

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: RHETORIC OR PRACTICE?

HELLA TURKI BEN CHEIKH

This comment explores the Condition of the Child in the United Kingdom. The purpose is to evaluate the extent of respect of children's rights in this State and to reveal whether the government's policy honours fully its commitment to the national and international legislation. The first part deals with the British policy which is known for a great quantity of laws and national service frameworks produced for the benefit of children. In fact, the state enacted a series of Acts of Parliament and each Act amends a previous one. At international level, the country ratified a regional Convention which is the European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights that stems directly from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Then, there is a focus on the State Reports submitted to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. The Committee welcomed the number of developments in the UK with positive implications for the protection and promotion of children's rights and encouraged the efforts of the State Party in different areas. Nevertheless, it noted that the Reports submitted by the State Party contain little information on the difficulties experienced by some children in the country. It advised the UK Government to provide additional information and statistical data on the issues that children face and even urged the outline of the strategies used in the state to prevent poverty, child abuse, neglect and abandonment. Each country has its own history and culture and different problems to comply with the values of the international principles. However, are the UK's promises to children put into practice?

1. The Condition of the Child in the United Kingdom

The UK Government considers the child as an aspiration for the future. It promises to fulfil and develop children's legislation in all jurisdictions and to meet international obligations to make children a high political priority by implementing fully the United

Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)¹. Thanks to this policy, every child in the UK is supposed to have basic and fundamental human rights.

For instance in 1989, the government set up the Education Ordinance. It required that all children receive education between the age of 5 years and the end of the school year in which they attain the age of sixteen years. Children have the right to human rights education and schools have a duty to provide it. There are also important implications for teacher training, including the need for all new instructors to consider the relevance of the CRC to their professional practice. Furthermore, the state took measures to eliminate inequality in educational achievement between groups. It was directed to take appropriate measures to reduce school segregation, to afford a right to be heard to all children before exclusion as well as a right to appeal against eviction. Education legislation was also reformed to give disabled children the same right of access to mainstream education as non-disabled children. In fact, the Disability Discrimination Act created in 1995 was implemented and monitored for thorough compliance with children's rights, in all public services including transport, play, leisure and culture.

The British Government encouraged also the creation of a Parliament for children that allows youngsters to be listened to by adults, to have their questions answered and their needs provided. The Parliament wants children to have a good time doing playful and creative projects. Most importantly it helps children to be heard. It also attracts adults to learn more about children's rights and citizenship. Members are elected by young people in each region once a year. The government promoted and respected this idea and encouraged any way that protects children's rights.

Moreover, it offered its child a new modern way of complaint. Several lines to help children called "Child Helplines", such as "Get Connected", NSPCC Child Protection Helpline, "Child Line" and "Muslim Youth Helpline". These lines capture the voices of desperate children. A telephone helpline for children and young people is accessible to them around the clock, free of cost and enables them to

¹ The CRC was ratified in 1989 by all countries except Somalia and the United States.

contact someone in any emergency situation. It provides children and young people with an opportunity to express their concerns and talk about the issues that directly affect them. It is a way to help those who suffer from abuse, violence, homelessness, commercial exploitation, AIDS, risk, menace, and discrimination. It is also concerned with juvenile justice and legal matters.

The British policy is also known for a great quantity of laws, produced in recent years, for the benefit of children. This reveals that children and families are at the heart of government plans. To match the international standards, the state enacted a series of Acts. For instance, the Children Act 1989 placed a duty on local authorities to identify "children in need" and to provide appropriate services for them. It set out the legal requirements for child protection practice. It even introduced orders applicable when children were at risk of significant harm. The main principles were the welfare of the child, care within the family, work in partnership with parents and regard to children's feelings and interests.

In 1999, the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act in England and Wales was created. This Act is divided into two main parts. Part 1 deals with reform to the Youth Justice System. Part 2 provides a variety of special measures which are aimed at young, disabled, vulnerable or intimidated witnesses and which are intended to help these witnesses give evidence in criminal prosecutions.

In 2002, the government instituted the Adoption Children ACT. This Act amended the Children Act 1989 to enhance the child's voice in decision-making. It claimed regards to children's wishes, feelings and interests in decisions affecting them and especially in case of adoption. In the same year, the UK established the Education Act which requires local education authorities and governing bodies to have regard to guidance on pupil consultation. It even obliged the school to have and follow an appropriate policy on responding to complaints from boarders and parents. This was another way to help children who want to make a request or complaint.

In February 2003, a law was passed about the children's Commissioner in order to promote the rights and interests of children in England. This was an action to raise awareness of the need for such an independent body among politicians.

In 2004, the government enacted another Children Act. Section 1 to 9 of the Act provide for the creation of the Children's Commissioner for England. As a result, the Children Act 2004 passed through

Parliament to persuade the government to give England's Commissioner the same strong powers as the others existing in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The qualities required in a children's Commissioner are the capabilities to respect young people's views and listen to their concerns on the issues that matter to them and to have an understanding of different kinds of social backgrounds. In March 2005, the first Children's Commissioner for England was appointed to give children and young people a voice in government and in public life. Called also Ombudsmen, they have to pay particular attention to gathering and putting forward the views of the most vulnerable children in society. Independent of governments, these officers have powers as well as a number of obligations under the law. They are champions and watchdogs of children's rights and so must have regard to the CRC when determining the interests of children. Besides, they have the duty to create and promote new innovative opportunities for young people to make their views heard.

In January 2005, the government improved the life chances of disabled people by giving a special emphasis on disability. The strategy was to set out plans to eradicate some of the inequalities faced by disabled children, and young people. The goal was that, by 2025, disabled people in Britain should have full opportunities and choices to improve their quality of life, and that they will be respected and included as equal members of society. On the day the Report was published, the government announced the creation of an Office for Disability Issues, reporting to the Minister for Disabled People, to help co-ordinate disability policy across government. Thanks to all these combined efforts, the UK has achieved great performances in terms of fighting to promote children's rights.

At international level, the State ratified a regional Convention which is the European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights. It is another document that stems directly from the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. In fact, its Preamble indicates that the pretext from this European Convention is Article 4 of the CRC, which declares that States Parties shall undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative and other measures for the implementation of its principles. This instrument was created in 1995 and has always operated successfully as a regional mechanism of human rights protection. It is following its incorporation into the legal systems of the vast majority of Council of Europe States, including

most recently the UK. Thus, its potential to influence law and policy can be realized at the domestic as well as the regional level.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (hereinafter referred to as "CRC" or "Convention" would be the best vehicle for such an approach, its scope being far wider than that of the European Convention. The UK ratified it in December 1999. The Convention is binding on the State under international law. Once ratified, a State is obliged to comply with its provisions. All professionals that work with children and young people are meant to know about the Convention, and take it seriously. The state is also supposed to make sure that all new laws fit with this instrument.

The UK Government agreed to make all laws, policy and practice compatible with the CRC. In ratifying the Convention, it committed itself to a set of non-negotiable and legally binding standards and obligations in respect of all aspects of children's lives. It also made an engagement to recognize and respond to the specific needs of particular groups of children and young people who may suffer discrimination, such as Travellers and other ethnic minorities, children and young people with disabilities, asylum seeking children, children in care, children in the juvenile justice system and others.

Each State Party has to comply with the Convention. A Convention is an agreement between countries to obey the same law. When the government of a country ratifies such an instrument that means it agrees to obey the provisions set out in it. It is obliged to comply with all the principles and standards it contains, except the areas in which it has entered a reservation. A reservation indicates that the government is not willing or able to comply with a particular principle or standard in the Convention. A State has considerable discretion in deciding what reservations it wishes to make but there are limitations on this discretion. The UK Government made a number of reservations relating to the definition of a parent, immigration and nationality law, child labour and imprisonment of children with adults.

2. Children's Rights in the United Kingdom: Rhetoric or Practice?

The other way to evaluate the status of the child in the United Kingdom can be possible through the examination of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child by submitting

Reports. These Reports are yielded in accordance with Article 44 of the Convention. They give an account of the progress recorded, of difficulties encountered and the challenges which States have sought to overcome so that to ensure the well-being of children and the effective enjoyment of their rights. Each government has to submit Reports to the Committee within two years of ratification, and every five years thereafter, specifying the steps taken to change national laws and formulate policies and actions.

The Committee is a group of eighteen adults from different countries who are experts on children's rights. Its function is to provide an international mechanism for monitoring progress on implementation of the Convention. Reports include meaningful and feasible recommendations for legal reform. They are presented to the Committee which uses them to analyse how well a country is fulfilling its international commitments with regard to children. Indeed, it examines the government's record on executing children's human rights.

The Committee even demonstrates a willingness to criticize governments and takes a robust approach to breaches of the principles of the CRC. It usually appoints one or two of its members to act as Country "Rapporteur". This person makes a particular study of the government's Report and any NGO submissions and draws up a list of questions and suggestions to put to the concerned government. The aim from submitting such a Report is to analyse national laws in terms of the international commitments that a government has made.

As all States Parties, the UK prepared an annual research on the situation of the child, involving all regions, as a means to assess the situation of the child. This annual Report represents an important way for collecting data, indicators, statistics and other information relating to the implementation of acts and programmes for children.

The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child welcomed the number of developments in the UK with positive implications for the protection and promotion of children's rights. It encouraged the efforts of the State Party in the area of early childhood health, evident in the high rate of immunization – 90-100% coverage – and low incidence of vaccine preventable diseases, as well as the relatively low rate of infant and child mortality. It even congratulated the government for its initiative to reduce

sudden infant death and combat bullying in schools by setting up a series of Acts of Parliament relating to children

It also noticed the efforts made in a number of the Overseas Territories to introduce legislative reforms and facilitate the implementation of the Convention. Besides, it praised the UK for its incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights through the Human Rights Act 1998 and the creation of "child-focused" government structures including the Children and Youth People's Units in the various jurisdictions. According to the Committee, the most noticeable was the establishment of both the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission and the Police Ombudsman's Office.

Nevertheless, the Committee noted that the Reports submitted by the State Party contain little information on the difficulties experienced by children living in Northern Ireland, by disabled ones and those belonging to ethnic minority. It advised the UK Government to provide additional information and statistical data on domestic violence and on abused, neglected and abandoned children in each Overseas Territories. It even urged the outline of the strategies used in the State to prevent child abuse, neglect and abandonment.

Additionally, the board recommended the State to provide supplementary information and the legal and administrative procedures established to guarantee the rights of children with disabilities and to facilitate their inclusion in the regular school system and in society. It recommended the State Party to submit, in its next Periodic Report, information on the measures taken to extend the Convention to all children within its jurisdiction.

While acknowledging that some progress had been made on the allocation of resources to children, the Committee remained concerned that the Convention was not being implemented to the maximum extent. That is why; it encouraged the government to incorporate the CRC into its domestic law, to ensure that all legislation was compatible with this instrument and that the provisions and principles of the Convention were widely applied in legal and administrative proceedings.

The Committee criticized the British Government for not ratifying the Optional Protocols added to the CRC. Indeed, the UK signed both instruments but did not ratify them. The main reason is that the Optional Protocol on the Rights of the Child on the

Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (which entered into force in February 12, 2002) recognized that children need special protection in armed conflict. It encouraged governments to rise the age of voluntary recruitment into armed forces, and requires states to take all feasible measures to ensure that children under eighteen years of age, do not take a direct part in hostilities.

In October 2002, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child issued the UK with 78 recommendations, to make law, policy and practice compatible with the CRC. The Report from the Secretariat of the Children's Rights Alliance for England (CRAE)² showed that progress had been made on just 16 of these recommendations in the past year. In fact, when ratifying the CRC, the UK entered reservations to the instrument and some of these reservations contravene the object and purpose of the Optional Protocol that is why, the Committee was concerned about the broad nature of the reservations made to the CRC. Besides, the reservation relating to the application of the Nationality and Immigration Act does not appear to be compatible with the principles and provisions of the Convention, including those of Article 2 which promotes non-discrimination, Article 3 that guarantees the best interests of the child, Article 9 which is concerned with separation from parents and Article 10 that enables family reunification.

The Committee raised two continuing reservations to the Convention by the UK government. The first one is in relation to Article 37 which urges the separation of children from adults in detention. The other principle is in relation to Article 22 which is concerned with immigration and nationality.

The commission also addressed the issue of recruitment and deployment of under 18s in the British Army and recommended that the government ratifies the Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. Young people in this country can join the British Army from the age of 16 years old, no other European country apart the UK deploys under 18 years old and the state is the European country with the lowest recruitment age.

² The Children's Rights Alliance for England (CRAE) is a Non-Governmental Organisation in the UK.

According to the Committee, teaching and promoting knowledge and respect of children's rights should be incorporated into the training curricula of professionals working with or for children, such as teachers, the police, judges and social workers. The reason is that young people's knowledge about the CRC was extremely poor and mostly inexistent. Indeed, a recent study into civil rights in English schools found that of 2,272 children surveyed, over 75% had not heard of the CRC, the remaining 25% had heard only "a little bit"³.

The Committee drew also attention to the continued high rate of temporary and permanent school expulsions and noted the disproportionate number of excluded children from within certain grouping including ethnic minorities, children with disabilities and asylum seekers. It even noted the differential in attainment levels for these groups of children as well as for children in care and children living in poverty.

However, the Committee expressed concern that not all children were being protected from discrimination. It highlighted the unequal enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights for children with disabilities, children from poor families, asylum-seeker and refugee children, children belonging to minority groups and detained children. It advised the government to both monitor discrimination against these children and to develop comprehensive strategies to eliminate it.

With regard to Article 2 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child relating to non-discrimination, the Committee expressed its concern at the insufficient measures undertaken to ensure its implementation particularly with children of certain ethnic minorities. Not all children in the UK have equal access to health services. Many children from black and other minority ethnic families experience racism and find that services do not address their religious and cultural needs. Moreover, the Committee expressed concern that insufficient effort has been made to prevent discrimination against teenage mothers and children born out of wedlock. It pointed to the high rates of infant mortality among Traveller children as one indicator of such inequality and recommend to the governments to take measures.

³ Source: The Children's Rights Alliance for England Website at www.crae.org.uk.

The board expressed also concerns at the rising incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, the prevalence of mental health problems among young people, the high rates of teenage suicide and the lack of provision of appropriate information and support to young gays, lesbians and transsexuals. It recommended that the State takes the necessary measures to address all of these inequalities.

The other serious problem that the UK faces is the high rate of teenage pregnancies compared with other European countries. One in fifteen young women between the ages of fifteen and nineteen became pregnant in 1990. In 1999 a comprehensive Report on teenage pregnancy from the Social Exclusion Unit set out the UK Government's plans for tackling the problem, including the establishment of a cross-departmental Teenage Pregnancy Unit and an independent advisory group. Each year approximately seven thousand seven hundred girls under sixteen were conceiving. This is the highest rate in Western Europe.⁴

The lack of adequate attention paid to the issue of sexual trafficking and exploitation of children was also criticized by the Committee when it recommended to the government to undertake a study on the scope, causes and background of child prostitution. The board also suggested that adequate human and financial resources are allocated to policies and programmes in this area.

The Committee pointed also to the huge number of children forced to work. The issue of child labour in Britain achieved a higher political profile in 1995. In 1997, some two hundred and fifty million child labourers were being harshly exploited. For instance, despite the fact that agriculture is one of the most hazardous industries in the UK, a child of thirteen can legally drive a tractor and operate other farm machinery⁵.

Article 32 of the CRC, establishes the right of children to be protected from economic exploitation and work which is hazardous

⁴ Children's Rights Alliance for England. *Report to the Pre-Sessional Working Group of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Preparing for Examination of the UK's Second Report under the CRC*. UK, 2002, p 15.

⁵ Pettitt, B. *Children and Work in the UK: Reassessing the Issue*. London: Child Poverty Action, 1998, p 10.

to their health, education and development, and also imposes a duty. Besides, a lot of children are employed illegally and the majority ignore employment laws. They are given jobs of low status and low pay. As a consequence, the Committee recommended the government to take the necessary measures to ensure that child working no longer remains dominant and to respect fully children's rights.

In 1995, it noted its concern with the national legal provision in the UK that deals with "*reasonable chastisement*" within the family. It stated that legislative and other measures relating to the physical integrity of children were not compatible with the provisions and principles of the Convention, including Articles 3, 19 and 37. In 1998, the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg ruled that UK Law had failed to protect a nine year-old boy who had been bitten by his step-father from "*inhuman or degrading treatment*" in contravention of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Parents who abuse or neglect children may be prosecuted. Besides, protective measures using emergency protection and care and supervision orders are provided. However, additional efforts are required to overcome the problem of violence in society. Physical punishment of children in families should be prohibited in connection with the child's right to physical integrity and the government's measures should be stricter.

Between one and two children die every week from physical assault or neglect in England and Wales. Many thousands more suffer repeated beatings and ill-treatment that amounts in many cases to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment. In the absence of clear law and systematic public education, hitting and humiliating children remains the social norm. Violence towards children is an everyday sight in English streets and supermarkets. In the mid-1990s researchers found that 52% of one year-olds were hit, smacked at least once a week by their parents. A quarter of children had been hit with an implement and over a third punished severely.

The Committee was equally concerned that privately funded and managed schools are still permitted to administer corporal punishment to children in attendance there, which does not appear to be compatible with the provisions of the CRC, including those of Article 28, Paragraph 2.

The government was also urged to do more to tackle bullying in schools including setting up adequate measures and structures to prevent bullying and the inclusion of children in the development

and implementation of these strategies. The anti-bullying policy should represent the school's promise to solve the bullying problems. Parents have the right to have a copy of the policy of the school.

Many of the breaches of children's rights – that are incompatible with the principles of the CRC – threaten the British children. The use of physical restraint on children is also used in detention and in residential institutions. These violations were criticised by the Committee that blamed the UK Government for putting youngsters in adult jails. As a result, the state was requested to review these procedures to ensure their compliance with the Convention.

The UK has one of the worst records in Europe for locking up children and has one of the lowest ages of criminal responsibility in the world. According to the Council of Europe, there are two thousand four hundred children in prison in England which is an increase of more than 80% in the past ten years.⁶ Figures are 51.3% higher than a decade ago. Conditions in young offender institutions have been described as “*unacceptable in a civilised society*” and “*institutionalised child abuse*”. Eleven children in custody have killed themselves in the last five years.

Detained children are prevented from their most basic rights such as the right to education during their imprisonment nor do they have rights of access to the National Health Service. Some of them are even deprived of their most basic right which is right to life. Indeed, in 1990, the total number of child deaths in custody was twenty seven. Moreover, during 2000-2001 seven children died while being pursued by police in England⁷.

The Committee noticed also that many of the Convention rights including right to life, health, accommodation and education are denied because of poverty which threatens British children. The UK has the fourth richest economy in the world, yet 32% of its children live in relative poverty. Child poverty is a complex policy area in the UK. In fact, it has the worst child poverty in Europe. According to the UNICEF Innocent Research Centre, the state has the second highest child poverty rate in Europe. Moreover, while other European countries' child poverty rates have gone down or steadied,

⁶ Source: Children Society Website at www.childrensociety.org.uk.

⁷ Source: Save the Children Website at www.save the children.org.uk.

child poverty in the UK has nearly tripled. It rose from 10% to 26% over the last twenty years. Besides, figures for 1998-1999, showed that one in three children in the UK were in poverty, living in households with an income below half the national average.

The incidence of child poverty has increased dramatically over the past fifteen years. Using as the definition of poverty, those living on less than half the average wage after housing costs. Up to 50% of children who remain poor are in families where adults are not able to work. The figures vary by region and by ethnic group, and the impact of unemployment and lone parenthood has been severe. Homelessness is very high with 100,000 children living in temporary accommodation. Poor children continue to fare badly in education and get easily excluded from school. Indeed, they are two and a half times more likely to have no qualifications. The Committee noted with concern the increasing phenomenon of children begging and sleeping on the streets. Poor children are more likely to play truant, to get in trouble with the police and to live in unprivileged areas. Girls from deprived backgrounds are ten times more likely to have a teenage pregnancy than girls from well-off families. Moreover, poor children are more at risk of early death and childhood accidents and more susceptible to mental ill health and their neighbourhood are hardest hit by crime. Between one and two children die every week in England and Wales as a result of abuse and neglect. There were 77 child homicides between 1999-2000, 48% of which were babies under one⁸.

The Committee expressed extreme concern at the high proportion of children living in poverty. While welcoming the government's commitment to end poverty within a generation it noted the lack of "*an effective and coordinated poverty eradication strategy across the state*"⁹. It pointed out to the State that it must take all necessary measures to eliminate child poverty.

Since the 1999 Second Report the government has committed itself and enounced plans to eradicate child poverty by 2020 and

⁸ Source: Save the Children Website at www.save-the-children.org.uk.

⁹ The Committee on the Rights of the Child. *Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child: List of Issues*. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 2000, p 19.

to halve it within ten years. There has already been significant progress, with early evidence suggesting that child poverty may be halved within 5 years rather than 10. Nevertheless, much more needs to be done.

According to the Committee, even halving child poverty in 10 years will still leave child poverty higher than most industrial countries. The government's poverty eradication strategy has four key strands. The aim is to ensure a decent family income, deliver excellent public services, help parents so that they can provide better support for their children, and harness the power and expertise of the voluntary and community sectors.

The State's tax and benefit measures, announced in the recent Parliament sessions, are intended to help to lift 1.2 million children out of relative poverty. However, and according to Bradshaw¹⁰, such policies so far concentrate on families nearest the poverty threshold with less of an emphasis on children in families living in severe and long-term poverty. Meanwhile, the government refuses to reintroduce grants to enable poor families to buy essential living items. The slow pace of change comes against a backdrop of 3.6 million children living in poverty. Only 600,000 children have been taken out of poverty since the Prime Minister made his pledge in 1999 to eradicate child poverty within 20 years¹¹.

The Committee welcomed the impetus for eradicating child poverty but urged the state to find better solutions to struggle against poverty and deprivation that prevent children from their basic human rights. Besides, it blamed the government for its omission to address the issue of child poverty in the Second Report to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in 1999.

Save the Children believed that additional support during a child's early years is the key to tackling child poverty. It therefore urged the State to consider increasing financial support for families with children aged three years and under. Consequently, in 2003, the government introduced a Child Tax Credit, which is a new tax credit targeting families with children.

¹⁰ Bradshaw, J. *Child Poverty and Deprivation in the UK*. London: National Children's Bureau, 1990, p 55.

¹¹ Source: UNICEF Website at www.unicef.org.

Despite all the efforts made by the British Government, still inequalities hamper children's enjoyment of all their rights. However, efforts to better the situation of the child still persist. The political will is strong and this is another way that furthers progress in the domain of human rights in general and children's rights in particular.

The State of childhood in the UK has improved thanks to the respect of the principles of the international documents and the domestic legislation. The government has recognized children's rights and placed them on their national and political agenda. In fact, the Committee on the Rights of the Child congratulated the UK for the legislative measures they adopted and recommended solutions to the critical issues related to their children's status. As a consequence, the State has to take concrete steps to protect and promote children's rights. It has to honour its commitment by considering the Committee's remarks and suggestions and to make more efforts to focus on addressing the immediate factors and the wider causes of the problems that children face.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alston, P, & J. Crawford. *The Reporting Process Under the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Alston, P, S. Parker, & J. Seymour. *Children, Rights and the Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Bagliatto, C. "Children's Rights in the UK: An Overview of Issues Raised by the Council for Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights". *Child right*. Vol.218. (Jul-Aug 2003): 14-16.
- Bradshaw, J. *Child Poverty and Deprivation in the UK*. London: National Children's Bureau, 1990.
- Bronwen, C. P. Moss, & J. Wallas. *A New Deal for Children Reforming Education and Care in England*. Scotland and Sweden: The Policy Press, 2004.
- Chambers, G, & J. Tombs. *The British Crime Survey*. Scotland: Edinburgh Scottish Office, 1984.
- Children's Rights Alliance for England. Report to the Pre-Sessional Working Group of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Preparing for Examination of the UK's Second report under the CRC. UK, 2002.
- Rethinking Child Imprisonment*. London: CRAE, 2002.
- Committee on the Rights of the Child. *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 44 of the Convention: Concluding*

- Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child*. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1996.
- _____, *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 44 of the Convention: Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child*. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1999.
- _____, *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 44 of the Convention: Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child*. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 2002.
- _____, *Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child: List of Issues*. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 2000.
- Davis, R. "Children Locked Away from Human Rights in the UK". *The Lancet*. Vol. 361. Iss. 9360. (Mar 2003): 873-874.
- Flekkoy, M. G. *A Voice for Children: Speaking out as their Ombudsman*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1991.
- _____, *Children's Rights: Reflections on and Consequences of the Use of Developmental Psychology in Working for the Interests of Children. The Norwegian Ombudsman for Children: A Practical Experience*. Gent: Universiteit Gent Children's Right Centre, 1993.
- Forsythe, D. P. *Human Rights in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Fortin, J. *Children's Rights and the Developing Law*. London: Lexis Nexis, 2003.
- Gellhorn, W. *Ombudsmen and Others: Citizens' Protectors in Nine Countries*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Harris, P. M, & D. E Scanlan. *The Children Act 1989: A Procedural Handbook*. Butterworths: Kenny Press Ltd, 1991.
- Kilkelly, U. *The Child and the European Convention on Human Rights*. London: Dartmouth, 1999.
- Pettitt, B. *Children and Work in the UK: Reassessing the Issue*. London: Child Poverty Action, 1998.
- Tunstill, J. *Children and the State: Whose Problem?* London: Wellington House, 1999.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2005*. New York: United Nations, 2005.
- United Nations Development Programme. *Human Development Report 2005*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Unity Sale, A. "England Expects". *Community Care*. Iss. 1558. (Feb 2005): 53-55. Children's Rights Alliance for England. *Report to the Pre-Sessional Working Group of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Preparing for Examination of the UK's Second Report under the CRC*. England, 2002.

Van Bueren, G. *International Documents on Children*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1998.

Veermen, P. *The Rights of the Child and the Changing Image of Childhood*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1992.

Walker, R. *Ending Child Poverty: Popular Welfare for the 21st Century*. Bristol: The Policy Press, 1999.

[www.children's rights.org](http://www.children'srights.org)

www.childrensociety.org.uk

www.coram.org.uk

www.crae.org.uk

www.croa.org

www.dfed.gov.uk

[www.everychild matters.gov.uk](http://www.everychildmatters.gov.uk)

[www.savethe children.org.uk](http://www.savethechildren.org.uk)

www.un.org

www.unicef.org

www.unicef.org.uk