number of young people who have something in common. |
| Youth movement | As many young people as possible working towards common global goals, using the same tools. It is a collective, integrated, organised and coordinated group of youth pursuing a shared vision. |
| Youth network | A large number of young people or youth organisations that have a connection with each other and work together as a system. Youth networks are dynamic and flexible, and not constrained by mandates, but are often short-lived. |

**Figure 12 -** Categories of Youth Organisations
**Source:**African Child Policy Forum, 2006a:19

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[329] See Youth on Board (Unkown): 14 Points: Successfully involving youth in decision- making. A General overview. Somervielle, p.2

All but the "Youth foundation" can be classified as youth organizations and are rather specific forms of them. Whether they are child- initiated or child- led or both cannot be seen by this classification. The differentiation criteria are size and occupational activity, as well as structural composition in some points. This form of further categorization of youth organizations is very useful when it comes to thinking about how to organize and define the organizational boundaries, responsibility and communication structures, as well as membership requirements (see above). Besides general classifications youth have also developed best practice collections for other youth, giving examples and subsequent advice on how to establish youth organizations or youth groups and CYP within adult organizations on a more informal level, focusing on the youth movement in Europe and CIS against CSEC.[330] This best- practice sharing on a peer level has proven to be very effective. Peer education and peer support approaches use the influence the peer group has on young people in a positive way.[331] A peer is somebody belonging to the same social group. This social group can be based on age, sex, sexual orientation, occupation, socio-economic or health status, and other factors[332] and is in our case the age, where the background and experiences can be regarded as somehow similar in comparison to other age groups.

Even when there are child- organizations the cooperation with adults is important. In some cases children's organizations might have partnerships with adults on issues such as funding relations with donors[333], or other issues that are more of an administrative nature (see below). Of course, there are also children's organizations who decide to give training to their members on management issues, including financial management.[334] Nonetheless, whether children's organizations are child initiated, child-led or both, the cooperation with adults is important and doesn't necessarily hinder the participation.

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[330] See i.e. EICYAC (ed.) (2008): Booklet on the development and best practices of 10 youth movements within ECPAT groups in Western and Eastern Europe&CIS. Bangkok: ECPAT International

[331] See Crispin, Vimala (2009a): YPP Peer Support Programme Guidelines. Bangkok: ECPAT International, from: http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Publications/CYP/YPP%20Peer%20Support%20Programme%20Guideline_ENG.pdf, last access: 17.05.2010, p.14

[332] See Committee for Youth Action ECPAT Austria (2010): Dare to be aware! Activities and Methods for working with young people on the topic of commercial sexual exploitation of children. From: http://www.ecpat.at/fileadmin/download/DARE2BEAWARE_PDF.pdf, last access 15.5.2010, p.5

[333] See Save the Children (2002): Strengthening Child-Led Organisations. Report of a Supporting Event during the United Nations Special Session on Children. From: http://www.savethechildren.net/alliance/resources/child_part/strength_eng.pdf , p.7

[334] See Save the Children, 2002:4

## Excursus- The cooperation between children and youth and adults

> *"Child- led organisations do not arise suddenly. They evolve out of a long process, generally through close cooperation and partnership between children and NGOs."[335]*

As said above, just because there exist child and youth organizations doesn't mean that adults don't have a role to play in it. They can be seen as cooperation partners, supporters in all aspects (especially funding, administration are frequently mentioned), etc.[336] Further, the previously established network of connections of adults, their experience and knowledge as well as contacts to relevant authorities, can also be significant for CYP. Not least, their ability *"to ensure that ideas are put into action"*[337]. One expert mentions specifically the potential that adults have when doing *"cooperative resource-oriented relationship"* work, as she calls it. She sees her own role with CYP within this context and describes how adults have a role in getting to know young people, their potential, abilities and resources and subsequently assist them in reaching their highest potential.[338] One youth describes a similar opinion and says that her adult coordinator *"opens the doors for the youth"*[339]. On the question as to what would be missing when adult support was withdrawn she answered:

> *"well, her expertise, for sure, the support in topics where we don't have a clue yet. I mean I would certainly commit a blunder [ins Fettnäpfchen treten] about 17 000 times or approach something the wrong way, because I am not aware of how it is supposed to be and through sharing her experience with us, well she doesn't keep back anything from us, through that we have the chance to learn how it all works. Well no, if all adults are like X, that they respect us and take us seriously, as well as open up possibilities, then they are necessary in any case.[…] otherwise it would be a much harder way, when we in fact could start right away with action[translation of the author]"[340]*

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[335] Save the Children, 2002:7

[336] See Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010, as well as Interview A, 30.11.2008

[337] Interview C, 27.08.2009

[338] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

[339] Interview F, 28.08.2009

[340] Interview F, 28.08.2009

Adults have been supporting and trying to strengthen child- led organizations personally and through tools[341] and guidelines. Further adult organizations can also gradually become more CYP focused or even become child and youth organizations.[342]

> *"I don't think it's necessary to remove all adult support as long as it is just that: adult support and adult facilitation and guidance, where asked for and needed, but not adults' domination."[343]*

Sometimes adults are also seen as "gate- keepers" in the sense that without their will to have CYP, there would be none. One youth points out that especially asking for the involvement of young people in adult structures, such as conferences in her example, needs to be done by somebody from within the system. It needs a person (probably often an adult/expert) who gets the youth involved. This she perceives is one step that is often missing. Besides opening doors for children and young people into adult structures, she also thinks that in some cases the initial impulse for youth action can (or must) also come from adults. As an example she states that youth in her society are often not the ones who start initiatives easily. Rather they need an impulse from outside. Once that is there, they should however be given freedom to work in whatever direction they like, but the initial start is important to be triggered.[344] Further, adults and adult organizational structures can support children and young people (one youth mentions financial support- as in getting small jobs, logistical support- like copying and printing for her own studies, materials for trainings, etc.), which in turn increases the motivation of youth to participate[345], when their other needs are also addressed and it is a giving and receiving from both sides. Another important aspect mentioned is that it often depends on the personal level of adults interacting with children and youth. How "child-friendly" they are acting and their personality seems to be a key component for children and young people to feel at ease and supported. One youth mentions the kind personality and open, non stressful approach of her youth coordinator, as well as the private level at which they got to know each other as one reason why she believes that she stayed with the youth work.

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[341] See i.e. Feinstein, Clare/O'Kane, Claire (2005): The Spider Tool. A self assessment and planning tool for child led initiatives and organizations. International Save the Children Alliance, Kathmandu: Save the Children Sweden, from: http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/SCS_Spider_Tool_Final_2.pdf, last access: 15.05.2010

[342] See Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

[343] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

[344] See Interview E, 25.08.2009

[345] See Interview H, 2.9.2009

> *"I think she had a really good attitude. One didn't have to do anything but you could do a lot if you want"[346].*

Also the fact that the coordinator was close to their own age and had a background in psychology was mentioned as contributing. Another experience on the international level, where these things were in contrast to the above case, was perceived by her as very negative[347] *(see also Chapter VII. 2.1).*

Nonetheless children and youth, as well as other actors, including adults seem to be very aware of the power relations between children and youth on the one hand and adults on the other, especially within organizational settings. Therefore it is often stressed that within child and youth organizations adults need to stick to their given role and not take over too much decision making. That would be contrary to what one wants to achieve with CYP in the first place.[348] Another youth notes that often the cooperation with adults tends to be on one extreme, where adults are especially delighted by youths' involvement (up to the point where they seem to think it is cute) and those who are reserved towards it. Both ends don't seem to be quite honest or normal ways of interaction on an equal level[349]. Also another youth described that sometimes when cooperating with adults she feels that she has not been taken seriously, although nobody would openly say something or insult her.[350]

The very extreme of this fear that adults might have too much influence is that adults are totally excluded, which isn't seen as the most positive and in cases also not necessary. It might even contribute to the marginalization of child and youth activities that has been attempted to overcome in the first place[351]. In the case of one of the persons interviewed, it was also stated that while she was still a youth and participating, it was perceived by her as being destructive and arbitrary, when a group of other youth were excluding adults, not taking their wish to understand what the youth were doing seriously. In her opinion, the relationship between youth and adults should be based on mutual respect, meaning not only that youth should be given a role and respect in decision-making, but also adults[352], as the unequal relation cannot just be turned around for it to be

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[346] Interview D, 01.09.2009

[347] See Interview D, 01.09.2009

[348] See Interview E, 25.08.2009

[349] See Interview G, 01.09.2009

[350] See Interview F, 28.08.2009

[351] Fletcher/Vavrus, 2006:3

[352] See Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010

a productive and sustainable one. It can be acknowledged, though, that in specific contexts this might be necessary for specific activities.

It is also noted by one youth that the cooperation with those adults with one who is already working with or who have actively chosen to involve young people, tends to be easier than with others, as those have already chosen to cooperate with youth in the first place.[353]

In some instances there are child and youth organizations that are in fact influenced by adults so much that they cannot even be classified as child and youth organizations at all. This is not a problem per se, as has been noted before that CYP can also be implemented within adult organizational settings and have positive effects. When it is disguised, though, there are problems of representation and identity, getting to the point where children and youth are used and/or manipulated.

> *"**Person 1:** I mean I know children's organizations where basically it is adults [...] decided what was done [...]*
>
> ***Interviewer:** mhm, but in what way, they were claimed to be children's organizations and then in fact it was adults that took the lead or…*
>
> ***Person 1:** yes and you know it's fashionable to say that this is a child led initiative, I mean those people confuse things as well [...] I have seen things like ehm the violence study [...] was child led, I mean it wasn't child led, it was a UN violence study against children, that was led by the UN and facilitated and supported by NGOs and the participation of children was a very very big part of that [...]"[354]*

Finally, we must not assume that something, just because it is child- initiated or child- led automatically has more empowerment potential, even less can it be assumed to have automatic positive effects on the individual level. As one expert puts it:

> *"[...] a child led organization that's run by a very small clique of children who decide everything and always, you know, take the decisions and always represent everybody else and don't let younger children speak or girls speak, [...], I mean that's not very participatory [...]"[355]*

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[353] See Interview E, 25.08.2009

[354] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

[355] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

## 2.2.2 Project organization

When we classify organizations according to different communication and responsibility structures, there are several different organizational set-ups that are the result. In the literature on organizational form set-ups such as the direct linear system (as found in vertical hierarchically structured organizations), the multi linear system (as can be seen in the so-called "matrix organization" combining one or more systematic set-ups in the sense that one person might be within two organizational set-ups within one organization, often being under the supervision of two persons), etc. can be classified.[356] This is important to understand how the project organization, as a "parallel" or "secondary" organizational structure can fit in within the whole organizational set- up. While a basic characteristic of the project organization is its independence from the main organization, the people working within a project and within the organization are often the same. Further, there needs to be consideration, about how the communication and responsibility structure incorporates the project organization into the main organization.[357]

Projects are intentions that are characterized by the uniqueness of their specific undertaking. It is time bound. It is further constituted as its own social system, with its own project specific context. This is due to the frequent establishment of distinct patterns of operation, mode of work, communication flows and rules that are different from those of the whole organization.[358] Further classifications include their relative medium to high strategic importance and scope for the organization[359]. In addition a development project has "*the following features:*

- *A project involves the investment of scarce resources for future benefits*
- *A project can be planned, financed, and implemented as a unit.*
- *A project has a defined set of objectives and a specific start and end.*
- *A project has geographical or organizational boundaries."[360]*

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[356] See Kasper/Mayrhofer, 2002:25

[357] For a more detailed discussion on this subject see Gareis, Roland (2006): Happy Projects! 3. Auflage, Wien:Manz, p.91ff.

[358] See Patzak, Gerold/Rattay, Günter (2004): Projektmanagement. Leitfaden zum Management von Projekten, Projektportfolios und projektorientierten Unternehmen. 4. Auflage, Wien:Linde, p.18f.

[359] See Gareis, 2006:62

[360] See Potts, David (2002): Project Planning and Analysis for Development,Lynne Riener, p.11f.

Here the additional element of "investment of scarce resources for future benefits" is probably also relevant in most CYP projects, which is why they should be analyzed within this developmental context.

When looking at the project context there are two perspectives one should take. The first one is looking at and analyzing the project organizational context, which includes all stakeholders of the project, as well as their communication and responsibility structures within the project organization.[361] To visualize these relations not only helps to see the bigger project picture, but also makes the management of the relationships easier. The second perspective is a slightly wider one, looking at and analyzing the wider project context, including all relevant social environments of the social system "project". This includes also governments, competition or similar projects, previous and possibly following projects related to this one, the media, the society, etc., including the "internal" element of the project organizational context. To classify a project context element as relevant means that especially those elements which can have an impact on the project need to be considered in its management. To visualize this is important as all members of the project organization not only get the even bigger picture, but are also getting an orientation for their behavior and action[362], as well as an understanding of possible influences from those contexts.

These projects can be classified in accordance to the above mentioned organizations in general to be initiated and led by adults for youth, by adults with youth, by youth, etc. Especially in the context of CYP and CYP against CSEC, the organizational context of a project has many organizational advantages *(see Chapter VII. 1.2.1)*.

One specific form where the above mentioned advantages are even bigger is that of the so- called "micro project" organization. It has to be noted that the term "micro project" is finding more and more use within the development context[363], while having different meanings. Only the concept of micro projects as it has been developed and is used within ECPAT, specifically within the CYP context of ECPAT, will be outlined here.

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[361] See Gareis, 2006:115

[362] See Gareis, 2006:279

[363] See i.e. Austrian Development Agency (2009): NRO Mikroprojekte. Kofinanzierung von NRO- Mikroprojekten. Förderrichtlinien. Wien:ADA, from: http://www.entwicklung.at/uploads/media/Mikroprojekte_Foerderrichtlinien_2009.PDF, last access: 16.04.2010, where projects are funded up to 5000 EUR

## 2.2.3 Micro Projects

The concept of a micro project as understood by ECPAT International[364] is a small grant of about USD 1000 to 2000. It is not only given out to youth or for CYP activities, but has a special importance within the field of CYP, where is it seen as a tool for empowerment (see more discussion on its empowerment potential *in Chapter VII. 1.2.1).* There it enables children and young people *"to design, plan and implement a project that they think are relevant and culturally you know appropriate within their own communities on CSEC."* It can either be implemented as part of a bigger project or separately as an incentive to start activities in a specific area.[365] One specific project where it has been implemented as a major activity is the Youth Partnership Project (YPP) in South Asia (for more discussion on this *see Chapter VII. 1.2.1)*

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[364] www.ecpat.net

[365] See Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

## 3   Critique on the concept of CYP

When wanting to find critical discussions on a concept that has so actively been promoted by some in recent years, it is difficult to find aspects that seem to be far reaching. On the one hand there have been several arguments against CYP. Unfortunately, these were not discussing its form of implementation or concept critically, but were rather based on the level of conceptual rejection and some built simply around fears.[366] The prevailing question in these cases was whether children and youth can and/or should participate in the first place.

   As this level of argumentation doesn't seem to touch the roots of some problems with the concept or its implementation, especially since the need and right of children and youth to participate needs to be seen as established in a comprehensive manner already, we need to look further. Then again, there seems to be a limited view (or discussion) on the effects of CYP by those promoting it. This results in overemphasizing positive effects and often not mentioning negative ones (even though they are generally not negated as such). This might be a natural reaction when a concept needs strong political lobbying to be implemented in the first place. Nonetheless, the time seems ready to look critically at the concept of CYP and its implementation.[367] This doesn't imply focusing on the negative aspects, but rather using a comprehensive and non-biased understanding of the concept of CYP for its improvement on a practical level. It is asked for allowing *"the contemporary complexities that accompany the construct of participation to be opened up for debate and critical examination so that the ontological and epistemological goals of participation can be 'recexamined, recconceived and recnamed'".*[368]

   We can start by looking at the critique already discussed for participation within the development discourse *(see Chapter V.1.5),* as the majority also applies to CYP. One of them is the critique that the concept of participation "***can be attached to a wide variety of political agendas***". In doing so, CYP can be used in different forms and meanings for non- participatory activities, as well as in ways that are not targeted at empowerment. This seems to be acknowledged, at least by the fact that practitioners and experts more

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[366] See i.e. Stern, Rebecca (2006): The Child's Right to Participation- Reality or Rhetoric? Uppsala: Uppsala University, p.171 for a short summary

[367] Some more comprehensive critical reflections on the concept of CYP as such (not only its way of implementation or the models of CYP) can be found in Percy-Smith/Thomas, Nigel (eds.) (2010): A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation. Perspectives from theory and practice. New York, Oxon: Routledge. An earlier account on starting some critical reflections is given by Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, (2006)

[368] Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:232

often than not feel the need for additional adjectives or concepts to be attached to that of CYP in order to show that what they are aiming for is CYP that has empowerment potential.

> "*As a concept, participation is an empty vessel that can be filled with almost anything, which is one of the reasons why it has enjoyed such widespread popularity among development agencies. As far as children's participation is concerned, the concept does not seem to be able to stand on its own. In order to hold up conceptually, children's participation needs a scaffolding of ladders, degrees, levels, enabling environments and supporting adjectives, such as meaningful and ethical.*"[369]

Other critical thinking on participatory approaches that can be applied for CYP is that especially other forms that are not targeted at empowerment, but also those that are, may **re-inscribe the power relations that they are trying to overcome**. This is if one has an overly-narrow view and doesn't see that it is not just about power relations between children and adults, but that the power network structures exist everywhere. This is closely connected to the critique of a limited understanding of power (see below), where in this context power relations within groups of children and young people, as well as within their communities, might be overlooked. One expert describes this by referring to projects that didn't consider these contexts and were subsequently adapted.

> "*[...] they sponsored kids. When one kid in the village was sponsored and got all the attention, you know that created tension [...] and therefore they stopped doing that so now people support the whole community*"[370]

This might in part be due to the fact that especially within participation in the development discourse, the **concept of "community" was under-theorized**, as already mentioned in the critique above, and which shows valid for the concept of CYP.

Another aspect mentioned in the critique of participation is that the focus on creating spaces for participation is often **limited to the creation of formal institutions**, not acknowledging informal institutions[371]. Although it seems that structures and created spaces for CYP might have a bigger potential for empowerment than if they did not exist, this doesn't mean that all the structures and spaces need to be formalized. The important

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[369] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:344
[370] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[371] See Cleaver, 2001:39ff.

aspect is the interaction within them, which might be facilitated by formalized guidelines, but doesn't necessarily need to be so. Often the creation of formal structures also takes a lot of work and resources that could be invested into practical activities immediately. See also Chapter IV. 1.7 Structures of CYP, as well as the following Chapter IV. 2 on this discussion.

The critique of the effects **positive connotation of participation** has on people in the development discourse is at least as valid for the concept of CYP as it is for participation in general.

> *"[...] as the youth participation movement has gained momentum, it has at times been clothed in a convincing rhetoric of benefits, not always voiced by those who know best, that is, the young people themselves."[372]*

This automatic assumption that CYP is something positive connected too to the *"discourses of rights and social justice"*, leads the way for the uncritical adoption of CYP approaches *"without any clear evidence of the significance or outcomes for the young people involved."[373]* These outcomes can therefore be both positive and negative. When assuming CYP to be automatically positive, one risks overlooking the potentially negative effects it can have or has already had on some individual children and youth. In the latter case, leaving them alone to deal with the effects and implying that the responsibility for something as positive as CYP having negative effects must be found within themselves. Another risk is that by assuming CYP to automatically have positive effects, the "complex and resource-intensive work of supporting young people for meaningful participation", might be overlooked and therefore not calculated.[374]

Also the **understanding of power** within the CYP context seems to be rather oriented towards approaches that see power as something that i.e. adults have and can hand over to young people. This is, as with participation, an *"insufficiently sophisticated understanding of how power operates and is constituted and thus of how empowerment may occur"*[375]. It again risks overlooking hidden forms of power (also within groups of children for example) and thus not increasing the empowerment potential, but rather producing negative effects for individual children and youth.

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[372] Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:232
[373] Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:232
[374] See Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:232
[375] Hickey/Mohan, 2005:11

There are **some additional aspects** that have been found mentioned for CYP in particular. But it should be noted that just as most of the critique of participation can be applied to CYP, this also holds true in the other direction. Besides mentioning problematic aspects of the process and implementation of CYP, such as i.e. initiatives being only for selected types of children, the typically short-term nature of dialogue with policy makers, the frequent lack[376] of feedback, that only lip service is given to CYP, the tokenistic implementation, inappropriate use of methods, insufficiently elaborated conceptual frameworks, over-reliance on simplistic models,[377] etc. There are also critical aspects of the concept as such that need to be given a closer look.

First and foremost the **image of CYP as such** seems to be problematic. It produces the *"cosy image of young children's social participation in everyday settings under the benign guidance of respectful parents and teachers",* when it can also mean protest against oppressive regimes, for change, and confronting adult authority.[378] Doing this, it produces an image that seems to be romanticized, free of conflict and power relations and thus overlooking exactly those. This might lead to conflict and negative effects for both children and young people, as well as for adults.

One aspect that is mentioned critically is the risk of leaving children and youth activities to themselves[379], withdrawing adult support in general.

> *"Many "forward thinking" adults dismiss the validity of young peoples' need for guidance by simplistically calling for youth- led action. This effectively robs young people of connections to adult wisdom, experience, or reflections. Such action often segregates youth action which allows it to be further marginalized and delegitimized."[380]*

This **problem of segregation** was also described by one youth interviewed. She noticed that the youth group within the adult organization didn't get the support anymore from adults normally working within the adult organization on matters that were within their competence, but declared to be the youth's responsibilities. She says that *"sure there are areas which you [the youth, addition of the author] can handle yourself, but I think that it*

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[376] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:331
[377] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:XXI
[378] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:XXII
[379] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:332
[380] Fletcher/Vavrus, 2006:3

*can only get even better when all are improving their teamwork [translation of the author]"[381]*

This problem is not completely discussed by mentioning only segregation on the level of activities and implementation, but it also needs to be noted that the overall participation of all members of society and CYP are closely connected.

> *"Equally, projects to empower children in contexts where many adults are disenfranchised and have little power to improve their lives can at best seem idealistic, and at worst may be counterproductive, or even exploitative. All of which highlights the inseparability of promoting children's rights and responsibilities from promoting adults' rights and responsibilities [...]"[382]*

Somehow connected seems the opinion that there should not only be discussion on effects for children and young people within CYP, but also that the **effects for adults** should be given a closer look. This is especially so, as they might also affect their motivations for and within CYP, again affecting the potential for empowerment for the children and young people. Therefore some authors mention that CYP should also have outcomes for adults[383], while one of our experts mentions the effects the work with young people has and had on her (i.e. giving her orientation what to lobby for, etc.)[384].

In relation to the effect CYP has on adults, as well as the cooperation with them and their influence is the **image of the adult** working with or within the CYP area. It is argued that behind this image is *"a very modern view of the stable, rational adult self as the active agent."* This denies the reality where adults can also be the opposite, emotionally unstable and developing as much as children and youth.[385]

Further as has been already discussed, just because something is child- initiated or child- led it does not automatically mean that it has more empowerment potential. Interestingly it is also noted that often spaces for CYP are managed by non-present adults.[386]

Nonetheless, the potential seems to be higher with child or youth organizations or at least groups of children and youth within adult organizations, taking into account that

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[381] Interview G, 01.09.2009
[382] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:XXII
[383] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:332
[384] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009
[385] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:333
[386] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:333

the power relations and adult influence, as well as that cooperation is communicated openly.

> *"The best opportunities for democratic experiences for children come from sustained involvement in a group."[387]*

What keeps a group of children or young people sustainable is often as much the social element, as it is structures as one expert points out:

> *"[…] and besides there was also a social element too, you know even though, you know "the cause" […] unifies with doing stuff, the social […] element is the clue that makes people you know keep going on. […] then there are meetings and then there are parties, then we do, I don't know, projects together and stuff like that […]"[388]*

One critique that has been mentioned is that many might **see CYP in terms of quantity not quality.** They view CYP only in terms of its scope (i.e. number and frequency of participating children and youth, as well as activities). This might lead to the common conclusion that just because a certain number of CYP activities took place, there has also been participation in the sense of enhancing potential for empowerment.[389]

> *"[… ] there are differences you know, saying […] X number of children participate actually means nothing and as you determine what sort of participation, it can be millions of children running about in a field"[390]*

Another aspect is that of adults controlling the use of time and space of young people that needs to be considered.

> *"[…]we have noticed that participation does not automatically improve the capacity of young people to lead their lives. Instead of empowerment, participation also seems to embody new forms of controlling the use of time and space of young people. Thus, the enhancement of youth participation by adults and professionals is not unproblematic."[391]*

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[387] Hart, 2002:45
[388] Interview Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010
[389] See Checkoway, Unknown:1f.
[390] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[391] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:174

Further, there is a **lack of attention** regarding how adults and children negotiate their agenda and values and **how power and responsibilities are shared**.[392] This should be given more consideration. Especially as the above-mentioned segregation of child and adult activities is not seen as more productive or effective per se, and might in some cases even be artificial. This is problematic when it comes to the point where adult influence is concealed or not acknowledged.[393] Denying adult influence is not only denying their support on some levels, but also hiding existing power relations and influence.

> *"A spatial critique of children and young people's participation will reveal that the idea of children's 'own' space of participation is a misrecognition of how spaces come into being and what relations make them possible. [...] I have yet to see any children and young people's project that is not in many ways affected by adults either directly or indirectly."[394]*

Last but not least, critical reflections have been taken place on the **lack of *"a credible and coherent body of theory"*** to inform the ongoing and widespread practice. It is noted that the existing theories are diverse and often not child centered. Practice has "outstripped" theory in this regard.[395] Nonetheless, it must also be noted that theory cannot guarantee positive effects on the individual level and in specific contexts. It has been said before that especially the reliance on simplistic theoretical models may even be a risk to implementing CYP in a way that increases the empowerment potential. Further, theory cannot replace often internalized approaches such as respect, trust, observational skills and patience that are necessary for positive interaction between children and adults, in order to find out what the specific competence and likes of individual children and youth are.[396]

> *"Concerns are often voiced about getting the right structures in place for participation at the start. Yet [...] participation is not an idealized process which happens in predefined ways; rather, is it a way of being, an ethic of practice, which informs how individuals and groups respond to issues and problems. A*

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[392] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:331
[393] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:332f.
[394] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:332f.
[395] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:3
[396] See also Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

*core value for meaningful participation is respect for the individuality of children and young people."*[397]

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[397] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:362

# VI. Conceptual Relationship of Empowerment and Participation

After discussing the historical evolvement *(see Chapter V. 1.1),* the various range of meanings *(see Chapters V.1.2, V.1.4 and V. 1.6),* as well as the critiques *(see Chapters V.1.3, V. 1.5 and V. 3)* of the central concepts of this paper, the discussion on their conceptual relationship will follow. This is central to the topic of this thesis, as we do not only need to know what we are talking about when wanting to implement "participation", "empowerment" and "child and youth participation". What is most relevant is the connection that these concepts have with each other as this indicates the effect it can/will have on the individual. It will be shown that this relationship is at times so close as to result in a complete overlap of the two concepts. This again bears some danger, as an automatic assumption of participation to equal empowerment might well result in the opposite for the individual. We are operating on the level of ambiguity and assumptions about positive outcomes and their facilitators, which can be frustrating when the results we intended (or rhetorically wanted to attend) are not being achieved. We once again need to ask the following questions regarding the relationship between participation/CYP and empowerment, in order to get more clarity on the empowerment potential of specific activities:

> ➢ Can empowerment be a pre- condition to participation or vice versa?
> ➢ What are the conditions/structures under which participation/CYP has a potential to lead to positive change?

In this following chapter the relationship of the concepts will be elaborated, which is a precondition for later analyzing the empowerment potential CYP has (see Chapter VII). As again it must be noted, the above questions can only be answered on a theoretical level, but have to be analyzed for each case, context and particular individual.

## 1  The closeness of the two concepts

From the various historical backgrounds and different practical experiences that evolved through using the concept of participation during the past years, very different understandings on what participation and empowerment mean have evolved. This is

accompanied by different arguments[398] why the concept of participation should be used. The most prominent of the arguments in the development discourse seem to be on the one hand that of increased effectiveness, where participation is seen as a means to development outcomes and on the other hand the argument of increased empowerment, where participation is seen as an end in itself, a process that leads to empowerment.[399] Many times the rhetoric will portray the argument that participation brings with it empowerment, when the reality really is about efficiency increase.[400] Already at this point we can make out the intertwined relation of the two concepts.

Some of the more prominent early promoters of participatory development (i.e. Robert Chambers) at some points tried to convince people of the usage of participatory approaches by arguing on efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability, when really talking about empowering marginal groups.[401] This can impose some difficulties, since *"participation as means [to effectiveness, addition of the author] serves as the key that aid agencies can use to reintroduce top-down disciplines and power relations, while simultaneously claiming to be inclusive and empowerment- orientated through their endorsement of participation"*[402]

This shows already that not every form of participation or application of participatory methods is automatically empowering, even though many authors and critics see a big potential within participation. It is strongly connected to the intention and the structures that are connected with its implementation. As said before, only by analyzing the "spaces" of participation and power structures within and around those, can we see the potential for empowerment. This is to say that there also might be no potential for empowerment!

Nonetheless empowerment is stated to be the *"proper objective of participation"*:

> "[…] *the proper objective of participation is to ensure the 'transformation' of existing development practice and, more radically, the social relations, institutional practices and capacity gaps which cause social exclusion.*"[403]

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[398] It also needs to be mentioned that -

[399] Empowerment itself can be seen as both a process and an outcome- see Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:4

[400] see Parfitt, 2005:538

[401] See Parfitt, 2004:544

[402] See Parfitt, 2004:544

[403] Hickey/Mohan, 2004:13

Another aspect of the closeness of the two concepts can be found in the difficulty to translate the word empowerment into the Spanish language, without losing its meaning. This led to an understanding of empowerment as "participación social"[404], equaling empowerment with participation, when until now it was the other way around. This shows that not just the word participation can be used in its definition focusing on the characteristic of empowerment (participation as an end in itself, which leads to empowerment), but also that empowerment can be understood as "social participation". Some authors even seem to use the two concepts interchangeably.[405] Graphically this would look like *Figure 13*.
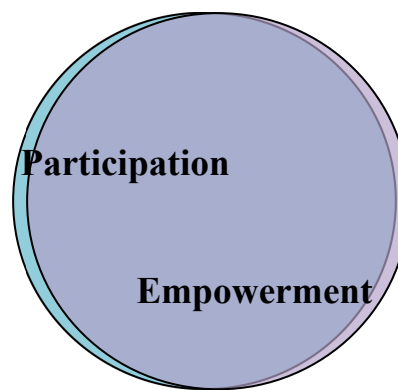


**Figure 13- Relationship Option 1**

Some of the above mentioned critique evolves out of those different definitions and hence different understandings that developed about the concept of participation.

## 2   Participation as an end, leading to empowerment

Furthermore, some of the aforementioned critique could easily be dissolved if participation is seen as an end, a process in itself that leads to empowerment and hence being implemented as such. When the objective of participation is clear and is not assumed to be an automatism, then the power structures can be taken into account and the "spaces" of participation created with a high potential for empowerment.

This approach of where participation is seen as an end in itself, that has at its centre the objective to empower people, makes the relationship between the two concepts such

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[404] See Luttrell/Quiroz/Scutton/Bird, 2007:2

[405] See i.e. Luttrell, Cecilia/Quiroz, Sitna/Scutton, Claire/Bird, Kate (2007): Understanding and operationalising empowerment. Poverty wellbeing.net, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, From: http://www.poverty-wellbeing.net/document.php?itemID=1547&langID=1, last access 05.07.08, p.2

that participation is one mode out of many to empowerment. Graphically speaking this makes participation one part of empowerment *(see Figure 14).*
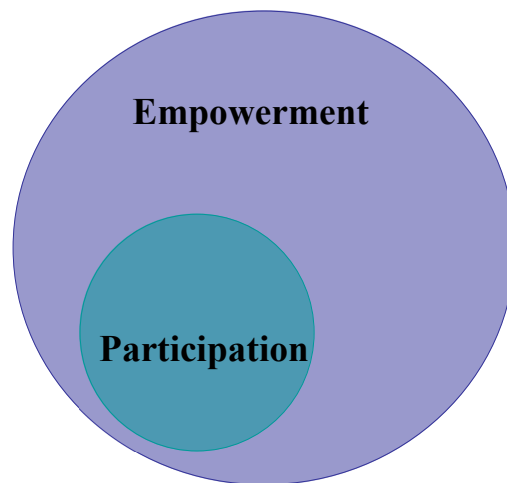


**Figure 14- Relationship Option 2**

This can probably be true for the approaches of participation that have already in their definition some element of control ("control over" something or influencing, etc. - *see Chapter V.1.4*). Still the key element of empowerment which includes the achievement of the results one is aiming for is not necessarily an element of participation even in this broader understanding. Neither can even the forms that are most targeted towards empowerment be taken to automatically fulfill their goal on an individual level. In addition forms and understandings of participation that are not targeted at empowerment at all can still have en empowering effect on some individuals or in some contexts.

## 3  Participation as a means to greater efficiency

If participation is seen as a means to increase efficiency and hence usually imposed from outside, the people participating often don't get the chance to even choose whether they want to participate or not. In addition they similarly don't get the chance to choose on the topics they want to discuss (as is defined in one of the definitions of participation as "act on issues that they themselves define as important"- *see Chapter V. 1.4).*

Participation can be seen as rigid as being just one (means) or the other (end). It is a fluid concept, including elements of both aspects (means and end) on a practical level.

## 4 The reciprocal relationship of participation and empowerment

So we end up with a very close relationship between the two concepts of participation and empowerment once again, with the difference that one concept is not part of the other in total (as was described in the above chapters). Within the concept of participation there is an understanding that some forms of participation as well as the element of participation that focuses on the process of participation can be empowering in certain contexts and for certain individuals. Therefore parts of implemented participation have empowerment potential and must therefore be seen within this concept, too. On the other hand, empowerment is understood as involving elements of decision making, negotiating, etc.[406] which are also included in the concept of participation. So empowerment is also part of the concept of participation. Trying to visualize this relationship it will look like figure 15.
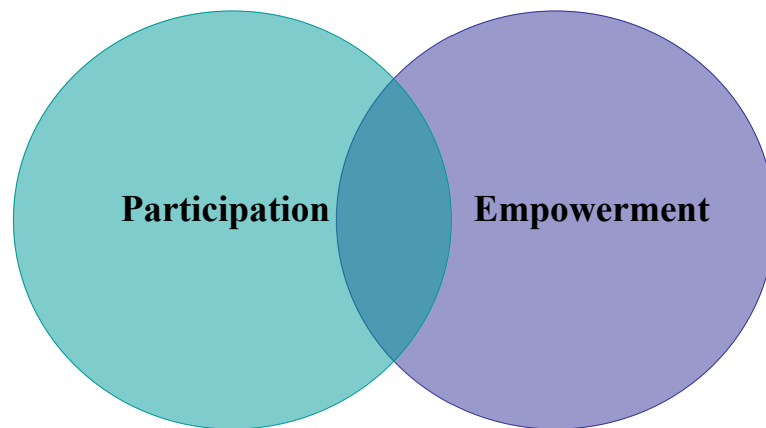


**Figure 15- Relationship Option 3**

What needs to be mentioned at this point is that participation is probably a smaller part within empowerment than vice versa, since there are many elements to empowerment *(see Chapter V. 1.2)* that can be enhanced without participation. Agency and opportunity structure are themselves very complex concepts, including many different elements that can be targeted in enhancing the potential for empowerment.

If looking at the process of increasing empowerment potential we also get to the question which of the two concepts comes first when enhancing people's possibilities: participation or empowerment? One definitely needs some empowerment before being able to participate, since without i.e. psychological assets (within the agency concept) one might not even identify a need to participate.[407] On the other hand, if one participates in a

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[406] See Chapter 2.3

[407] See Alsop/Bertelsen/Holland, 2006:12ff, as well as Chapter 2.2. on invisible and hidden power

way that lays focus only on efficiency (participation as a means- *see Chapter VI. 3*), this might not lead to empowerment for the individual (or at least the empowerment potential is lower). If one participates in a way that is empowering (and a higher potential is seen if the underlying approach is that of participation as an end) then we can say that participation leads to empowerment. Still again, the two concepts are very closely linked and as has been said before participation is a more fluid concept on a practical level. So implementing participation in the concept of it being an end in itself can increase the empowerment potential of those involved, which then also in turn can increase the efficiency of activities and vice versa. When we are really aiming at increasing the efficiency through participation, there might also be an increase in the empowerment potential of certain individuals. We must remember though, that we need to analyze this on an individual level within each context. Further, it might also have the opposite effect.

In conclusion, we see a reciprocal relationship between the two concepts, where one can lead to the other that can lead to more of the one, etc. with the starting point not able to be pinned down analytically to any of them. Therefore we end up with a relationship that is circular *(see Figure 16)* in that sense that both concepts (can) lead to an increase in the potential in the other concept.
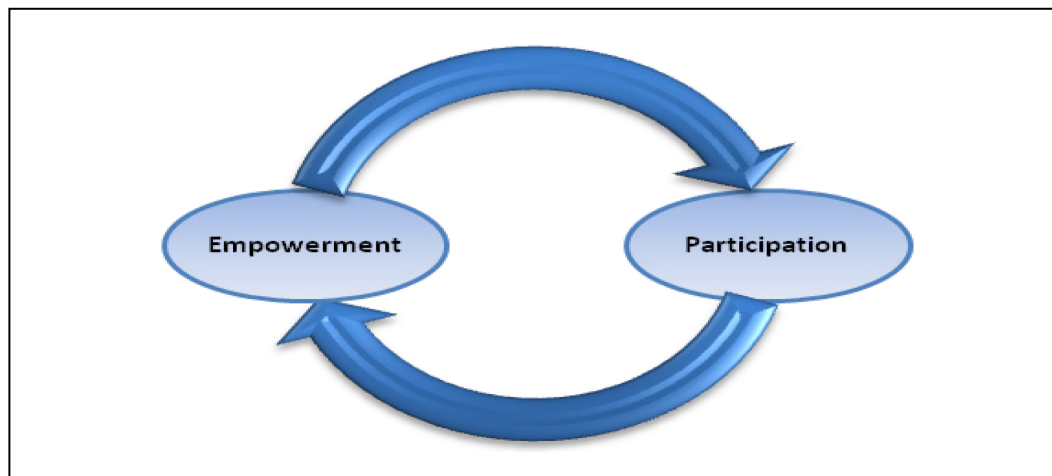


**Figure 16- Circular Relationship between participation and empowerment**

Therefore the question where to start (with participation or empowerment) cannot be answered sufficiently, although if one is to look at this exercise from a different angle we might move into this direction: a lack of empowerment can lead to the disability of participation (see above), whereas a lack of participation does not necessarily lead to less (or even no) potential for empowerment. Therefore although the relationship is interrelated and circular, empowerment is to some extent a precondition of participation.

# VII.  Conceptual Relationship of Empowerment and CYP

Within this Chapter the following questions will be looked at:

➢ What are the conditions/structures under which participation/CYP has a potential to lead to positive change?

➢ What are the effects of CYP, especially in CSEC activities of the youth movement analyzed?

As has been said before, to answer these questions we need to look at the structures of a specific context, the methods and concepts used, as well as the practical level.

> *"Youth participation leads to youth empowerment."[408]*

This simple statement shows that the relationship between empowerment and CYP is very similarly conceptualized as was described above for the relationship between participation and empowerment *(see Chapter VI)*. There are many different ways to see CYP, but the positive connotation seems almost stronger than with participation. It might be acknowledged (see i.e. within the different models- *Chapter V.2.1)* that there are different "levels" of CYP and different qualitatively implemented CYP activities, but the main goal on "higher levels" seems to be always targeted at empowering children and young people. Besides that is the goal of effectiveness, just as with participation, where children and young people inform policies and programs to be more effective. Another similarity between CYP and empowerment to the above mentioned conceptual relationships is that one concept seems to be able to lead to the other one and vice versa. Therefore it is sometimes also mentioned that a certain level of empowerment is necessary for specific depth of or forms of participation. One youth states for example that lower forms of participation are also possible without empowerment, when it comes to higher forms (in the sense of taking on more responsibility, etc.), a certain level of empowerment is necessary:

> *"[…] yes, if she is not abused in terms of just standing somewhere or you know doing the commercial or just showing her, so I think that at some very very low levels it can be done, but if you want to be at least a little bit more involved you do need to have some empowerment before that, because otherwise you would be*

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[408] African Child Policy Forum, 2006a:15

> *hurt, and the damage would be bigger than the usefulness that you could gain [...]"*[409]

There exist also understandings among some other youth that are participating in the network against CSEC, that empowerment is connected with their participation. One youth, when being asked about the forms of involvement that she prefers, describes how the process of participation, when leading to being trusted to plan and conduct one's own activities, to one's own ideas being taken seriously and supported and hence implemented, leads to personal empowerment[410]. This shows clearly that the above discussed definition of empowerment *(see Chapter V.1.2),* which includes the level of results is also defined as empowerment on an individual level. Especially the element of trust and autonomy are mentioned here, that have not been mentioned in the discussions on the definition of empowerment so far, but seem to be of special importance within CYP.

> *"so you understand that your idea is possible to be implemented and that everything is in your hand, so you generate some idea and then you have the opportunity to implement this idea by your hands so to say and by hands of other young people with whom you work. So one thing is trust another thing is that your ideas could be implemented, so be realized and another thing is the result of these activities so then you see that this is done by you and you can do a lot."*[411]

So the connection between participation and empowerment is understood by this young person to be such that participation can lead to empowerment. This understanding of participation having empowering effects can also be seen with mainstream actors when is said that *"child participation is a tool to stimulate the full development of the personality and the evolving capacities of the child [...]"*[412]. From another interview the understanding of participation was more close to the concept of partial overlapping of the two concepts. Participation was understood to be the

> *"engagement of young people or children [...] that is not only not harmful for them but that has to be eh useful for their personality and for development of*

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[409] Interview D, 01.09.2009
[410] See Interview H, 02.09.2009
[411] Interview H, 02.09.2009
[412] Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:19

> *their personality and that eh has to help them to eh see different eh perspectives*
> *of their own and other lives."[413]*

So the conceptual relationship can yet again be understood very differently. Nonetheless the connection is also perceived on a practical level to exist in some way.

Further, the young people from the YPP (Youth Partnership Project) South Asia see themselves as being able to increase the empowerment potential for other young people. Looking at who can influence the "spaces" for participation and the power structures network is also important. Therefore we can have internal (as within the person or from the person) and external (as from other people influencing the power structures network and "spaces" for participation or these structures being already established in a certain way and thus also influencing the potential of the individual) empowerment potential. Also, the element of "being able to protect oneself" from harm is important in this specific context. With the increase of this ability, the youth see this as empowering effects on the individual.[414] They further stress, as has also been noted before, how important it is that the potential for change and effects be looked at on a practical level and from the viewpoint of the individual child. If this is not done, *"then that [empowerment, addition from the author] remains an abstract, that will be very different and then that will be like talking in theories."[415]*

Connected to this idea is also the opinion of another youth. She explains that while for her more responsibility equals more motivation and believes that this is also true for a lot of other young people, this must not be the case in general:

> *[…] for me it's good when I feel that I am responsible, you know, for me being*
> *responsible is also one kind of motivation, for other young people maybe it's too*
> *much responsibility and they can't fulfill everything, […]I previously told you,*
> *[…]if you are engaged just in the activity of the organization you feel yourself*
> *more responsible, but if you are engaged just in the activity there is no […]*
> *institution or someone for whom you are responsible and none who is*
> *controlling you and if you don't have your self- controlling inside you and self-*
> *motivation, you could do something and tomorrow you could change your mind,*

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[413] Interview D, 01.09.2009
[414] See Focus Group- F, 24.11.2008
[415] Focus Group Discussion- F, 24.11.2008

> *because no one motivates you for the further activity so that's why it's also different between different groups and young people."[416]*

So forms of participation and the responsibility that goes with them are neither positive nor negative per se, but have to be adapted and measured on the individual level. Especially when structures are undemocratic and not enabling are they prone to bring negative effects for the people participating within them[417]. The structures don't just need to be open enough to be adapted and adjusted according to individual needs and abilities to take over responsibility, but also to give space for various forms and activities of CYP. One youth mentions that everybody has different likes and needs and that they have the approach that everybody should be participating according to those.[418]

## 1  Elements of empowerment in different structures of CYP

> *"[…] I mean you can participate in anything, but it's whether you are actually informing and influencing. I mean I think […] if you participate in something and you enjoy it, but […] you are running around and doing something, but [...] its more passive, you don't have an influencing role, you can still enjoy it, you can still learn something from it ehm, but then when it's to become empowering, it really has to be something that […] gives you a set of skills, enables you to feel that you've really changed something, either in yourself or […] within your society. I think you know it's within those different levels. So participation per se isn't […] a solution to everything and it really depends on how it's done and what it means to those to that child and those children."[419]*

Before discussing the effects and challenges of CYP *(see Chapters VII.2 and VII.3)*, we will start by looking at the potential for empowering effects within the various structures that have already been discussed *(see Chapter V.2)*. This is the rather abstract level of empowerment, by looking at potential within "spaces" for participation and the potential to see, understand and influence the power structures network within and around them.

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[416] Interview H, 02.09.2009
[417] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:331
[418] See Interview A, 30.11.2008, as well as Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010
[419] Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

Only by looking at this abstract level can we understand the source for the effects of CYP and the challenges that hinder the development or establishment of such "spaces".

## 1.1   Elements of empowerment within Models of CYP

All of the above discussed models for CYP try, in one way or the other to conceptualize and/or visualize the different forms CYP can have. Therefore most of them show that not all forms or levels of participation automatically have the same potential for empowerment. The Ladder of Participation *(see Chapter V.2.1.1),* both even defines non-participatory forms that might be implemented under the name of CYP. As has been pointed out, this distinction was very useful. This is especially so, as most experts and authors need to add concepts or adjectives when talking about CYP *(see Chapter V.3),* as there seems to be forms and concepts that are not aimed at empowerment.

> *"Participation in its ideal form may increase youth empowerment."[420]*

From this statement we see the perception of many people concerned with CYP. It should be aimed at or leading to empowerment in one way or the other. There is room for conceptualizing the connection CYP has to empowerment within the different models, although not in the same amount for all of them.

## 1.2   Elements of empowerment within Organizational forms of CYP

*"Bringing children together in spaces"* for participation and *"helping them to work through"* what is important for their lives, the improvement of their lives and their community is seen as enhancing their self- protection skills.[421] It doesn't seem important at first glance whether this is done by adult or by children's organizations. As long as CYP takes place, the possibility to increase the potential for empowerment is seen by the majority. Of course, there are always the "supporting adjectives"[422], such as meaningful, ethical, enhancing and many more *(see Chapter V.3)* that need to be mentioned together with CYP, to show that it has empowerment potential or even effects, when only done "correctly".

Providing enabling structures and spaces in this regard is seen as important to increase the potential for empowerment.

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[420] Percy- Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:176
[421] See Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[422] See Percy- Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:344

*"Previous research [...] has indicated that youth participation seldom emerges on its own. On the contrary, it needs systematic support, continuity and persistent application of dynamic enabling techniques. In order to be effective, youth participation requires emotional and intellectual resources, as well as material and social structures that allow young people to navigate in the adult world. In practice, few young people have sufficient skills and resources to influence the world around them. [...] Supportive structures and networks may also enhance the position of young people."[423]*

This statement points at the importance of structures. It also states that children and young people need support by them, due to their position within society. This is not to say that they are not able to provide and establish such structures themselves (see discussion below). So far this case has just been the minority.

Empowerment itself is seen by one of the experts as leading to some level of result, as in some of the definitions already discussed *(see Chapter V.1.2)*. This is in line with the understanding of non-intended results of Foucault, as long as the outcome is not seen equally to the result. The result for CYP can also be on the level of seeing that one has influence on one's life and environment[424]. This influence doesn't necessarily mean that all decisions taken lead to exactly what was intended. But the level of influence can be established nonetheless. It was found that this level of influence can be seen more easily within a smaller organizational context (*see below Chapter VII.1.2.1*), when decisions are taken by children themselves (as can be the case in adult organizations, but is more likely to happen in children's organizations- see below), as well as on a community level (see below). Therefore, enabling organizational structures and spaces, especially on these levels, can increase the potential for empowerment.

*"[...] that if they are set up in the right way and they establish spaces, I think what it is, it's about giving children a space where they can come together, where they can discuss their issues of concern and then make the links, make sure that that's linked to something somehow, so that they can influence policy makers about those concerns. So whether its linked to a village development committee or whether it's linked to a school management or ehm some sort of*

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[423] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:174ff.
[424] See Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

> *community structure that enables children to influence the environment around them and to make sure that eh their concerns are somehow addressed [...]"*[425]

**Children and youths' organizations** bring with them a different level of requirements for those children and youth participating. This level of organizational requirements and personal responsibility (through making and deciding many things themselves), might not entail empowerment effects for all groups or individual children and youth, as has been noted before (see above). One youth draws attention to the closeness of negative and positive effects that the same structural set- up can have. One good thing and at the same time a challenge for her is the close involvement within youth groups up to the point where friendships are established. While on the one side this is an important part of the motivation for the work and improves the work as people know the others better, on the other side this can also become a challenge as the borders between private and public life (social involvement) are blurred. She describes the example of people working in their free time, also on weekends on a subject that is important for them. When they need somebody from the youth group, they often don't feel a restraint in contacting other members on the weekend (as they themselves are working for the cause on their weekends). This makes it hard for the others to relax in their free time. She says that she herself has done it and others did it too. It becomes a dilemma when one is not only contacted during their free time when wanting to relax, but during the time when other responsibilities are also important. Simultaneously, one is committed to the involvement and to university, i.e. and therefore cannot decide the one to be more important than the other. Structures are also a way to limit negative effects in this regard, in her opinion.[426]

However the potential for empowerment seems to be high nonetheless.

> *"In their declaration, the children observe that their own organisation is the best form of protection and the best precondition for playing an active part in society."*[427]

This higher potential might come from the higher ability to take and influence decisions, as well as higher responsibility. Also, the peer group setting itself might have enabling contributions. One youth notes that the understanding between each other in a youth organization is on an equal level. She gives the example of somebody having stress at

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[425] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[426] See Interview E, 25.08.2009
[427] Liebel/Overwien/Recknagel, 2001:176

university. Other people in the same situation can comprehend this better and show acceptance, which might be different in relation to adults, who might think: "well I've had stress in school too, so what?"[428] One of the experts points out that especially the social element, such as friendships and activities beyond the immediate scope of work, is the "glue" that keeps the group of young people together within the peer group setting[429]. This points to the importance of the level of understanding, atmosphere and trust to enabling potential for empowerment and with that, positive effects.

However, it is noted that children's organizations should be aiming at being established on a sustainable level. This means that there might not be the need for a children's organization in the beginning. It could also be an adult organization moving gradually to become a children's organization (and of course including all possibilities between the two extremes). Further, a children's organization might move gradually to incorporate all criteria in the end, such as being for, led by and decided with children and youth. This is something that can be established slowly and doesn't necessarily need to be the starting point[430]. Especially for the sustainability of youth organizations it is important to also establish some organizational structures, in order to keep the organization existing, detached from the personal involvement of children and youth who might become too old or have to move on otherwise[431]. Quality criteria have been developed to show the level of CYP and empowerment that is taking place within children and youths' organizations, as well as show them potential for improvement.[432]

It has been found that while the **national and international area** are not always ideal settings for CYP[433], and are usually only so after extensive preparation the community level seems to be better suited, in terms of empowerment potential of CYP.[434]

> "[…] there is a growing awareness that it [CYP, addition of the author] is most meaningful when it is rooted in children's everyday lives."[435]"

Even though this level of "everyday life" is often to be found within the communities of the children, CYP can increase to also include the regional, national or international level. This is seen to still be able to increase the potential for empowerment, when the

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[428] See Interview G, 01.09.2009
[429] See Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010
[430] See Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[431] See Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010
[432] See Feinstein/O'Kane, 2005:7ff.
[433] See Hart, 2002:16
[434] See Hart, 2002:63, as well as Nigel/Percy-Smith, 2010:360
[435] Nigel/Percy-Smith, 2010:3

participation is starting within the community and gradually extending, including issues of concern in a wider area. Nonetheless, it is easier to immediately see and recognize the level of influence on a smaller scale, as within the community.

> *"[...] the level of participation is most genuine back in the communities where the children and young people are really able to influence what's happening in their immediate environments you know moving up from the local to the district up to the national [...]"[436]*

Although CYP on the international level has often been challenging, the example of working children's movement shows that it can also be chosen actively by children. They know what the international level looks like, including its limitations and still choose to participate, as this "global platform" is also useful to them. This seems to be nonetheless connected with the previous involvement on a local level, as well as with the official representation of one's peer group.

> *[...] but most genuine [participation on the international level, addition of the author] came from children who have come through the grassroots elected by their peers [...][437]*

One expert also points to the fact that CYP on the international level can be structured to have more empowerment potential in the way that smaller structures, such as i.e. working groups, can be set up. These then give the ability to prepare for the bigger structures on this level.[438]

## 1.2.1 Elements of empowerment within the project organizational context

Especially in the context of CYP and CYP against CSEC, the organizational context of a project has many advantages *(see also Chapter V.2.2.2)*. Especially, the criteria of its time-boundness, as well as its rather limited scope with clear objectives, help children to keep in control and manage the projects, if providing they are so designed. There is a feeling of accomplishment if an activity has a clear boundary and objectives, when the activities are finalized. Further, there are usually mile-stones within a project that already

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[436] Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[437] Interview with  Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[438] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

give the feeling of partial accomplishments while the project is taking place. The project context also allows for evaluation and reflection during or between phases of the project, which can then also be taken into account.

On a practical level, the organizational structure of a project could already prove its potential for empowerment. Within the YPP (Youth Partnership Project) South Asia internal and external evaluations have been conducted[439] that show the increase in the empowerment potential, as well as the empowering effects for the individual children and youth participating within the project. For a broader discussion of these effects on individual, group and community level *see also Chapter VII. 2.1.*

One specific form where the above mentioned advantages are even bigger is the so- called "micro project" organization *(see Chapter V.2.2.3).* As has been pointed out before, this organizational structure can be implemented either on its own or within a bigger structure of a project.

The administrative requirements that are usually extensive, especially when the funding for a project comes from an outside source, are limited to the minimum. The guidelines on microprojects from ECPAT International are about 2 pages long and so are the proposal and the report[440]. This enables children and youth to easily access resources for implementing their ideas.

> *"I think the main strength is that it is facilitated really quick, all you need to do is write a proposal and submit it, we have very clear guidelines. The other it is [...] easily accessible, it gives choices to people. I think sometimes the lack of choices is a big thing when you are working with victims of CSEC. I mean you know the other is it gives them total independence and they are in control: they plan, they design and they implement and they report back. Capacity building is a big component of microprojects, because just the experience of working on a project, [...] The feedback that we receive at the secretariat shows that it's not just implementing a project, but it has a lot of indirect benefits in terms of [...]*

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[439] See Crispin, Vimala (2007): Participatory Midterm Internal Assessment of the Programmatic Aspects of the Youth Partnership Project for Child Survivors of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in South Asia. ECPAT International, from: http://www.yppsa.org/PDF/YPP_Midterm_Assessment.pdf and Naik (2007)

[440] See Vimala, Crispin (2009): Youth Micro Project Guidelines. Youth Partnership Project. Bangkok: ECPAT International, from: http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Publications/CYP/YPP_%20Micro%20Project_ENG.pdf, last access: 15.05.2010, p.6ff.

> *building capacities, being aware of issues, increase in self- confidence, I am*
> *talking particularly of victims of CSEC [...]"*[441]

The issues discussed show that the tool microproject is designed to lead to empowerment. It has a bigger potential to do so, as has been shown by explaining how its structures are an advantage in this sense. Also on a practical level, there have been evaluations whether the tool has proven effective within the special situation of the YPP (Youth Partnership Project). Here the tool "microproject" is incorporated within the framework of a larger project and seems to be well-suited for the requirements CYP has when implemented within activities with and for children and youth who have experienced CSEC or belong to an at-risk group. Although the understanding of what activities can be done within the scope of a microproject seem to be different for the different national partner organizations, this was partly intended in leaving the tool open to also include smaller activities, non participatory action, as well as fun activities for youth not always aimed at CYP or CSEC[442]. This seemed appropriate as CYP as a process to empowerment must start small.

> *"It seems that as youth have broadened their horizons and gained in confidence,*
> *their micro-project proposals have also become more ambitious [...]"*[443]

Therefore, when in the beginning, simply using the form of a microproject to somehow think about doing something at all and thus taking part actively within the framework of a structure of CYP, gradually developed into microprojects being a tool for enhancing further CYP and contra- CSEC activities. During the whole process, the goals were not only fulfilling the activities themselves, but also the capacity building that goes with participating in a microproject, learning project related management skills. The success in this could also be seen by an improvement in the proposals, etc.

> *"This was a learning process through which youth involved in the project*
> *developed an understanding of how to conceptualize, propose, implement and*
> *provide narrative and financial reports on small projects of their own."*[444]

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[441] Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007
[442] For a list of possible activities as well as example proposals see Crispin, 2009:6
[443] Naik, 2007:11
[444] See Naik, 2007:11

In theory the microproject structure is aimed at increasing self- worth, giving the children and youth a feeling that they can contribute to the society, that they and their ideas are valued and valuable and see that their ideas are put into practice[445]. It has also been mentioned that it was found that the resilience of the young people participating was enhanced, their competencies increased, such as especially team- work and their responsibility taking also to make decisions supported.[446]

> *"[…] especially for victims of CSEC their experience is helping towards solving a problem. So they are being part of the solution rather than part of the problems. That is a big thing.[…] this gives them kind of a new identity to go out and work in the field on an issue that they really understand […] they are not going there as the victims of CSEC, but they are going there with the new learnings and you know resources and with a new identity[…][447]*

These are all elements that have also been mentioned by other authors discussing measuring empowerment. Especially on an individual psychological and social level, raised awareness of identity, a positive self- image, higher self- esteem, increase in capacities, etc. are important indicators for an increase in the empowerment of an individual.[448] Further, participation itself can be seen as an indicator of social development.[449] This is not to say that every form and for every context and individual this can be used as such.

On a practical level, these positive effects could also be found by the external evaluation that took place, although not measured only for the microprojects in specific, but within the framework of the whole YPP. This is also important, as the support structure around CYP structures seem to be of higher importance for this specific target group (see below).

When it was also pointed out that due to the open nature and youth-led structure of the microproject, some were not as successful as others, the successful ones attempted to

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[445] See Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

[446] See ECPAT International/EICYAC (2008): Submission for The Day of General Discussion: Resources for the rights of the child: Responsibility of the States. The use of resources to the "maximum extent" and its relationship to the participation rights of children. ECPAT International, Unpublished, p.3

[447] Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

[448] See i.e. Oakley, Peter/Clayton, Andrew (2000): The Monitoring and Evaluation of Empowerment. A Resource Document. Occasional Papers Series No. 26. Oxford:INTRAC, p.11 and p.22, as well as Alsop/Bertelsen/Holland, 2006:33ff.

[449] See Oakley/Clayton, 2000:23

be sustainable in that their follow up activities were again supported. Therefore one should not only look at the limited scope of one microproject, but understand its bigger structure, where small grants are in bigger numbers available for implementing youth-initiated action.[450] Nonetheless, focus should also be given to those youth whose microprojects were not successful and/or supported further, to look at the effects this might have on them and on their relationship with other youth.

Additionally, we need to be cautious of overly simplistic automatisms, as has been argued before in the sense of *"[...]microproject is a tool for participation and participation is a tool for empowerment[...]"[451]*. Despite talking about the process of implementing subsequent microprojects and not just one, the possibility of negative effects for certain individuals should not be overlooked, even within a structure that has high potential for empowerment.

Further, one has to keep in mind the bigger project and support structure that is in place within this specific context and has also a strong influence on the empowerment potential. So the outcomes of the project as well as the effects on the children and youth participating can not be solely traced back only to the implementation of the microprojects, but must be seen within the bigger project and societal context. It cannot be denied that the specific children and youth within this project need and also get extensive support, as well as capacity building and training from local and international NGO staff[452], which is going not only beyond the scope of microprojects, but also of the project context itself.[453] This was also found with the external evaluation in that the protection aspects of the project need further strengthening.[454] Therefore one has to be cautious with direct relations between these activities and effects.

In addition, as is with all project activities, there are concerns of sustainability that need to be kept in mind[455], even though the structure of microprojects goes beyond just one small grant for one child, but rather a number of small grants for a process of youth initiated activities. Attempts were made to keep this in mind by including a strong focus

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[450] See Naik, 2007:11

[451] Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

[452] As has also been pointed out to be "quite labor intensive and time consuming" in the case of the ECPAT International secretariat support- see Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

[453] See Naik, 2007:8

[454] See Naik, 2007:29

[455] See Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

on capacity building within the microprojects and the bigger project structure,[456] as well as by i.e. working with already existing youth group structures.[457] Still, it was a big challenge to go beyond raising the interest of some youth only for a short time, to raising interest for the duration of the ongoing microprojects.[458]

Nonetheless, its structure and target seems to have a high potential for empowerment within and through CYP.

> *"It's definitely an empowerment tool and by empowerment like we define empowerment in terms of victims of CSEC being free first of all from abuse and exploitation and being able to protect themselves better, being able to access other services, like education, health and being able to involve in advocacy, being able to form friendships, find mentors, being able to think about their future, to being able to have concrete plans you know get involved in livelihood training or life skill training and actually think about how do they get out of this situation and get integrated into the communities."[459]*

## Excursus- CYP and Empowerment within the context of CSEC

When implementing CYP in specific contexts, such as post-conflict environments for example and on certain topics, i.e. violence, sexuality, etc. or with a specific group of children and youth, like marginalized children, risk- groups,  and others, there are always specific additional considerations to be taken. This is not to say that CYP needs to have lesser considerations in other contexts, with other topics or other groups of children and young people, it just points to the fact that the considerations given might be slightly different in each context. This is why we will discuss some considerations here that need to be taken within the context of CSEC (commercial sexual exploitation of children) when engaging in CYP activities.

First and foremost seems the consideration that issues of CSEC are hard to digest, especially for those who are not yet used to them (whether children or adults). It is also hard to constantly deal with them for the experts in the field. It touches upon issues of

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[456] See Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

[457] See Naik, 2007:11

[458] See Naik, 2007:11

[459] Interview with Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International, 19.09.2007

sexuality, connected with violence. Therefore the children and youth that are engaged with this subject need to understand their own sexuality also to a point, where they are able to be beyond the shame and taboo this topic is often associated with in many societies. That is not to say that this generally has to be the case, as we cannot say that even for many adults. But still, children and young people working on CSEC also need to be able to express themselves on topics related to their own sexuality[460] in the widest sense. This can take place in safe settings, as one expert points out that, i.e. it's often easier for children and youth to be able to discuss such topics in peer group settings[461].

Especially in CYP in CSEC contexts, the preparation, as well as supporting structures seems to play an even more important role. This is even more of an issue especially when working with children and young people who have experienced CSEC themselves.[462] One expert highlights that the supporting structure doesn't necessarily need to consist of adults, but that information on the topic of CSEC is often hard to obtain for people without much experience. In addition, children and young people working with this topic might get confronted with children and young people who have experienced CSEC themselves or who have experienced sexual abuse[463]. Also, the probability that somebody within the group has experienced sexual abuse is very likely. For this, the children and youth participating must be prepared and supported, in the sense that they need to be aware that they do not have the role of psychologists and should refer cases to specialists that can help adequately. This is also to give them the borders as to which point they can contribute successfully and where their responsibility ends.[464]

Besides considerations when working on the topic of CSEC within CYP, there are additional considerations to be taken when wanting to engage children and youth who have experienced CSEC themselves.

> *"Social and emotional growth are critical factors in developing the child capacity to participate. […] The child- victim may need to undergo a*

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[460] See interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

[461] See interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

[462] See Interview with Bheetwal, Bimol- project coordinator of the Youth Partnership Project (YPP) South Asia, 30.11.2008

[463] See ECPAT International (2008): Questions& Answers about the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children. An information booklet by ECPAT International. 4th edition, Bangkok: ECPAT International, from: http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Publications/About_CSEC/FAQ_ENG_2008.pdf, last access: 18.05.2010, p.18ff. on the difference between CSEC and child abuse

[464] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

> *rehabilitation process before she can participate meaningfully in any kind of activity."*[465]

This statement points out that there might be a certain level of empowerment first, before going on to CYP.

On the other hand, especially low levels of CYP (in terms of involvement and responsibility) are suited to increasing the empowerment level of children and youth who have experienced CSEC.

> *"Encouraging the child to join situations where the child can demonstrate competence can help develop the child's self- esteem [...]"*[466]

Nonetheless, a certain level of articulacy is required (whether verbal or non- verbal) in order to participate. Especially, children and youth who might have been traumatized through their experiences need to undergo therapy first, in order to understand their own space of intimacy, their feelings, as well as their experiences with CSEC, before being able to work on such a subject. They have to know themselves and their limitations, in order to avoid re-traumatization.[467] For the exchange of experience and learning the peer level seems again a very good structure, as often the articulateness on this level is greater than with adults.[468] These are only some of the considerations that need to be taken into account.

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[465] ECPAT, 1999:48f.
[466] ECPAT, 1999:48
[467] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009
[468] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

## 2  Possible effects of CYP

It has to be noted that most of the literature on CYP examined here focused almost exclusively on positive effects of CYP (*see Chapter V.3*). Nonetheless, the strong discourse on developing standards and ethical considerations that need to be taken into account when doing CYP show that there is an awareness of negative effects the activities might have. Why this is not communicated in the same way can only be guessed here. The assumption might be that the previous promotion of including CYP and advocating for its implementation and its perception as a right has led to one-sided argumentation and writing about the topic. There are already so many arguments against CYP *(see Chapter VII.3)* that it seems as though nobody promoting the concept would want to give the critics or those who oppose the concept all together more ground. It is rather portrayed in the way that possible "challenges" or "problems" that can come with CYP are acknowledged (but often not explicitly discussed!). These can be avoided by sticking to qualitative, ethical guidelines that have also been developed out of practical experiences. Being asked about possible negative effects on individual children and youth one of the experts refers to these guidelines:

> *"[…] that's why […] we put in place guidelines we put in place principles."*[469]

It is suggested that by only sticking to these guidelines harm can mostly be avoided (of course there are always single cases that fall through the protection net). Further, there are those that implement the guidelines wrongly, incompletely or not at all. In this case negative effects are acknowledged.

> *"[…] States parties must be aware of the potential negative consequences of an inconsiderate practice of this right […]"*[470]

> *"The Committee urges States parties to avoid tokenistic approaches, which limit children's expression of views, or which allow children to be heard, but fail to give their views due weight. It emphasizes that adult manipulation of children, placing children in situations where they are told what they can say, or exposing children to risk of harm through participation are not ethical practices and cannot be understood as implementing article 12."*[471]

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[469] Interview Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[470] Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:9
[471] Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:29

The idea that CYP can have negative effects for certain individuals and certain contexts, even when implemented within the context of the developed guidelines and good practices seems to be neglected. Nonetheless, it is important to note that also these guidelines provide structures that can increase the potential for empowerment by taking certain things, including power relations, into consideration. They will therefore be considered here.

Discussing some of the **ethical considerations** one has to note that it might even be a quality criterion of participation if children are able to say no to CYP in the first place. This doesn't take us to the following considerations, but is rather the starting point of them, where the decision of a child leads to non participation. We must ask ourselves whether the child was asked, whether he/she even wants to participate. Further, we need to consider whether this question was asked by a person whom the child trusts and in an environment he/she could refuse? This consideration is just the tip of the iceberg in a whole field of questions and things to consider before involving children. The Committee on the Rights of the Child in its General Comment on Art. 12 summarizes some of these considerations. Therefore child participation must be a) transparent and informative, especially on the issue on how participation will take place, its scope, purpose and potential impact. It should also be, b) voluntary, c) respectful, including the possibility to initiate ideas and activities, d) relevant, in regards to their own definition of what is relevant and e) child-friendly, f) inclusive, g) supported by training, h) safe and sensitive to risk and i) accountable.[472] In comparison to earlier developed guiding principles, the principles of ownership, influencing decisions and support from adults' experience (therefore showing them that they are not responsible for everything)[473] are missing. These seem to be essentially those that are closest connected to the existing power relations between adults and children.

> *"Young people's participation cannot be discussed without considering power relations and the struggle for equal rights."[474]*

Even though there are standards or guidelines, etc. on ethical considerations, but also organizational considerations[475] when involving children, they need to be considered with

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[472] See Committee on the rights of the child, 2009:29f.

[473] See ECPAT, 1999:51f.

[474] Hart, 1992:6

[475] See i.e. Cutler, David (2003): Organisational Standards and Young People's Participation in Public Decision Making. London: Carnegie Young People Initiative.

every single activity and with every individual child to be effective. Looking at research with children it could already be noted that:

> *"Various ethical codes exist, and in some countries there are Research Ethics Committees which will need to be referred to, but there is no substitute for a full discussion within and beyond the research team of the specific ethical problems raised by a particular project. [...] ideally with representatives of the group/s of children you hope to study, and certainly with people who work with them on a daily basis."*[476]

While this paper wishes to put the concentrate on neither the positive nor the negative effects, this unequal focus within the sources needs to be taken into consideration when reading the following Chapters. By discussing not only on positive effects, but also taking negative effects into consideration, it will be shown that the automatism between participation leading to empowerment and that whole process being positive and having positive effects doesn't reflect the reality of experiences with CYP on a practical level. The following chapters will first look at what other authors have found to be positive and where mentioned, negative effects. Also effects on a practical level, as perceived from the youth interviewed will be added to deepen the perspective. In addition the opinion and experience of the interviewed experts will help and complement what has already been found.

Further instead of mentioning direct negative effects that participation may have, many authors focus on challenges that exist, to accomplish as much participation as possible. These will also be looked at. Because negating the right and possibility to participation in the first place, means that there is not even a chance to have positive or negative effects. As we have discussed before CYP is a right young people have *(see Chapter V.1.6.1).* This does not mean that they have to exercise their right, but they should be able to. Only then can one look at the potential that is within CYP and try to minimize the potential for negative and maximize the potential for positive effects.

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[476] Save the Children, 2004:27f

## 2.1   Individual Level

> *"With the spread of children's participation, criticism is increasing. Much of this criticism is based on first-hand experiences of children's participation. Examples [...] include children who break down in tears at press conferences or who complain about being misled by the sponsoring agency of a consultation [...]"*[477]

As pointed out before, to see empowerment effects, one has to analyze the individual and context level. Nonetheless, useful insight can be drawn from effects that have been recognized on a more general level (occurring with many individuals and therefore being assumed to be possible in general). Still, this is only so, when a balanced view can be created at this general level, which seems currently not the case. Although the quote above shows, that critical voices more and more emerge, also mentioning negative effects CYP can have on groups of and individual children, the focus of the discourse is still on naming positive effects. This is why the general level will be mixed with the individual level here, to try and balance this out and discuss also some of the possible negative effects of CYP that youths and experts have mentioned.

Some negative effects that were mentioned in the literature on CYP on the individual level were based on the critique about the process of CYP. If CYP was not done right, there might be possible negative experiences emerging from it that can cause frustration.

> *"Being refused the possibilities of influencing one's own life situation will create frustration and sometimes apathy [...]"*[478]

These are not negative effects emerging from CYP per se, but are rather argued to be related to a bad implementation of CYP[479]. Whether this distinction is useful in the analysis of possible effects of CYP has to be questioned. As has been pointed out also sticking to the standards and guidelines for empowering, enabling -or whatever you call it- CYP, it can still produce negative effects on an individual level. Not to forget that we need to look at the effects CYP has in a holistic manner. It has been mentioned by one expert that children have been empowered i.e. to speak out or to choose their representatives, etc. within one project that could be regarded as a success. She further

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[477] Percy-Smith/Thomas, 2010:341

[478] Stern, 2006:172

[479] See Stern, 2006:172

points out that these children now might be asking for the same standards and possibilities within the next project or activity, thus promoting CYP[480]. It has to be remembered, though, that when these children ask for CYP that is subsequently not fulfilled anymore, this might, in the whole picture cause greater frustration to single children, than it was causing empowerment in the first place. This is an example where empowerment can have negative effects in a certain context. Closely connected is the level of results. Children and youth might experience empowering effects in the sense of being able to form and voice their opinion, but if it is subsequently not been taken serious, as has been experienced within certain activities[481], this can have negative effects. This is not even to say that the adults working with children don't take them seriously, but it can also be on a higher level, where expectations of children and youth are raised to influence politicians, who then don't take them seriously. Even when taking CYP guidelines into account and telling all children and youth what realistic expectations are, certain individuals might still raise hopes and/or get frustrated with the actual experience anyways.

Also other authors mention negative effects in relation to young people clinging to an unrealistic idea, which cannot be implemented, causing frustration for them. Further the experience of "over-empowerment", where dominant children took advantage and manipulated adults and their peers into the direction they wanted the activities to go and hence a struggle to ensure equal opportunities for all, was mentioned[482]. The direct effects are not mentioned, but we can assume that the above behavior can cause frustration for the child enacting it, as well as for other children and adults involved. Another example where empowerment within the context of CYP can cause negative effects for certain individuals, possibly even for those initially "empowered", when they are told off afterwards.

Within the YPP South Asia negative aspects or challenges were mentioned in connection to the protection aspects that could still be stronger[483]. Although no direct negative effects were mentioned, but only areas where the protection needs to be increased, as well as suggestions which negative effects need to be avoided, this gives a hint as to which negative effects are possible.

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[480] See Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[481] See ECPAT, 1999:80
[482] See ECPAT, 1999:58
[483] The identified risks and recommendations were tried to be considered in the following project phases

> *"The protection aspects are not being as well addressed as the participatory elements. [...] there seem to be a number of physical and emotional protection risks which merit attention."*

As one youth notes:

> *"We require adequate protection and safety while working, especially in the red light areas. We can fall in danger if we do not have a strong support structure behind us when we are carrying out YPP activities in the field"*[484]

One specific protection concern that was found is that of youth being very enthusiastic about helping individual children and youth within the community, causing possible negative effects on them by putting themselves into danger[485]. One youth from another context points out that specifically working in the field of CSEC one can become the target for reprisals from perpetrators oneself.[486]

Further, issues identified to cause possible emotional protection risks were youth being found becoming "overly confident" and thus sometimes arrogant towards other youth, youth finding it hard to adjust between international experiences[487] and facing realities back home, jealousy among youth (see below), dependency on the project, youth finding it difficult "being rejected, disrespected, abused, threatened or at best ignored by communities when they try and do awareness-raising", etc. Although the project as a whole is found to be aware and addressing those risks[488], as has been pointed out before, there can still be negative effects for certain individuals. This is not to say that because of the risk of negative effects for some, there should be less or no CYP, but rather that one should be aware that they need not only be addressed on the level of prevention, by developing guidelines and evaluation by adjusting these guidelines, but that the support structure for the children and youth involved that exists in the background (as in this particular project), is necessary to follow up negative experiences and possibly reduce some of their negative effects. Further, it should be acknowledged, that CYP can also have negative effects and individuals need to know that this is ok and not their own fault. Other issues that were mentioned were the "feeling of inequalities between the different groups", where some youth felt others were receiving more training, etc. Further it was

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[484] Crispin, 2007:10

[485] See Naik, 2007:13

[486] See Interview C, 27.08.2009

[487] This was also found within other contexts- see Lansdown, 2003:16

[488] See Naik, 2007:15

mentioned that some youth were unable to attend certain activities, due to other responsibilities.[489] This is in contrast to attending CYP activities and missing out on other responsibilities having possibly negative effects, as has been described above. Nonetheless, this can have negative effects on certain youth, who might feel left out, etc.

Some of these protection issues are similar to the story of one expert, where she describes a CYP activity that was set up in a too personal way, giving out the private telephone numbers of the youth involved. In one case this got to the point where one "client" was constantly calling one youth.[490] This can provoke negative effects on the individual, although this must not necessarily be the case and is connected to the reaction of the CYP organizational structure within which this specific activity was set up.

Another expert mentions that in her experiences with children and young people in CYP, there are often individuals who seem to be "over-engaging". They want to save the whole world at the same time and when they realize that this is not possible, get frustrated to an extent that must be seen as having negative effects on them. Then there is a second group that don't "over-engage", but get frustrated all the same due to overburden. They too set their goals too high and when they see they can't be fulfilled this causes frustration[491]. Especially with social topics, such as CSEC, this can easily be the case, as the goal to free all children from CSEC is very utopist. One youth agrees with this in that he thinks there might easily be the conclusion that what is done is not enough.

> *"[...] I think the most shocking thing about it is to know that this thing exists and children are the victims, yet we don't know how many children are involved in it and the gravity of their situations. How could you help them? Of course we advocate for policy changes and so on, but it's still not enough in my own view. [...] That's the sad reality of this work. Children are victimized every day. To save one is a great joy but then you realize there are thousands from around the world who are being victimized."[492]*

„Over-engaging" in order to save the whole world, leading to subsequent frustration when one finds out it is not possible, is closely connected to the negative effects that Over-involvement, for whatever reason can have. Of course the cause,

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[489] See Naik, 2007:12
[490] See Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010
[491] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009
[492] Interview C, 27.08.2009

especially when working within the fight against CSEC, might often be the social goal one fights for, but can also be career thinking, etc. One youth describes that if CYP is fun at the same time, as it is supposed to be, then one might easily do too much. This again is affecting other things, such as studies, or other responsibilities one might have. It is unbalancing one's responsibilities, up to the point where important activities such as education, etc. are getting out of focus. It seems as though the immediate CYP activities are more pressing than advancing one's education, which can also be done at a later point.[493]

This example of getting priorities out of balance and causing negative effects has also been mentioned within other research, where i.e. nutrition and education were affected negatively by a CYP activity. Children within a project chose to save money rather than spend it on food or spent more time working to earn money for their group savings, instead of going to school.[494] One youth even describes her health being affected by her voluntary over-engagement[495].

On the other hand, it might not be the youth who are over-engaging, but the adults, who want to provide as much space for CYP as possible. One youth describes her experience at an international meeting, where a three-hour session was to be summarized in partnership between a young person and an adult. When the adult wanted to allow for more CYP, almost the entire responsibility to fulfill this challenging task was given to the youth, which caused "unnecessary stress".[496]

Further, it might not always be totally voluntary over-engagement of children and young people that can cause them stress or get their priorities out of balance. As CYP structures are often set-up in a way that involves also friendships between the youth and engaging during one's free time, the borders between private and working life can be blurred[497]. This is on the one hand important for the set-up of the youth structures *(see Chapter VII. 1.2),* but on the other hand one youth describes how this already caused her and others stress, when being contacted on weekends or during times when other things had to be done and not being able to decline due to social pressure. In addition youth, in

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[493] See Interview E, 25.08.2009
[494] See ECPAT, 1999:80
[495] See Interview H, 02.09.2009
[496] ECPAT International, 2008:83
[497] See Interview E, 25.08.2009

contrast to people being involved in working life already, might not be able to set boundaries as easily and know where their limits are[498].

> *"The other thing is that if you are not self disciplined, you might be very distracted by your youth work to the extent that you lose sight of your education and other important thing."[499]*

This over-engagement, together with an unbalance in priorities even caused one member of the youth group of one interviewed youth to leave the group due to too much stress and not being able to advance her studies, also showing negative effects of overburden on her[500]. A similar case was described by another youth, who says that a colleague of hers resigned and "lost will to change anything", due to too much stress on the international level.[501]

> *"Well ehm she had some issues at her college, she had some issues with moving from one country to another, plus she had some issues with her work, because she had two works in order to support herself and eh I think that people who were working with her both in local organization and on international level didn't realize how pressured she was when she was writing emails like ok people I can't deal with this now. I know that the project is going on and the meeting is in two weeks, but I am having a lot of stress here and I am not sure if I will be able to do this. But the emails which keep coming like please take a look at this 60 pages in 2 days because we need your comment, etc. and after that meeting she resigned and I was sharing room with her on that meeting and eh she was like I need two weeks from everybody to just leave me alone. When I say I can't I really can't I am not you know some mums girl, [...] who is screaming I can't all the time. I really can't and [...] few weeks after that she had like a nerve breakdown and she said like ok, now I have to start all over and I don't want any commitments in my life. [...] I am not saying that she had this really bad situation only because her involvement in NGO sector, but it did, it was one of the things that eh that stressed her life [...]"[502]*

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[498] See Interview F, 28.08.2009
[499] See Interview C, 27.08.2009
[500] See Interview E, 25.08.2009
[501] See Interview D, 01.09.2009
[502] Interview D, 01.09.2009

She further mentions that in a situation where one individual of a youth structure is having a negative experience, it can be really frustrating, causing strong negative feelings of disappointment, and other, when this negative experience is neither dealt with nor acknowledged by the peer group or the adult structure.[503]

Stress can also be caused, when too much responsibility is given to youth or too many topics need to be covered i.e. at international meetings, as was the experience of one youth interviewed.[504]

Another possible negative effect that was mentioned by one expert she experienced with youth she worked with was that at points, some youth seem to become "professional" youth in that sense that they are detaching from their peer group and take being a youth as profession in itself. Their self-esteem seemed to be overly enacted and they started to speak in phrases, as politicians may do. Not the representation and the topic seemed important, but just being able to speak and stand in front of a public audience. This can get to the point where they just want to be in public and become sort of famous themselves, instead of representing a group. Related to this experience are cases where youth start to fight with any means to advance their career with taking part in CYP activities, instead of representing or participating for the topic.[505]

In connection to the community youth are embedded in one youth describes having had negative experiences causing her frustration with family and peers. In her case her involvement in social causes/NGOs was not always uncritically taken by her peers and community. Even the lack of interest for the cause she is really concerned for or for activities she actively engages in by people close to her, caused her frustration. Further she describes the phenomenon where her peers have somehow blamed her for taking part in other social activities than she was previously engaged with together with them, taking away some of her time from the ones where she was formerly active[506]. This seems to be a case of competition between social causes, which might easily be the case with youth who are motivated and engaged maybe not only for one topic or within one organization only. This can cause stress in addition to the stress that over-involvement poses, as one feels bad for "abandoning" or not taking so much time as before for the previous cause.

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[503]See Interview D, 01.09.2009
[504] See Interview D, 01.09.2009
[505] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009
[506] See Interview G, 01.09.2009

Regarding **positive effects of CYP on an individual level,** they seem to be discussed more widely as one author summarizes findings from several other sources.

> *"The benefits of participation are well established and have been found to include enhancement of skills, capacity, competence and self-esteem [...]; improved self-efficacy [...], strengthening of social, negotiation and judgment skills through trial, error and compromise [...]; as well as increased protection, as a result of having the opportunity to identify issues and be heard [...] It is also well argued that participation has social benefits in that it contributes to an increased understanding of the democratic process and to the development of notions of citizenship."[507]*

All of the above mentioned general positive effects CYP can have on the individual level could also be found within the literature examined for this thesis and will therefore only be discussed in further detail where this seems necessary or slightly different or new aspects emerged. This might generate a slight imbalance to the previously discussed negative effects, which is in no case representative to the findings on a practical level, where at least as many positive, if not more effects than negative ones have been mentioned. It is rather trying to balance out the over-emphasis that has already been given to the discussion of positive effects, as well as the fact that youth themselves focus on positive effects. This can also be a hint as to what they find acceptable to experience and talk about when discussing the effects CYP has on them.

A useful categorization was found with one author that labels impacts of CYP on a personal level to be happening in the area of

- "subjective power": including improvement of self- esteem, security, autonomy, self-awareness as a subject of rights, information, the development of capabilities in being able to express one's feelings and ideas, mastering social skills and the ability to assume responsibility, as well as the protection against the impact of risk factors,
- "effects on feelings about life": including reduction of hopelessness, increased positive dimensions of the present, better knowledge of individual rights and interest in preserving life, structuring of goals, affirmation of the ability to achieve, placing a value on training, strengthening of resources to implement projects

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[507] Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:233

- "constructive interrelationships": including tolerance, ability to establish personal interrelationships and dialogue, conflict management, critical sense of reality, participation in decision taking

- "equal participation in group activity": including listening skills, equality in letting speak and speaking, confidence in communication, capability of helping others to participate, horizontal communication, group reflection and evaluation, etc.[508]

Such categorization can be especially useful when looking for indicators to measure effects (including empowerment effects) of participation.

The importance of positive, active involvement of children and youth in general is seen to promote their resilience. As lined out above children and youth are not just vulnerable human beings, incapable of their own care and protection. Rather, they can deal with a lot of things, if they have to, as is the case i.e. in many conflict situations. If we look at this specific setting of CYP in relation to conflicts, it becomes clear that it can have positive effects. Not all children and youth- even if there are many, bear psychological damage i.e. after a conflict or crisis.[509] Especially those that were able to manage some situations themselves already, and are therefore participating in one way or the other[510] are more resilient and might gain competences from during the time of conflict.[511]

> *"Strong ideological commitment, although it encourages soldiering, is associated with reduced anxiety and depression. This pattern of evidence shows that children are not passive victims but are active in the face of adversity. […] active coping strategies reduce psychological stress and dysfunction more effectively than passive coping strategies."[512] "[…] there is some evidence that children who try actively to overcome adversity- by attempting to resolve the problem they face, regulate their emotions, protect their self- esteem and*

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[508] UNICEF, 2003:31f.

[509] See Boyden, Jo (2003): 'Children Under Fire: Challenging assumptions about children's resilience' in Children, Youth and Environments, Vol. 13, No. 1, From: UNICEF (2006): Child and Youth Participation Resource Guide. UNICEF East Asia and Pacific Regional Office, Bangkok

[510] As it was even found out that negative participation in the form of child soldiering can leave positive impacts in terms of children and youths empowerment and resilience- see Wessells, Michael (1998): Children, Armed Conflict, and Peace. Journal of Peace Research, vol.35, no.5, pp.635-646. From: http://www.jstor.org/stable/425703, last access: 25.4.09, p. 642

[511] See Feinstein, Claire/O'Kane, Claire (2008): Adult's War and Young Generation's Peace. Global Report. Children's participation in armed conflict, post conflict and peace building. Save the Children Norway, p.87

[512] Wessells, 1998:642

> *manage their social interactions- are likely to be more resilient than children who accept their fate passively".[513]*

This in turn gives them the feeling of capability, promoting their self-esteem and helping them again survive even harder fates. Further CYP is seen to possibly reduce risky behaviors.[514] This same connection between CYP and children and youth who have experienced CSEC is also proclaimed.

> *"Through their participation, girls and boys- survivors of sexual exploitation and those at risk- can highlight the violations they experience and, as agents of change, take action to prevent and address abuse and exploitation. They can therefore be effective advocates for realizing their protection rights."[515]*

Also the YPP South Asia project evaluation found positive effects on the youth involved.

> *"The project is making a visible positive difference to youth directly involved in its work and this aspect is considered to be its main achievement. All the youth groups met by the evaluator felt the project had made a substantive difference to their lives and cited a number of changes [...] Youth observed [...] changes in their lives which are indicative of a real and tangible empowering effect."[516]*

Besides the already mentioned aspects of increased self-confidence, protection ability, etc., the YPP South Asia found some other individual positive effects that are worth mentioning. Among them were gained personal qualities, such as patience, feeling more responsible and sensitive, as well as understanding towards other people. Further the youth pointed out that having positive influence on the lives of other people, especially youth in difficult situations, were also a positive effect for them[517]. This was also noted by another youth in a different context.[518]

> *"The ability of youth to speak up was particularly noted [...]: they were very shy and under confident before, they did not want to take part in activities, they were not very free with staff but now they open up, share their concerns, are more*

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[513] Boyden, 2003:7

[514] See Kirby/Lanyon, 2003:140

[515] Feinstein, Clare/O'Kane, Claire (2009): Children's and Adolescents' participation and protection from sexual abuse and exploitation. Innocenti working paper, 2009-09. Florence:UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, p.1

[516] Naik, 2007:6

[517] See Naik, 2007:7

[518] See Interview C, 27.08.2009

> *aware of dangers around them and don't blame themselves so much for what has happened to them"* [519]

In this quote it can also be noted that the reduction of guilt for what happened to the youth who experienced CSEC was also noted as a positive effect, as was the ability to participate as such.

> *"There seems to be a correlation between greater involvement in the project and the degree of positive psycho-social development".* [520]

This again points at the interrelation between participation, CYP and empowerment *(see also Chapters VI. and VII.).*

Also in general, children and youth participating within the fight against CSEC might be more easily able to self-identify themselves as victims of sexual abuse.

Benefits and competences that could be found among some children and youth from a 4 country study in the post- conflict setting were in line with the above described findings. It can be seen that due to the context in which CYP takes place, also effects can vary. Effects that were found in this study were: increased values such as respect, tolerance, forgiveness and empathy, which brought them hope, healing and better acceptance in the community, new and improved friendships, increased knowledge on different subjects, increased skills in communication, negotiation, conflict-resolution, research, analysis, documentation and advocacy, more confidence to express themselves and participate, act as good role models, mobilize, involve and train their peers, etc.[521] But also for themselves they are better able to protect themselves and are less likely to engage in substance abuse or other unhealthy lifestyles and risky behavior.[522] Besides that just the contributions and activities children and youth are doing by participating, such as counseling their peers, tutoring, working in shelters, etc., are themselves valuable contributions to community development[523] *(see also Chapter VII.2.2).* So is their individual attitudes, that are with positive engagement fostering and contributing to peace, respect for others and inclusion.[524]

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[519] Naik, 2007:7

[520] Naik, 2007:7

[521] See Feinstein/O'Kane, 2008:119

[522] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:18

[523] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:21

[524] See Feinstein/O'Kane, 2008:102

Further worth mentioning is the level of effects on increasing group skills, which seem to be especially important in CYP settings.[525] This is connected to the effect that was found of having a greater sense of social responsibility.[526] Organizations[527], as well as youth themselves have also noted the positive effects CYP can have on their career prospects.[528] One expert mentions that one positive effect from the time when she was still participating was that she lost some of her naiveness.[529] Another expert notes the fact that she has seen youth develop beyond their immediate potential as positive, which is closely connected to an increase in empowerment. Further she points out that an opinion change in some cases can be a positive effect, when i.e. work of politicians can be valued. Then she has seen in some youth how CYP has affected their future, as especially in the case of decision which profession to choose, or where one's abilities are, but also in other ways. Particularly cases where CYP has in some way helped to give direction, in this regard, were experienced to be positive by her.[530] One youth confirms that, when she says that CYP helped her find her "role", noticing where she has strengths and abilities and orienting towards them in her choice for profession.[531]

Other positive effects in addition to the ones above mentioned by the youth interviewed were better ability for time management[532], meeting new people, especially making friends[533], contributing to social causes[534], being more open-minded towards other cultures and religions[535]. One youth mentions that her concept of participation developed further, as did her insight that she is not alone with some problems, but that there are many others facing the same difficulties.[536]

Participation can also have "indirect" effects on children and youth who don't seem to participate actively, but are affected by the participation of their peers (see also the following chapter). One youth explains for example, that even not so outspoken

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[525] See Kirby/Lanyon, 2003:139

[526] See Lansdown, 2003:15

[527] See Lansdown, 2003:16

[528] See EICYAC (eds.), 2008:8, 16,23

[529] See Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010

[530] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

[531] See Interview D, 01.09.2009

[532] See Interview E, 25.08.2009

[533] See EICYAC (eds.), 2008:14,20,23, as well as Interview H, 02.09.2009

[534] See especially Interview H, 02.09.2009 and Interview with Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, 03.05.2010

[535] See Interview D, 01.09.2009

[536] See Interview A, 30.11.2008

children in her experience would be profiting from the participation of others in the sense that they listen to peers and discuss the issues in smaller groups later on, therefore opening up their own discussion in "spaces" that feel comfortable and safe to them.[537]

But even with positive effects it has been noted that a certain level of empowerment before CYP is increasing the potential within CYP.

> *"Inevitably, some children- those who learn more easily, are more extrovert, and have greater leadership potential- tend to gain more, or at least gain more rapidly, than others."[538]*

This again points at the fact that even with CYP activities having a strong potential for empowerment, we need to look at the individual level to analyze its effects.

Last but not least, as has been pointed out before (see Chapter VII. 1.2.1), the relation between CYP and positive of negative effects cannot always be established as a direct one. Rather, the bigger context needs to be taken into account, as was also found during the evaluation of the YPP South Asia project.

> *"Whether it is possible to attribute these positive changes to the project itself is another matter for consideration. Youth involved are often receiving a package of services from the local partner organizations including shelter, food, schooling, vocational training so it is hard to disentangle the effect of these different elements. However, there was a sense that the project itself was making a difference when comparing YPP and non-YPP youth serviced by the same partner."[539]*

## 2.2    For adults, organizations and the community

There are several levels on how CYP can bring important contributions on an organizational and community level. This is combined with the level of effects on adults, as within the literature, as well as in daily lives (as it is always adults or children and youth who are within a community and organizations) this is often mixed. It has already

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[537] See Interview G, 01.09.2009

[538] Black, Maggie (2004): Opening Minds, Opening Up Opportunities. Children's participation in action for working children. London: International Save the Children Alliance, p.15

[539] See Naik, 2007:8

been pointed out that it is important to be included *(see Chapter V.3),* although the data available is limited.

The first and most obvious connection to effects of CYP on an organizational level is probably when children and youth engage themselves in organizations. These can be youth or adult led, or a mixture of both *(see Chapter V.2.2).* Positive impacts, especially from involving young people on a decision making level, that could be found from a study done in the USA on organizations and adults working within them were: adults seeing young people being competent, start to change their negative assumption and see young people as *"legitimate, crucial contributors to organizational decision-making"*[540].

This is also in line with the opinion of one of the experts interviewed for this thesis. As she points out, a positive experience with CYP might change the mindset of adults.

> *" [...]it makes adults believe that children [...] don't just dance and sing, you don't have to tell them what to do, children and young people have this capacity, you know through gaining experience, through gaining knowledge, through working [...] on their own issues, identifying their issues, knowing, understanding what they can do about them, taking up their own issues doing advocacy. So they have tremendous capacities and I think it changes the mindset of adults and that they begin to see [...] children really have something to offer [...] "*[541]

CYP can be seen to contribute to more equitable relations between adults and children[542], thus having also positive effects on the community and society level.

Then, working with youth seemed to strengthen the commitment and the energy of adults, making them feel more effective and confident working with youth and understanding their needs and concerns better[543]. As one of the interviewed experts pointed out, the achievements that she had together with the children and youth she worked with, made her proud. In addition, she also mentions, that the working with

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[540] Innovation Center for Community and Youth Development (2001): At the table: making the case for Youth in Decision- making. Research Highlights from a study on the impacts of youth on adults and organizations. Madison: University of Wisconsin, p.1

[541] Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010

[542] Cussiánovich/Márquez, 2002:14

[543] See Innovation Center, 2001:1f and Lansdown, 2003:15

children and young people enables her to know how to act on a political level, what to advocate for[544].

On the other side, negative experiences with CYP might also encourage adults in their previously formed prejudices. They might even be sympathetic to the idea of CYP, but feel uncomfortable when having to implement it[545]. This can be due to lack of knowledge, etc. and can possibly cause negative experiences. Unfortunately, there has not been much research into negative effects on adults, which would also be necessary.

Further these effects are not automatic, as has been pointed out. One youth points to the fact, that within her context, the attitudes of adults are still a challenge to their CYP.

> *"Project findings showed that relationships between adults and youth remain somewhat conflicted, [...] Furthermore, it was evident that young people are not afforded the credibility required for them to lead social projects."[546]*

It highlights that many adults, but also young people themselves don't have the trust that young people can effectively manage social projects and initiatives related to CYP, even with strong support to do so.[547]

On an organizational level CYP helped to bring clarity and focus to the organization's mission, strengthening the organization in the sense of making it more relevant to the actual lives of youth. It also aids to get funding as well as helping organizations to reach out to the community in more diverse ways.[548]

In addition a feeling of stronger community connectedness could be identified.[549]

> The *"organizations involving youth at all levels of decision-making were most likely to achieve positive outcomes."[550]*

Another paper found the following additional benefits on organizations, adults and communities: CYP improves program efficiency, giving also unique perspectives in

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[544] See Interview with Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, 01.09.2009

[545] See Lansdown, Gerison (2001): Promoting Children's Participation in Democratic Decision-Making. UNICEF Innocenti Insight, Florence:UNICEF, p.v

[546] ECPAT International (ed.) (2008): ECPAT Youth Journal. Bangkok: ECPAT International, from: http://ecpat.com/EI/Publications/CYP/Youth_Journal.pdf, last access: 01.04.2010, p.77

[547] See ECPAT International (ed.), 2008:77

[548] See Innovation Center, 2001:2f.

[549] See Innovation Center, 2001:1f.

[550] Innovation Center, 2001:2

regards to policy-making and decision- making, introducing a more long-term view to the general short-term thinking of governments, further boasting creativity in looking beyond well established ways of doing things, leading to new solutions.[551] CYP is said to ensure the child-friendliness, adequacy and appropriateness of policies and other measures, in general.[552] Most of these mentioned effects could also be found in other organizations and settings.

Especially the argument of positive effects on the services for children and young people is often included. This can be "improved client support", which in turn improves the experience of the clients with the organization, being connected to the "improved access to and use of services" by clients who have made positive experiences with them due to their quality. Then improved service accountability is also mentioned.[553] Especially for child rights organizations it is said to *"establish greater consistency between principles and practice",* giving the organization greater legitimacy. As with adults, CYP has been found to challenge underlying assumptions on children and youth of the organization and its policies[554].

In addition, Save the Children found that CYP within their organization enabled them to also reach out to "hard-to-reach" children through peer programs[555]. The youth group within ECPAT Austria, further points out that given the possibility by the adult organization to conduct their own activities and projects and be supported in doing so, creates more willingness to help out with adult activities, thus creating a mutually benefiting situation for both the youth structure and the adult organization. Further their involvement within the organization (whether within the youth or the adult structures) is seen to benefit the organization also in that sense, that knowledge and training is given to people at an early stage, who might become professional staff later, being motivated by their experience, but also being trained and professional to some point already.[556] Also, the benefit of having access to high levels of creative thinking and attitudes of young people, such as their enthusiasm, as well as new ideas for the organization doing CYP was pointed out by other organizations.[557]

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[551] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:18f.
[552] See Feinstein/O'Kane, 2009:1, Lansdown, 2003:14
[553] See Kirby/Lanyon, 2003:50f.
[554] Lansdown, Gerison (2003): Involvement of children and young people in shaping the work of Save the Children. A report to the SC-UK Board, UK:Save the Children, p.14
[555] Lansdown, 2003:15
[556] See EICYAC (eds.), 2008:10, this has already been the case for the particular organization.
[557] See EICYAC (eds.), 2008:34

> *"They [youth, add. of the author] develop some of the most amazing programs, and they challenge outmoded conceptions."*[558]

On a community level of CYP in post-conflict settings for example, it was found to have positive effects on teachers and schools, increasing their respect for children, decreasing use of corporal punishment and humiliating treatment, as well as decreasing bullying and discrimination among peers. These adults advocate and support increasingly children's participation on other levels of society. Children's associations and organizations are further recognized more and more as key institutions of civil society.[559] So on some levels CYP creates even more opportunity for CYP, thus increasing the opportunity of children and youth to participate actively in the community and in society. It might even generate a greater amount of government support for CYP initiatives and contributing towards developing more mechanisms that continue to guarantee CYP, as was found within one research.[560]

Further, children and young people's involvement in the community is said to not only have positive effects on them, by fostering long-term development of citizenship and sense of local responsibility, but through these "improved" citizens the positive effects are also affecting the community in return.[561] This is connected to the positive effects that CYP might have when children and youth are participating towards another goal of society (i.e. fighting the CSEC). Therefore, through CYP, children and young people contribute to the strength of civil society as a whole.[562]

Within the project of the YPP South Asia, it was found that by targeting the community in specific, youth through their participation and taking on new roles in their communities, were able to raise awareness, support others and mobilize community action.

> *"In doing so, they challenge in positive ways the stereotypes and prejudices that people hold against them. It is clear that participation can be a powerful tool to […] address discrimination."*[563]

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[558] EICYAC (eds.), 2008:14

[559] See Save the Children Norway, 2008:120

[560] See Cussiánovich/Márquez, 2002:14

[561] See Hart, 2002:15

[562] UNICEF (2003): Building participation with adolescents: Conceptual systematization and strategic guidelines. Panama City: UNICEF Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, p.33

[563] See Feinstein/O'Kane, 2009:46

This was also found in earlier CYP projects that were doing advocacy work in communities[564].

Then YPP youth did not only fight their own stigmatization, by changing attitudes within the community and being able to get their support at points where this wasn't the case before[565]. But by reaching out to the community, they often could help individual youth, by e.g. assisting them out of difficult situations of various types, also referring complicated cases to trained caregivers, thus in any case helping the children and youth within the community[566]. In one particular example it was even described how helping one girl out of a difficult situation (namely child marriage), this triggered a change in the local law by the village chairman punishing such acts.[567] However, in this specific context, it is also mentioned that the direct positive effects have been stronger with youth directly involved, than those whom they have been working with in the community.[568]

It must also not be forgotten that the intervention of the youth within the community are challenging existing power relations, also provoking rejection of their activities by certain members of the communities (as has been the case)[569] and thus possibly increasing tension between the youth and the community, as well as between other actors being supportive and those being dismissive of CYP in the community. So the effects need to be more evenly analyzed as to positive and negative outcomes, still.

Further CYP activities are creating spaces where dialogue between children, youth and adults can take place[570]. As young people are often marginalized due to their age, this per se must be seen as a positive effect on the community, although the individual effects CYP has is not known and can only be analyzed on an individual and context level.

But although these positive effects need to be acknowledged, one expert points also at the lack of understanding of effects and impacts (especially negative ones) on this level of adult, organizational and community effects.

> *"[...] it [CYP, add. Of the author] informs your policies, it informs your programs it informs your decision making as an adult [...], I think there is still not enough of that and I think it's still not clear enough what impact children's*

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[564] See ECPAT, 1999:77
[565] See Crispin, 20007:10
[566] See Naik, 2007:8, as well as ECPAT International (eds.), 2008:56
[567] See Crispin, 2007:9
[568] See Naik, 2007:8
[569] See Naik, 2007:13
[570] See ECPAT, 1999:78

> *participation is having at that level and I think that we now need to also be much better at looking at [...]"*[571]

Some possible negative effects on the community levels when focusing only on a specific target group have been discussed in *Chapter V. 1.10*. Although there was only a hint to negative effects of CYP activities on the community, it was in line with previous critique on the concept and implementation of participation in development in general. There might be negative effects on this level when the focus on some children or youth is creating tension within the community[572]. These issues need to be considered and analyzed closer in general and before, during and after each activity.

## 3  Challenges to CYP

As has been said before, it is important to look at the challenges of CYP, because if no CYP is implemented at all, the potential for any effects through it is denied (including positive ones). Further, the challenges on a general level also give a hint as to negative effects on an individual level

Some of the main challenges to CYP, besides the ones being neglected here due to their rejection of the concept of CYP or general fear of it, can be seen in the image of childhood and youth *(see Chapter V.1.6)*. This image forms specific attitudes, which then influence behavior towards children and youth and their active, positive participation. An "attitude is defined as a 'settled mode of thinking'"[573]. There can be several attitudes towards children within one person, according to his/her specific role (i.e. as professional, as mother, etc.).[574] Psychology long ago discovered that due to the huge amount of information we are receiving every second, we have to make a choice in what we perceive.

> *"We perceive [...] what we want to see, taking notice of what is important to us at the moment. Less important elements can be disregarded".*[575]

Therefore, it can never objectively be said what children and youth can and can't do as it will depend on who perceives and also what we are told by society is important to

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[571] Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[572] See Interview with Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, 02.05.2010
[573] Flekkoy, 1992:135
[574] See Flekkoy, 1992:135
[575] Flekkoy, 1992:146

perceive. Further, even in more objectively oriented science, like development psychology, truths about children change all the time. What was believed 30 years ago is not true today. New observations, studies etc. lead to new ideas and views about children.

> *"We may also stress what children are unable to do, overlooking what they can do, perhaps because they do things in other ways than older children or adults."[576]*

These adult attitudes often hinder children and youth in expressing their views, trusting in their capacities and valuing their contributions.[577] While often it is the image of a child to be protected that hinders their active involvement[578], in many contexts even negative assumptions seem to prevail as can be seen in the following statement: *"[...] some among these recent texts have portrayed youth as deviants, criminals or simply ill-informed."[579]* Adults on the other hand are seen as more superior, knowledgeable and mature.[580] This challenge is also called "Adultism", meaning "*the oppression of all young people that happens from the day they are born simply because of their young age."[581]* A manifestation is when youth are not taken seriously simply because of their age, as one youth described from her own experience.

> *"but sometimes of course I feel some kind of discrimination because people are trying to say to me that I don't have enough kind of expertise of something, yes, enough knowledge or experience, but when I am starting to tell them "you are wrong, because I am involved in this activity for 10 years and I eh made a lot of different things and different kind of jobs" and so sometimes I am struggling with experts from other institutions, especially from governmental institutions for trying to show them that if I am young it doesn't mean that I don't have enough knowledge in something and expertise in something, so this is like also one of the challenge." [582]*

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[576] Flekkoy, 1992:145
[577] See Save the Children Norway, 2008:100
[578] See i.e. ECPAT, 1999:58
[579] African Child Policy Forum (2006b): Youth participation. Concepts, models and experiences. African Child Policy Forum, Addis Ababa, From: http://www.africanchildforum.org/Documents/participation.pdf, last access: 26.4.09, p.6
[580] See Development Workshop Angola, 2007:13
[581] Fletcher, Adam/Vavrus, Joseph (2006): The Guide to Social change Led by and with Young people. Olympia: Common Action, p.6
[582] See Interview H, 02.09.2009

In this specific case the youth herself can be regarded as an expert due to her long experience, not only because she has a specific view and represents her age group. This "discrimination" that she describes might be even felt harder by young people who want to bring in their opinion or represent an age group, without backing this up by 10 years of practical experience in the subject.

> *"One of the most damaging [preconceived ideas about children, addition of the author] is the stereotypical perception that regards children as being partially formed, needy, weak, irresponsible and prone to error. Alternatively adults are regarded as strong, competent, responsible and paternalistic towards the needs of the child."[583]*

Especially the lack of parental support or the resistance from one's own community to participation is a hindrance[584]. Also the lack of awareness of the importance of CYP (i.e. from schools[585]) can be a challenge. This is closely connected to the challenge that dominant cultural norms can pose to CYP. These norms usually define and influence roles and opportunities for young people to participate and can in turn become an obstacle.[586]

Other general challenges to CYP mentioned are the lack of access to education and training, limited roles for youth in collecting information and research, HIV/AIDS, youth un- and underemployment, discrimination and violence against girls, youth cynicism about politics, the lack of constructive outlets for young people[587], organizational culture (i.e. autocratic style of leadership) and institutional resistance against CYP, high turnover among young people, youth poverty, lack of funding, lack of skills and training, etc.[588]

Further, in some instances young people themselves have recognized that the power relations among them as a group can also be a constraint for effective and meaningful CYP and have to be addressed. Sometimes it can happen that the most outspoken youth are male and educated, which hinders a more inclusive and

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[583] World Vision (2000): Child Participation: challenges of empowerment. Discussion Papers, number 9, Milton Keynes: World Vision UK, p.19
[584] See ECPAT, 1999:58
[585] See Interview E, 25.8.2009
[586] See Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:358
[587] See African Child Policy Forum, 2006b:33ff.
[588] See ECPAT; 1999:59

representative participation process.[589] This is also important when having intercultural CYP, where some youth might be used to interrupting during conversation and speaking loudly, when others are shyer or just quieter in their communication culture. Naturally, the ones who are the loudest and most aggressive in their way of communication gain most attention for their opinion, when this is not balanced out in some way. One of the youth interviewed noted this as a problem that she herself identified during her involvement.[590]

Other challenges to CYP mentioned are that it is in general not so easy to find organizations where one can actively be involved and in specific possibilities for supporting the fight against CSEC are rare[591].

Some challenges derived from practical experience of the NATs- the Working Children's Movement of Latin America and the Caribbean, where it can be seen that even an increase in theoretical consideration of CYP still poses challenges to a broader understanding and implementation of CYP:

> *"The children observe that they now have rights, but that these are not respected in practice and have no practical consequences."*
> *"The children observe that they are on the whole listened to nowadays, but that their views and proposals are not taken account of in concrete decisions."[592]*

This is also been confirmed by one of the youth interviewed.[593]

> *"The children observe that they are supposed to be protected from danger, but are given no opportunity to cooperate in programmes for their protection."[594]*

In addition, there are not only the general challenges to start CYP, or the practical ones to implement it, but there are also challenges that are process-related. As described above, many of those challenges have been tried to be avoided by designing standards and ethical considerations, etc. Still, if CYP is not done according to these standards, this in itself might be a challenge, as negative experiences generate reservations among various actors, towards the idea of implementing CYP. Furthermore, a subject that is closely related to the ethical consideration to have a follow-up and present to the children and

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[589] See Save the Children Norway, 2008:122f.
[590] See Interview D, 01.09.2009
[591] See Interview G, 01.09.2009
[592] Liebel/Overwien/Recknagel, 2001:173
[593] See Interview G, 01.09.2009
[594] Liebel/Overwien/Recknagel, 2001:175

youth the results of their participation is the issue of sustainability. One youth described from her experience that she took part in a project where the youth were trained to be trainers. This was in secondary school. After being trained, they were expected to give trainings in their school. This though, wasn't part of the core project anymore, therefore support in this regard was neither planned nor given. The enthusiasm of the youth quickly went away when they were confronted with their anxieties and practical problems of doing trainings in their school without much support. In the end, she concludes that it was a fun weekend being educated as a trainer, but that the expectations of them were much higher than they could fulfill in the end, which made them think they had failed the activity and on a personal level. This wasn't causing much frustration to her at the time, as she was resilient in the sense that this project wasn't a major part in her life. Still, the outcome of the project was very small[595]. This small story from a practical level shows that even activities that consider all the ethical guidelines and are doing "everything right", when they don't consider the context or are by themselves designed with a too narrow focus, not being aimed at sustainability, might also be a hindrance to CYP (in this example peer to peer education), maybe even having negative effects such as frustration for the youth involved *(see also Chapter VII. 2.1)*. Another related challenge mentioned by one of the youth in relation to her own youth organization is that of knowledge transfer. When a high turnover of volunteers is normal in CYP (as mentioned above), youth themselves, as well as adults need to think how the knowledge gained by the young people participating can be held within the organization. They have to put a lot of effort into this, in addition to finding new volunteers and all of this next to their ongoing work and activities[596], which again might cause stress and other negative effects when not managed consciously *(see Chapter V. 2.1.)*

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[595] See Interview F, 28.08.2009
[596] See Interview H, 02.09.2009

# VIII. Conclusion

Participation and empowerment are often interchangeably connected. Participation can lead to empowerment as much as empowerment can result in participation. Participation can have positive effects, which lead to empowerment; likewise it can have negative effects. A certain level of empowerment might even only enable participation. Although this might be true for some, there is no general relationship of more participation leading to more empowerment, more participation leading to less empowerment, more empowerment leading to less participation and more empowerment leading to more participation. It has to be analyzed on an individual level within the specific context.

> *„Greater critical scrutiny must now be focused on analyzing the differences between conceptual ideals of participation and the reality of specific situations of children"[597]*

It could be seen that some specific structures and set-ups of "spaces" for participation have more potential for empowerment than others. This shows on the one hand that there are structures and contexts in which CYP can per se be targeted at something else than empowerment. On the other hand it points at the potential that CYP has, when the structures and "spaces" that exist are taken into consideration and targeted at empowerment. Especially analyzing and keeping the power structures within and around these "spaces" in mind is an important element of being able to increase the empowerment potential CYP can have. This is not to say that the effects, even within structures and spaces with a high potential for empowerment, are the same for all children and youth participating. Some will have positive, but others will also have negative experiences. It has also been shown in this thesis that negative effects, although not as widely discussed as the positive effects, do exist and should thus be acknowledged and more openly discussed. For some individual children and youth their participation experience, be they positive or negative, will have negative or positive effects. No general conclusion can be drawn in this regard, but to notice that more inquiry needs to be taken into the practical level where CYP takes place, analyzing the specific effects it has in particular contexts on certain individuals.

Nonetheless CYP as such is a right and exercising this right must be granted to all children and youth as widely as possible. The exercise of a right can never per se be

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[597] Graham/Whelan/Fitzgerald, 2006:232

positive or negative, only its effects. The cooperation between children and youth, as well as with adults seems crucial in this regard.

> *"Also, children's participation does not diminish adults' roles and responsibilities. On the contrary, it increases the challenge to scaffold children's participation effectively and appropriately in respect to their situation and capacities."[598]*

CYP is a partnership between the different stakeholders in setting up, implementing and improving enabling structures and "spaces" for it.

> *"It is encouraging that promoting 'children's participation' has emerged as an explicit goal for numerous rights- based organizations, innovative programmes and research projects, [...]"[599] "Despite these investments in children's participation, most children still do not participate in important decisions affecting them. [...] Despite its spread and diversity, children's participation has not turned into a broad- based movement in the wider development community. Children's participation remains poorly understood and the field of children's participation is fragmented."[600]*

Finally, it can be said that the promotion and guarantee of CYP for all children and youth in all areas is important as it has always been, but so is taking the positive and negative experiences, as well as positive and negative effects into consideration, as well as analyzing and acknowledging it. Many more inquiries in this regard need to be taken in all pracitcal situations children and youth are participating in.

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[598] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:XXI
[599] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:XXI
[600] Percy-Smith/Thomas (eds.), 2010:343

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AS AT : 09-04-2009 05:48:12 EDT, From:
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en

## *List of Interviews*

| Nr. | Date | Name/ Country/Region | Duration (Min.) | Gender | Type |
|-----|------|----------------------|-----------------|--------|------|
| **Expert Interviews** | | | | | |
| 1 | 19.09.2007 | Uphadhyay, Junita- child and youth participation programme officer, ECPAT International | 10:53 | Female | Direct, Expert Interview |
| 2 | 30.11.2008 | Bheetwal, Bimol- project coordinator of the Youth Partnership Project (YPP) South Asia, ECPAT International | 31:56 | Male | Direct, Expert Interview |
| 3 | 01.09.2009 | Georg- Monney, Erika- child rights/participation expert, Evangelische Jugend im Rheinland | 59:41 | Female | Telephone, Expert Interview |
| 4 | 02.05.2010 | Feinstein, Clare- child rights/participation expert, War Child | 50:29 | Female | Telephone, Expert Interview |

| 5 | 03.05.2010 | Odgaard Nielsen, Julie- child participation expert, Save the Children Youth Denmark | 50:17 | Female | Telephone, Expert Interview |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Youth interviews** | | | | | |
| A | 30.11.2008 | Brasil | 24:00+ approx. [601]20 | Female | Direct interview |
| B | 30.11.2008 | Nepal | 15:38 | Female | Direct interview |
| C | 27.08.2009 | The Gambia | 111:00 | Male | Skype-Chat Interview |
| D | 01.09.2009 | Serbia | 60:43 + approx. 10 | Female | Telephone Interview |
| E | 25.08.2009 | Austria | 35:48 | Female | Direct interview |
| F | 28.08.2009 | Austria | 34:33 | Female | Direct interview |
| G | 01.09.2009 | Austria | 34:26 | Female | Direct interview |
| H | 02.09.2009 | Ukraine | 88:56 | Female | Telephone interview |
| | | | | | |
| FO | 24.11.2008 | South Asia (India, Bangladesh, Nepal) | 73:58 | Female, translator - male | Focus Group discussion- 5 participants, plus translator |

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[601] Measures with approximate indication show that part of the interview was not recorded/recording failed and could therefore not be documented exactly in terms of time.

# ANNEX

## *Contacts to partners and useful links*

| | |
|---|---|
| Child Rights Information Network (CRIN) | http://www.crin.org/ |
| Committee on the Rights of the Child | http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc |
| ECPAT International | www.ecpat.net |
| ECPAT International Child and Youth Advisory Committee (EICYAC) | www.eicyac.org |
| ECPAT Austria | www.ecpat.at |
| Institute of Development Studies (IDS) | http://www.ids.ac.uk |
| Maiti Nepal | http://www.maitinepal.org/ |
| Sanlaap India | http://www.sanlaapindia.org/ |
| Save the Children International | http://www.savethechildren.net |
| Save the Children Youth Denmark | http://www.redbarnet.dk |
| UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre | http://www.unicef-irc.org/ |
| YPP South Asia | http://www.yppsa.org/ |
| YPP World | http://www.ecpat.net/ypp_global |

## *Zusammenfassung*

Die Worte "Empowerment" und "Partizipation" wurden zu bekannten Schlagwörtern im Entwicklungsdiskurs der letzten Jahre. Aber was bedeuten sie und wie hängen sie zusammen? Sind sie Voraussetzung für einander oder führt das eine zum Anderen? Wie gestaltet sich der Zusammenhang zwischen "Partizipation" im Entwicklungsdiskurs und Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation? Sind beide auf "Empowerment" gerichtet und wenn ja, können sie dieses hoch gesteckte Ziel erreichen?

Die folgende Arbeit wird versuchen diese Fragen durch die theoretische und empirische Analyse der drei Konzepte, sowie Strukturen von Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation, zu beantworten. Zu Beginn werden theoretische Überlegungen zu den drei zentralen Konzepten im Mittelpunkt stehen. Was ist deren Geschichte, ihre Bandbreite an Bedeutungen, ihre unterschiedlichen Konzeptualisierungen, sowie kritische Überlegungen dazu. Es wird gezeigt, dass alle drei Konzepte ein breites Spektrum an verschiedenen Bedeutungen, sowie Konzeptualisierungen aufweisen. Obwohl alle drei Begriffe positive Assoziationen haben, davon auszugehen, dass sie auch positive Effekte für jeden haben, wäre falsch. Nicht nur das, auch die verschiedenen Kritiken zeigen, dass der Prozess, die Umsetzung, sowie die Konzeptualisierungen alle problematisch sein können. Speziell das Konzept der Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation, insbesondere die Strukturen die es umfasst, wird im Detail diskutiert. Sind manche dieser Strukturen empfänglicher Empowerment Potential zu ermöglichen als andere?

Einige Experten mögen argumentieren, dass Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation selbst ein Ziel darstellt und daher positiv und immer wünschenswert ist. Manche Konzepte von Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation, sowie deren Umsetzung können teilweise mehr Ausrichtung auf Empowerment haben als andere. Ob diese dann jedoch auch im Einzelfall zu Empowerment führen und in welchem Ausmaß, muss auf der Basis von individuellen Analysen gezeigt werden. Man kann jedoch annehmen, dass je mehr ermächtigende Strukturen und Umgebungen existieren, welche das Potential haben Menschen, die in diesen partizipieren, das Sehen, Verstehen und Anwenden des Machtnetzwerks zu ermöglichen, desto mehr Potential für Empowerment ist vorhanden. Das bedeutet jedoch auch, dass Kinder- und Jugendpartizipation auch negative Effekte haben kann und daher kein Selbstziel ist, sondern seine Ziele anhand qualitativer Kriterien auf individueller Ebene gesetzt und gemessen werden müssen.

## *Curriculum Vitae*

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

|  |  |
|---|---|
| **Name** | **Marion Kreissl** |
| Nationality | Austrian |
| Date of birth | December 23$^{rd}$ 1984 |
| Place of birth | Vienna, Austria |
| Marital status | single |

### EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| 10/04- 06/2010 | International Development Studies, University of Vienna **Focus on Children`s Rights and Project Management** |
| 01/08- 06/2009 | Erasmus Exchange Semester, University of Geneva and Graduate Institute (IHEID) Geneva |
| 10/03- 10/2004 | Two semesters of law studies, University of Vienna |
| 06/2003 | General qualification for university entrance, Bundesgymnasium Schwechat (secondary school) |

### RESEARCH SUBJECTS AMONG OTHERS

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children, in specific Child Trafficking; Unaccompanied Minors in the Asylum process; Genocide in Rwanda and children in prisons of Rwanda, Child and Youth Participation, in specific in Post- Conflict Settings, the Relationship of Empowerment and Participation, etc.

### WORK EXPERIENCE

| | |
|---|---|
| 02/10- 04/2011 | EU Project Coordinator International Project "Offenders Beware! Raising Awareness, Capacity and Motivation for the Protection of Children from Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Tourism", *ECPAT Germany* |
| 10/09-02/2010 | Project Assistant Joint Campaign with The Body Shop "Stop Sex-Trafficking of Children and Young People", *ECPAT Austria* |
| 09/09-02/2010 | Project Manager of an educational recreation project for unaccompanied asylum seeking youth, *Don Bosco Flüchtlingswerk Austria* |
| 09/08-10/2009 | Various Consultancies on Youth Participation and Trainings for *ECPAT Austria* |
| 07/08-09/2008 | Internship at the Anti- Human Trafficking and Smuggling of Migrants Unit at United Nations *Office for Drugs and Crime, Vienna* (voluntary) |
| 04/08- 07/2008 | Project Manager and Youth Participation Advisor for *ECPAT Austria* |

Curriculum Vitae

| | |
|---|---|
| 09/07- 04/2008 | National Coordinator for *ECPAT Austria* |
| 02/07- 12/2008 | EICYAC (*ECPAT International Child and Youth Advisory Committee*) Youth Representative for Western Europe (voluntary) |
| 01/07- 10/07 | Coordinator of the CYA (*Committee for Youth Action*) ECPAT Austria (voluntary) |
| 07/06- 08/06 | Internship at *Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Human Rights* (voluntary) |
| 06/05-09/06 | Accountancy and office assistance, *GK- Construction GmbH* |
| 08/06-07/07 | Tutorial (Proseminar accompanying methodological support for students) at the *University of Vienna*- Professor Mag. Dr. Gerald Hödl- Focus India |

## TRAINING AMONG OTHERS

| | |
|---|---|
| Seminar reporting+ accounting of EU projects, | 03/10 |
| Train the Trainer on Child Sex Tourism | 07/08 |
| PMA Certified Junior Project Manager | 09/08 |
| Microsoft Excel 2003- Advanced Course | 08/08 |
| Seminar Refuge and Trauma | 04/08 |
| Child Safe Organizations Training | 11/07 |

## SKILLS AND COMPETENCES

| | |
|---|---|
| **Technical** | MS Word, Excel, Power Point, Outlook (intermediate- advanced), Visio, UNIX, In Design, Adobe Photoshop (basic), Learn Cube (basic), various CMS systems (basic) |
| **Language** | *German* (mother tongue), *English* (fluent in written and spoken), *French* (intermediate), *Portuguese* (basic- intermediate), *Netherlands*, *Arabic* (basic) |
| **Soft skills** | analytical, committed, ambitious, flexible, willing to learn, creative, open minded |
| **Additional** | Drivers license (B), Diving qualification (open water and advanced) |

## PUBLICATIONS/MEDIA AMONG OTHERS

| | |
|---|---|
| **Coordination & Compilation** | ECPAT Austria (2008): *Alternative Report on the Implementation of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child trafficking*, Vienna: ECPAT Austria<br>EICYAC et al. (2008): *Booklet on the development and best practices of 10 youth movements within ECPAT groups in Western and Eastern Europe& CIS,* Bangkok: ECPAT International<br>ECPAT Austria (2008): *Bericht zur nationalen Vorbereitung Jugendlicher von 16-25 Jahren in Österreich auf den Weltkongress III, 2008,* Vienna: ECPAT Austria<br>ECPAT Austria (2010): *Progress Card Report. Campaign Stop Sex Trafficking of Children and Young People,* ECPAT/TheBodyShop, Forthcoming |
| **Publication** | Kreissl, Marion/Petrovic, Milica (2008): *The Importance of Involving Youth.* In: ECPAT International Youth Journal, Bangkok: ECPAT International, pp.68-72 |
| **Interviews audio** | Radio Ö1 Children's University Interview on the topic of poverty and exploitation (07/2007) |

## HOBBIES AND INTERESTS

Travel, Languages, Literature, Skiing, Climbing, Biking, Volleyball, Diving, Family, Children's Rights