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MIS300

Improving cooperation and coordination between international organisations in the fight against child labour - "The Understanding Children's Work programme"

Thesis submitted for the Master's Degree in International Social Welfare and Health Policy

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Abstract

The purpose of this research study is to investigate how globalisation has changed the role of international institutions regarding governance at a global level. The focal point has been to study the demand for cooperation among the international institutions on a human issue that needs global action and cooperation. For a long time focus has been on single-purpose organisations, and there has been a lack of cooperation across the organisations. This study aims to study a cooperation model of governance, where there is both horizontal and vertical management. A combination of these two ways of management is required to improve cooperation. I address the fight against child labour as the issue that I want to attack. Further, I investigate the main organisations that address this issue and cooperate, namely ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank. They use various methods to tackle the issue of child labour, based upon their mandates and institutional missions. The methodological tool I use is a literature review and a qualitative method through a case study of an interagency cooperation between ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank. The programme I study is the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme. This programme was established after recognition of the need for cooperation among the agencies that work with combating child labour. UNICEF, WB and ILO were all attending these conferences (UCW accessed 2011-05-31). I have conducted research on how they cooperate and I address the advantages and hindrances in their cooperation. This thesis asks: How does the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme help promote cooperation and coordination between the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank in the fight against child labour at the global level?

The core findings in this thesis are that the cooperation model clearly has advantages in promoting cooperation and coordination, and that the UCW has been successful in many areas. It has brought international organisations closer to a common approach to fight child labour, and this is crucial to a reduction of child labour. It has also revealed that trust, personal relationships and flexibility are key words to establish good cooperation among agencies. It suggests that in future work on a shared culture between the actors needs to be carried out to reach their common goal. This must be built into the process of joined action (Considine and Lewis 2003, 132). The thesis suggests that because of the different mission statements of the actors that are involved, different organisational views need to be taken into account. Personal relationships and institutional mandates have an impact that demands that more attention be paid to these issues to ensure that the cooperation becomes even more successful.

Key words: child labour, global governance, UCW programme, cooperation, and post-NPM

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Conceptual clarification	3
3. The global dimension of child labour	6
3.1 The role of international organisations in governing child labour at a global level	7
3.1.1 Different views of the notion of child labour	9
3.1.2 Reduction policies to reduce child labour, by ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank	11
4. Understanding the role of international institutions in governing global issues	12
4.1. Improving cooperation between international institutions	13
5. Improving cooperation and coordination in the global fight against child	
labour. Understating the role of 'Understanding Children's Work' (UCW)	18
5.1. Research question and methodology	19
5.1.1 Case study	19
5.1.2 Individual interviews/In-depth interviews	20
5.1.3 Data sources	23
5.1.4 Descriptive analyses, data reduction and simplifying	23
5.1.5 Study limitations and assumptions	24
5.1.6 Presentation of findings and analysis	25
5.2. The Understanding Children's Work (UCW) – brief description	27
5.3. How coordination and cooperation are constructed in the context of UCW	29
5.3.1 Areas where there is coordination and cooperation	29
5.3.2 Perceived advantages of the cooperation and coordination	32
5.3.3 Factors that shape the coordination and cooperation of actors in UCW	35
6. Conclusion	42
Literature	45
Attachment 1: Abbreviations	52
Attachment 2: Interview guide	53
Attachment 2. Model of the core units in the UCW	57

1. Introduction

The 1997 Conference on Combating the Most Intolerable Forms of Child Labour, and the 1997 International Conference on Child Labour stated that there was a great need for the global actors working with the issue of child labour to engage and increase their activity at a global level (UCW 2010a, xiii). Global statistics from the International Labour Organization (ILO) revealed that 222 million children between the ages of 5 and 17 were engaged in child labour in 2004. In spite of global action, the ILO estimated that in 2008 around 215 million children were engaged in child labour, some under hazardous conditions in dangerous environments (ILO 2010, v-vi). It can therefore be argued that despite the fact that the number of children involved in child labour decreased by 7 million over four years, the number is still unacceptably high.

As a result of globalisation the need for international collaboration between the various agencies has evolved, and there has been a growth of international regimes (Kjær 2004, 86-87). Global institutions are becoming increasingly involved in the protection of children, and this includes the regulation of child labour. As good governance is an important factor in the aim to reduce child labour (European Commission, 2010: 15), a number of programmes have been created to help in the cooperation and coordination of the main international institutions in the fight against child labour. One of these is "Understanding Children's Work" (UCW). This is an interagency cooperation between important international agencies working with the issue of child labour: the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank. The main aim of the UCW programme is to introduce policies to different countries and to work towards a universal understanding of child labour prevention (UCW, Accessed 2011-03-25). Because of the extremely high number of children involved in child labour, and the demand for global action and cooperation, I plan to conduct an investigation into this programme, and establish how it has improved the cooperation and coordination among the involved agencies.

Based on the topic introduced here, my research question is:

How does the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme help promote cooperation and coordination between the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank in the fight against child labour at the global level?

The thesis will initially address, from a broad, global perspective, the global cooperation among international organisations, and then the perspective will be narrowed to a case study of UCW, within the subject of child labour.

In order to answer the research question I have set the thesis out as follows: the next chapter consists of conceptual clarifications and definitions of key concepts in this thesis, namely child labour, governance and global governance. In chapter three there will be a presentation and a review of the theoretical framework on which the thesis is based. As the topic concerns the global dimension of child labour, a discussion on the value of a global approach in addressing the problem of child labour will be presented. The roles of the different international institutions in the global governance of child labour will be clarified. This chapter will contain a description of the different institutional missions, and show their different views on child labour through using the definitions each international institution apply and the policies that the institutions adopt to reduce child labour. Chapter four is a continuation of my theoretical framework. I address the role of international institutions in governing global issues and explain how various theories see the role of international organisations in governing global issues. Two different perspectives that address the role of the state and the international organisations' role, the realist view and the liberal view, will be shown. Also in this chapter, the way in which the theory reflects upon the issue of how to improve cooperation between international institutions will be reviewed. It will be argued that globalisation leads to a need for more cooperation among international organisations. I also bring into the debate the issue that has been raised as a result of New Public Management (NPM) concerning the need to improve coordination and cooperation to achieve results in the field of global governance.

In chapter five the case study will be introduced, the proposed research question will be clarified and the methodological tools that are used will be described. The findings and analysis are then presented. The findings are structured so that they respond to my research question in the best possible way. The analysis will consist of a description of the case study, the UCW programme. The next sub section addresses various aspects of the cooperation. The analysis will be based on the issues raised in the review of the literature on governance. I address *how coordination and cooperation are constructed in the context of UCW*. I look into areas where there is coordination and cooperation, before I describe and analyse perceived advantages in cooperation and coordination. Then I analyse factors that shape the cooperation and coordination of actors in UCW. This part is guided by the content from the sub section in chapter four, how cooperation

of international institutions can be improved. Finally, in chapter six, conclusions and suggestions for future research will be described.

2. Conceptual clarification

In the following I will introduce the key concepts, namely child labour, governance and global governance.

Child labour

Because of the global perspective of this thesis, a general definition from the ILO that includes all children in the world will be used.

The term "child labour" is often defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that: is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and interferes with their schooling by: depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliging them to leave school prematurely; or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work. In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of "work" can be called "child labour" depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries (ILO/ International programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Accessed 2011-03-22).

There are two ILO conventions that are essential to the concept of child labour: Convention No. 182¹ and Convention No.138². Because of the global perspective of this thesis, these conventions

This fundamental convention sets the general minimum age for admission to employment or work at 15 years (13 for light work) and the minimum age for hazardous work at 18 (16 under certain strict conditions). It provides for the possibility of initially setting the general minimum age at 14 (12 for light work) where the economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed.

(http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm, accessed 2012-08-22)

¹ ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour, 1999

This fundamental convention defines as a "child" as a person under 18 years of age. It requires ratifying states to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, including all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; child prostitution and pornography; using children for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. The convention requires ratifying states to provide the necessary and appropriate direct assistance for the removal of children from the worst forms of child labour and for their rehabilitation and social integration. It also requires states to ensure access to free basic education and, wherever possible and appropriate, vocational training for children removed from the worst forms of child labour.

(http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm, accessed 2012-08-22)

² ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work

are included, and the reason for this is that the conventions are included at the global level when the issue of child labour is discussed. Convention No. 182, which addresses the issue of children who work under the worst conditions, aims to get ratification from member states of the convention. Convention No. 138 is also critical because it defines the minimum age for children to go into employed work. Both conventions are widely referred to at the global level.

Two key issues in the discussion of the definition of child labour are, firstly: should the definition include household chores or not, and secondly, exactly what age groups are children divided into when it comes to different types of work. The definitions of child labour used by the three agencies that are involved in the UCW programme, ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank vary with regard to these two issues. This will be discussed when I address the mission statements of the organisations that shape their work in the fight against child labour (section 3.1). But, despite the fact that UNICEF refers to the ILO Conventions No. 182 and 138 in their definition of child labour, they do include household chores as a form of child labour and it is this definition that will be used in this thesis. It can be argued that the UNICEF definition is the best and most comprehensive, as it does not exclude a factor that is very important of the analysis of child labour, because children, and especially girls, are frequently in the position where many hours of household chores have an impact on the quality of their lives and their educational opportunities. Data shows that it is more likely that children are involved in household chores than in formal employment (UCW 2010a, 9). Also in the definition of child labour by UNICEF, reference is made to the number of hours a child can work: 28 or more hours a week of household chores for children between the ages of 5 to 11 constitutes child labour. UNICEF has the same hour limit for household chores in the age 12-14. Being economically active also constitutes child labour. Whereas ILO argues that child labour is economically active children between the age 5 to 11. Both definitions aim at protecting children from the worst kind of child labour, as described in Convention No. 182 (UNICEF 2009b, 16) (Fares & Raju 2007, 3). In section 3.1.1, I will continue the discussion between the definitions of UNICEF and ILO. This is because I will present the definitions in a discussion on how the definitions shape their work on the issue of fighting child labour. The institutional mandates are presented in section 3.1

Governance and Global governance

In this section the notion of governance will be presented and discussed. There are many different interpretations of what governance means. In the following I present different definitions and views on governance.

Traditionally *governance* has been seen to be closely connected to the concept of *government*. Today, governance is generally used as a broader concept, and it includes processes outside the scope of government. Governance is, however, a complex concept, and meanings differ depending on the context (Kjær 2004, 1-2+7). Rhodes defines governance by saying that: "Governance refers to self-organizing, inter organizational networks characterized by independence, resource-exchange, rules of the game, and significant autonomy from the state" (1997, 15). It can be argued that Rhodes's focus on governance suggests new reforms to the public sector, in a way transforming it. However, Rosenau interprets the concept of governance in a different way. His belief is that governance should address global political problems with a demand for global action, and not only reform public management (Kjær 2004,4). James N. Rosenau refers to a description of the concept of definition from the Council of Rome 1991:

We use the term governance to denote the command mechanism of a social system and its actions that endeavour to provide security, prosperity, coherence, order and continuity to the system... taken broadly, the concept of governance should not be restricted to the national and international systems but used in relation to regional, provincial and local governments as well as to other social systems such as education and the military, to private enterprises and even to the microcosm of the family (1995, 295-296).

Further, Rosenau argues: "Governance, in other words, encompasses the activities of government, but it also includes the many other channels through which "commands" flow in the form of goals framed, directives issued and policies pursued" (1995, 296). It can be argued that the last definition reflects how global international institutions involved in child care work can be seen as performing global governance, and it points to the importance and necessity for international relations (Kjær 2004, 4-5)

For the purpose of this thesis I have chosen to base my argument on Wilkinson's notion of governance. His definition provides a clear description of a complex concept, and refers to governance as the relationship between the actions of the various actors or agencies. Rhodes's definition is more focused on new reforms within public management and international relations. I argue that the definition by Wilkinson is similar to that of Rosenau, but it is more specific and

descriptive than Rosenau's definition, which is the reason for choosing to use Wilkinson's definition on governance in this thesis.

Governance is the sum of many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Wilkinson 2005b, 26).

The new way of seeing the concept of governance by different scholars has been reflected upon by Kjær (2004):

They all, to some extent, focus on the role of networks in the pursuit of common goals; these networks could be intergovernmental or inter-organisational (Rhodes); they could be transnational (Rosenau) or they could be networks of trust and reciprocity crossing the state-society divide (Hyden) (Kjær 2004, 3-4).

Having reviewed the different definitions of the concept of governance, it is necessary to narrow this broad concept down to a definition on global governance. In my case study this neighbouring concept of *global governance* is of greater relevance than the concept of governance.

Both Rosenau and Wilkinson argue that the concept of governance includes a need for global governance. I have chosen to use a definition by Rosenau in the thesis that gives a descriptive explanation of this concept: "Global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity - from the family to the international organization - in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions" (1995, 295). It can be argued that the definition does not give the state alone the responsibility of global demands, but that it includes all relevant institutions.

3. The global dimension of child labour

Having clarified the concepts of both child labour and global governance I further address the global dimension of child labour. Child labour is not only assessed as a problem in itself, but it is also an important factor when it comes to reaching other development objectives, such as education for all and poverty reduction, at a national level and at a global level. Global institutions are becoming increasingly involved in the protection of children, including the regulation of child labour. The European Commission holds that good governance is an important factor in reaching the goal of reducing the incidence of child labour (European

Commission, 2010: 15), thereby moving towards the goals of education for all and poverty reduction

Recent estimates by UCW indicate that there has been a decrease in the number of children involved in child labour globally. Nevertheless, there are areas, like Sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of children involved in child labour is increasing (UCW 2010a, xw). This illustrates the complexity of the problem when it comes to measuring child labour on a global scale, because even if there is a decrease in the total number on an overall global scale, there are areas in the world where the number of children being exploited is increasing.

As a consequence of the globalised economy, there is intense international competition between firms. Companies have to meet new challenges to compete in the global market and one of these challenges is to reduce costs. One effective way to reduce production costs is to hire child labour (CISS 2007, 56). This may help a company to reduce production costs but the cost to the child and the nation is great. Child labour does not only affect the individual child exposed to labour, but it also has consequences on a national level. Children who work instead of studying will not provide their country with the same resources at a later stage as if they had had an education. The phenomenon of child labour crosses several policy areas, like health, education, poverty reduction, social protection and labour standards and legislation. Because of this, there is a need for government cooperation on a national level, as well as a response from outside the government (UCW 2010a, xvi). Further, UCW claims that to achieve results in the work against child labour, action must be taken on a national level, in cooperation with international agencies, civil societies and labour organisations (UCW 2010a, xxiii).

In the sub chapter below I address how the theory understands the role of international organisations in governing organisational issues of child labour. This requires both an understanding of how the organisations work, and which institutions work with the issue of child labour at the global level.

3.1 The role of international organisations in governing child labour at a global level

Organisations that work with labour rights are often involved in policy work, both on a national and an international level. In this thesis three organisations that work in collaboration to combat child labour through the UCW programme – ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank – are discussed.

In the following I will introduce their mission statements and evaluate the similarities and differences in these mission statements with regard to their approach in combating child labour.

ILO

ILO is a specialised agency within the United Nation (UN) family (UN, accessed 2011-05-24). The agency aims to promote and work with various issues that affect workers, including the safety of labourers (Lindstrand et al. 2006, 300). ILO established a programme called "The International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour" (IPEC) in 1992. The focus of this programme is on the most hazardous forms of child labour, and especially those affecting young children. IPEC is the single largest global programme exclusively focused on child labour. Today they work in 88 countries (IPEC, accessed 2011-04-06).

UNICEF

UNICEF is an international organisation, a UN fund. The organisation's mandate is to work for children, and in recent years its main focus has been on children's rights (Lindstrand et al. 2006, 295-296). UNICEF works closely with ILO on the IPEC programme. Even if the organisations have had different approaches in the past, they have in recent years adopted similar approaches to social protection for reducing child labour, focusing on education and gender equality (UNICEF 2009a: 18). They especially work for a compulsory universal education for all children as a human right (Rena, 2009: 6).

World Bank

The World Bank was established after the Second World War. It is owned by 187 member countries. The vision of the bank is to fight poverty, and the bank gives favourable loans to developing countries with a wide range of aims (World Bank, accessed 2011-05-23). The World Bank recognises that child labour has a negative impact on the development of the global economy, and that they therefore have a responsibility to work with the issue. Today we can see that they also support programmes regarding education, such as the UNICEF and the IPEC programme (Rena, 2009: 6). "The Bank emphasizes the need for multi-sectoral approaches to child labour, where educational reforms are the most important policy instrument" (European Commission, 2010: 10). The World Bank has been subject to criticism, especially regarding the consequences for the poor of some of its programmes. UNICEF is one of the agencies that has proposed reforms that to a lesser extent impact the poor negatively. Today, WB has taken the criticism and made some adjustments for better protection of the poor (Lindstrand et al. 2006,

299). The World Bank has conducted analysis using surveys conducted by Global Child Labour Programme (GCLP) and they are improving their work on the issue of child labour.

The overarching objectives of GCLP are to enhance the effectiveness and to increase the impact of the World Bank's work on children's issues especially in the area of translating analysis into the development of programs and projects to address child labour at the Bank's operational level. Partnerships have been and continue to be essential to achieving these objectives (World Bank, 2009)."

This brief overview of the three organisations show that neither ILO, UNICEF nor the World Bank have the fight against child labour as their only mandate, but there are areas within all their mandates that are linked to child labour. ILO works for labour rights for humans of all ages and UNICEF works for the overall protection of children. The World Bank works for poverty reduction, and as mentioned above, child labour affects poverty reduction, because of the negative impact it has on the world economy.

3.1.1 Different views of the notion of child labour

In the following the different definitions of child labour by ILO and UNICEF will be addressed. This gives an insight into how they work to reduce child labour. The definitions are illustrated in Table 1. The World Bank does not provide their own definition of child labour, but uses ILO's definition as a basis for their work (Fares & Raju, 2007, 3). The reason that they do not have their own definition of child labour is because their mandate is to fight poverty, and their primary focus is not on children or labour as presented above in this section, 3.1.

Table 1: Definitions of child labour, ILO and UNICEF. Child labour occurs if ³:

UNICEF	ILO
5–11 years old are economically active or carry out household chores for 28 or more hours per week	5-11 years old are economically active
12–14 years old are economically active (excluding those in light work for less than 14 hours per week) or carry out household chores for 28 or more hours per week.	12-14 years old work are economically active for 14 or more hours per week
15–17 years old work in the worst forms of child labour, including hazardous work, or carry out household chores for 43 or more hours per week	12-17 years old work in an economic activity that is classified as belonging to the "worst forms" of child labour.

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³ Fares and Raju 2007 page 3, accessed 2011-04-05

Comparing definitions from Table 1. How does the definition affect their work on child labour?

This comparison is relevant as it tells us something about how the method for approaching child labour is influenced by their mandate and how it affects their work as a consequence. When comparing these definitions, one sees strong similarities between the understandings of ILO and UNICEF. However, UNICEF has made a choice to include household chores in their definition, whereas ILO argues that child labour occurs only if children in the age group of 5 to 11 years are economically active. Household chores is therefore not included in ILO's definition, because conducting household chores does not make the children economically active. Note that UNICEF has the same hour limit for household chores for the age group of 12 to14 year olds, as for 5to11year olds. Both agencies maintain that children up to the age of 18 should be protected from the worst kinds of child labour (UNICEF 2009b, 16) (Fares & Raju, 2007, 3)⁴; Convention No.182. In addition to the information provided in table 1, the ILO Convention No.138 ⁵ refers to three critical ages, which correspond with the age limits they apply in their definition.

First, there is a general definition of a child as a person less than 18 years of age. [...] Second, the minimum age of legally entering the labor market as a full-time worker is set to 14 years of age for developing countries and 15 in other countries. In all cases full-time work must begin only after the age of completing compulsory education. Third, the minimum age for entering the labor market doing light work is set to 12 for developing countries and 13 in other countries (Grimsrud, 2001, 5).

This convention is important because it sets an age-frame that is used at a global level, for all nations and international organisations.

⁴ ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour, 1999

This fundamental convention defines as a "child" a person under 18 years of age. It requires ratifying states to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, including all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; child prostitution and pornography; using children for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. The convention requires ratifying states to provide the necessary and appropriate direct assistance for the removal of children from the worst forms of child labour and for their rehabilitation and social integration. It also requires states to ensure access to free basic education and, wherever possible and appropriate, vocational training for children removed from the worst forms of child labour.

⁽http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm, accessed 2012-08-22)

⁵ ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work

This fundamental convention sets the general minimum age for admission to employment or work at 15 years (13 for light work) and the minimum age for hazardous work at 18 (16 under certain strict conditions). It provides for the possibility of initially setting the general minimum age at 14 (12 for light work) where the economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed.

^{(&}lt;a href="http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm">http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm, accessed 2012-08-22)

From the above comparison, it can be seen that UNICEF's mandate is very broad as it undertakes to protect all children, even those being exploited in a domestic situation to do household chores. ILO excludes household chores from their definition, and focuses on protecting children who are economically active, that is, earning money for their labour.

3.1.2 Reduction policies to reduce child labour, by ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank

The resources that are used in table 2 are my research on international reports and web sites. The table presents their strategies in the work against child labour. A discussion on the way in which the institutions' missions shape their work will be had in section 5.3.3, where I combine their reduction strategies from their international reports and web pages with the results from my interviews (the empirical data). This will be described in the methodological part, section 5.1.3.

Table 2: Child labour reduction strategies

ILO	UNICEF	World
		Bank
*Working to encourage nations	*Education as a preventative and protective	*Aims to
to implement national policies	strategy ⁹ abolishing school fees, and free	reduce child
for protection of the children ⁶	primary and secondary education ¹⁰	labour
		through
*Social protection programmes	*Builds awareness of the issue of child	poverty
(gender equality and education) ⁷	labour, and fights for children's right ¹¹	reduction
*Through country-based	*Social protection programmes (gender	
programmes promotes policy	equality and education) 12	*Moves in
reform, builds institutional		the
capacity and puts in place	*Compulsory basic education for all	direction
concrete measures to end child	children ¹³	towards
labour; and through awareness		education
raising and mobilization intends	*UNICEF is today moving towards a	as a
to change social attitudes and	systemic approach. This approach does not	preventative
promote ratification and	focus on single issues (such as child labour)	strategy. 16
effective implementation of ILO	but on a more holistic protection, therefore	
child labour Conventions'8	strengthening the protection of the children ¹⁴	

⁶ IPEC, Domestic labour, accessed 2011-05-27

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⁷ UNICEF 2009a accessed 2011-03-24, page 18

⁸ International Labour Organization (ILO) / International programme of the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), accessed 2011-03-22

⁹ European Commission, 2010, page10

¹⁰ UNICEF, 2011: 67

¹¹ European Commission, 2010, page 10

¹² UNICEF 2009a, page18

¹³ Rena, 2009, page 6

¹⁴ Wulczyn et.al. 2010, page 8

¹⁵ World Bank, 2009

¹⁶ Rena, 2009: 6

4. Understanding the role of international institutions in governing global issues

An introduction to the international institutions, and their views on child labour has been provided. In the following chapter the way in which theory and literature perceive the role of international organisations in governing organisational issues will be explained. Initially, the two different ways of viewing the role of the state and the role of international organisations will be shown. The two perspectives are the *realist view* and the *liberal view*

The realist view on international governance argues that the state is the primary actor in both domestic and international affairs. International institutions can be a tool for powerful states, but they have limited or no influence on political decisions (Hovi & Underdal 2003, 180-181). Liberalists view governance as a framework of rules to handle political challenges at all levels, and include international organisations as well as national governments, and they believe that the need for global governance arose after the end of the cold war (Kjær 2004, 86-87). The liberal view also holds that governance is broader that government. Their focus is on how globalisation is governed in the world, and that there is a need for strong multinational actors. This is contradictory to the neo-realist view, which argues that it is the state that is the most important participant in the international arena (Kjær 2004, 90-91+96-97): the state should continue to be independent, to maintain power, secure their own interests and through this secure the state. However, "many scholars now see the "realistic" picture as too simple" (Lechner and Boli 2012, 48).

Wilkinson argues that more power has been shipped from the states to global institutions, and therefore there is a need for strong global governance. In this sense he takes a liberal view on international governance, and he claims that states have to take international regulations and frameworks into account. One large theme in global governance is international governance, institutions and regimes (Wilkinson 2005a, 1).

The liberalist view claims that global institutions must play an important role when it comes to coordination and cooperation internationally. Compared to the realists, liberalists see the greater role of international organisations to be a consequence of globalisation. Globalisation is a very complex concept that is difficult to define, as there are a variety of views of the concept. However, CISS says "…the label globalisation encompasses a set of historical events that are

not controlled by anyone" (2007, 68). Higgott presents a basic explanation of the globalisation concept:

... it can be seen as a set of complex and contingent economic, technological, political, social, cultural and behavioural processes and practices that increasingly transcend jurisdictional and territorial barriers. These processes may be moving in the same direction over time, but they do not necessarily progress in concert, and their effects may differ from place to place (2004, 427).

Because of increasing globalisation there is a demand for global governance. Zürn argues that because of the development of globalisation over the last two decades international institutions must cooperate and there is a need to establish international programmes with special features. This has led to a close relationship between these institutions and the nations with which they work (2005, 137). Kjær has also reflected upon this: "International regimes arise because states recognize that globalisation necessitated international cooperation" (2004, 86-87). Through globalisation a high level of global interference has occurred which is another reason for the development of controlling bodies at the global level: global governance by global institutions and global networks (Kjær 2004, 191). As a consequence of increasing globalisation ILO established The World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalisation. In 2004 the commission produced the report "A Fair Globalisation. Creating Opportunities", where they pointed out that the path of globalisation must focus on the social dimension that includes universal values for humans (CISS 2007, 66-67).

The commission supports a series of coordinated changes across a broad front, ranging from reforming parts of the global economic system to strengthen governance at the local level. At the global level, the Commission provides several specific recommendations. In terms of the labour markets, economic and social protection (CISS 2007, 66-67)

Based upon these arguments, this thesis will proceed by focusing on the liberal view, which believes that as a result of globalisation, and the consequences of its development, global governance that seeks cooperation among the international organisations is necessary.

4.1. Improving cooperation between international institutions

The aim of this section is to provide a description of the way in which international organisations have met challenges to coordinate their cooperation, before an in-depth description on how they can improve their cooperation is provided. This section highlights the debates within the governance literature. I address previous management governance models, and show a shift in focus. Common features of an alternative model of governance will be discussed. I will additionally review the reason for more coordination between the international institutions, and

the factors that help or obstruct the promotion of cooperation. With regard to this last point I recognise that different ways of conceptualising a new model of governance must be based on cooperation.

Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004) present New Public Managment (NPM) as "... a general concept denoting a global wave of administrative reforms that has had an impact on many countries' public sectors over the last 25 years" (in Christensen and Lærgreid 2011, 1). "Most NPM reform efforts have had similar goals: to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the public sector; to enhance the responsiveness of public agencies to their clients and customers; to reduce public expenditure; and to improve managerial accountability" (Christensen and Lærgreid 2011, 1). A trend in the NPM structure had been that organisations should specialise (Christensen and Lægreid 2011, 3). However, cooperation between these highly specialised organisations was not optimal.

New direction: collaboration managements after the NPM.

Issues raised as a result of NPM, one of these issues being 'single-purpose organisations' were addressed by the post-NPM (Christensen and Lægreid 2007b, 1059). The *new* NPM approach emphasises cooperation, both within and between political-administrative systems. Cooperation can be defined as: "working together for a common purpose" (Hornby1995, 257). The models that have been developed are called many things, such as 'joined-up government', 'whole-of-government' and 'network government' (Christensen and Lægreid 2011, 394-395). The post-NPM reforms focus on shared values, trust, cooperation, joined culture and involvement of participating actors (Ling 2002, in Christensen and Lægreid 2011, 397). Some issues, like family, crime and environment, do not fit into the traditional, single department in governments, and there is therefore a need for collaboration among units in the organisations and a holistic approach to tackle the problems needs to be taken (Mulgan 2005, 175).

One of the reforms following the NPM was the joined-up government, later recognised as whole-of-government (Christensen and Lægreid 2007b, 1059). The concept changed from joined-up government to whole of-government in the period of 1997 to 2006 (Christensen and Lægreid 2007b, 1064). After 1999, the second generation, namely post-NPM reforms occurred. The term post-NPM is used in different ways, but it can be said that it is characterised by solving old problems with co-ordination and control. This can be informal or formal, and can be at different organisational levels. Cooperation can take place across organisational boundaries, or

in policy making. Different actors and agencies cooperate (Christensen, Lie and Lægreid 2007, 25-26). The foremost aim of the whole-of-government system is to get government units to improve the cooperation (Christensen and Lægreid 2007b, 1061). If central agencies cooperate in public management more control and balance of power in a hierarchical leadership results. New Zealand and Australia are countries that tried to follow this path when developing the first wave of NPM. However, the changes in power can also create power struggles between the agencies (Christensen, Lie and Lægreid 2007, 31-32), and too much control in the central agencies can create lack of motivation for the people who work on other levels (Christensen, Lie and Lægreid 2007, 34). New Zealand implemented some changes in 2004, moving towards greater cooperation, and created different teams and networks. A key advantage with this looser structure is an increase in the flexibility and crossing of different organisational boundaries (Christensen, Lie and Lægreid 2007, 32-33). Australia in the 2000s also shifted from single-purpose agencies to cross-agency relations and cooperation (Halling 2007, 47).

New Zealand decentralised in the 1980s, but has now changed their pattern and moved back to some of the old central power mechanisms. This can also be seen in Britain, where the state has taken back control of the railway system from the private sector (B. Guy Peters 2004, 135). Both Britain and Australia have adopted the joined-up-government that later became known as the whole-of-government, this to work on issues that require coordination and integrated work within government (B. Guy Peters 2004, 137).

Mark Considine and Jenny M. Lewis refer to changes in governance and public management, using four models of governance in their discussion. I give a short description of the three first models, to show how they vary from the fourth – the network model, which is the focus in this thesis. The first is the 'old-style bureaucracy', the hallmark of which is strong supervision, rules and law as the means of control and where the delivery focus is universal. The second type is 'corporate governance'. This is a target and performance model, where public organisations are viewed as 'corporations'. They are managed by business managers who guide the organisations. The third governance model is the 'market governance'. This is based on the previous type of governance, but takes it one step further, giving the market a larger role. It is driven by competition and contracts where the focus is price. The aim of this model is to create cost effectiveness through better administration and less regulation (2003, 133). It can be argued that this model has strong similarities to NPM reforms where the aim is to improve effectiveness and reduce public expenditure (Christensen and Lærgreid 2011, 1).

The fourth governance model is the latest model and most important in this study. I view it as the best solution today as it has a global perspective. It is called 'network governance'. The network focuses on cooperation among agencies. Network governance is an alternative to both hierarchy and market oriented governance (Considine and Lewis 2003, 131-133). Considine and Lewis describe network as: "...the network ideal is premised upon there being forms of organisational affiliation and history that bind agents to common task". Further, Considine and Lewis refer to Van Buren 1999, 64: "societal issues can be best addressed through multi-sector collaboration" (Considine and Lewis 2003, 132) Government, like the earlier model, uses outside agencies, but they create networks.

Today we see networks in various sectors: there are terrorist networks and traffic networks; networks of finance ministers and banks as a response to the financial crises in the European Union. These networks are all established to tackle specific goals depending on their mandate and history. They do have one thing in common and that is that they allow cooperation to expand their horizon, establishing trust and new relationships. This is critical when establishing long-term cooperation. Information is shared and members of countries that are less developed can gain needed information and technical assistance from more developed countries in these networks (Slaughter 2005, 35-38).

The theory in this chapter reflects that of post-NPM: whole-of-government approach, joined-up government and the network model all referring to the same sort of cooperation, but they have different ways of conceptualising the same model of governance – the model that is based on the idea that a variety of actors cooperate with each other rather than being guided by market relations, or hierarchical relationships. Joined-up-government and whole-of-government is how particular countries have come to define their model in different ways, but they are all influenced by the same set of ideas. Next there will be a description of commonalities between these reforms: the whole-of-government, post-NPM and network governance. Governance involving a variety of actors requires vertical and horizontal coordination. Christensen and Lægreid have reflected on this issue and show that there are both horizontal and vertical relationships in such a coordination. In a whole-of-government, this sort of coordination is present and it allows a more optimal use of resources as different partners can take advantage of each other in policy areas even if they are on different levels, or/and outside the government (Christensen and Lærgreid 2007a, 11). The looser structure creates more flexibility in the network cooperation and

strengthens the horizontal coordination in areas where earlier they were separated. This can lead to solutions that would have been unthinkable in an inflexible hierarchical organisation where there is no coordination between various actors. However, there is also need for a vertical coordination to supplement the horizontal coordination to ensure that the work is predictable. (Christensen, Lie and Lægreid 2007, 32-33) In NPM reforms, the single-purpose organisations (performance management) are often ruled through vertical management. Traditionally, this leads to an avoidance of the problems that would be encountered if horizontal coordination were used. However, a major problem in single-purpose organisations, and of relevance in this paper, is that there tends to be a shortage of cooperation and coordination in their management (Christensen and Lægereid 2007b, 1060).

Considine and Lewis mention many of the key aspects of this 'cooperation based' model of governance in the network model. Relationships are cooperative, rather than hierarchically organised as in the old-style bureaucracy where strong supervision, rules and laws act as controls (2003, 131-133). One clear thing that distinguishes this model from the hierarchical model is that it is built upon trust rather than rules and supervision. The results are built upon mutual action towards a common goal. This demands a shared culture, and is described as being built in the process of joined action (Considine and Lewis 2003, 132). This means that employees to a larger degree have flexibility in their work assignments and their judgement, once more relying on trust (Considine and Lewis 2003,136-137). However, "[to] the extent that networks unlock traditional forms of patriarchal and paternalistic power this model may also offer some forms of empowerment: though power equity within networks and partnerships is notoriously elusive" (Christensen and Lægreid 2011, 357). Christensen and Lægreid also mention that the concept of culture is important in the whole-of-government model, and so are the values of trust. It is not sufficient only to change the structure of management to reach the goals and cooperation; one must change the culture as well. As whole-of-government is a model that is constructed upon trust and shared values, team-building and co-operations are necessary to create a common culture (Christensen and Lægreid 2007b, 1062). Network governance represents this shift from the old-style government to the new notion of governance. Another thing that distinguishes this kind of governance is the fact that it includes all the involved stakeholders (Christensen and Lægreid 2011, 356-357).

5. Improving cooperation and coordination in the global fight against child labour. Understating the role of 'Understanding Children's Work' (UCW).

Having reviewed the literature on different management models to improve cooperation, a programme that has adopted a model of governance that has strong similarities to the cooperation model of governance will now be shown.

The programme that will be studied in detail is the UCW programme. UCW was created to help and improve the cooperation between the international organisations. The following is an analysis of UCW and the cooperation that exists between the participating agencies: ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank.

The awareness of the need for global action with regard to child labour was brought to light in 1997 at the conference in Amsterdam on combating The Most Intolerable Forms of Child Labour, and the Oslo International Conference on Child Labour. UNICEF, the World Bank and ILO all attended these conferences. It was stated that there was a need for improvement of statistics and analyses of the issue of child labour, as well as policy development to reduce child labour. This work demanded global action, and an interagency programme was established in December 2000 as a result, namely the UCW programme (UCW, accessed 2011-05-31) (UCW 2009, 1).

The main aim of the UCW programme is as follow:

Through a variety of research activities, the UCW Programme supports the partner agencies in improving statistical information on child labour in its various dimensions – its nature, extent, causes and consequences – as well as on what policy approaches are most effective in addressing it. The Programme's inter-agency configuration and technical orientation leave it uniquely placed to act as a platform for research cooperation, policy dialogue, partnership building and knowledge exchange in child labour and related policy areas (UCW, accessed 2011-05-31).

The development objective for the programme, which also represents the research mandate is to: "Strengthen the knowledge base needed to inform actions towards the progressive elimination of child labour" (UCW 2009, 5). The UCW programme is committed to working towards a universal understanding of how one can prevent child labour (UCW, accessed 2011-03-25).

5.1. Research question and methodology

In order to answer the research question the thesis uses a qualitative approach. This sub-chapter will describe the methodological tools that are used to address and respond to my research question: How does the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme help promote cooperation and coordination between the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank in the fight against child labour at the global level?

A case study on the UCW programme will be conducted. Case study is a methodological tool that helps to describe this phenomenon in detail. After referring to theory of what a case study is, there will be a description of the semi-structured interviews conducted and the rationale for the choice of the specific persons I decided to interview. Further, the choice of data used and collected for the analysis will be described. Finally, there will be a presentation of the analysis of the data, and how this helps in responding to the research question.

5.1.1 Case study

A case study can be defined as research of a system that is both time and place limited. The focus in such a study can be a programme or a social unity (Bassey 1999, Hammersly & Gomm 2000, Merriam 1998, Stake 1995 in Postholm 2005, 50). Case study gives a detailed description of the phenomenon that is studied in its own context. The setting can be economic, physical, social or historic. When the focus is directed towards a specific case in its context it can expose interactions between different factors in the specific setting. Through this method it is possible to give an overall description of what is being studied, which is also the goal in qualitative research (Stake 1995 in Postholm 2005, 50). Using this method allows me to respond to my research question. Case studies can be describing, describing and interpreting, or describing, interpreting and evaluating at the same time, and all for different purposes. In my study I have chosen a method that is both describing and interpreting. The reason behind this is that by choosing this method one can conduct research where there is some theory, but it is insufficient, and my purpose is therefore to challenge, find support for and evolve the existing theory. To do this I must collect as much data as possible so to describe, interpret and theorise the phenomenon that I am studying (Postholm 2005, 51).

This case study includes qualitative fieldwork consisting of in-depth interviews with key workers in the UCW programme, and institutional reports. In my research I plan to investigate the outcome of the cooperation between ILO, the World Bank and UNICEF. Interviews and an

examination of institutional reports are the tools used for examination of how this occurs. This is primary data. Case study and a qualitative approach therefore allow me to respond to my research question.

5.1.2 Individual interviews/In-depth interviews

The method for data collection in this part of the thesis is through qualitative in-depth interviews with the programme coordinator of UCW and representatives from ILO, the World Bank and UNICEF who work in the UCW programme as focal points (FP). Due to a recent move by the FP of the World Bank, I interviewed the previous FP instead of the new one to get the views of someone more experienced in the work. The specific interviewees were chosen because of their positions in the programmes and agencies. The programme coordinator of UCW has a general understanding of the way in which the programme works. He has been the leader of this organisation for ten years, which I consider an advantage in that he holds extensive knowledge about the programme, is familiar with the cooperation with the agencies and he has experienced the change over time.

Section 5.2 will give a description of how the governance in the UCW programme is structured, but at this point I would like to mention why I chose to interview the focal points rather than the steering committee. The steering committee only has one formal meeting per year, but the FPs have two formal meetings per year, and they have frequent informal contacts with the programme coordinator of the UCW (UCW 2009, 8). The rationale for interviewing FPs rather than the steering committee is that they are more operative. The steering committee focuses primarily on strategy, while the FPs do operational work, and this is more relevant for my research because my focus is the cooperation between the three agencies and the UCW. From the description above, it can be seen that since the FPs have close contact with UCW, interviewing them can provide answers to how and where they cooperate in the fight against child labour, bringing me closer to the answer to my research question. In total I conducted four interviews.

According to Kvale and Brinkmann "The qualitative research attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations" (2009, 1). This approach seems to be adequate when conducting research on how they regulate child labour and how they cooperate in the programme, taking into consideration that the original mandate and aim of the World Bank, UNICEF and ILO are quite different. The purpose of this method is to establish how people feel

or think about the situation, attitudes, values, and to gain knowledge about their background (Cambliss & Schutt 2010, 235). I have chosen to use semi-structured interviews (Bryne 2004, 181). This means that the interview guide is based upon topics. Semi-structure gives me as the researcher the opportunity to have questions that are both open and closed, binding or open for discussion as the interview goes along. I can also use follow-up questions, so the method is therefore flexible. I have chosen to include the method that I described, and using various kinds of questions adapted to my research question (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 130).

I conducted the interview with the director of UCW at his workplace, their main office. The representatives from the participating agencies all had offices in Europe, and since I did not have the opportunity to visit them, I conducted the interviews over Skype, after having agreed on a time that suited them.

I had to treat the interviews objectively, and not impose my own biases on the interviewees (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 242). In this research it is a necessity that I reflect upon the nature of the object that I interview and do research on (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 244). The questions that were chosen for the interviews were not leading questions, as this is an important factor for trustworthiness (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 245-246).

Interview guide

The questions in the interview are based upon definitions and deduced from the theoretical framework and background, and they include areas that are relevant to respond to my research question. I designed and used one interview guide for the interview with the three focal points from ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank, and another, with slightly different questions, for the interview with the UCW programme coordinator. The interview guides are added as attachment number 2. They are systematically organised by focus areas. The focus areas addressed in the interview are:

The aim of the UCW programme

This area reflects factors that describe the different governance models, such as trust, relationship building, culture, and flexibility, as described in chapter 4.1:Improving the cooperation of international institutions (Christensen, Lie and Lægreid 2007, 32-33) (Considine and Lewis 2003, 132+ 136-137) (Christensen and Lægreid 2007b, 1062). It also reflects the theory described in chapter 3, the global dimension of child labour. Taken into consideration is

the global perspective of the fight against child labour, that there is a need for action on a national level, and a need for cooperation with international agencies, civil societies and labour organisations (UCW 2010a, xxiii).

Structure of governance

This is in line with section 4.1 that describes how governance is constructed, the rules of power in the various models, and how the power is divided. It is also based upon the fact that because of globalisation there is a greater demand for cooperation among global institutions (Zürn 2005, 137).

Various visions of the interviewees and their views on child labour.

The original organisation that the interviewee works for is taken into consideration, as well as how this influences the programme. This is based upon the theory reflected in 3.1, 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. In these sections I highlight the different institutional missions and views of child labour that are reflected in the different definitions by the participating agencies. I also present the different reduction strategies and policies adopted to reduce child labour.

Promoting cooperation in the context of UCW

I have constructed questions around advantages and challenges in the cooperation, considering the original mandates and aims of the three different organisations. I based the questions upon the same things as mentioned above in "the aims of the programme" where I showed key factors of the different cooperation models. This focus area also reflects the different institution's missions and the consequences of this as described under the focus area above: 'Various visions of the interviewees and their views on child labour'.

The interviews were recorded by using a dictaphone and later transcribed¹⁷. When the interview was over I wrote field notes to cover aspects of the interaction that were not captured by the recordings (Bryne 2004, 190-1).

¹⁷ The interviews are available in both written and taped form. The recording of the interviews required specific consent from the interviewee.

5.1.3 Data sources

With the aim of responding to my research question I have combined the analysis of interviews with the analysis of institutional data. Data from the three participating agencies and from the UCW programme is used. The institutional data used is collected from their web pages, and official reports. The reason for this choice is that it helps to identify their aim and mandate and view how their official statements compare with answers given in the interviews. It also complements the research with important facts concerning how they work in a written form that enforces the analysis. However, I have only incorporated this data in my analysis when it was possible to do it in response to my answers. The main source of my data is the answers I was given in the interviews, and this enabled me to reflect upon the level of cooperation and coordination in the fight against child labour.

5.1.4 Descriptive analyses, data reduction and simplifying

After collecting the data and transcribing the interviews I used a descriptive analysis on the qualitative data collected. The data were categorised and reduced. Categories arose as the research went along, and resulted in an analytical process both during and after the data collection (Postholm 2005, 91).

A description on the process of the analysis follows. "To analyse means to separate something into parts or elements" (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 193). Miles and Huberman define analysis as three parallel activities: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction is a part of the analysis that consists of selecting and simplifying the data from the written texts and transcriptions. I made categories when I summarised the data. This helped me to get a better overview of the findings that are of relevance to my research question. As well as data reduction, data display is a part of the analysis. Data display comprises organising the information and data in a compact form for a better overview of the context. I had focus areas in my interviews, and after the reduction I made categories and headlines that I identified during my work. These categories were drawn from the answers and they were adapted to correspond to my research question, so that I could see the answer clearly. This helped me a great deal to respond to the research question. The data display was used to draw conclusions and move on to the next step (1994, 10-11).

The third activity is conclusion and verification. I drew conclusions from the results of the data, and this process started when I began to find meaning in the data. Often this process is not finalised before the data collection is completed. Verification is to test the results so they can be verified (Miles and Huberman 1994, 10-11). This study does not aim to make generalisations beyond my object of analysis: the UCW programme. The issue of validity is relevant only if a deductive approach has been adopted and a theoretical hypothesis had been tested.

Stake (1995) names two different ways to interpret data, through categorical aggregation or direct interpretation. Categorical aggregation was best suited to my research, as the goal of categorical aggregation is to find patterns or homogeneous practice. In the categorical aggregation I had to search for uniform statements, and collect them in categories. However, I also looked for statements that did not fit any patterns and that stood out from the other material. This gave me an insight into contradictions in statements on the cooperation, and view how the institutional mission shapes the cooperation. Further, I had to decide if these single contradictive statements have a meaning. In my research, it is extremely important to consider these statements, and reflect on and interpret why they differ from most of the answers (Postholm 2005, 97-98).

The theoretical perspectives and background, as shown in chapters 2, 3 and 4, give a more meaningful and deeper understanding of the qualitative data. Regarding my qualitative data, as mentioned earlier, questions in the interview are based upon definitions and deduced in the light of the theoretical framework and background. I analyse the data in light of the theoretical insights that emerge from the review of the existing literature, after which the data is organised and categorised. The theory helped me to give the research a direction, and the theory became a starting point for my research as well as an analytic tool (Postholm 2005, 99-100).

5.1.5 Study limitations and assumptions

As a researcher I am required to incorporate reflexivity: this means that I must think about my role and position, and reflect on the impact on the subjects that are being interviewed (Bryne 2004, 184-5). I will use my experience, subjective views and individual theories and my own perspectives (Postholm 2005, 86), however, it is my intention to meet the material with an objective mind, and put aside acquired perspectives.

I have combined the analysis of interviews with the analysis of institutional data, as I explained in the sources of data. However, it would be best if I had three different sources of data for security regarding the quality of my data, triangulation. Then the different sources could verify and enforce my results (Postholm 2005, 132). I did not have the opportunity to collect a third set of data for this research. A method that could have been used as a third source of data is participant observation. By using this method I could have had the opportunity to observe the complexity of different contexts and social relationships (Chambliss and Schutt 2010, 224-225). I could have done this by participating in the interviewees' normal daily activities, including attending meetings and observing how they communicate with each other in a group or on a oneto-one basis with people from their own organisation or programme, or when there is communication between the agencies. When conducting participant observation I am required to select the role of observer to carry out the observation. I would choose complete observation: "A role in participant observation in which the researcher does not participate in group activities and is publicly defined as a researcher" (Chambliss and Schutt 2010, 226). For me, it would not be possible to pretend to be a member of all of the agencies or programme. If taking an active role in the observation, I could not have conducted the interviews in the way I did. Theoretically, observation could have provided valuable data that could have been compared to the other data sets. Additionally, if the observation had been thorough and over a long time period it could have led to more reliable data that complemented the other two sets of data.

Due to the scale and scope of my research this third set of data collection could not be implemented. In addition to the time factor, the fact that the agencies and the UCW programme are located in different countries and the cost of living over an extensive time period in these different countries made it impossible to conduct this kind of research.

5.1.6 Presentation of findings and analysis

The analysis is organised into three main subjects, all with sub units. This is the best possible way to respond to my research question. In section 5.2 I give a *description of UCW*, to clarify the object of the analysis. This will include the main objectives of the programme, and include the definition of child labour that is adopted in the UCW programme. There will be a presentation of the key units in the programme before the rules and model of governance that are adopted by the programme are presented.

In section 5.3 I will discuss how coordination and cooperation are constructed in the context of UCW. The issues that are brought up under this sub section have been raised by the review of the literature on governance. Under point 5.3.1, I will address *areas where there is cooperation and coordination*. I have identified three areas under this heading and they are: defining a common approach to child labour, collection and dissemination of data on child labour and country reports on child labour that UCW produce through cooperation with ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank

Next I will look into *perceived advantages of the cooperation and coordination*, point 5.3.2. The section is guided by the content in point 4.1: improving the cooperation of international institutions. The areas I have identified here are: efficient use of resources, UCW as a mediator between ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank, establishment of new relationships, mutual understanding of child labour and creating a common voice, development of official reports with joined statements, and, finally, improving the level of cooperation.

In the last area, point 5.3.3, I analyse *factors that shape coordination and cooperation of the actors in UCW*. To do this I will look into the advantages and obstacles to the cooperation, such as the different institutional missions of the participating organisations. I will discuss the issue of relationships and trust between the participating actors from the agencies and the UCW programme. Finally, there will be a presentation of the purpose behind the model of governance.

I adopt an inductive approach, trying to explore reality before I try to move the data to theorisation. I have therefore not used the logic of the dependent or independent variables that would have been relevant if I had adopted a deductive approach, i.e. tested a particular hypothesis. Using an inductive approach means that I view the data material with an objective perspective and do not include specific theories. This is called *epoch*, and it demands that the researcher meet the phenomenon with an open mind (Postholm 2005, 87). I therefore try to view the data objectively, although this is difficult, and my aim is to put aside preconceived notions.

5.2. The Understanding Children's Work (UCW) – brief description

In this section I will present the main objective of UCW, the definition they adopt in the programme, the key units in UCW, the rules of the programme, the model of governance and funding.

Main objective

The UCW was created because of a need for greater and deeper understanding of the global issue of child labour. The programme was established in response to a perceived need for cooperation among agencies that work on the issue. It is therefore an interagency cooperation between the World Bank, UNICEF and ILO (UCW, accessed 2011-05-31)

Definition of child labour adopted in the programme

When I viewed the reports from UCW, there was no reference to a definition on child labour. I am therefore referring to the answer I was given in my interview with the programme coordinator of UCW, and this reflects the complexity of the definition. The definition on child labour is defined by international conventions in addition to national legislations (Interview with UWC programme coordinator 2011). A quote from the interview with the UCW programme coordinator describes how the UCW uses a flexible approach:

The definition on the child labour is defined by the international conventions, plus the national legislations. UCW has a very flexible approach. The main three references are the two conventions on ILO, the minimum age and the worst form of child labour and then the UN convention on children rights (2011).

As presented earlier in chapter two, child labour is defined in various ways, but Conventions No. 138 and No. 182, which are included in the UCW definition, are the overarching framework at a global level.

The key units

The UCW programme has five core units. The first is *monitoring*. Cooperation on this issue gives the programme access to a large amount of quantitative data, and national statistics. The second is *policy-oriented research*. This is being done to identify gaps of knowledge, and the impact of child labour on economic and social issues. Research is conducted into social protection, education, youth employment, migration and the worst forms of child labour. The third unit is the *impact of evaluation*. It involves evaluation of child labour interventions and

how effective different policies are. The evaluation improves child labour programmes, and contributes to creating a guide for many people involved in the fight against child labour. *Country-level cooperation* is the fourth unit. Here UCW cooperates with nations, and the nations in this programme cooperate with UNICEF, ILO and the WB as well. It creates a link between the global fight regarding child labour, and also how the issue is regarded in different nations, and how UCW can adjust programmes to suit the specific conditions in these nations. The fifth unit is *to spread the knowledge regarding the issue of child labour*. This includes the web page and research that is being published (UCW, accessed 2011-05-31). Each unit has sub-units. UCW's webpage has a model of the core units shown in attachment 3.

The rules of the programme, the model of governance and funding

There has not been any change in the structure of governance since the establishment of UCW. The three agencies (ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank) that are involved in the programme have an equal ownership of the programme (UCW 2009, 3). There are three levels of governance within the programme. They are the steering committee (SC), focal points (FP) and the UCW secretariat (UCW 2009, 8). Table no. 3 gives an overview of the governance in the UCW, cited from UCW 2009, 8:

Table 3: Programme governance structure for the 2009-2014 planning period

Level	Responsibility	Membership	Meeting frequency
Steering committee (SC)	Establishment and oversight of the programme's overall strategic direction and goals. Approves detailed 12-month work plans	Senior management representative, one from each agency, plus programme coordinator as an <i>ex-officio</i> member.	1 per year
Focal	Develop and provide liaison with	Technical	Formal – 2 per
points	agency, approve 12-month work plans	expert/manager, one	year. Frequent
(FP)	for submission to SC, coordinate within	from each agency, plus	informal contacts
	agency and provide substantial technical	Programme Coordinator	with Programme
	input to programme	(PC).	Coordinator
UCW	Develop detailed ongoing 12-month	Programme Coordinator,	NA
Secretariat	work plans for approval of FP; manage	researchers and support	
	implementation of workplans	staff	

The programme is financed through contributions from countries and agencies. The countries that originally contributed are Norway, Sweden and Finland. The agencies contributing resources are the US Department of Labour and the three before-mentioned core agencies, ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank (UCW 2010b, 1).

5.3. How coordination and cooperation are constructed in the context of UCW.

The issues that are brought up under this sub-section have been raised through my review of the literature on governance.

5.3.1 Areas where there is coordination and cooperation

Here I was able to identify three areas: defining a common approach to child labour, collection and dissemination of data on child labour, and how country reports on child labour that UCW produce through cooperation with ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank are developed. I will further present my findings:

Defining a common approach to child labour (including how this is measured)

In respect to the conventions the main change in recent years is the definition by the international conventions, and the national legislations. Legally the definition is clear, but there is a problem regarding the measurement of child labour. In 2008 the International Conference of Labour Statistics (ICLS) adopted a more detailed standard of measurement of child labour to obtain more reliable statistics. The conference was held in Geneva by the ILO (Interview with UWC programme coordinator 2011).

UCW is working towards establishing a universal understanding of the concept of child labour as well as an accepted measurement of child labour. They are basing the understanding on the results from the ICLS that took place in Geneva, from the 24th of November to the 5th of December 2008. "...the resolution is a milestone for child labour measurement, providing a first-ever set of global standards for translating the international legal standards on child labour into statistical terms" (UCW 2010b, 5). There has been a more common approach between the agencies as a result of the cooperation, and this is an important achievement. A quote from the interview with the ILO's FP verifies this:

UCW has been very successful in a number of areas, particularly as an inter-agency platform of policy cohesion between the three agencies. I think we are increasingly speaking with one voice on child labour, especially, but not only at the country level where we have now more than a dozen joined papers on child labour and therefore joined statements which ten years ago would have been unthinkable (2011).

UCW identifies four areas, or pillars, that can be used in the fight against child labour. These are education, social protection, labour markets and communication and advocacy. These will be briefly presented, because they demonstrate one of the new achievements of UCW in promoting collaboration in finding a common approach to fight child labour. The first is education.

Education must become more attractive to children. Better quality education needs to be offered and adapted to meet the needs of children and their families. The second is social protection. If a family does not have the needed social protection, they may depend upon the income earned by their children from child labour. There is no single policy to attack this issue, but a policy that could provide an option is a conditional cash transfer. The third pillar is labour markets. There is a need for children and youths who participate in the labour market to be given an opportunity to learn new skills. The fourth and final pillar is strategic communication and advocacy. This area concerns educating families about the long-term benefits of education; the opportunities that education opens up. They need to understand that there are other better directions for their children, and not involve them in child labour. This includes work within the cultural spheres in societies (UCW 2010a, xvi-xvii). The report from UCW highlights that it is very important to develop a comprehensive child labour policy framework. "Particularly important in this context will be the establishment of a national strategy to fight child labour and, in collaboration with national governments, an effective integration of child labour concerns into agency-specific programmes of support at the country level" (UCW 2010a, 121). "Progress in the fight against child labour requires an integrated policy response led by Government and national social partners, and supported by the international community" (UCW 2010a, xxiii). In the data from my interview, the UCW programme coordinator referred to the four areas when I asked about policies that reduce child labour:

Last year there was a global conference on child labour in The Hague, and we produced a report from the conference [...] So basically we try to identify these four areas of policy intervention. If you look at these I think it will give you a good description at least of what we think about in this case and because this is an official report [...]. This is an official document, and therefore it is approved by the three agencies (2011).

This official document gives a good description of what the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank think and reflects the achievements of UCW in promoting collaboration in finding a common approach to fight child labour.

The areas correspond with the work of the three participating agencies (ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank). I would like to highlight the focus on education and the quality of education in particular and also how to adapt education to meet the needs of all children and their families. All three agencies are currently working on this, as shown in table 2. Also shown in table 2, UNICEF and ILO are developing programmes on social protection, the UCW's second area. The third area, the labour market, is relevant for ILO's work, while the fourth pillar, strategic

communication and advocacy, which aims at educating people about the broader long-term effects of child labour is an important area of work for all the agencies.

Collection and dissemination of data on child labour

When analysing the interviews I found that the participating agencies and UCW cooperate to create and maintain a common database of statistics and data on child labour. UCW interacts with the different participating agencies if they need data and all of the agencies have access to the database. The data from the institutional reports also show how they develop statistics for child labour indicators through cooperation and coordination of the data that is available. The database statistic consists of information from the different agencies, UNICEF, ILO (and IPEC) and the World Bank. It also involves statistics from the national collaborators. These statistics are collected at several points in time, and can therefore be used to estimate trends in child labour (UCW 2010b, 8-9). Another instance of collaboration is in the area of research activities. The centre for research activities is an area where all agencies and the UCW programme discuss what they are planning to do. UCW does the work and then at a certain point they share the work and get comments and feedback. These are areas where there is less direct involvement. The agencies are aware of what UCW is doing and their level of involvement differs, depending on the task at hand.

In the centre for research activities we discuss what we are going to do. We do the work and then at a certain point we share the work and we tend to get comments and so on. This is the areas where is less direct involvement. The agencies know what we are doing, and we do it (Interview with the UCW programme coordinator, 2011).

The FP of ILO spoke about the value of UCW, emphasising that they fill an important role: "UCW has developed a kind of unique profile in terms of economics and quantitative based analysis on child labour, which is recognised all over the world" (Interview with ILO's FP 2011). Cooperating on child labour measurement gives the programme access to a large amount of quantitative data, and national statistics (UCW, accessed 2011-05-31).

Country reports on child labour that UCW produce through cooperation with ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank

In my data from the interviews UCW told me that the work with the country reports requires processes where the agencies are very involved in the work. UCW cooperates with nations, and the nations in this programme cooperate with UNICEF, ILO and the World Bank as well. A link between countries involved in the global fight against child labour is therefore created and UCW

can adjust programmes according to the particular needs of countries (UCW, accessed 2011-05-31): "Country research activities involve direct collaboration with national counterparts to improve information on child labour, and provide a framework for improved inter-agency cooperation against child labour at the field level" (UCW 2010b, 22). The UCW programme coordinator gave a description of how UCW cooperates with the three participating agencies (ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank) and with nations when producing the country reports:

When we begin to work in a country it must be one agency that begins the process, I mean we cannot convene the government by ourselves, so it is one agency who put in place or uses their relationship with the rest of the government who propose that we do this work, organise the first round of meetings so we go there to get clearance from the government and so on (2011).

The country reports have different stages, and I will refer to the last stage that requires a strong inter-agency cooperation. The last thing that happens in this process is the implementation mechanism, and the process of the cooperation among the different parts and agencies is described:

The process through which country-level project activities are developed and implemented is designed to ensure maximum interagency cooperation and consultation. An initial country-level meeting involving representatives from the three agencies is first held in order to reach agreement on the broad terms of reference for the country activities and to agree on the make-up of a country-level project Steering Committee [...] The draft report, cleared by the national Steering Committee, is then cleared by each of the three agencies according to their respective procedures. Following final revision the report becomes an official document of the three agencies and is then presented to the Government according to the country's specific procedures (UCW 2008, 4).

In the next section I will look into the perceived advantages of the cooperation and coordination, seen in light of section 4.1: Improving the cooperation of international institutions.

5.3.2 Perceived advantages of the cooperation and coordination

The areas I have analysed are: efficient use of resources, UCW as a mediator between ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank, the establishment of new relationships, mutual understanding of child labour and creating a common voice, development of official reports with joined statements and, finally, improvements in cooperation.

Efficient use of resources

Assessing the data I found that the method of cooperating on the data collection, so that less money and fewer resources are used, is efficient. The data are available for all three agencies: ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank. A quote from the interview with the FP from the World

Bank verifies this: "So one thing is that we hopefully stop wasting money collecting similar but not the same not comparable data. So we use whatever money is available for research more efficiently, because there is better coordination and data from one agency are available to another" (Interview with the FP form the World Bank, 2012).

UCW as a mediator between ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank

Going through my data from the interviews also showed that the participating agencies work differently in their practice, and this is because they are different institutions with different institutional missions. This can create difficulties when the agencies are cooperating with each other, and UCW becomes a helpful tool when it is necessary for one agency to cooperate with one of the other two agencies. UCW can be used as a mediator between the agencies, because of the good relationship they have built with the participating organisations. Two quotes from the interview with the FP from the World Bank verifies the UCW's role as a mediator:

Especially ILO, sometimes I find them a bit too theoretical and therefore not very useful... Yes, this will be my own personal experience... So in that sense I find it very helpful and also by now UCW, they know how to move around ILO, so if I need to do something with ILO I can ask them to help (2012).

"For me, working with the UCW is great, because sometimes people from UNICEF, and especially ILO can be difficult. So UCW is a nice mediator because I get along with them. I am being perfectly honest" (Interview with the FP from the World Bank, 2012).

This relationship between the UCW programme and the agencies provides an insight into the importance of trust and the quality of personal relationships in UCW's model of governance.

Establishment of new relationships

The interview data also gave me an insight regarding how the agencies that work with UCW create an opportunity for them to build new relationships with people in the other agencies involved in the programme, and also with other agencies.

We get to know people who work in the other agencies, so it is even beyond UCW – you just have contact with the other agencies and that can be useful. For example, in Senegal, we used UCW and Fafo, the Norwegian research institute. So for me it was very good because I got to know Fafo and actually we are now doing the same thing in Congo: we are working together with Fafo and UCW (Interview with the FP from the World Bank, 2012).

This shows that through networks new bonds are established.

Mutual understanding of child labour and creating a common voice

Cooperation between agencies in the fight against child labour has led to a broader mutual understanding of child labour and the fight against it (UCW 2009, 2). Reviewing the data from my interviews confirmed this statement. This achievement can be attributed to work of the UCW programme. The ILO's FP referred to the fact that there has been success both in the technical work that UCW conducts, as well as the policy work and this has brought the agencies closer together. Furthermore, he explains that the aim when establishing the UCW programme was more policy oriented, but it has changed and developed over time. He further said that the original thought in establishing it that as ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank work on the same issue, but speak different languages, they needed a common voice. A quote from the ILO's FP verifies this: "So, the inter-agencies', how can I say it, search for coherence really has borne fruit, and today there is a great deal of coherence between the three agencies so that one can focus more on the technical world of UCW" (2011).

A major achievement for UCW has been to create a common voice to bring the agencies closer together in the fight against child labour in terms of promoting coordination and cooperation. A quote from the interview with the FP from ILO shows exactly that:

The main advantage is to gain strength; if three agencies harmonise their views and speak with one voice you come out more strongly. And you have greater leverage, both on the international scene, globally, as well as vis-a-vis development partners and governments etc. in the countries concerned. I would see that as one of the key advantages; through cooperation you can achieve more than you can do alone (2011).

Development of official reports with joined statements

Examining the data I found that the technical skills that the UCW have, have helped the agencies a great deal with the UCW programme. I also found that a significant achievement has been the report that was presented at the global child labour conference in May 2010 in The Hague in the Netherlands, and it is called: "Joining Forces Against Child Labour. Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010." The UCW coordinated the work with the agencies, and the report is an official document with joined statements that are approved by all three agencies, giving the agencies a unified voice. In the interviews, ILO, the World Bank and UNICEF all spoke very warmly about the technical work of UCW:

And then of course for me it is a great help to have access to the technical skills of the UCW. As I said, I end up looking better thanks to them, basically. They do excellent analytical work, and very good reports. Something they do particularly well is very nice-looking reports, with nice graphs and so on, and that really looks good. It is very much appreciated by management (Interview with the FP from the World Bank, 2012).

For me the very productive thing they facilitated last year was the interagency report on The Hague conference, and I think that was a huge success. And they played a very important role in coordinating all of that so I don't think we could have done it without them, frankly (Interview with UNICEF FP, 2011).

We presented a joined report to the last child labour conference in The Hague last year, so that's a big success on the policy development and cohesion level. And at a technical level, UCW has had a tremendous impact in shaping these policies or policy development of the agencies and their partners through the analytical work it carried out (Interview with the ILO FP, 2011).

It is interesting that all the agencies referred to this achievement in the interviews. I therefore argue that the mutual agreement on the good reports is a sign of a great achievement by UCW that has evolved as a result of cooperation.

Improvement in cooperation

They have a regular forum to keep each other updated, where they share information regarding where they are going as institutions. In an interview with UNICEF'S FP I asked if the cooperation level had changed over time and he explained that cooperation has improved over time, and a reason for this may be that her location now is closer to ILO and UCW. A quote from the interview verifies this: "I think to the better, I would say its got better. But I think that's partly because my location has changed to Geneva rather in New York, and because of that I have got to know the IPEC and UCW very well" (Interview with UNICEF FP, 2011). This shows that time is an important factor, and that building a good relationship demands time and close connection so that cooperation can develop.

5.3.3 Factors that shape the coordination and cooperation of actors in UCW

In this section I address factors that help or hinder the cooperation and coordination. I will describe my findings as follows: the different mission statements of the participating organisations, relationships and trust between the participating actors from the agencies and the UCW programme, and the purpose behind the model of governance adopted by the UCW programme.

Different mission statements of the participating organisations

Analysing the results from my interviews I found that the way the agencies responded to the question depended on how they define child labour in their institutional mission statements. It also reflected their interest and involvement in their programme. Even if the mission statements

are very different, the results from this study show that the approaches by ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank have become more united compared to how it was earlier.

The FP from the World Bank does not refer to a clear definition and this can be related to their mandate, as they do not have the same focus on child labour as the two other agencies, ILO and UNICEF. The FP from UNICEF and ILO referred to the international framework, Conventions No. 182, and 138 from ILO on child labour. UNICEF gave a short answer, where she referred to the two conventions; "UCIC, ILO 138, 182 basically."

The ILO FP gives a fulfilling answer that reflects their mandate and their definition. From this I interpret that because their mandate is in labour rights, and because IPAC is the largest programme to tackle child labour, he has strong contact with the UCW programme, and that ILO is the agency that has the most interest and involvement in the programme. The FP of ILO also describes the conflicting issues of an unclear definition on how child labour is measured. He maintains that the overarching framework for the definition on child labour, is Convention No. 182 and Convention No. 138. It is the national laws that define child labour. Especially Convention 138 is a rather flexible convention, you can set many minimum ages on different levels, and you can allow light work from a certain age, etcetera. The measurement of child labour also relies on how countries define child labour, and is flexible for those who want to measure it (Interview with the FP from ILO, 2011).

I have compared the answers given in my interviews on descriptions of child labour reduction strategies to the institutional data presented in table 2. In my interpretation of ILO's FP's answers he refers to several of the points in my table reduction strategies. He gives a broad description that reflects the data gathered in table 2. Based on this and my findings in the institutions' reports, I would argue that this is an indicator of a close relationship with the UCW programme. Among other things, he mentions the need for social protection policies and the increase of awareness. As listed in table 2, ILO is working to encourage nations to implement national policies for the protection of children, and in the interview he argues that there is a need for more work to create more commitment among governments to take action, and that it is necessary to set aside specific funding for this purpose. He describes the importance of education and education policies that guarantee children's schooling. He recommends tighter inspections at the workplace, and direct services for children who are involved in the worst forms of child labour, and who need rehabilitation. He also believes that to eliminate child labour it is necessary

to integrate child labour concerns into overall economic, social and development policy, especially into policy reduction efforts. He also reflects on the reduction of child labour, and remarks that it has been declining in numbers all over the world, with the exception of sub-Saharan Africa. From his answer an overview of the broad picture on child labour emerges. In his answer he also mentions how the situation is for children who are involved in the worst forms of child labour, which reflects the mandate of ILO. A quote from the interview verifies his overview:

By and large we have seen a positive trend over the last ten years. Child labour is declining in the world as such and in all major world regions except for sub-Saharan Africa There are some particular encouraging trends with regards to girls and children in the worst forms of child labour (Interview with the FP from ILO, 2011).

ILO has a clear approach regarding the reduction of child labour. They work to encourage nations to implement national policies for the protection of children (IPEC, accessed 2011-05-27). Like UNICEF, they have social protection programmes regarding issues of gender equality and education (UNICEF, 2009a, 18).

Interpreting the answers UNICEF's FP gave me shows that she has the same thoughts regarding reduction strategies as UNICEF (Table 2). She refers to social protection, education and focus on gender equality and social norms. She believes that there is a need to work through the local community to be able to conduct the work. This quote reflects the need for improved education and social norms:

It is a real mix I think: decent work, social protection, and basic protection systems. [...], because it is issues about child labour, because child labour is primarily through poverty, but it is also driven by lack of access to quality education and social expectation, particularly where girls are concerned (Interview with UNICEF FP, 2011).

UNICEF works closely with ILO on the IPEC programme. Even if the organisations have different approaches, they are now adopting similar approaches to social protection for reducing child labour, focusing on education and gender equality (UNICEF 2009a, 18). UNICEF is today moving towards a system approach. This approach does not focus on single issues such as child labour but attempts to take a more holistic approach, and thereby strengthening the protection of children (Wulczyn et.al. 2010, 8). With this new approach it may be difficult to map how they work with reduction strategies of child labour, but it reflects the main goal of the organisation, that is to protect children. However, one of the things that UNICEF fights for is education for all, and they argue that education is a preventative and protective strategy regarding child labour (European Commission 2010, 10).

The data from my interviews shows that the FP from the World Bank has much knowledge, and an overall grasp of all the issues. She refers to poverty as a variable, but notes that there is not a straight correlation and it is therefore necessary to take other things into consideration like cultural norms. Education from a gender perspective is also an issue. It must be seen as positive that a girl is educated and parents must be encouraged to invest in that. The standard of education also needs to be addressed. She refers to the reduction strategies showed in table 2, both regarding the education perspective and reduction of child labour through poverty reduction. These quotes from my interview verify her opinion:

Probably one of the best things we can do is to make sure that the children are in school and parents value the fact that their children are in school and get an education. That the parents help their children make it to school, but also allow the children to have time to do schoolwork when they are not in school. Schooling is basically the best way to reduce child labour (Interview with the World Bank FP, 2012).

The vision for the World Bank is to fight poverty, and the bank gives favourable loans to developing countries with a wide range of aims (World Bank, accessed 2011-05-23). The World Bank recognises that child labour has a negative impact on the development of the economy, and that they therefore have a responsibility to work with the issue. One of their main strategies is to reduce child labour through poverty reduction (World Bank, 2009). Today we can see that there are discussions within the World Bank, and that they may move toward programmes regarding education, like UNICEF and the IPEC programme (Rena, 2009: 6).

However, I gained an important insight when I discussed how the organisations' mandates impact on their work. The UCW programme coordinator answered that the mandates of ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank do, of course, have an impact. Since ILO has the main mandate on child labour, they are specifically focussed on this issue. All the partners have slightly different agendas which influence what they do, for example, the interest of the World Bank is primarily on social protection and issues in the labour market especially for youth. This has contributed a great deal in shaping UCW agenda in terms of focus on social protection and now more of this focus is on youth as well and is linked to child labour. So the three agencies shape the work of UCW, in reaction to their particular focus areas and interest.

Of course the agenda of the three agencies is not synchronised, they are very different agendas, and so to have the attention, I mean for ILO is clear, they have a programme on child labour and we are working with them, so. But World Bank and UNICEF's focus on child labours vary a lot country by country (Interview with the UCW programme coordinator, 2011).

I further interpret, that even if the three participating agencies have an equal ownership of the programme, interest in the programme varies. A quote from the ILO's FP verifies the importance of the agencies' mandate:

The mandates clearly have a big impact, I mean the mandates are behind what we do and of course all three agencies act within their mandate and within the limit of their mandate, if you will, as well, so we do not only bring different perspectives to the table but different interests as well and different stakeholders after all (2011).

The special interest and involvement of ILO is therefore verified both by quotes from the UCW programme coordinator and from ILO's FP concerning the impact the mandate has on the collaboration.

Relations and trust between the participating agencies and the UCW programme.

The next factor I want to address is the importance of relationships between the partners in the collaboration. Analysing my data I found that the participating agencies have good, flexible and trustworthy relationships with the UCW programme. The UCW makes sure that, if possible, the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank are involved and that they communicate with each other on subjects that are relevant for them to cooperate on. It is clear from the answers above that the cooperation within the UCW is highly resolution-oriented when issues arises. There are, however, inconsistent answers on the issues of how the three agencies cooperate. So there do seem to be some inter-personal issues regarding the communication. The person who is the FP is very important for their agency regarding cooperation with the other agencies. As mentioned earlier, the person that I interviewed from the World Bank is a previous Focal Point who was very familiar with the work, so she may not be the person to whom UNICEF refers here. The World Bank states that the cooperation on a country level is better with UNICEF than the ILO because they have a large staff and more offices than the ILO who are not so visible at the country level. UNICEF's FP feels that they have a good relationship with ILO. However, ILO's FP feels that their annual meetings are sufficient as the agencies have contact between the meetings. A quote from the interview with the FP from the World Bank verifies this: "If I am working with them (UCW), they always say 'please make sure UNICEF and the ILO are on board.' The World Bank and UNICEF really work together, also for the country reports, so we really work together a lot" (2012).

The results from my data also showed that there are some issues regarding personal relationships and the culture between the three participating agencies. As shown in section 4.1, in network

governance there is a demand for a shared culture. The cooperation involves agencies with different overall aims, which possibly explains the problem of cooperation. However, when I ask about how cooperation has changed over time she explains that in the past the atmosphere was somehow hostile amongst the agencies, but through cooperating they have become associates. So from these statements I will refer to the network theory (shown in section 4.1) that the results from joined work improve the culture. A quote from the FP from the World Bank shows that here can be relationship issues:

At the country level ILO is more difficult to get involved, but I think honestly it is because the person representing ILO in this case ... was less interested, so she was really sweet but when it was time to comment on a paper, she would not." However, I refer to the person I interviewed from ILO and she had very good impression of him: "He is very present, he is very involved actually, I think from a sort of central agency point of view, ILO is the one that is most involved (2012).

I would like to address the answers I received to questions about how an international institution cooperates with countries on a national level. The different levels of cooperation among the agencies are brought up. The FP from the World Bank describes that the cooperation with countries varies from country to country, and it depends on who represents the different institutions at the country level.

I think it really changes from country to country, and it depends on who represents the different institutions at the country level. For example, I said that we had a great relationship with UNICEF and the World Bank, and the ILO was a bit to the side, so it means for UCW...UNICEF is available, ILO is not. Well sorry. Also ILO is less represented in the field. UNICEF has the largest staff and has offices everywhere. ILO tends to have much smaller offices (Interview with the FP from the World Bank, 2012).

Further, the FP from UNICEF describes the contact she has with the two other agencies, and that it varies a lot. This verifies the different relationships between the agencies:

The World Bank is no longer engaging actively in the area of child labour. I am not aware of their interface with UCW in this area now though I understand they are doing lots of work on youth labour issues rather than child labour. They had very strong leadership previously, but on the other hand because the ILO team is putting significant efforts into UCW and are collaborative within the partnership, we have a very good relationship (2011).

This shows that relationships can be a challenge since the three participating organisations are very large and all have different agendas. This highlights the importance of trust, and the quality of personal relationships and the necessity for building a shared culture.

The purpose behind the model of governance

I have reflected on the purpose behind the model of governance in the UCW, and how the governance model helps or hinders the cooperation. The model of governance (table 3) is shown in section 5.2, sub section 4. There is both horizontal and vertical coordination in the model. The coordination between the agencies that are involved is on the same level (horizontal): ILO, UNICEF and WB. The data from the interviews showed me that through having two levels with the steering committee and the FP, it can provide an oversight, and guidance that strengthens the cooperation. A quote from the interview with the FP from ILO confirms this:

I think there are two purposes, one is oversight of course, the secretariat would do the technical work and the other two groupings, the steering committee and the focal points provide both guidance as well as oversight in order to ensure that the work of UCW serves all agencies and is in line with agency expectations so that UCW is seen as a valuable tool by the agencies (2012)

This shows that the programme combines the vertical coordination to gain an oversight, with the flexible horizontal cooperation. The flexibility in their work is important to make the programme function well. The function of the FP is of great importance to this as it helps the coordination and cooperation. A quote from UCW's programme coordinator confirms the constant contact UCW has with the focal points from the three agencies: "And then we have a more or less daily contact person who works with the different partners, and these are the so called Focal Points" (Interview with UCW programme coordinator 2011)

"The three agencies that are involved with the programme have an equal ownership of the programme. Despite this, there are areas or countries where one agency has more impact than others" (UCW 2009a, 3). The data from the interviews revealed an interesting insight when I asked the interviewees about the paragraph above. The governance model used in the UCW programme is based upon that of equal ownership, as stated in the quote above. However, when one agency has more involvement and impact than another, it can, in fact, prove that the assumption of equal commitment in this type of model is not necessarily true.

A quote from the interview with the FP from the World Bank indicates this:

We cannot be equally strong in all the countries. So part of it is a function of the interest of the person ... for example for the World Bank we have been stronger in the countries in which we have an active programme in human development while in other countries where we are less active in the social sectors, there may be an ILO person who is really interested in these dynamics, so they take the lead (2012).

Through my analysis is has become clear that the ILO has a specific interest in the programme. ILO has the mandate that best reflects the work that UCW conducts, and they are therefore the agency that seems to be most involved in the programme. A quote from the interview with the FP from the ILO verifies this: "Of course it is probably never possible that all partners are engaged to the same extent. Given that we have a large child labour programme here, we are kind of dominant; for the other two agencies it is perhaps more of a niche product" (2011).

The assumption that all members are equally committed in a cooperation-based model is not necessarily true. As shown above, the agencies have differing levels of interest in the programme, and this is a factor that shapes how much they are involved in the programme.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to provide an understanding of how the UCW programme helps promote cooperation and coordination between the organisations that have a responsibility for intervening in the fight against child labour at global level. The thesis opened with a presentation of the theoretical framework. I made conceptual clarifications where I defined child labour and global governance. I explained that child labour is mainly defined through international conventions but that measurement of child labour is contentious. This is because some definitions include household chores while others leave this issue out. Through the different definitions on governance, I have argued that a demand for global governance on human issues as a reaction to globalisation has arisen. I chose to focus on child labour, because it is an issue that needs action on a global level. I found out that child labour bears upon several policy areas; health, education, poverty reduction, social protection and labour standards and legislation to mention but a few. In this respect, there is a need for government cooperation on a national level, as well as response from outside the government by global actors. Furthermore, the thesis presented the role of international organisations, namely ILO, the World Bank and UNICEF. It asserts that none of the organisations has child labour as their only mandates but there are areas within their mandates that are linked to child labour. A discussion on their view of child labour was thus presented. The thesis went further to present two different perspectives; the realist view and the liberal view which address the role of the state and of international organisations. I found out that the neo-realist view argues that it is the state that is the most important participant in the international arena. The liberal view holds that governance is broader than government. Their focus is on how globalisation is governed in the world and that there is a need for strong

multinational actors. Based on the discussion of these views, I based the thesis on the liberalist view. I demonstrated why child labour is something that requires a global approach, and clarified the roles of the different international institutions in the global governance of child labour. I further revised how theory reflects upon the issues of how to improve cooperation between international institutions and I argue that due to globalisation, there is a need for more cooperation and coordination among international organisations. I also brought up the debate that can be seen as a result from NPM, and found that the new way of structuring governance is through cooperation, governance built upon trust, relationship building, shared culture and flexibility.

In my empirical chapter I introduced my case study that is an example of a programme that was created to help in the cooperation of the main international institutions, the UCW programme. This is an interagency cooperation among important international agencies that are working with the issue child labour, ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank. I clarified my research question, and presented the methodological tools I used in the research. I have argued that the governance model that are adopted in the UCW programme has strong similarities to the on the 'cooperation model'. Further, I presented my findings and analysis according to my research questions. The issues that I raised were based on my review of the literature on governance. I addressed how coordination and cooperation are constructed in the context of UCW. The thesis argued that there has been a more universal understanding of the notion of child labour as a result of the cooperation, and that they have managed to create an inter-agency platform of policy cohesion between the agencies. UCW has produced several reports that are clarified by the three participating agencies, with joined statements. UCW has identified four areas that UCW uses to promote a common approach to fight child labour. UCW has also made a collective database that includes research and statistics that the agencies in the collaboration share. I then analysed perceived advantages of cooperation. I identified areas that are successful through the collaboration and showed that through the collaboration, the agencies can use the resources that are available more efficiently. UCW is being used as a mediator between the agencies, and the collaboration has also led to the establishment of new relationships with people in the other agencies that are involved with the programme and also other agencies outside the programme. My results also showed that the cooperation between the agencies and the UCW has improved over time. The last area I analysed was the factors that shape coordination and cooperation of the actors in UCW. My analysis showed that the different institutional missions of the participating organisations have an impact on their involvement with UCW. ILO has a specific interest in the

programme and a reason for this could be that their mandate best reflects the work that UCW does. The agencies have an equal ownership of the programme but my result of the analysis showed that they are engaged to different extents. I analysed the relationships and trust between the participating agencies and the UCW. The UCW has a good, flexible and trustworthy relationship with UNICEF, ILO and the World Bank, and this is important. My analysis also showed that there are some underlying issued between ILO, the World Bank and UNICEF because of their different ways of working. I also reflected upon the governance structure, and I argued that having two levels with the steering committee and the FP provide an oversight and guidance to strengthen the cooperation.

In my theoretical part I have shown theories regarding global governance and the network model, but I would argue that there is not enough focus on issues that can arise between the agencies on an interpersonal level. Christensen and Lægreid do mention culture as a concept in the whole-of-government approach, as I referred to in chapter 4: I argue in the same line that it is not sufficient only to change the structure of management. To reach the goals, one must change the culture. It is a model that is constructed upon trust and shared values. Hence, teambuilding in the cooperation's is necessary to create a common culture. My findings showed that there are some issues regarding establishing a shared culture, and that this has an impact on the collaboration. For further investigation, I suggest that more explorative research be conducted on issues of collaborative practice regarding establishing a shared culture among the various agencies on the subject of child labour.

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Attachment 1: Abbreviations

Focal Point - FP

International Conference of Labour Statisticians - ICLS

International Labour Organization - ILO

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour - IPEC

Global Child Labour Program - GCLP

New Public Management - NPM

The United Nations Children's Fund - UNICEF

Understanding Children's Work - UCW

United Nation - UN

Attachment 2: Interview guide

Interview guide to interview with the coordinator of the UCW programme

Interview object 1: Furio Rosati: Programme coordinator of the UCW programme

Where: UCW programme's office in Rome.

Date: 28th of October 2011.

Vision for the interview object

- 1. How do you define child labour in the context of UCW?
- 2. What kinds of policies are best to reduce child labour?
- 3. What are the greatest obstacles for eradicating child labour?

Programme aim

- 4. What is the aim behind the creation of UCW?
- 5. Does the mandate of the different participating organisations have an impact on the programme of UCW, and if so, how?
- 6. Could you describe what are the main activities that the UCW develops?
- 7. Are there any areas of the UCW's work that are especially successful, and if so, why?
- 8. In which areas has the work of UCW proved more challenging?
- 9. What are the main challenges in the coming years?

Structure of power

- 10. How is the coordinator in the UCW programme selected?
- 11. How are decisions taken within the UCW programme (organisation)?

In the report 'UCW, Looking for UCW, Programme progress report, Reporting period January 2010 - December 2010' it is described how there are three levels of governance within the programme today: the steering committee (SC), Focal points (FP) and UCW secretariat.

12. What was the purpose behind this model of governance?

13. Have there been any changes in the structure since the establishment of the programme, and if so, what are they, and why were they introduced?

Challenges in the cooperating, considering the original mandate and aim of the three different organisations.

- 14. It is written in the report 'UCW, Looking forward: medium-term strategic framework for the UCW program, Rome May 2009, 3' that the three agencies (ILO, WB and UNICEF) that are involved with the programme have an equal ownership of the programme. Despite this, there are areas or countries where one agency has more impact than others. Could you tell me more about this?
- 15. Could you explain how the collaboration with the various institutions works in operational terms, i.e. in the development of projects or activities?
- 16. What would you consider to be the main advantage of this kind of cooperation?
- 17. Can you point to which areas the collaboration with these agencies has been more successful?
- 18. What are the main challenges concerning the collaboration between the UCW and the ILO, WB and UNICEF?
- 19. Do you think that this cooperation could be the beginning of further cooperation relationships between UNICEF, ILO and the WB in other global issues?

Interview guide to interview with the Focal Points

Interview object 2: UCW Focal Point for ILO

Where: Over Skype

Date: 1st of December 2011.

Interview object 3: UCW Focal Point for UNICEF

Where: Over Skype

Date: 7th of December 2011.

Interview object 4: Previous UCW Focal Point for the World Bank

Where: Over Skype

Date: 13th of February 2012

Views on child labour

1. How would you define child labour?

2. What kinds of policies are best to reduce child labour?

3. What are the greatest obstacles for eradicating child labour?

Programme aim

4. What is the aim behind the creation of UCW?

5. Has the aim of the programme changed?

6. Does the mandate of the different participating organisations have an impact on the programme UCW, and if so, how?

7. Could you describe what the main activities that the UCW develops?

8. Are there any areas of the UCW's work that are especially successful, and if so, why?

9. In which areas has the work of UCW proved more challenging?

Structure of governance

10. How can you influence decisions in UCW?

In the report 'UCW, Looking for UCW, Programme progress report, Reporting period January 2010 - December 2010' it is described how there are three levels of governance within the programme today, the steering committee (SC), Focal points (FP) and UCW secretariat.

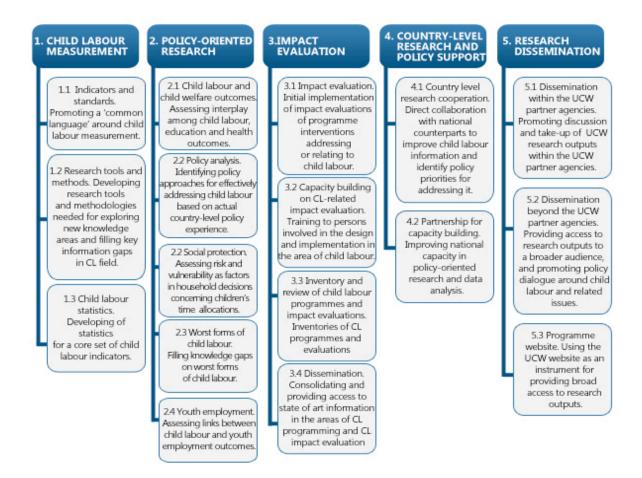
11. What was the purpose behind this model of governance?

12. Have there been any changes in the structure since the establishment of the programme, and if so, what are they, and why were they introduced?

Promoting cooperation in the context of UCW

- 13. How would you describe your role in this cooperation?
- 14. How has the cooperation changed over time?
- 15. How is it for a global institution to cooperate with countries on a national level?
- 16. It is written in the report 'UCW, Looking forward: medium-term strategic framework for the UCW program, Rome May 2009, 3' that the three agencies (ILO, WB and UNICEF) that are involved with the programme have an equal ownership of the programme. Despite this, there are areas or countries where one agency has more impact than others. Could you tell me more about this and give me some examples?
- 17. Could you explain how the collaboration with the other institutions works in operational terms, i.e. in the development of projects or activities?
- 18. What would you consider to be the main advantage of this kind of cooperation?
- 19. Can you point to which areas the collaboration with these agencies has been more successful?
- 20. What are the main challenges concerning the collaboration between the UCW and the ILO, WB and UNICEF?
- 21. What are the main challenges in promoting the coordination between the different agencies in the context of the UCW programme'?
- 22. Did the participation in the UCW create new opportunities for the other institutions participating in the UCW programme. If so, could you give examples?
- 23. Do you think that this cooperation could be the beginning of further cooperation relationships between UNICEF, ILO and the WB in other global issues?

Attachment 3: Model of the core units in the UCW



(http://www.ucw-project.org/Pages/about us.aspx accessed 2011-04-06)