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**THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ELABORATION OF
POLICIES TOWARDS CHILDREN IN CHILE**

TESIS PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE MAGISTER EN

GESTIÓN Y POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

ALICIA DENIQUE ABRAHAMS

**PROFESORA GUÍA:
MARÍA PÍA MARTÍN MUNCHMEYER**

MIEMBROS DE LA COMISIÓN:

DANIELA ORTEGA FERNÁNDEZ

FERNANDA MELIS JACOB

*ESTE TRABAJO HA SIDO PARCIALMENTE FINANCIADO POR EL PROYECTO FONDECYT
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RESUMEN DE LA MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE MAGÍSTER EN GESTIÓN Y POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

Por: Alicia Denique Abrahams

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Profesor Guía: María Pía Martin Munchmeyer

EL ROL DE LAS ORGANIZACIONES INTERNACIONALES EN LA FORMULACIÓN DE LAS POLÍTICAS HACIA LA NIÑEZ EN CHILE

La posibilidad de injerencia de las Organizaciones Internacionales (OI) en la toma de decisiones es importante porque define su capacidad para responder a los problemas sociales urgentes (Sommerer & Tallberg, 2016). Por consiguiente, pueden ser un complemento de los paradigmas nacionales prevalecientes, siendo una expresión de las políticas de desnacionalización (Zürn, 2004).

Chile ha firmado y ratificado varios acuerdos internacionales, siendo entre de los más destacados en materia de infancia, la Convención de los Derechos del Niño (CDN). Aunque ha habido importantes avances en el Estado, todavía persisten desigualdades significativas que afectan a niños, niñas y adolescentes, siendo Chile uno de los países más desiguales de la OCDE (UNICEF, 2017, pág. 2). La pobreza se ha reducido más de la mitad, pero es mayor en la niñez (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2017). Las estadísticas para los niños y adolescentes muestran importantes brechas en el cumplimiento de la CDN.

El objetivo de este estudio es analizar y describir el desarrollo de la influencia en el proceso de toma de decisiones y de políticas de la reforma a la niñez del programa de gobierno de Michelle Bachelet. Como marco analítico, se usó una combinación de los modelos de influencia de políticas postulados por Start y Hovland (2004) y Jones (2011) para comprender, identificar, determinar y describir cómo las OI intervinieron, aconsejaron, defendieron e hicieron lobby para que los cambios a la reforma se realizaran apoyando a que el Estado garantizara igualdad de oportunidades para que "ningún niño se quede atrás". Se utilizó la metodología cualitativa; específicamente entrevistas semi-estructuradas y análisis de contenido de documentos institucionales y discusiones parlamentarias, lo que permitió profundizar el análisis del papel de las organizaciones.

El análisis de los resultados establece que hubo cinco organizaciones internacionales involucradas en el proceso de la toma de decisiones de la reforma. La evidencia muestra que su papel principal fue promover la integración de los derechos del niño en el plan nacional de la niñez 2015-2025 y apoyar a los diversos sectores en la definición de sus metas y prioridades para la agenda de los derechos del niño para los próximos 10 años. Todas las OI involucradas identificaron que el problema principal que obstaculizaba el óptimo desempeño del Estado en la disminución de todas las formas de desigualdad entre los niños era el marco institucional. Hubo consenso sobre la ausencia y la necesidad de mejorar esta institucionalidad, la cual también se evaluó que se corrigió parcialmente con la creación de la Subsecretaría de la Infancia y del Defensor de la Niñez, quedando pendiente el desafío principal de garantizar los derechos de la CDN mediante una ley específica de garantías, no aprobada en el Congreso.

En general, la mayoría de las OI involucradas lograron algún tipo de influencia en los tomadores de decisiones, en particular en los procesos de discusión parlamentaria en el Congreso que buscaban regular la situación de los niños y adolescentes, lo que resultó en la reforma de las políticas hacia la niñez. A pesar de los desafíos pendientes, la experiencia chilena puede aportar lecciones útiles para otros países sobre cómo mejorar sistemáticamente a través de, por ejemplo, el uso marcadores estratégicos de evaluación nacionales e internacionales, un compromiso con mejoras incrementales centradas en la calidad y un mayor compromiso tanto los sectores públicos como privados.

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The decision-making capacity of International Organizations (IOs) matters because it defines their ability to respond to urgent societal problems (Sommerer & Tallberg, 2016) thus they can be a complement to national prevailing paradigms, being an expression of denationalization policies (Zürn, 2004).

Chile has signed and ratified several international agreements; one such notable one being the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) and although major advances within the State have been recognized, significant inequalities persist, rendering the State the most unequal country in the OECD (UNICEF, 2017 p. 2). Despite the reduction, extreme poverty continues to be greater amongst children (*Ministerio de Desarrollo Social*, 2017). The statistics for children and adolescents reflect important gaps in compliance with the CRC where inequality is more evident within this group. The consequences of poverty and inequality on children are devastating and efforts to combat them still remain insufficient.

The objective is to analyze and describe the development of influence in the decision and policy-making process of the Child Reform under the Michelle Bachelet's government program. As an analytical framework, a combination of the policy influence models postulated by Start and Hovland (2004) and Jones (2011) was used to understand, identify, determine and describe how the IOs involved, advised, advocated and lobbied for the changes to be made to the reform in order to assist the State with ensuring that "no child is left behind". Additionally, the qualitative methodology was utilized; specifically semi-structured interviews and content analysis of institutional documents and parliamentary discussions, which allowed for deepening the analysis of the organizations' role.

The analysis of the results indicate that there were 5 international organizations involved in the decision-making process of the reform. Evidence shows that their role has been to promote the integration of child rights into the plan and to support the various sectors in defining their goals and priorities for the child rights agenda for the next 10 years. All the IOs involved had identified that the main issue with Chile achieving optimal performance status for minimizing all forms of inequality amongst children, has been deep-rooted in the institutional framework. In addition, there was a general agreement on the absence and need for, which was partially corrected with the creation of the Undersecretary for Children, the absence of an Ombudsman that was achieved and a Guarantee Law that was not achieved.

Overall, the majority of the IOs involved, have had some form of influence on decision-makers and the Government submitted several bills to Congress, which seek to regulate the situation of children and adolescents-, which resulted in the Child Reform. Despite the challenges, Chile's experience can provide useful lessons for other countries on how to improve systematically through, for example, the strategic use of national and international assessment markers, a commitment to quality-focused incremental improvements and greater engagement with both the public and private sectors.

DEDICATION

This thesis is whole-heartedly dedicated to my grandmother, *Dominga Estevan Newman* and my mother, *Cecile Veronica Abrahams-Bernard*.

Mama, the role you have played and continue to play in my life is inexplicable.
Mommy, you have inspired me to work assiduously and realize my true potential.

Thank you both for always being a constant source of love, encouragement and support (in all its forms).

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ABBREVIATION LIST

- **CASEN Survey** – Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (*National Characterization Survey*)
- **CRC-** (United Nations) Convention on the Rights of the Child
- **DIPRES** - Dirección de Presupuestos (*Budget Directorate of the Ministry of Finance*)
- **IDB** - Inter-American Development Bank
- **IGOs** - International Governmental Organizations
- **ILO** - International Labour Organization
- **IOs** - International Organizations
- **MDGs** - Millennium Development Goals
- **MDS** - Ministerio de Desarrollo Social (*Ministry of Social Development*)
- **OECD** – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- **SEGPRES** - Ministerio Secretaria General de la Presidencia (*Ministry General Secretariat of the Presidency*)
- **SENAME** - Servicio Nacional de Menores (*National Minors' Service*)
- **SDGs** - Sustainable Development Goals
- **UN** - United Nations
- **UNCRC** - United Nations Committee on the Right of the Child
- **UNICEF** - United Nations Children's Fund
- **WB** – World Bank

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1. INTRODUCTION

“There is no duty more important than ensuring that their rights are respected, that their welfare is protected, that their lives are free from fear and want and that they can grow up in peace.”
--Kofi Annan

With the impact of globalization, the role and influence of International Organizations (IOs) - a term reserved for Intergovernmental Organizations only - has increased significantly over the years, especially as it relates to decision and policy-making. They focus on world matters and country specific issues through constructing social norms and values, creating their agendas and implementing policies based on their knowledge and expertise.

IOs possess an autonomous characteristic that affect state interests and public policies, through agreements, treaties and conventions. Axford states that they shape national legislation and organizational change and, critically, help to create the atmosphere in which these changes are possible (2012).

One such notable influence is the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which has shaped the context for government action for children. Chile by means of ratifying this convention in 1990 has committed itself as a state, to create an “appropriate world for children” by taking actions to ensure the protection and necessary care for the well-being of children. This is translated through the formulation and implementation of the National Policy for Children and Adolescents.

Child policy and practice tend to be studied as a national phenomenon, overlooking how governments are influenced by international laws, norms and ideologies. The literature often focuses on the influence of international governmental organisations (IGOs) on social policy broadly, rather than on child welfare or child policies specifically, or they tend to focus on one organisation or policy area only. Additionally, literature on child welfare or child policies pay less attention than might be expected to the influence of global social policy actors and instruments, apart from the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (Axford, 2012).

With such observation, this thesis investigates the influences of IOs on the National Policy for Children and Adolescents in Chile, specifically on the Child Reform from the Government Program of Michelle Bachelet (2014 – 2018)¹. It will therefore, focus mainly on the international actors involved in the process of design and implementation of the programme and context in which it is developed; along with their roles, interactions and degree of influences.

The focus is on the Child Reform because it is in this aspect where the administration of Michelle Bachelet² sought to place childhood at the centre of the country’s public policies. The

¹ Bachelet, won the elections in 2013 with a progressive program which upon launching her candidacy, promised a "Chile for all." With the aim of carrying out more profound reforms in order to defeat inequality in the country. The then candidate proposed to meet the demands of thousands of Chileans, with a programme focused on three aspects: taxes, education and the Constitution. To date, the three areas have achieved significant changes.

² This was the second term of Bachelet for the period 2014-2018 supported by the center-left coalition *Nueva Mayoría*, consisting of the Socialist, Democracy, Christian Democratic, Radical, Communist, Citizen Left and MAS Regions parties. Bachelet’s first mandate was between 2006-2010, supported by the coalition of center left *Concertación*: Democratic Party, without the Communist Party.

identification and formulation of policies, plans, programmes, measures and other activities are necessary in guaranteeing the rights and well-being of children; which is a fundamental basis for overcoming inequality still being experienced in the country by this vulnerable group³.

It is important to highlight that ensuring children's rights and fighting inequality amongst them (whether it be poverty, education, health, security, social protection etc.) is not only done at the national level. Through the influence processes such as advocacy, advising and lobbying, it is discovered that international actors (organizations) play an integral part as well.

Therefore, to investigate the roles (participation) and influences, the thesis adopts the policy influence approach posited by Start and Hovland (2004) along with a detailed description from Jones (2011), in an effort to explore the shaping of public problems for child policies. Policy influence incorporates a wide range of activities aimed at affecting/changing actions whether in private or public settings in order to achieve social transformation and improvement. Thus, with this approach, an attempt is made to reveal the participation of the organizations identified, the mechanisms they used to inform the state about child-related matters and how this has influenced policy-making towards the children.

In this sense the purpose of this thesis is to ask how is the Child Reform of Michelle Bachelet (2014 – 2018) under the National Policy for Children and Adolescents is shaped, taking into account the influence and/or participation of international organizations. As specific objectives, it seeks to determine which International Organizations were involved in the Child Reform of the Government Program, describe the type of influence used by each organization in relation to the reform and lastly, present an interpretation of how the national actors view the roles and/or influences of the IOs that were involved.

The thesis utilizes the qualitative descriptive and exploratory approach; official institutional documents, parliamentary discussions and semi-structured interviews of the key national and international actors involved. These allow for categorization of the influence approach as well as capturing the perspective of the actors and to gather information first hand on how they have participated in the reform.

The relevance of this study lies in the fact that although the State has made progress in the development of a series of initiatives in the area of policies for children and adolescents, this development has not generated the necessary impact to grant an effective reduction of inequality amongst children. Attacking this issue is not done only at the national level; thus, there is the need to examine the impact of international actors and if it is that their initiatives are always binding but their influences only normative.

The thesis is aimed at contributing to the achievement of a greater understanding in terms of its composition and results. According to Fleury (2000), policies comprise of complex processes that involve the interaction between what is expected to be achieved, demands of society regarding certain issues, political-institutional processes that delimit and form the problem to be addressed by public policy, design and the implementation of the strategies as well as the interaction between the different actors involved and their power relations.

³ The reform for childhood and adolescence policy consisted of five bills: the creation of the Undersecretary for Childhood, the establishment of the Ombudsman for Childhood; the separation of the *National Service for Minors* (SENAME) from the National Specialized Protection Service (Bulletin 11176-07) and the National Reintegration Service (Bulletin 11174-07), and the creation of the Guarantee System for Children's Rights (Bulletin 10315) -18). From this set of projects only the first two were approved - Law 21.090 and Law 21.067, respectively.

From the academic point of view, it allows to deepen the analysis of policy influence using the analytical-methodological proposal of the authors aforementioned.

In structural terms, this thesis is organized in 4 chapters; 1) Reference Framework of the Investigation Problem; 2) Methodological Framework; 3) Results of the analysis and 4) Conclusions.

Specifically, the first chapter, corresponding to the reference framework of the investigation, includes the research background in order to give the reader an overview of the role and importance of IOs in policy-making for children, the current situation of children in Chile and Michelle Bachelet's Child Reform along with the presence of IOs. Also included, is the conceptual framework which addresses the type of IOs being examined and gives details on the policy influence analysis.

The second chapter gives an account of the justification of the methodology utilized, the selection of the sample and the operationalization of the variables.

The third chapter addresses the main results of the investigation, exploring the livelihoods behind the measure and how they are assumed and re-interpreted by the actors involved. This section also explores the actors and their participation, making a distinction between the types of mechanisms the international actors use to influence child policy-making, their input and the actual outcome of the reform along with how such influences are viewed by the national actors involved in the child reform.

Lastly, the fourth chapter gives the reader the main conclusions of the study, which includes the answer to the research question and objectives, along with the details on the limitations and scope of the research.

2. REFERENCE FRAMEWORK

2.1 BACKGROUND TO INVESTIGATION PROBLEM

2.1.1 The importance of International Organizations in policy-making

International organizations (IOs) are important actors in the critical episodes of international politics; they also help in managing various key areas of international concern, ranging from global health policy to the monetary policies around the world as well as managing country specific issues (Abbott & Snidal, 1998).

The decision-making capacity of international organizations matters because it defines their ability to respond to urgent societal problems (Sommerer & Tallberg, 2016) thus they can be a complement to national prevailing paradigm, being an expression of denationalization policies (Zürn, 2004).

One of its main objectives is to seek and promote the homogenization, harmonization, coordination and standardization of public policies on a planetary scale; through deploying important epistemic capacities oriented to the investigation of global and national issues, the theoretical reflection on the development process, and the construction of statistical data that support decision-making and the making and exercise of the public agenda at the national level (Perez, 2015). Therefore, policies are conditioned not only by national actors but also by international ones.

Specifically, Perez (2015) states that the functions of IOs include: design, via interstate negotiation and the approval of declarations and conventions, norms and rules of global scope that regulate the social action of multiple actors and agents; the generation of new knowledge and the construction of statistics that guide decision-making and the design of national public policies; coordinate the member states in the exercise of public policy strategies; manage international programs of humanitarian, financial and technical assistance and introduce mechanisms for control and sanctions that guarantee compliance with the standards.

IOs and international treaties and conventions influence national policy via 'soft' forms of policy/knowledge transfer and the 'hard' transfer of policy tools and monitoring processes. Awareness-raising is a widely-used soft mechanism while 'hard' mechanisms include a range of incentives and disincentives aimed at producing compliance by means of increasing accountability and applying 'peer pressure' (Axford, 2013).

Child welfare policy and practice, like other areas of policy, has tended to be studied as a national phenomenon, overlooking how governments are influenced by international laws, norms and ideologies. The background information or literature often focuses on the influence of IOs on social policy broadly, rather than on child policies specifically, or on one organization or policy area only. Similarly, literature on child policies pays less attention than might be expected to the influence of global social policy actors and instruments, apart from the CRC (Axford, 2013).

In some instances, it can be said that, the behaviour of local actors is influenced by IOs, based on their obligations to international and regional agreements, regimes and institutions. For example, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) monitors signatory states' implementation of the CRC (UNICEF, 1998). It can express concerns about national policies and even declare particular policies or legislation 'incompatible' with the Convention (Axford, 2013).

While in other circumstances, IOs are only involved indirectly via certain actions that aid the development of certain programmes and the implementation of policies; directed at parents and/or guardians.

Collectively, however, Axford, 2013 states that it is apparent that IOs have social policy regarding all aspects of children's lives, including housing, relationships, behaviour, health, education, employment and living standards.

As it relates to the rights and wellbeing of children, the international community raised concerns regarding the extent to which countries have implemented laws and policies to supporting them. This concern was expressed through the use of reports⁴ and general comments⁵ presented by the United Nations (UN) which according to the United Nations, is due to uneven progress and that many of the most pressing issues for the world – including addressing inequalities were not adequately being covered (United Nations, 2016).

This characteristic of the UN as an IO is carved by its structures, practices and goals. In addition to its structures and practices, the UN's stipulated goals inform any analysis of the role the UN plays or attempts to play. One of its self-proclaimed goals of is to foster co-operation in solving international socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian problems (United Nations 2000, pg.5). Regarding children, the attempt to meet this objective has resulted in the use of various mechanisms and structures, each of which serves as a reflection of the capability of the UN to tackle current pressing global crises.

The roots of the concept of children rights and well-being go back to September 2, 1990 when the CRC came into force; a human rights treaty, that was created by an International Organization (IO) – the United Nations. The CRC bounds countries that ratify it by international law. Therefore, the commitment is made to protect and ensure children's rights and to hold themselves accountable for such commitment. States parties to the Convention are obliged to develop and undertake all actions and policies in the light of the best interests of the child.

Governments of countries that have ratified the Convention are required to report to, and appear before, the UNCRC progress with regards to the advancement of the implementation of the Convention and the status of child rights in their country.

Despite the CRC being the most rapidly and widely ratified international human rights treaty in history (United Nations, 2016) equating to its worldwide enthusiasm, it was brought to attention, that it fails to be translated into policies and laws, let alone be implemented on local and regional levels, and that there has been scant information internationally on how it affects individual children and families. Since its completion, there has been a call from non-governmental organizations to advance the mandates of the UNCRC in various settings (Melton, 1991a; Southall et al., 2000 in Nicklett & Perron, 2010).

11 years after the CRC was established, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)⁶ were enforced. For 15 years they served as a guiding force on many issues affecting the lives of

⁴Each year, UNICEF's flagship publication, The State of the World's Children, closely examines a key issue affecting children.

⁵General Comments are official documents of the UN. They are published by the UNCRC and are the interpretation of the content of human rights treaties. They are directed to the Governments of those countries which have ratified the Convention.

⁶ The MDGs are a set of 8 goals – which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015 – it was a blueprint that was agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest.

children, young people and their families. Over this time, tremendous progress was made in reducing preventable child deaths, getting more children into schools, reducing extreme poverty and in ensuring more people have access to safe water and nutritious food. However, progress has been uneven and many of the most pressing issues for the world -- including addressing inequalities, promoting inclusive economic growth, protecting children from violence and combating climate change -- were not adequately covered in the MDGs (UNICEF, 2016).

As a result, under the 2030 Agenda, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)⁷ were created. They direct more attention to outcomes and place greater emphasis on aspects of children well-being which were missing in the MDGs. Combined, the goals now set out a comprehensive agenda for children which maps across to the nine clusters of children's rights set out in the CRC (UNICEF, 2016a).

The SDGs has added new dimensions, covering more social aspects and are universal in scope. This universality principle means that social progress goals and targets have been set for all countries, including the richest countries of the globe, with the explicit intention of leaving no one behind (UNICEF, 2016b).

Despite the relative wealth in high-income countries, the availability of data – particularly around income and health statistics, the agreements regarding the collection of child focused data), and the work of previous frameworks in developing countries (such as the MDGs), there are no official global multi-dimensional child-specific monitoring frameworks. Because the SDGs represent the first official global attempt to produce a multidimensional social progress frame for the population as a whole, it is therefore an obvious candidate for filling such a gap in global child monitoring frameworks. Regular reporting on progress for children cross-nationally is the first step to achieving change for all children (Richardson, Brukauf, Toczydlowska, & Chzhen, 2017).

IOs have continued to emphasize the need for adhering its development of laws and policies (Nicklett & Perron, 2010). However, there is no international court that can sanction violations against the CRC, but since February 1991 a committee of experts (the UNCRC)⁸ has been monitoring its implementation in countries that have ratified it (Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children, 2003).

The UN requires that Governments report every five years on the progress made on children's rights in their country (that is, on implementation of the Convention). The Committee makes 'Concluding Observations' (recommendations) to Governments in response to these reports.

What is important to note is that on the one hand, the CRC is a binding agreement that directly influences policy-making towards children. On the other hand, the MDGs and SDGs are global initiatives which States agree to by a specified time. In this sense, the influences of IOs are normative as not all are binding and the one that is has no legal implications for non-compliance. They can be highly bureaucratic, resulting in inertia and conservatism where they have also been

⁷ The SDGs are a call for action by all countries – poor, rich and middle-income – to promote prosperity while protecting the planet. They are 17 'Goals to Transform Our World' which recognize that ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and addresses a range of social needs including education, health, social protection, and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection.

⁸ The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is the UN body responsible for ensuring children enjoy their human rights and live with dignity, respect and equality. It is a body of 18 independent experts who monitor the implementation of the CRC by its State parties and also monitors implementation of two Optional Protocols to the Convention, on involvement of children in armed conflict and on sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; establishing an international complaints procedure for violations of children's rights.

criticised for concentrating more on travel and elite discussion than on understanding the grassroots reality (Axford, 2012).

2.1.2 The International Organizations for Childhood

This change for all children is facilitated through various IOs. The main IOs whose declarations and/or actions have some bearing on child welfare and/or child rights are listed⁹ as follows:

Table 1. Summary of Key IOs for Childhood

Organization	Main work with Children
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO):	<i>Supports members in their efforts to ensure that people have regular access to enough high-quality food. Supporting policies and political commitments that promote food security and good nutrition and by updating information about hunger and malnutrition challenges.</i>
International Labour Organization (ILO):	<i>Stimulates and guides standards for the legislation to prohibit or place severe restrictions on the employment and work of children</i>
International Organization for Migration (IOM):	<i>Operates within the relevant international legal framework for the protection of migrants and children, in line with the CRC. Dedicated to migrant children's well-being and the consideration of their best interest.</i>
International Monetary Fund (IMF):	<i>Provide loans to member countries experiencing actual or potential balance of payments problems.</i>
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD):	<i>Implemented a Child Well-Being Portal for conducting policy-oriented research on children, enhancing child well-being and promoting equal opportunities among children.</i>
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP):	<i>Helping to eradicate poverty, reduce inequalities and build resilience so countries can sustain progress</i>
United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):	<i>Focuses on everything from teacher training to helping improve education worldwide to protecting important historical and cultural sites around the world.</i>
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF):	<i>Works to improve the policies and services that protect all children. Aims to make the world a safe and inclusive place for all children to grow.</i>
World Health Organization (WHO):	<i>Early childhood Development is a priority area of work for WHO, as it is a window of opportunity to improve health and equity. Strives to deliver effective interventions for optimal development of young children.</i>
World Bank (WB):	<i>Increasing its support of early childhood initiatives around the world through financing, policy advice, technical support, and partnership activities at the country, regional and global levels.</i>

Prepared by Researcher

Most are technically global in scope, but some have a specific regional brief. Although these organizations either work in several subject areas or are best known for other activities, notably regarding economic objectives, they all undertake work which relate to children and their well-being. Some do this directly, whereas others affect children indirectly, for instance through employment or childcare initiatives aimed at parents and carers (Axford, 2012).

Furthermore, Axford (2012) states that, when observing the IOs collectively, it is apparent that they have a policy regarding all aspects of children's lives, including housing, relationships, behaviour, health, education, employment and living standards. Although some policies and programs are clearly targeted at disadvantaged children, for instance the sexually exploited or the

⁹Compilation based on own observation of the main organizations involved in the actions, programs and policies for children or in relation to childhood. Information adapted from the webpage of each IO.

poor, others are universal in their reach, notably those focusing on vocational training or political rights.

International social policy for children has universal and targeted elements. In some cases, an issue that affects all children is addressed but with particular attention to those with critical needs in this regard – for instance, the political and civic participation rights of unaccompanied migrant minors. Also, they may often work together on a particular topic; Examples of such as a collaboration for achieving an initiative outlined in the SDGs (Axford, 2013).

2.1.3 Chile's international commitments

Chile ratified the CRC in 1990, committing itself to take actions to ensure the protection and care necessary for the well-being of this vulnerable group – children – (UN, 1989), for which, it actively participates in the commitment along with other Latin American countries in the creation of an Action Plan that seeks to guarantee an "appropriate world for children" through the formulation and implementation of National Plans of Action for children.

This is to say that declaratively, “Chile has assumed a clear and decisive commitment to childhood, as an integral and transversal policy, collecting the four fundamental principles of the convention: non-discrimination; the child's superior interest; their right to survival, development and protection, and participation in decisions that affect them” (Bernard van Leer, 2017). The country also does its part by presenting its report to the UNCRC when necessary.

In September 2015, Chile as part of 193 member countries of the UN, signed and committed to the implementation of a new sustainable development program. This program, known as the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, is a plan of action for people, the planet and prosperity, which also aims to strengthen universal peace within a broader concept of freedom.

Therefore, Chile being a part of this agenda signifies, according to Richardson et al. (2017), that the State is investing in its child populations, actions which would benefit from child-outcome monitoring frameworks as tools for evaluating policies for children and informing best practices into the future.

Twenty-eight years after its ratification of the CRC and three years after its commitment to the 2030 Agenda, major advances within the country have been recognized. However, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), has highlighted the current situation in Chile stating that “while the State is to be commended for reducing poverty, from 29 per cent to 12 per cent between 2006 and 2015 challenges remain in ensuring that no child is left behind during implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Significant inequalities persist, rendering Chile the most unequal country in the OECD” (UNICEF, 2017, p. 2) Such inequalities are discussed below.

2.1.4 The situation of Children and Adolescents in Chile

In recent years there has been a considerable reduction in extreme poverty and poverty by income, decreasing from 38.6% in 1990 to 11.7% in 2015 (as seen in Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Percentage of persons in situation of extreme poverty and extreme poverty by income



Source: Ministry of Social Development, CASEN Survey 2006 - 2017

Despite the notable reduction, extreme poverty continues to be greater in childhood presenting 18.2% versus 9.5%, of the rest of the population (Ministry of Social Development, 2017). The analysis of the current situation of children in Chile still shows worrisome data in relation to poverty and inequality.

According to the National Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (*CASEN*), the incidence of poverty and indigence in the population under 18 (a total of 4,369,035 children) considerably exceeds the poverty rate of people aged 18 and over (2015).

It is also observed that 50% of households with children under 18 (2,460,000 children) are in the 40% of the highest economic vulnerability, and only 10.2% belong to the highest income quintile. In the same sense, 76% of girls and boys between 0 and 17 years old are concentrated in quintiles I, II and III of autonomous household income (*Ministry of Social Development MDS, 2017*).

In relation to multidimensional poverty in children under 18, it exceeds the national rate (23.3% versus 20.9%), shortening the gap in relation to the comparison according to poverty by income.

Figure 2. Percentage of persons in situation of multi-dimensional poverty



Source: Ministry of Social Development, CASEN Survey 2015- 2017

According to the percentage of households in a situation of multidimensional poverty (including environment and networks), 14.9% of households have a presence of children under 18 as opposed to 11.3% of households who do not have children under 18 experiencing such situation (CASEN, 2015). Some child population groups are at greater disadvantage than others. For example, 31% of indigenous children and 34% of migrant children live in multidimensional poverty, compared with 22 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively, of non-indigenous and non-migrant children (UNICEF, 2017).

Despite significant advances made in social protection policies and programmes, such as the Inter-Sectoral System of Social Protection, bottlenecks remain in coverage. Though in 2015 there were 173,855 households in extreme poverty, only 26% of them received social protection benefits. Financial resources remain limited, and policies and preconditions for receiving benefits are rather restrictive (UNICEF, 2017).

Evidently, poverty and inequality are on the decline, however, the situation of children and adolescents reveals an unfavourable scenario with serious socio-economic deficiencies and obvious inequalities. The high numbers of poverty and inequality in children and adolescents in the country, reflect important gaps in compliance with the CRC the inequality gaps are reproduced in a more significant way in the childhood.

According to the Country Program Document by UNICEF (2017), additional barriers persist, largely because Chile lacks a family-centred policy that promotes an adequate standard of living and child development from the early years.

The report goes further to inform that the issue of violence against children is hindered by the fact that Chile lacks a law prohibiting all forms of violence, as well as coordinated prevention and response services through a referral system. Moreover, there is no centralized data collection and information system allowing for adequate monitoring and evidence-based decision-making. Further evidence on the drivers of violence is necessary to ascertain which barriers related to cultural and social norms that can lead to harmful practices and to a culture of silence and acceptance (UNICEF, 2017).

Additionally, there are urgent problems to face in the plans of action and in public policies. The stagnation of infant and child mortality, the worrying increase in overweight and obesity, high consumption of drugs and tobacco, high levels of serious violence that affect children, abandonment, long stays and catastrophic situations experienced by institutionalized children, as well as high levels of inequality according to family income, undoubtedly have a dramatic impact on many of the aspects of life, both material and cultural. This inequality "from the cradle" is a discrimination that society in general disapproves and allows for the conceptualization as inequality, which opens realistic perspectives to face it with more urgency, strength and decision (Consejo Nacional de la Infancia, 2017).

The consequences of poverty and inequality on children are devastating and efforts to combat them still remain insufficient. In agreement with Pautassi and Royo (2012), it deprives them of their fundamental right to life and of their education opportunities while preventing them from gaining access to medical care, clean water, food, shelter, security and protection etc.

Generally, children in any society are usually the most vulnerable and suffer the most in circumstances of economic, political or social predicament. Poverty [and inequality] can be considered an absolute threat to childhood and a violation of their rights (as outlined by the CRC).

The situation of children in Chile is problematic and it is therefore pertinent to consider/examine the actions the State has been developing to improve it.

According to UNICEF (2016a), a defining shift in this still-new century is the growing global understanding of the scope – and the cost – of an increasingly unequal world. The report argues that, left unaddressed, inequities in childhood and adolescence will continue to generate unequal outcomes for families around the world, fuelling intergenerational cycles of disadvantage that threaten the strength and stability of societies everywhere.

2.1.5 Michelle Bachelet's child reform 2014 – 2018

Based on the data aforementioned, the current situation amongst children (this vulnerable group) reflects significant breaches in compliance with the CRC.

The Chile Country Programme Document (UNICEF, 2016a) after having reviewed the state of children (between 2012 – 2016), presented that, its national indicators are among the best in the region. However, two issues hamper the full exercise of children's rights:

- Equity and inclusion:
 - (a) Socio-economic, ethnic and territorial conditions affect the degree to which excluded groups are able to exercise their economic and social rights;
 - (b) Paternalistic and authoritarian attitudes that do not recognize children as rights bearers pervade society's views of children and adolescents.
- Child protection

“The process of bringing legislation and policy in line with the provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child has been initiated. Changes have been made to laws and policies ranging from guardianship issues to comprehensive protection, yet society's views of children and adolescents make it clear that paternalistic and authoritarian attitudes prevail and are expressed in acts of violence and deprivation of liberty and in the lack of participation mechanisms. There are still some social policies which establish institutional guardianship as the primary measure to protect children whose rights have been violated” (UNICEF, 2016a p.9).

The three critical issues being:

- (a) Improving mechanisms for the guarantee and respect of children's rights;
- (b) Bringing the national legal and institutional framework in line with international treaties;
- (c) Reducing the levels of family and institutional violence against children (UNICEF, 2016a).

When Chile assumed a new administration for the period 2014-2018, the government program of former President, Her Excellency Michelle Bachelet, outlined a set of reforms that aimed to ensure the full development of children and adolescents to deepen the exercise of the rights established in the CRC.

“We must place Childhood at the centre of our public policies. We will create the National Council for Children that will oversee the coordination of the bodies with competence in related matters and will assume the responsibility of promoting the normative and institutional reform, which will shape a new relationship of the State with children, based on respect for their rights” (Bachelet, 2013 p. 178).

The comprehensive protection of the rights of children is a fundamental basis for overcoming inequality. Such need to resolve the inequality gaps that are being experienced today requires profound and structural changes (Bachelet, 2013).

As part of the reform, the measures proposed included:

1. Creating the Childhood Code;
2. Undersecretariat for Childhood
3. Legal Instruments; the current Adoption Law;
4. Strengthening SENAME; eliminating its waiting list;
5. Appointing duties for the Ombudsman for children;
6. Defining a Policy for Strengthening the Parental Capacity of the family;
7. Strengthening the Child Protection Subsystem;
8. Strengthen social participation and advocacy capacity of children and adolescents in the community, neighbourhood or other contexts (Bachelet, 2013).

To lead this challenge, in March 2014, Bachelet signed the Supreme Decree No. 021 creating the National Council for Children. Its mission was to advise the President of the Republic in the identification and formulation of policies, plans, programs, measures and other activities related to guaranteeing, promoting and protecting the exercise of the rights of children and adolescents, and serve as an instance of coordination between institutions with competencies associated with these matters (Gobierno de Chile - *Government of Chile*, 2016).

Additionally, by signing, the Decree entailed the following:

- The council will ensure that the proposals it formulates are relevant, concrete, effective, efficient and viable because they are organized in the form of a coherent system of protection of the rights of children and adolescents.
- The council will be chaired by the Minister General Secretary of the Presidency and will be integrated by the Ministers of Social Development, Justice, Education, Health, Finance and Director of the National Service for Women.
- The council will have an Executive Secretary, who will be directed by a professional freely appointed by the President of the Republic, who will remain in office until confidence is obtained. The Executive Secretary will have a permanent character and will be administratively located in the Under Secretary of the General Secretariat of the Presidency.
- The authorities and directors of the organs of the State Administration must render to the Council, within the scope of their competences, all the collaboration that it requires (Gobierno de Chile - *Government of Chile*, 2016).

These set out to be in compliance with the mandate presented in the National Policy and specifically the Child Reform. Thus, the Decree is the binding instrument to ensure that what is presented in the reform is monitored.

In March 2016, Bachelet implemented the National Policy for Children and Adolescents 2015-2025; Comprehensive System of Guarantees of Rights of Children and Adolescents. This policy is governed by the approaches of Law, Human Development, Life Course, Intercultural and Gender. In turn, the guiding principles that sustain it are subject of rights; Higher Interest of

Children; Progressive autonomy; Equality and Non-Discrimination; Participation and Right to Be Heard; Life, Development and Adequate Environment; and Roles of the State, the Family and the Society in its Set as Guarantors of Law (*National Council for Childhood, 2016*).

The National Council for Children created the National Observatory for Children and Adolescents, and drafted the Bill for a Universal System for the Guarantee of Rights of Children and Adolescents, approved by the Chamber of Deputies and delivered to the Senate (*Consejo Nacional de la Infancia, 2017*)

“These governmental priorities are in addition to the actions and proposals that civil society organizations, UNICEF and other international organizations, parliamentarians and organizations for children and adolescents have raised historically and recently. In this way, there is a favourable context to propose approaches, measures and policies that contribute to the fulfilment of the commitments [especially the Sustainable Development Goals] assumed in favour of the rights of children and adolescents and in whose process, they are active protagonists” (*REDUCA, 2015*).

In 2018, based on the list of measures mentioned above the current status is represented below¹⁰:

Table 2. Final Progress Report on Measures Proposed

Measures	Description	State
1. Creating the Childhood Code	Legal Instrument that will integrate all the accumulation of scattered laws in matters related to children and adolescents, harmonizing them with the Law of Integral Protection of rights and international conventions of childhood.	SENT BUT NOT APPROVED
2. Undersecretariat for Childhood	The creation of the Undersecretariat for children; which grants new attributions to the Ministry of Social Development (<i>MDS</i>) in relation to childhood related matters..	ACHIEVED
3. Legal Instruments: the current Adoption Law	We will send a draft Law on Comprehensive Protection of the Rights of Children and Adolescents, legal framework for the recognition of all the rights enshrined in the CRC and the establishment of guarantees for all children and adolescents, without any discrimination. The mechanisms for enforceability of rights will be established.	NOT ACHIEVED
4. Strengthening SENAME	We will eliminate the SENAME waiting list of children with judicial measures to improve the execution of the protection measures issued by the Family Courts.	NOT ACHIEVED
5. Appointing duties for the Children’s Ombudsman	Program will be responsible for duly representing the rights of children and adolescents in judicial processes.	ACHIEVED
6. Strengthening the Parental Capacity of the family	Defining a Policy for improving this measure	ACHIEVED
7. Strengthening the Child Protection Subsystem	<i>Chile Crece Contigo</i>	ACHIEVED
8. Strengthening	in the community, neighbourhood or other contexts, and; we will	IN

¹⁰Informe final de avance a los compromisos insitucionales en materai de ninez y adolescencia 2014 – 2018.

social participation and advocacy	create a program for the generation of urban spaces for children: a playroom, a library, a media library, spaces for school activities and recreational spaces abroad.	ACTION/ PARTIAL
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Prepared by Researcher.

IGOs do more than provide a context in which [national social] development takes place. They initiate, guide, influence and determine as well. However, their impact on child welfare policy and practice in individual countries has been little explored (Barker, 2007 in Axford 2013).

In agreement with, Alam (2010), the importance of IOs has increased in the present inter-connected and inter-dependent world. Since the states must, in so many areas, cooperate, adjust, accommodate, and compromise to promote their common welfare, to solve problems not limited to national boundaries, and to lessen conflict, it is entirely logical for them to create elaborate agencies of IOs for these ends.

Furthermore, it is also logical to assume that they will continue to be used by states as indispensable though limited tools for a wide variety of purposes. Since the trend of world events is toward increased contacts and a growing diversity of problems, we may reasonably expect international organizations to also become increasingly diverse in number and purposes rather than to diminish in significance (Alam, 2010).

It is imperative that one acknowledges the aspect of policy influence in assessing how policies are shaped and who participates in its decision-making process. Based on the literature presented, one would mostly agree that no government can act alone. The growing authority of a wide variety of actors can also add potential partners to States and distributing different tasks to different actors. By working collectively, one can certainly argue that multilateralism often requires a network of cooperation that leads to interdependence between different actors whether they are states, IOs or non-state actors, thus after all “it is impossible to imagine a contemporary international life without formal organizations” (Schermers and Blokker, 1995 cited in Diehl & Frederking, 2010, p. 28).

The UNICEF (2016b), report shows, that growing evidence clearly indicates, inequity is neither inevitable nor insurmountable. With the right investments, at the right time, disadvantaged children can realize their rights to a better life. By reducing the inequities that violate their rights today, such investments can help these children lead more productive lives as adults and enable them to pass on more opportunities to their children, thus replacing intergenerational cycles of deprivation with sustainable cycles of opportunity.

In this era of globalization, fighting inequality amongst children (whether it be poverty, education, health, security etc.) is not only done at the national level, through discussions and various influential activities, international actors (organizations) play an integral part as well. They provide support services in diagnosing development challenges and needs, formulating policies and strategies and implementing them.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter addresses the theoretical and conceptual discussion that was presented in the literature review on the importance of International Organizations (IOs) and the role they play in the policy and decision-making process. The main focus is on how the organizations influence these processes for the Child Reform within the National Policy.

In order to understand the policy and decision-making process within this context, the policy influence approach has been chosen. This approach is relevant in examining how the IOs impact policies towards children in Chile, as it allows for describing and understanding their actions, roles, influences and interventions while interacting with the government.

Thus, the classification/contextualization of International Organizations along with the influence approach are discussed below.

2.2.1 Classification of International Organizations

Alam (2010) describes International Organizations as a membership group that operates across national borders for specific purposes. The idea of such organizations reflects the cooperative arrangement instituted among states, usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities.

International organizations¹¹ may be classified into two main categories; Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs or, more commonly known as NGOs). However, the term “International Organization” (IO) is reserved for Intergovernmental Organizations only (Alam, 2010). It is in this sense that the term International Organization is used for the thesis. Their organizational structure of IOs significantly influence the capabilities, understandings and interests of states.

Marume (2016) states that policy is not static. Therefore, policy should be reformulated and adapted continually on the basis of experience, research in the relative field of operation, and changing circumstances and needs. These are always factors which serve to change the nature and the extent of the activities of public institution.

Additionally, basic requirement of policy is adaptability and regular reviewing to ensure that it is up – to – date, relevant and applicable to a specific area. Generally, the policy in force at a particular time and place is influenced by factors such as external pressures and actors, and significant others contribute to policy formulation through their own influences; the provision of information and data; the supply of technical assistance; and the spread of philosophies and success stories in other countries and areas (Marume, 2016).

2.2.2 Policy Influence

Public policies, by definition, are the responsibility of public authorities and aim to satisfy some vision of the 'public good'. Therefore, studying the influence on public policies towards children should reveal how it impacts the public good for this group.

Political influence is the term in which any behavior aimed at influencing actions, behaviors, positions and public and private decisions included with the objective of achieving a social

¹¹ The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations defines international organization as “formal institutional structures transcending national boundaries which are created by multilateral agreement among nation states. Their purpose is to foster international cooperation in areas such as security, law, economic and social matters, and diplomacy”.

transformation: changing what it is to what it should be and why it should be considered as an improvement either in relation to a general or a particular interest (Hernan, 2015).

Authors, Roebing and de Vries in *Advocacy and Policy Influencing for Social Change* defines the term:

“Policy influencing is the deliberate and systematic process of influencing the policies, practices and behaviour of different targeted stakeholders who have most influence on the issue in question, involving beneficiaries and increasing their ownership and capacity of the issue. Activities can be singled out, or a mixed strategy can be applied, in which joint forces and concerted action increase the effectiveness of any policy influencing interventions” (Roebing & de Vries, 2011 p. 19).

It entails changing the behavior of certain stakeholders as changing behaviour is a prerequisite to changing policies. The authors go further to state that just changing policies should not be the intended result of policy influencing, as one would also want something to change in practice. Therefore, in order to achieve this, it is important to change behaviour (Roebing et. al, 2011).

Policy influencing involves political and sometimes highly conflicting processes, leading to difficulties in determining how best to solicit or interpret the accounts of different actors. Influencing work is often unique, rarely repeated or replicated and, even worse, there are incentives against the sharing of ‘good practice’.

Influencing public policies can range from raising [awareness] of a particular problem of [a] society to actually achieving it, even to the assistance in drafting laws...that are developed within the framework of said policy (Ashoka, 2009).

2.2.3 Policy Influence Interventions

According to Start and Hovland (2004), policy influence interventions can be varied in many approaches and can operate on various continuums. Approaches can include:

Changing policy and/or changing behavior: some advocacy is aimed at changing policy or preventing change to policy; other approaches are about changing the behavior of the general public (e.g. public health campaigning).

Direct and/or indirect: advocacy can aim at changing decision-makers’ beliefs, opinions, behaviors and policies, either directly or indirectly via other actors who might have influence on decision-makers (e.g. the media, voters).

Inside track and/or outside track: advocacy from within by working with decision-makers or from outside by confronting, exposing or challenging decision-makers.

Formal and/or informal: advocacy can work through formal/official channels such as policy reforms, but sometimes advocacy finds alternative ways through informal routes such as relationship-building.

2.2.4 Policy Influence Approaches

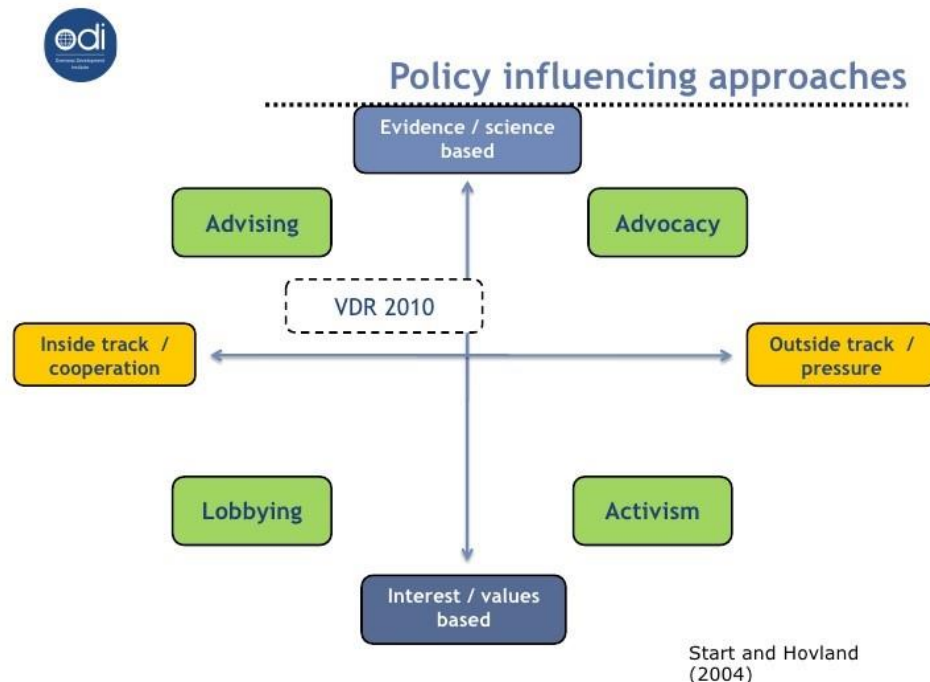
Another author, Harry Jones presents his perspective on the policy influence approach detailing that;

“there is a very wide variety of activities to influence policy. One way to categorise them is to distinguish between approaches that take the ‘inside track’, working closely with

decision-makers, versus ‘outside track’ approaches that seek to influence change through pressure and confrontation” (Jones, 2011, pg. 2).

There is also a distinction between approaches that are led by evidence and research versus those that involve, primarily, values and interests. The author incorporates certain aspects discussed by Start and Hovland, (2004); this marks out four possible approaches to policy influencing, displayed in the diagram below:

Diagram 1. Influencing Approaches



Source: Jones (2011)

The combination of authors Jones (2011) and Young and Quinn (2002) are utilised to recapitulate the approaches for easier comprehension.

Advising: refers to think-tanks or researchers are contracted by a client to investigate a certain policy question or problem. This usually entails working with those in authority and producing new empirical research to assist them in making a policy decision. Even when contracted, there is still an advocacy process of selling the ideas developed through the research to the client, although the hurdles are obviously lower than working from the outside (Young & Quinn, 2002).

Advocacy: refers to non-violent activities designed to influence policies, practices and behavior. This type is commonly used by organizations that monitor government action. The organizations decide to include a public dimension to their campaign as they feel some type of public or external pressure on decisionmakers is required to achieve results (Young & Quinn, 2002).

Lobbying: entails, at the very least, some form of dialogue between parties face-to-face meetings with decisionmakers or influential people a commonly used approach for many organizations that are defending the interests of a certain group of people. Also, the different parties will be more or less consensus-driven. This means there is some room for negotiation. Organizations that use this

approach tend to have ready access to powerful people and focus their efforts on being present and visible during government and public discussions concerning their interests (Young & Quinn, 2002).

Activism: is often linked to demonstrations, standing on the barricades, petitions, public demonstrations, posters, and leaflet dissemination as well as funny and creative activities designed to draw attention to an issue. Mostly such activities are not designed to create or propose consensus. They are set up to convince or inform others in supporting an issue or to place an issue on the agenda. This approach is used by organizations that promote a certain value set, or have a defined constituency and represent or provide a service to a group of people who are not adequately included within government social service provision (Young & Quinn, 2002).

In relation to the first axis, there are two main track strategies namely, “inside” (focused on cooperation and persuasion) and “outside” (focused on confrontation and pressure). “Inside” strategies generally focus on advising and lobbying while “outside” strategies focus on advocacy and activism. The diagram suggests that some strategies (advising and advocacy) are evidence/science based while others (lobbying and activism) are interest/value based (Jones, 2011). It is important to distinguish the two in order to identify how different policy influencing interventions are informed.

Start & Hovland(2004) describes pressure (confrontation) as usually the method of advocacy and activism strategies. It seeks to obtain change via pressure and seeks to point out problems rather than offer solutions. It works from the outside, rather than gaining an inside track in policy communities. While cooperation (persuasion) is the practice favoured by advising and lobbying – aims to build constructive, working relations with policy makers in order to develop solutions to complex problems.

Both are effective and important ways of bringing about policy change and are usually present in most forms of change (Start & Hovland, 2004).

Authors Tapia, Campillo & Cruickshank (2010) agree that policy influence consists of confrontational and cooperative activities that involve interacting with the government and other public institutions. [Some organizations], by themselves, do not have the authority to make public policy decisions, as this is the exclusive faculty of government authorities. However, they can provide information, exert pressure and seek to persuade the public and decision makers to actively influence the orientation, representation and effectiveness of public policies (Tapia, et al., 2010).

In relation to the second axis: rational evidence versus value or interest-based argument. Think tanks tend to operate by proposing change based on research. Their causes tend to be rooted in academic inquiry, and their credibility lies in the objective and scientific approach. As a result, researchers within think tanks can often see all sides of an argument, and do not like to push any one view for fear of being viewed as dogmatic (Star & Hovland, 2004).

2.2.5 Types of Policy Influence

Jones states that the approaches and tools used to manage and measure influence can be simplified into three main types of approaches. The three types of policy influencing activity are:

- evidence and advice,
- public campaigns and advocacy,
- and lobbying and negotiation (presented in the Table 3 below) (Jones, 2011).

Table 3. Types of Policy Influence Activities

Type of influencing	Where? Through what channels?	How? By what means?
Evidence and advice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and international policy discourses/debates • Formal and informal meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research and analysis, ‘good practice’ • Evidence-based argument • Providing advisory support • Developing and piloting new policy approaches
Public campaigns and advocacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public and political debates in developing countries • Public meetings, speeches, presentations • Television, newspapers, radio and other media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public communications and campaigns • ‘Public education’ • Messaging • Advocacy
Lobbying and negotiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal meetings • Semi-formal and informal channels • Membership and participation in boards and committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Face-to-face meetings and discussions • Relationships and trust • Direct incentives and diplomacy

Source: Jones (2011)

Evidence and advice

Typical activities: In some situations, policy influencing activities are led by evidence and analysis, by principles of evidence-informed policy-making and providing knowledge-based inputs.

An organization might take the lead to promote innovative new policies and programs among the donor community based on experiences with a pilot program, or provide research and advisory support to assist with a process of reform. Influencing work might proceed by commissioning or carrying out research, communicating the results of research through policy briefs and seminars, sharing research with decision-makers in face to face meetings and involving them in the design and execution of the work (Jones, 2011).

Public campaigns and advocacy

Typical activities: Some approaches to policy influencing target large numbers of individuals, or the political debate on an issue, through public messaging and campaigning. They might try to build up public support for a new policy, using public meetings and speeches to communicate the rationale for a proposed reform, or using television, radio and social media to raise public awareness of an issue. This is about trying to influence change from the ‘outside’ track, rather than in closed meetings with decision-makers.

An organization might work through messaging in the media, public events, speeches and meetings and building national and sub-national coalitions. Such approaches often mobilise a number of initiatives at the same time. This type of approach to policy influence has been undertaken by civil society groups worldwide for decades, working to influence national policy debates and public will. There is also a wealth of experience in public communication campaigns aimed at individual behaviour change and ‘public education’ (Jones, 2011).

Lobbying approaches

Typical activities: The primary means of influencing policy is often direct interaction with decision-makers, allies and other key players. This might include participation in negotiations or meetings, direct communications with government ministers, or informal discussions with

partners and other contacts. Teams will work to influence through persuasion, negotiation and lobbying.

In more formal spaces this may be conducted through evidence-based dialogue, while in other channels this will require more informal discussions and debate. Projects will draw on the relationships staff have with various contacts, and will use budget support and other material incentives to influence proceedings directly or, more often, indirectly. It has long been recognised that this sort of activity is crucial to shape the course of policy. Some research has found that face-to-face personal interaction is the strongest factor in facilitating the use of particular policy ideas or evidence (Jones, 2011).

Having presented a plethora of definitions on policy influence which, in essence prove to be similar in defining the term; the approaches by Start and Hovland along with Jones' on how to identify and explain the types of policy influences will be utilized for the analysis of thesis.

The emphasis is to investigate how (if that is the case) the international actors influence (if that is the case) the design of the Child Reform. In a nutshell, their role, how they use their type of influence are assessed based on the concepts defined above.

3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The Methodology is guided by a grounded theory approach which includes an analysis of facts and insights that already exist on a subject area. Analysing these existing themes will assist with the identification of gaps that exist in the literature leaving room for the development of a new theory to explain an existing phenomenon.

This research intends to add a comprehensive value for public policies towards children in Chile. For this thesis, the qualitative methodology is utilized, a tool focused on “research that produces descriptive data, people’s own words, spoke or written” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.20). This type of methodology allows the researcher to collect information from the perspective of the actors [national and international] and their account on the phenomenon or problem to be addressed, collecting the data; by speaking directly with the subjects or observing their behaviours (Batthyány & Cabrera, 2011).

It is descriptive and exploratory in scope; this is based on the conceptual framework previously defined, the role and types of influences was described from Start and Hovland along with Jones’ models. In exploratory terms, the impact of the organizations for the Child Reform was assessed along with how the IOs’ roles were viewed by the national actors.

This thesis sought to delve into the role and participation of the actors involved, placing special focus on the concepts of policy influence activities.

Researches of this type serve to provide information and generally precede the investigations or research whether they are explanatory, descriptive or evaluative. They are carried out when the objective or the problem of the study is rarely studied, exposed or has not been addressed before (Batthyány et al., 2011)

3.1 Data Collection Methodology

As a part to the FONDECYT project, the techniques of production and analysis of information that were used are typical of a qualitative study approach, for which two different ones were used.

The first refers to the documentary review through content analysis, which was used to complement the analysis of the concepts present in policy influence. To this end, an analysis of secondary sources was carried out, which included a review of the reports with recommendations by the UNCRC and UNICEF along with UNICEF’s participation in the parliamentary discussions as well as then President Michelle Bachelet’s speech in presenting the Child Reform in the Government Programme.

Institutional discourses to process the qualitative content analysis was used. This technique allows generating qualitative reasoning (inference) from recorded data, drawn from documents in the steps for establishing the object or subject of analysis and making inferences (Krippendorff, 1990).

For the second technique, primary information was collected through the application of 12¹² semi-structured interviews to key actors involved in and influencing the decision and policy-making process for the Child Reform. Both sets of actors were interviewed as a form of providing

¹² This set of interviews were chosen based on the database of interviews provided by the FONDECYT project.

the views from both sides of the policy-making process. These were compared and contrasted against what was presented in the reform.

Semi-structured interview grants freedom to both the interviewee and the interviewer and ensures that all relevant issues are discussed (Corbetta, 2007). This was chosen, because it is associated with a high probability and/or validity that the interviewees express their points of view in a relatively open framework. The nature and necessity of the interview was explained and it was based on a script of topics, which were introduced by an open question and ending with an informative question. The responses were recorded verbatim for later codification and analysis.

Therefore, questions can be open but also structured in order to collect the various actors on the same topic. It allows knowing the extreme uniqueness of very different situations, which prevents the formulation of an exhaustive series of possible answers before the interview (Batthyány et.al, 2011; Canales, 2006).

3.2 Analysis unit

3.2.1 Institutional documentations and reports

This unit of analysis corresponds to the official documentation relation to the IOs involved and the Child Reform under the National Policy for Children and Adolescents 2015 – 2025. From which included the following:

- Concluding Observations (UNCRC) 2015
- Country Program Documents (UNICEF) 2012 - 2016
- UNICEF Annual Country Reports (between the years 2013 – 2017)
- H.E. Michelle Bachelet’s Government Program - the Child Reform
- Parliamentary discussions (2016 – 2017)

3.2.2 National and International actors

The other unit of analysis for the research was the key national and international actors involved in the formation; decision-making process of the reform. They are from political institutions and social organizations. This will allow for distinguishing their input and influence. Table 4. below summarizes the type of actor, their categories along with the justification based on their relevance to the reform.

Table 4. Justification of the Unit of Analysis

Type of actor	Actor	Amount	Justification
State actors	Ministry of Social Development (MDS), Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, General Secretariat of the Presidency (SEGPRES), and the National Council for Children.	6 interviews	-Relevant actors in the internal management of the reform and its legislative processing. -MDS was the Ministry where the new governing body of the protection system for children and adolescents (Undersecretary for Children) was received; -The Council was an organ created especially for the reform; -The Ministry of Justice is the one in

			charge of the sub-system of adolescent responsibility and adoptions, in addition to having its ward under SENAME; SEGPRES has the institutional mandate to be the body that coordinates the relations of the executive power with the legislative
Civil Society	Collaborating organizations of SENAME and experts.	2 interviews	-The collaborating organizations are relevant in intervention expertise and in their participation in the bills' legislative process of the reform. The experts have knowledge about the functioning of the system and were present in the processing of projects from the Congress.
International Organizations	UNICEF, UNCRC, IDB, ILO, World Bank	4 interviews Parliamentary Discussion	-These actors are relevant as they are those who promote the strengthening of the rights of children (UNICEF, UNCRC and ILO). -The IDB and WB are the relevant technical actors of the international system (IDB and WB). These actors were involved in the origin of public policy and in the parliamentary discussion.

3.3 Sampling

In qualitative research the selection of the sample is related to the decision about which people to interview (case sampling) and which groups they should come from (case group sampling).

Regarding the decision to determine structure of the sample, this is based on the availability of prior information on the key actors, defined in the Analysis Unit section. However, due to the limitations of this process some decisions about the choice and gathering of empirical material will be taken during the process of collecting to involve data. This provides scope to add new actors to sampling.

Non-probability technique will be applied due to the fact that the process does not give all individuals in the population equal chances of being selected. Within this technique, purposive sampling will be employed as it involves purposefully selecting actors from the population based on the researcher's knowledge and judgement¹³.

A detailed description of each actor to be interviewed is presented in Table 5. as follows:

¹³ IOs such as: UNICEF, ILO, IDB and the World Bank were selected to be interviewed due to the researcher's previous knowledge of their presence in the country and their involvement with programs or policies towards children. This knowledge was complemented with information gathered from the FONDECYT project.

Table 5. Justification of the Sample

Number	Interviewee/State Actors	Contribution to research
1	Ministry of Finance Representative	Advisor to the Budget Director and former advisor for the Ministry of Finance; with extensive experience and decision-making capacity.
2	Ministry of Justice Representative	Responsible for the reform discussions, policies and projects related to juvenile justice, as well as changes in SENAME.
3	Ministry of Social Development Representative (MDS) I	Advisor to the Minister on reform projects and has connection to the Children's Council. Institutional knowledge and knowledgeable of legal discussions and action initiatives for children and adolescents.
4	Ministry of Social Development Representative II	Legal Officer of the Ministry of Social Development with responsibility of bills, involvement in the Congress and inter-ministerial committees to discuss projects, as well as relations with parliamentary groups.
5	SEGPRES Representative I	Lawyer of the Legal Division of SEGPRES; responsible for the follow-up of the parliamentary discussion of bills on children and adolescents and their formulation.
6	SEGPRES Representative II	Advisor to the SEGPRES Minister; responsible for human rights matters and monitoring the coordination of ministries, services and parliamentarians involved in the reform.

Number	Interviewee/Civil Society	Contribution to research
7	Academic	Expert in public policies linked to the CRC, with a consultant role in policy reforms at the National Council for Children.
8	Local level Representative	Locally responsible for child networks and specific policies towards this group.

Number	Interviewee/International Organizations	Contribution to research
9	Representative of the National Council for Children, UNICEF Representative	Expert Advisor of the National Council for Children; with a long career at UNICEF.
10	IDB Representative	Representative in charge of social protection programs and policies with an emphasis on children.
11	ILO Representative	Expert representative in public policies of social protection and child labor regulations.
12	World Bank Representative	Representative in charge of social protection programs and policies with an emphasis on Children.

In a nutshell, the investigation intends to achieve the following:

The *general objective* is to: analyze the role and influence of international organizations in Chilean policy-making towards children, specifically in the Child Reform from the Government Program of Michelle Bachelet (2014 – 2018).

The *specific objectives* are:

- Identify which International Organizations were involved in the Child Reform of the Government Program and describe the type of influence they used.
- Analyze the type of influence of the International Organizations based on the outcome of the reform.
- Interpret how the national institutions view the role of the International Organizations involved in the reform.

3.4 Analysis Plan

For this the constant comparative method was chosen. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the method involves finding patterns from interview answers and discussions to determine themes that make for a more generalized discussion and an in-depth analysis.

To answer the research question that guides the present study, an analysis of the content of the information collected through the semi-structured interviews and secondary sources was made and technically, carried out with computer support, through the use of NVivo Software to streamline processing and data reduction.

The two main dimensions that guide the study were defined: policy influence approaches and types of policy influence. To each one of these dimensions of analysis, their respective categories and their indicators were defined in the literature presented in the previous chapter on the Conceptual Framework

4. RESULTS ANALYSIS

In March 2014, the President, Her Excellency Michelle Bachelet assumed her duties for the period 2014 – 2018 with the government programme, part in which explicitly referred to the Child Reform proposing a new institutional framework for the comprehensive protection of the rights of children and adolescents.

Bachelet referred to such government priorities as an addition to the actions and proposals that international organizations, parliamentarians and organizations of children and adolescents have raised over the years and within recent times. As such they can be considered as active protagonists in the process of contributing to the fulfilment of the commitments assumed in favour of the rights and well-being of children (Bachelet, 2013).

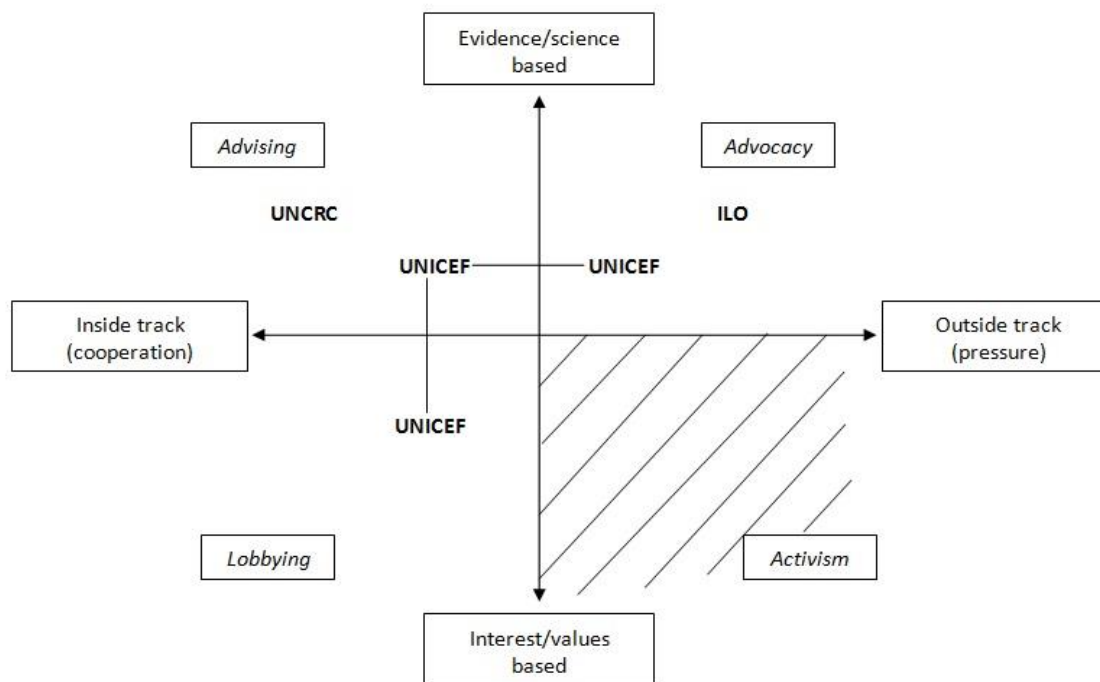
4.1 Who were involved?

Multiple actors are always involved in the formation of public policy; they are identified and distinguished based on their influence in the decision-making process of the reform.

Based on the information gathered from the interviews and parliamentary discussions, the actors involved in the reform are state actors, political parties, the civil society and the international organizations. At this point it is important to highlight the IOs involved; they include the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank (WB).

Through the policy influence approach, their roles played in the reform are identified in the diagram 2 below: Based on the discussion above the following table is presented, demonstrating the policy influence approaches according to the IOs involved in the reform.

Diagram 2. IO's use of policy influence approach



Prepared by researcher based on information from Start and Hovland (2004)

As it relates to the advising quadrant the UNCRC and the UNICEF both employed this type of approach; working/intervening from the “inside track” by cooperating and persuading the Chilean State through evidence/science based activities and advice.

Secondly, in relation to advocacy, two IOs are identified within this quadrant – the UNICEF and the ILO. The latter has mentioned the issue of child labor, however unlike the former they did not participate in the parliamentary discussions.

Thirdly, it is important to highlight that some organizations do not fit into one quadrant. UNICEF has examined and advised the State accordingly. Likewise, this type of organization focused on achieving an impact on the Child Reform through direct advocacy efforts; moving/participating mostly from the “inside track” evidence based; Country Program Document, Annual Reports directly interacting with the government through lobbying and being involved in its parliamentary discussions whereby the Chilean government had to listen/negotiate with UNICEF representatives in promoting the institutional change for the system of guaranteeing children rights.

As identified above, UNICEF has exercised its advocacy strategy by using the media to slightly “pressure” the government and promote to the public their particular interests and mandate they have set out for achieving full guarantee of children’s rights and protection.

The last quadrant of activism is blank, as there is no evidence or supporting document for analysis to prove that any of the IOs involved utilized this approach. Additionally, there are no records of street protests, demonstrations nor other forms of this policy influence approach.

4.1.1 Advising the Chilean State through policy documents

The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is the organ of the United Nations Universal System of Human Rights, which oversees the implementation of the Convention and aims to ensure that ratifying States have a system in accordance with its standards. The Committee is composed of eighteen independent experts who are elected by States parties to the CRC. They indirectly work with the State by producing new empirical research to assist in the decision-making process of a policy.

“...that the Convention and the Committee on the Rights of the Child through general observations, recommended that...the age of 14 is fixed and the criminal prosecution of crimes under 14 is waived” (Ministry of Justice Representative I).

After receiving Chile's **periodic report** in the year 2012, the Committee studied and analysed the State's situation at such specific time and its progress in fulfilling its obligations under the treaties. Subsequently, in the year 2015 (the year after Bachelet took office) the Committee sent its concerns and recommendations to Chile via its **Concluding Observations**; an assessment document - which is an aspect of the advising approach.

It recommended that Chile make changes to its institutional framework; creates a system of comprehensive protection for children and adolescents based on guarantees of rights, establish an independent ombudsman for the State and establish a public body to act as rector of the system of guaranteeing such rights.

Specifically, the recommendations included:

- changing the Law for Minors with a Law of Comprehensive Protection of the Rights of the Child;
- formulate a national policy and plan of action for children;
- designate a coordinating body for this policy;
- existence of a budget control mechanism based on the child rights approach;
- existence of a national, integrated and global data system;
- establishment of a mechanism to monitor respect for children's rights;
- establish a clear regulatory framework for private companies, so that their activities do not harm the rights of the child or compromise environmental and other standards (CRC, Concluding Observations, 2015).

It is important to note that the State has a deadline of March 2021 to send the sixth and seventh periodic reports which should include information on the follow-up of the recommendations indicated, and another set of observations that deal with specific issues: definition of the child, principles, life, survival and development, among others (CRC, 2015).

It is in this sense that the Committee intends can be considered to influence child policies in the country as, although there will be no repercussions for non-compliance, the organization has given a maximum of 6 years for the recommendations to be included in the reform of the policy.

The Committee was aware that by the year 2021, a new administration will take office, however it is expected that regardless of the ruling government, the recommendations should remain if the State intends to improve the lives of its children.

The Committee's approach is non-confrontational and attempts to engage States parties in a constructive dialogue with a view to obtaining an accurate assessment of the situation of children

in the State under review, and making recommendations of how the State can further work to fulfil its obligations with regard to child rights.

Specifically as it relates to the reform and what should be changed, UNICEF has expressed its disagreement with the institutional architecture. This was expressed in its general observations and was noted by one of the interviewees:

“UNICEF has been very present...they do not agree with this institutional architecture. They have sent observations...directly to the Minister” (Ministry of Social Development Representative I).

The other IO that utilised the advising approach to assist in the decision-making process of the reform is The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). They maintain that research and evidence should reach to those who can make the difference in identifying the problems and providing solutions (UNICEF, 2018).

Through the use of its **Country Programme Document** (details of which were presented in Chapter 2 – Literature Review), UNICEF translated the information gathered from its research conducted and provides the recommendations the State should consider for the incumbent government. The use of this document can be considered as a tool for the advising strategy under the policy approaches.

As part of the assessment for the situation of children, the program document noted:

“challenges remain in ensuring that no child is left behind during implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Significant inequalities persist, rendering Chile the most unequal country in the OECD. Children are almost twice as likely as adults to be poor, as 23 per cent live in multidimensional poverty. Some child population groups are at greater disadvantage than others (UNICEF, 2017, p.2).

Thus, the document (2012 – 2016) outlined the following expectations:

(a) establishment of an independent, inter-agency system for oversight of detention centres for minors; (b) an increase in the number of alternative penalties to deprivation of liberty; and (c) establishment and strengthening of diverse subnational programmes to promote and protect children’s rights.

The following results are expected by 2016: (a) establishment of institutions for rights protection and criminal accountability in line with the Convention on the Rights of the Child; (b) reduction in the institutionalization and detention of 10 children; (c) increase in the provision of family counselling and support; (d) increase in the social reintegration rates for adolescent offenders.

Further to the expectations, due to the nature of the organization, it included in the document its country office plans to ensure their expectations are carried out:

UNICEF will promote the establishment of systems to continuously monitor respect for children’s rights; carry out activities to promote children’s rights; and strengthen national and local capacity to ensure that such rights are guaranteed and respected.

UNICEF will also support analysis and implementation of the recommendations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, including: (a) establishing legislation that prohibits and penalizes all forms of corporal punishment; (b) creating an independent institution to advocate for

children's rights; and any other recommendations issued by the Committee in its future reports on Chile.

4.1.2 Strengthening its advocacy efforts

The 2014 Annual Report explained how UNICEF Chile used communications to engage the citizens. Local and global campaigns along with social media strategies were utilised as a means of advocacy. CRC@25 – a campaign used to contribute to the development of the National Policy and Plan, maintaining children and adolescents at the forefront of national issues through frequent presence in the media (UNICEF, 2014).

The organization which has an office in Chile, **undertook various actions and campaigns** to promote the inclusion and non-discrimination of migrant children. This work was reflected in the implementation of the National Plan of Regularization of Migrant Children through an agreement between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Education that aims to regularize the situation of migrant children and adolescents studying in educational establishments, kindergarten and day-care, notwithstanding the immigration status of their parents (UNICEF, 2014).

Although this aspect was not included in Bachelet's reform, UNICEF had its own intentions to ensure that all aspects of rights for all children are addressed accordingly.

Efforts were continued to help build a culture of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. Efforts were focused on providing expertise to local, regional and national institutions, contributing to the development of relevant policies and plans; undertaking targeted media campaigns and public events; and maintaining a consistent/insistent right-based narrative on children and adolescents at the forefront of national issues by a regular presence in both traditional and new media outlets (UNICEF, 2014).

In 2015, UNICEF Chile launched a number of targeted advocacy and communication campaigns to promote the universality of children's rights. A campaign that coincided with the proposals of the Child reform was "America nos une".

As it relates to the use of media - one of the main tools for this type of influence approach- this IO has informed in each report their efforts to inform public which evidently has been increasing over the years. (The use of mass media; television, radio and the use of social media; Facebook, and twitter). The major topics covered were quite consistent with those set in the communication plan: child abuse, legal and policy framework for children in Chile. The comparison of the 2012 and 2017 studies also shows a 16% increase in the treatment of issues related to children from a child rights' perspective in the media UNICEF, 2017b).

The 2017 report also had set out how the strategies will help the government to achieve maximum benefits in protecting the rights of the child. A summary is given below:

Other strategies will also be applied: policy and advocacy dialogue for the development, and strengthening of laws of the child protection system; generation and dissemination of evidence through studies, surveys and others mechanisms to support evidence-based policy development and implementation of pilot programmes;

Policy and advocacy dialogue for the development and strengthening of laws and policies as part of the integrated protection system; generation and dissemination of evidence through studies, surveys and others to support evidence-based policy development and implementation of pilot programs; facilitating the monitoring of child rights as well as budgeting in this area;

development of institutional capacities to implement policies and programmes based on evidence; communication for development to enable community, family and adolescent engagement, in particular in the implementation of parenting, life skills, and social emotional skills, and adolescent participation programs (UNICEF, 2017b).

A key strategy used in this aspect of the programme, was **evidence-based advocacy** for child rights and inclusion, in the context of legislative and institutional reforms. Working with the Government and other stakeholders, UNICEF provided evidence-based technical assistance and successfully advocated for the incorporation of child rights into a series of laws and projects.

The 2017 report informed that as part of the Government decision to revise the Constitution of the Republic, UNICEF Chile worked with the SEGPRES in two main areas: inclusion of norms that recognize children and adolescents as subjects of rights, and inclusion of the voice of children and adolescents in debates about the new Constitution.

According to the report, it has successfully advocated for the effective consideration of child rights in legislative and strategic discussions, including the comprehensive child rights protection system, and influenced 25 draft laws in 2017 alone (UNICEF, 2017b).

Interestingly, it was noted that between the years 2015 – 2017, more mention was made of the State keeping compliance with the SDGs. This could be as consequence of the changes/lack of global issues over the years and as a result, the focus should also be placed on achieving these goals because their characteristic speaks to covering all the aspects that were not covered in the CRC.

Although this agreement is not legally binding, the Chilean government is expected to establish and incorporate these goals into its national framework.

As a result, UNICEF Chile participated in strengthening institutional capacities for SDG monitoring, mainly through the incorporation of standard indicators into information collection instruments and into the National Action Plan. The goal is to measure the impact of actions on the reduction gaps, and on the achievement of goals that are a priority for children in the agenda. UNICEF will continue to advocate and support the design of appropriate evaluations (UNICEF, 2017b).

UNICEF Chile devotes substantial efforts to policy dialogue and advocacy, as its greatest impact stems from its role as a sought-out knowledge leader that can instigate and influence discussions and policies, and from its capacity to generate evidence to effectively feed these discussions.

4.1.3 UNICEF lobbying for the ‘ideal’ reform

As determined above, UNICEF is the only IO that participated using this type of policy influence activity. It was an active member in the parliamentary discussions (2016 – 2017) where it made use of the opportunity to voice its observations directly to the government under three major discussions.

New attributions and powers for the Ministry of Social Development

From the representative’s perspective, Chile is at a historic moment in terms of legal reforms for children, where the legal initiative in debate occupies an essential place, understanding that the new powers and faculties conferred on the Ministry of Social Development in matters of childhood, the rectory of the Integral Protection System (Law N ° 20.530) is delivered to this portfolio. Also, in this role of stewardship and articulation of the system and the subsystems that

integrate it, the Ministry of Social Development would have a specialized Undersecretary who will contribute to the articulation at the various levels, according to the proposal in the project.

In light of the above, the representative stressed that UNICEF warns as a positive aspect that through the reform of the organic law of the Ministry of Social Development, this body is assigned the status of "responsible body" for children in Chile, which is consistent with the recommendation made by the CRC to Chile in 2015, urging that the MDS be designated as the "entity responsible for enforcing the rights of the child". For this reason, the institution that is being created and the functions it should develop are of particular importance to UNICEF.

Suggestion

For the Comprehensive Protection System to have a scope and practical application, an institution is required to articulate and coordinate the various instances and measures that will be created.

Recommendation

This can only materialize through the creation of a "governing body", or another institution that depends on this "governing body". In the specific case of this bill, it is understood that with the amendments to the organic law of the Ministry of Social Development, this ministry would be the governing body and the new Under secretariat the body in charge of articulating the policies adopted by the System. of Integral Protection.

Taking this into consideration, the Undersecretary for Children would be an organization that would not only be linked to specialized protection, such as cases of violation of rights, or the juvenile penal system. Therefore, it should also be responsible for policies public for all children, and under all circumstances; as well as articulate with other subsystems, such as Chile Grows with You (Parliamentary Discussion 3).

It should be noted that the need to have an institution that coordinates and articulates the recognition and exercise of the rights of children has been the subject of different recommendations of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. For example, in its General Comment No. 14, on the best interests of the child as a primary consideration, the Committee emphasizes that for this principle to be properly applied, there must be instances capable of coordinating and implementing policies at the national level, regional and local.

The representative reiterated that, the institutions created through this initiative must meet a dual objective: first, to be part of the System for the Comprehensive Protection of Children; and, secondly, to be able to articulate it adequately in the different levels. In case of not having broad powers that allow the exercise of the governing role of the System, its role would be limited to specialized protection.

Law projects that establish the Guarantee System

In an effort to continue its lobby for the ideal reform, the representative out that according to several studies and technical work carried out by UNICEF, a Framework Law for the Guarantee of Rights must have, in its content, the following elements:

- Structuring principles;
- Catalog of rights;
- Administrative guarantees;

- Specific judicial guarantees;
- Establishment of an autonomous institution for monitoring and / or defending children's rights;
- Prohibition of all forms of violence;
- Regulation of the police function; Reinforced guarantees;
- Local arrival of policies;
- Budget and resources.

It is necessary to observe that the proposed administrative protection seems to be aimed at contexts of special protection and not before any supposed threat or violation of rights; although article 31 refers to "any personal, family or social circumstance", the following article that establishes said measures focuses on the cases of special protection (Parliamentary Discussion 2).

On the enunciation of an autonomous institution for the defense of children's rights, said that without prejudice to the aspects related to the legislative technique and the strategy that is determined to advance in this point, the IO recommended that the Project refer to the Ombudsman Childhood, for which the formula for processing that allows you to specify the essential aspects of this institution.

Importantly, UNICEF made use of the opportunity to lobby for the bill to establish how the National Child Policy should contribute to the system being deployed in an intersectoral manner. According to the representative, this is due to the fact that intersectorality allows the State to account for the multidimensionality and interdependence that characterize children's rights, thus advancing towards the integral development of children and adolescents.

How intersectorality and resource allocation should be improved

The UNICEF Representative stated that ordering and arranging the offer based on the different children's rights; identify gaps and duplications according to such rights; look at budget availability; and make cost/effective decisions based on the best interests of the child. Resources are needed to ensure the management of the System, which, according to the same Bill, should have an intersectoral character. An essential point that should be incorporated in this legal initiative is that the System, when managed from the intersectoral level, requires an integrated information system that allows for monitoring and evaluating compliance with children's rights.

Recommendation: the need to move towards a comprehensive protection system

In this regard, the representative pointed out that the granting of comprehensive protection to all children and adolescents, without distinction whatsoever and regardless of the situation in which they find themselves, is a consideration that should be kept in mind when thinking about the way to build a "Framework Law" that endorses the obligations of the CRC.

The system should deliver a transversal recognition of rights for all children (universality) and not only for those who are in situations of vulnerability (for being victims of violence, abuse, abandonment, or for being in conflict with the law), is one of the challenges of the "Framework Law".

This 'Framework Law' largely depends on additional legal reforms that will increase its effectiveness. The system granting protection should not exclude any child or any child-related situation.

Law projects for the creation of the Ombudsman for children rights

Children's Ombudsman is an essential component of the reform process linked to the autonomous monitoring and defense of children's rights, including the eradication of all forms of violence against children.

Within the framework of the various reforms under way, the representative said, moving forward in approving this law is a priority. He explained that the figure of the Ombudsman can stimulate and drive the various the pending legal processes and institutional modification, which will may not be achieved within the deadlines of the current Government.

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has indicated that

"the necessary powers should be conferred on the national institutions so that they can carry out their mandate effectively, in particular the ability to hear every person and obtain any information and necessary document. to assess the situations that are within its competence" (Parliamentary Discussion 1).

It was expressed by the UNICEF Representative that for the post of Ombudsman for Children it should have a consistent and robust configuration in order to achieve the proposed purposes and magazine special importance in organic internal state , it is necessary that it be inserted within an institutional scheme that integrally ensures the rights of children and adolescents.

From the logic of the Convention and from the work of UNICEF, the existence of a Children's Ombudsman will be a key element to have relevant public policies, with an effective complaints system and with a body that can meet the needs of childhood in each of the areas in which the rights of children and adolescents are present. Whether in the elaboration of laws, the design of administrative measures, situations that occur in the context of the educational system, health, or any other aspect, this figure will play a transcendental role when verifying that all these areas are well founded in the standards of the CRC.

As such, the representative expressed that the need for a specialized body for the defense of these rights is a requirement that emanates from various international obligations that the State has.

The Committee on the Rights of the Child of the United Nations Organization has reiterated to Chile in the years 2002, 2007 and 2015 the need to create an independent institution to promote and protect the aforementioned rights. Indeed, he added, as the Committee has maintained, although both adults and children need national bodies to protect their fundamental rights, childhood requires a specific institutional framework that guarantees the exercise of these rights (Parliamentary Discussion 1).

The current situation is that minors have limitations in access to the courts of justice, in many cases their opinions are not considered (and they cannot assume a decision-making role for issues that affect them), as well as other state institutions of protection. This is possibly why the representative stresses the need for Chile to have an Ombudsman for the Rights of Children.

4.2 Identification of the problem

A first issue that was observed was the general and dynamic view of the international actors involved in the reform. It is interesting to note where the measures proposed converged (cooperation); the contradictions in which the reform was implemented; the role and functions of actors involved; how best the issues that children face were translated into the reform and the coherences/differences that existed amongst the international and national actors. This was used

to guide the analysis; comparing and contrasting the international actors' input to the outcome of the reform.

It can be highlighted from both the literature review and interviews that there was need to reform the child policies as the issue of inequality amongst children persisted and continues to do so, despite the country advancing in other child-related areas. This translates to breaking the commitment of ensuring that the all rights of all children are being guaranteed.

4.2.1 Discord between the implementation and ratification of public policy

“There is a temporal and cultural gap between the ratification of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 91, [a time of] very early democracy, which was like an augury, a good omen of what the perspectives of childhood could be [during] democracy” (ILO Representative).

This means that ratifying the Convention had only been symbolic and not institutional; we are living in a society where the child policies in the country had not been adjusted according to the international standards of the respective time. Society has changed significantly since the ratification and therefore child policies and laws should strive to consistently match the objectives of the CRC.

“Regrettably, this ratification in public policies is like a kind of gap...ratified at another speed, very late, in different public bodies and in Chilean society...it was rather a promotional norm, that is, it is not that Chilean society has ratified this declaration because it had already changed its perspective with respect to childhood, its role, but it served as a starting point to start this journey...”

...one could say that in the last five years there has been an effective ratification of this statement, in what it contains, not in the symbolism of ... it's like someone ratified it, kept it in a drawer and little by little people have gone ... Why do I tell you this? Because we had a vision, and that also accompanied all our vision, our legal system, a super-entrenched vision of protection, that is, of protection object not subject to law, and when the rights began to express are rights that always were constitutional rights” (ILO Representative).

The implementation of a policy by a government does not necessarily translate to a change in perspective or propels action on the part of citizens and Non-governmental or even Governmental Organizations.

4.2.2 Reform the Law for Minors

From the international organizations interviewed, all were of the agreement that the need for the reform lies in the fact that the existing law for minors are outdated; notable organizations describe:

“We have a law for minors from the 1960s, that is, the old juvenile law; we have an institutional structure where today we do not have an organic entity that acts as the governing body. So, of course, the problem has to do with the fact that the institutional structure is not adequate to the reality of what a guarantee system should be or should generate, there is no law for the protection of rights” (UNICEF Representative).

“Who can tell me today what it is to be a child today in Chile?...so there are writings about being a child in the 80’s... and I want to know what happens today, what are the parameters of today, what do our children think about, what do they like, what is it that they do, what they see, and what they think” (ILO Representative).

Consequently, Bachelet, in her reform, states that:

“We will send a draft Law on Comprehensive Protection of the Rights of Children and Adolescents, legal framework for the recognition of all the rights enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the establishment of guarantees for all children and adolescents, without any discrimination...The mechanisms for enforceability of rights will be established [and] this Law will repeal the current Law for Minors/Juvenile Law, No. 16,628 (Bachelet, 2013.)

Unfortunately, the laws were still reflecting studies and observations from the era of the 1960’s with no clear vision of what it is to be a child in Chile today as well as how to guarantee their rights; this proves the inadequacy of the institutional structure currently in place. As a result, Bachelet bears this in mind and it is included in the reform.

Pursuant to the Convention, Chile is obliged to protect all children within its jurisdiction ensuring the best interests of the child in all child related matters as the primary focus. A country with outdated laws for children is not guaranteeing or covering the rights and well-being of all children as it should.

Referring to Bachelet’s reform, sending the draft Law represents her commitment and considering the recommendation by the UNCRC. It improves the exercise of the rights of children and adolescents as well as the reorganization of the different state agencies involved, allowing for the expansion of the capacity of inclusion for children in universal policies.

Another aspect that was observed and suggested by the interviewees present and has been reflected in the programme of the reform, is that of the guaranteeing of the rights of the child.

4.2.3 National Policy on Children and Adolescents; National Council for Children

It is important to make reference to the list of recommendations made by the CRC which was aforementioned in Chapter 2 of this study. Along with the changes in the Law for Minors, the measure to ‘formulate a national policy and plan of action for children’ as well as to ‘designate a coordinating body for this policy’; are explicitly stated in the Child Reform. The National Policy on Children and Adolescents 2015 – 2025 was implemented 2 years after Bachelet took office.

“We will create the National Council for Children that will be in charge of the coordination of the bodies with competence in related matters and will assume the responsibility of promoting the normative and institutional reform, which will shape a new relationship of the State with children, based on respect of your rights” (Bachelet, 2013 pg. 178).

The National Council for Children is an indication to citizens; a system that intends to cover all the areas of the Convention, and allows for its replication and updating, in order to make the compliance status with the CRC visible.

4.2.4 Ombudsman for Children

In 2013, Chile did not have a law on rights protection, nor a national child policy with statutory, legal, administrative and judicial guarantees. It also lacked an independent Ombudsman to address complaints received by children and adolescents, and lacked quality services for special protection. As it relates to the criminal justice system, it lacked the specialization needed to address adolescent offenders and to strengthen their social reintegration.

The reform highlights the following:

“The Children's Defense Program will be responsible for duly representing the rights of children and adolescents in judicial processes, for which it will review the judicial situation of thousands of children interned in residences” (Bachelet, 2013 pg. 178).

4.2.5 Child Reform does not cover all aspects

The international organizations interviewed have agreed that more focus should be placed on specific areas in terms of ensuring the guarantee and protection of all the rights outlined in the Convention; as a result, the organizations mention or allude to what they consider the government should do or reassess.

In relation to the identification of the problem, another notable organization stated that there is an incongruity between the State and the family. The ILO Representative stated that *“you cannot know what is required for children in intervention in territory, you can never intervene a child if you do not intervene in the family”*.

Another organization explained:

“with a focus on children and with a focus on children's rights, where, I would say...the Convention defines in terms of responsibility and responsibility for the development of children, their upbringing and the fulfilment of their rights, there is a logic that goes from the family to the State and through the community.

...the Convention says that the family is the principal formative agent and we say, and promoter and protector of children's rights, that in absence or in need of support of that family, to be able to fulfil its central role, the community comes and the community has a responsibility as well, and when those things do not [work well] it is the State that has to intervene, in terms of special protection measures.

...the main right, which is the right to integral development, is something for which families have to be equipped, and communities have to be equipped, and the State's responsibility is to adequately equip and adequately support to those families and those communities to fulfil their role, to be able to fulfil the objective that is integral development” (UNICEF Representative).

Along with intervening the family situations of children, the international organizations were all of the notion that such intervention should be at a territorial level:

“What happens is that the most deficient is to reach the territorial level, if you do not solve the possibility of where the children and their families live, where they live, where they spend the most time and you cannot solve that, I think it's incomplete, because finally you're going to have, of course, guarantee the right to

health, education, you have a defender that is going to be a vigilant body, that you approve, that's not bad, that's well developed” (Interviewee 2)

“if we had had services, a system that lowered the territorial, a territorial device as established by the framework law, which I believe that if that is a problem that has to do with the daily life of people, that would be better resolved...”

The reform states:

“We will also strengthen areas of daily life for children. This is relevant for the population, marking the universal nature of the State's concern for childhood and adolescence, recognizing the responsibility of supporting the family in its main role as an agent of children's welfare and development”.

“The measures proposed in this area: we will define a Policy for Strengthening the Parental Capacity of the family...”

It is indeed stated in the reform but it has not been made an exclusive priority for tackling the issue of ensuring protection of the rights for children by the government.

“What is missing? The reform to family courts, within the specialized protection service and reform of 20.032 that is the law of subsidies, but that is very basic is what is done, is not reformed in its depth, then, I believe that one wants to generate a system of guarantees, but has not reformed everything that needs to be reformed in order to really be a guarantee in relation to the rights of boys and girls” (ILO Representative).

In a declarative way, no one is against considering children and adolescents as subjects of law and agreeing to advance in guarantee policies, but that in practice it is not given and is followed in the same line of the welfare and focused policy..., focused on vulnerability and not on all aspects of childhood.

“So, I think that this is a policy more focused on problems that have to be solved, than a policy more focused on the integral development of children as the priority objective of the policy” (World Bank Representative).

4.2.6 ‘Children’s rights from a universal perspective’ - International Organizations

Their arguments coincide on the idea that the policy of protecting and guaranteeing the rights of the child should have a universal character by “covering all the rights” for “all children”. This argument was put forward based on the current child protection system existing in Chile where a detailed emphasis was placed on the SENAME institution; which deals with vulnerable children.

“I think, from the perspective of universalizing a set of guarantees that has to do with ensuring benefits of a certain quality to everyone, just for being in school, just for being in control of healthy children, which happens in those ages, I suppose there is an important answer in what we are thinking for the central part of the curve” (IDB Representative).

“a public policy of child development or development of children or whatever we want to call it, if that is the final purpose, it must be a policy by definition that cover all of them, and we will have to have special sections, special chapters, special

situations for those aspects that require special attention” (World Bank Representative).

That is why the UNICEF had conducted an intense lobby among parliamentarians from different parties to take this segment of the law.

From the responses, there is no denial of the need to have special policies according to the various child needs but the policy and the reform in particular, should always be within the context of universal protection for children. This universal stance is conflicted against what the State had chosen to focus on:

“This new legal framework will involve reforming the following instruments: Law No. 20.032, strengthening the powers of the State for effective and effective action in the area of special protection and; transforming SENAME in the National Service for the Protection of Minors”.

“Violations of the rights of children from institutional practices will be addressed with a sense of urgency. To reduce secondary victimization suffered by children who are victims of sexual crimes, a commission will be set up with all the concurrent institutions in the field of sexual crimes committed against children...”(Bachelet, 2013).

The Organizations tend to visualize the reform as having to be more universal with the proposals for the development of children and adolescents; education, health, participation, social services etc. (all that represents development in its totality) for all, not only those of SENAME, which is what was proposed.

“children’s rights are universal and we have to guarantee [them for] all children, regardless of their economic conditions, or their degree of vulnerability...because if so, there are other vulnerabilities...treatment...gender issues, segregation issues, all those things are invisible because of course, there is no active vulnerable participation” (ILO Representative)..

Additionally, the organization goes further to note that if the reform is referring to specific vulnerable groups then the state should also:

“...to treat the immigrant children in the same way. They should set policies for them too. They are all children and everyone deserves attention” (ILO Representative).

In this sense, what is absent in the focused policy is the application of the action to generate inclusion. As stated above, the policy focused on violations instead of integrations; therefore, it is segmented.

The literature provides that there the efforts made at the legislative, political and programmatic level have been plentiful, however, the country has not yet been able to give full and universal effectiveness to the exercise of the rights of children and adolescents. Based on the responses in the interviews, highlights that such efforts have been partial; addressing various thematic aspects of the rights and well-being of children however, without much strategic articulation nor coordination.

4.2.7 Making the reform ideal – International Standards

One of the elements to consider is the dilemma between the influence of internationally established standards versus the national relevance of decisions and projects.

From the government's perspective, the National Council is and should be "responsible for the coordination of the bodies with competence in child related matters" however it has been strongly criticized for not being able to fulfil such role for the system and reflects a lack of technical capabilities.

Two of the organizations were in agreement with the fact that, given the context of lack of coordination and lack of institutional leadership, that if the Council were to disappear there would be no associated cost for the system and public policy for children, because the Council has weighed little on the reform.

"I have doubts about its legitimacy, if today the council disappears, if there is an unfortunate change of government and another administration comes and decides not to continue with the council, I do not think that there will be a substantial damage, neither to the management of the policy, nor to the formulation of the policy or anything related to the policy...if today for some reason [it is decided that the council should come to a closure] to end the council would not see it as a loss or as a fundamental risk...(IDB Representative)

"...I do not see the council having to lead change because I do not think it is an advocacy actor, probably for politics or in the management of cabinet policy but not for their campaigns" (IDB Representative).

The ILO Representative added that:

"for me, the Council is a sign of great concern, in the continuum, because...we took the summary of all the things that we had pending, we commissioned this advice and said at the end there is a mandate, I will have a childhood institutionalism that addresses the integrality of their needs and their rights true?"

The government outlined the implementation of a Childhood Code:

"we will create the Childhood Code a legal Instrument that will integrate all the accumulation of scattered laws in matters related to children and adolescents, harmonizing them with the Law of Integral Protection of rights and international conventions of childhood" (Bachelet, 2013).

However one of the organizations disagreed with this measure despite the fact in previous years the problem was Chile did not have a childhood code and was advised that the country did not have the appropriate regulations.

"And why would it be necessary to have a childhood code? Because there are countries that have childhood codes that are wonderful, and the situation of children is much more deplorable than here. In other words, the childhood code does not ensure [any guarantee] as an instrument, because you can have other rules and other policies, which as a whole are equivalent to a childhood code" (World Bank Representative).

The interviewee alluded to the misunderstanding of adequate regulations equating to new regulations. The issue can be resolved by fixing and adapting the regulations that exist.

Prominence of an institutional reform vs the prominence of human capital

“In the context of investment in human capital, is what should, in my opinion, guide or be the main point of where those actions are directed...to protect, ensure that this human capital will work and that it will work well in better conditions, not only for labour effects, it is not only to prepare them for school, it is for security purposes, for social peace purposes, for the effects of cohesion, it is much more sophisticated, than to say I have to take care of these people, so that later they are productive from the economic point of view.

That is, if the bases of the formation of human beings happen super, super early, it is not only for learning, it has to do with all the other social relations, human relations, coexistence, everything that is today... if this is the case, a policy of support for child development...even if it is called the rights of children...must contemplate actions that favour that process” (World Bank Representative).

They view the reform as needing to prioritize the human capital policy where focus should be placed on growth, exposure and improvement in the system *Chile Crece Contigo*. The system, according to one of the interviewees reflects a universal logic and therefore should be expanded in order to make it more efficient and allowing the State to deliver parenting skills (which was mentioned as above as a measure that is necessary to aid in the guaranteeing of child rights and well-being).

“...Chile Crece Contigo there is nothing else to do there, it only needs to be improved and reinforced. And we must continue this logic of Chile Crece Contigo, until adolescence, as logic, that there is already a lot of things there, we must continue that, all that is focused on rights” (World Bank Representative).

“I do not know just how far the proposal goes, that the idea of expanding the coverage of Chile Crece Contigo, as a concept and as shared functions, with health, education and social protection, goes a little bit in that line...with the perspective of universalizing a set of guarantees that has to do with ensuring benefits of a certain quality to everyone” (IDB Representative).

The government still exercised its efforts to make changes to the system, however it is not of utmost importance as Bachelet and her administration believed that more emphasis should be placed on institutionalism as a way of confronting the inequity and exclusion children face. As a result it is mentioned towards the end of the reform:

“we will strengthen the Child Protection Subsystem Chile Crece Contigo”

None of the organizations interviewed has made reference to point below:

“we will provide the Legal Medical Service of a Mobile Forensic Unit for each Region and Hospital Forensic Units in the Regional Capitals, with the purpose of improving the opportunity and the quality of the expertise, factors that affect the secondary victimization suffered by the child victims”.

On the other hand, it is important to highlight the emergence of technical capacities of the institutional structure of the reform. Most have stated that it is linked to the lack of leadership

within the child protection system, in addition to the absence of a clear and shared definition of the subject of public policy. There is no agreement between all the Ministries involved

One interviewee has stated the following:

“There is no agreement between everyone in terms of political strategy; there is competition between the Ministries... [there needs to be coordination between DIPRES and SEGPRES for example (UNICEF Representative)

“I hope the conclusion is due to a lack of leadership, but I think that is not the case, because there is lack of density...” (ILO Representative).

As a result of their absence, the Ministry of Finance was prominent in exercising leadership. Here the Treasury has been ‘steering’ although it is not an institution that has expertise in this area.

“the complexity of the Treasury taking the helm of the reform is that it does not fully understand the issue and is limited to protecting the finances of the State. I think it acts with a lot of prejudice, which is the prejudice of the owner of the fiscal wallet...sometimes I think it is very difficult for it to interact technically with sector specialists...” (IDB Representative).

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Justice is another of the institution that has been criticized by the interviewees, since they provide resources for others to take charge of the problem of the violation of the rights of children and adolescents, does not have the technical capacity to deal with children and that it is an institution that has been absent from the discussions of the reform of the system. This is noted by one of the interviewees:

“In the discussion of the projects almost nothing, I would say that in the end they were added to the specialized protection in reintegration, but that in the end, but has not participated, it has been absent (UNICEF Representative)

“...there are no procedures, tools, there is no public policy, there is discourse, but there is no public policy, a public policy that delimits actions...(ILO Representative).

It bears mentioning that influence over the policy-making process is not equivalent to influence over outcomes. Involvement in policy-making does not necessarily lead to the attainment of desired results. The interviewees voiced several concerns regarding existing child policies.

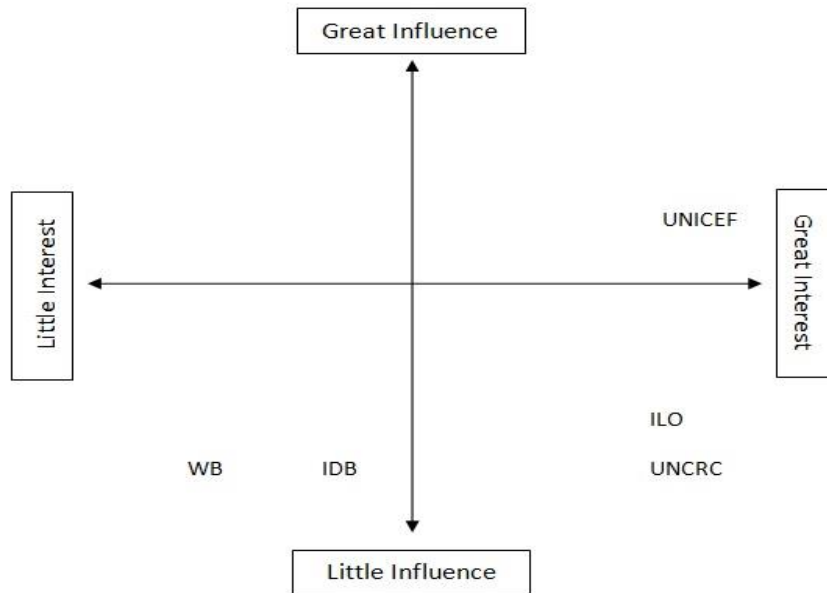
First, they describe the fact that Chile has made progress, however some of the laws are outdated and inadequate in keeping with recent times. Second, they point to the insufficient degree of coordination among different ministries and agencies within the executive branch. Some note the absence of governmental bodies that could better synchronize policies and thus call for an institutional reform in this area.

4.3 Influence measurement

Analyzing the list of actors involved, the researcher can identify a number of actors related to the decision and policy-making process of the Child Reform. Incorporating the conceptual framework of the authors Start, Hovland and Jones; it can be identified that each actor (each IO specifically) has a level of influence and interest in where the issue converges and diverges. To

visualize their role and participation and the position of IOs in such aspect of the reform is described and analyzed, through the application of a map

Diagram 3. Map of International Actors involved in the Child Reform



Prepared by Researcher based on Martin, 2018

As a complement to the map of international actors presented in Diagram 3, below in Table 6 another graphical aid is presented as a synthesis to depict the position interest and influence in relation to the reform.

Table 6. Map of International Actors according to position, interest and influence in the Child Reform

International Actors	Position						Interest					Influence						
	Unknown	Active Opposition	Passive Opposition	Conditioned Support	Passive Support	Active Support	Unknown	Little or none	Some	Moderate	Much	The most interested	Unknown	Little or none	Some	Moderate	Much	The most influential
UNICEF						X				X					X			
UNCRC						X				X				X				
IDB			X						X				X					
ILO						X				X				X				
World Bank			X						X				X					

Prepared by Researcher based on Martin, 2018

4.3.1 Little Interest and Little Influence

Both the IDB and the WB are said to have been critical of the child reform. On the one hand, the IDB representative argued that the protection policy for children and adolescents should not be limited only to children in a state of violation of rights and adolescents who are lawbreakers, but that it must be a State policy with a general vision, in which the integral development of children and adolescents is seen as a fundamental stage in the formation of human capital, along with the development of society in general.

The IDB opposed the fact that the Undersecretariat for Children - the body created to be the rector of the protection system – is within the MDS and as aforementioned, the aspect of the National Council for Children is irrelevant

“...unless it was a different ministry with a broader function that really thought about the issues of social development (...) the Ministry of Social Development at least as it is conceived is to moderate and operate high-level policies.” (IDB Representative).

In addition, the IDB is critical to the guarantee law. This is primarily due to because it is not fiscally responsible to commit State resources for the universalization of rights, taking into account that there are priorities that are clear and the State does not have the budgetary capacity for such guarantees.

“...that is, we cannot argue that we are going to pay or not, I am of the idea that we have to discuss it at the same time, because then there, if everything is not so important anymore, it is not so universal anymore, we should not always guarantee it, because the budget does not allow for and it we are afraid to prioritize” (IDB Representative).

Similarly, the WB, for which the axis of the policy that is being implemented is aimed at taking charge of the CRC, with normative emphasis, but that does not necessarily relate directly to the integral development of children and adolescents.

“...here what we have to support is the final objective, and the final objective is the integral development of the children, of that there is no discussion; and the ultimate goal is not to comply with the Convention, but rather the ultimate goal is the integral development of children correct?” (WB Representative).

This organization maintains that the reform presents more of a logic to only resolve institutional issues; one that is only centered on problem-resolution rather than being centered to advance its primary objective, the protection of all children and adolescents.

The IDB and the World Bank have little interest and little influence in the reform, with the international organizations having the least impact on the reform.

4.3.2 Great Interest and Little Influence

With the ILO being apart of the United Nations, it can be deduced that it shares a similar position to that of UNICEF and the UNCRC. It has pointed out that it is necessary for Chile to update its institutional framework for children and adolescents, which is focused on children and

adolescents who are in violation of their rights and an important aspect which is outside the CRC criteria.

Unlike the UNICEF, the ILO has not been present nor has participated in parliamentary discussions, so it can be deduced that is an organization that has a lower degree of influence in the decision-making process of the reform. It should be highlighted however that some input was made regarding the reform, it was disagreement with the fact that the bill for Guarantee Law lacked an associated budget.

“Effectively in Chile, public policies are coordinated with cost centers, that ... of what we have seen, that is, Chile Grows with You exists, because there is a cost center (...) if you tell me that this new institutionality (...) but that from a distance seems to have all the elements, it seems that anyone would say that they are reasonable (...) if you do not have a cost center, what obligation do I have ... the institution of abandoned children, to coordinate with who has the children lawbreakers? I have no incentive to coordinate myself” (ILO Representative).

Therefore, the researcher has deduced that the ILO and the UNCRC despite having an interest in the reform, their influence on it has only been minimal.

4.3.3 Great Interest

Evidence shows that the reform has took into consideration the recommendations made by the UNCRC, it has exercised active support but was not present i through it so the Committee exercised active support, but without having more influence than being heard in public hearings in Congress in different procedures of the law projects.

“Following recommendations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child of the United Nations, we opt for a specialized body [Defensoría de la Niñez], which is structured and characterized according to its role as observer of the System of Guarantees of children's rights” (SEGPRES Representative II).

4.3.4 Great Influence and Great Interest

UNICEF is very interested and has moderate influence. Together with the ILO and the UNICEF they have expressed, advocated and lobbied for the Chilean state to modernize its institutional framework for children.

In so doing, UNICEF Chile focused its advocacy efforts on highlighting the universality of the rights of the child, and its programmatic efforts on providing timely advice to contribute to the on-going legal reform processes.

The organization has played a role similar to that of the Committee, participating in the parliamentary discussions of the various projects that make up the reform and, like the Committee, its role as promoter of changes in childhood and adolescence is earlier to the reform period. Its bases its actions on up-to-date substantial research and experience on what works to help give children the best start in life, to survive and develop well.

As it relates to interests, it can be argued that UNICEF and the UNCRC have exhibited active support which is reflect in their great interest for having the reform approved. were the closest international organizations to the reform, exercising active support, having great interest in having this reform approved - considering that both are institutions dedicated to the improvement of social security systems. protection for children and realizing their intrinsic rights in accordance

with the standards of the CRC worldwide - and with little influence, on the part of the Committee, and relatively great influence on UNICEF.

The ILO is an organization that exhibits active support, has a lot of interest and can be considered to have a similar interest as that of UNICEF and the UNCRC, however, it did not have much influence in relation to these organizations. Finally, the IDB and the WB have a passive opposition to the reform, a moderate interest and a lesser influence than the other three organizations.

It should be noted that there is no international actor in the quadrant of great influence and little interest.

4.5 How are the IOs viewed?

Examining role and influence in the policy-making process from another perspective, it is important to highlight how the national institutions view the IOs who were involved in the reform. Firstly, there is a general understanding by a majority of the interviewees that the State should act in accordance with the international organizations and their agreements. One particular interviewee was able to summarize the essential role they play in relation to ensuring that children's needs are met.

“there is a very serious commitment to comply with the Convention's standards and with the recommendations of international bodies regarding what needs to be done in the field of childhood. So, there is a sense that we are indebted about what we have to do, that it does not only respond to contingency, but that we look at ourselves in the mirror of the Convention and see that something is missing” (SEGPRES Representative I).

There is an obligation to the international bodies to comply with the recommendations they send to the State as they are responsible for examining and analyzing children's situations in the country and therefore any advice that is sent should be in the best interest of the children and should be highly considered and utilized by the country.

Secondly, another interviewee noted the guiding nature of the international bodies through the use of agreements.

“I believe that globalization and these international agreements have emphasized on taking a quicker look, that we should place a little more urgency in some subjects” (Local Level Representative).

Therefore, the fact that international bodies such as the UNCRC and UNICEF have mandates that are based on the CRC - the most prevalent international agreement for children - they tend to demonstrate a guiding role that has forced the country examine and review certain subject areas and pressing issues for children and make the necessary changes for them.

The Consultant from the *Consejo Nacional de Infancia* views the UNCRC as having an insistent role for advocating a particular change which they have considered to be a part of the problem that has rendered the country to be unequal in protecting the rights of its children.

“I believe that there is an imperative, when one has the framework of the Convention, the Committee on repeated occasions in all the reports has told Chile that it is behind in the adequacy of the legislation...The problem has to do with the

institutional structure which is not adequate to the reality of what it should be...”
(National Council Consultant).

The IO that has been mentioned or referred to in majority of the interviews conducted is UNICEF. Reference has been made to the organization’s history with the State; an interviewee perfectly recapitulated in one statement how central UNICEF was in the child policy specifically to the law which serves to equip families and communities to fulfill their roles for improving children’s lives.

“And that discussion was basically done through UNICEF, that was the context, they had a fundamental role in that. This alliance with the then Ministry of Planning, for the purposes of publishing this policy etc...and UNICEF played a leading role” (World Bank Representative).

The representative went further to inform that the design of such policy was the State’s role and in fact another actor exercised a corresponding supportive role in such design.

“...it is the State that does the whole process, [it] invites UNICEF as an adviser, but does the whole process and what ends up promoting, what ends up in the background, what ends up being published, [is up to the State] to organize the life cycle from the point of view of rights, and how interventions have to be associated with supporting that life cycle” (World Bank Representative).

Also, the set of interviewees made reference to the advisory and decision-making capacity of the organization in relation to assessing and predicting the outcome of the finances for the revamping all sections at once.

Conversely, the people of UNICEF said, “this is not going to happen, we agree with this, but we figure” ... our dissent was that it was going to happen [it would take place]. And they were right, there is no money to complete all, therefore we improve the system of deliberations, and we improve the SENAME (Academic).

Contrastingly, one of the interviewees viewed the UNICEF’s capacity and role as diminishing. They do not consider them to be completely devoted to their initiative of the National Council and now that there is structural issue, the organization has disappeared.

“I see UNICEF as an external ally... the previous years I think made things worse...that is, when we saw what was happening in the Children’s Council (in the Ministry of Finance) at the Undersecretariat, they had problems with the Council, UNICEF was supporting, and then they realized that...and now they have distanced themselves but they were part of this problem” (Ministry of Justice Representative).

Moreover, as it relates to the reform another interviewee highlighted that UNICEF has had good intentions however due to internal issues which have been observed, their system has weakened.

“I have the impression that there is good will from UNICEF but UNICEF is an internal process of weakening, which does not go through the current representative, it is a process that has gone...” (MDS Representative II).

This weakened internal process has translated to the organization not being as efficient as it possibly can.

“it seems to me that it is difficult to be a powerful ally and be able to work at the same time, because it has enough problems internally to be able to help in an efficient way, I believe that they have had good will, they have wanted to do it, but they are not, they are not UNICEF...and it is quite worrying (Representative.)

“UNICEF...as an international organization it has a task to do, one can strongly agree, more or less agree, or disagree with the task they have. However, its task is to promote policies and actions that are guided by the CRC, that is its fault. Sometimes it is exceeded, other times it is limited. Therefore, it is what they have to. I think, in my opinion, they have limited themselves for what they could do” (World Bank Representative).

It has been viewed as not exercising or exhausting its full potential which could contribute to slow improvements or lack thereof in guaranteeing the children’s rights. Their mandate is to support and actively encourage actions and foster policies geared towards social and rights protection. Unfortunately, the organization has been viewed as timid due to political or diplomatic reasons when it should in fact inform the state in a more rigorous manner in order to achieve the desired outcome.

“They have sent observations, but they are weak observations, directly to the minister, the representative has made it see the minister, but it has been in weak terms, even the representative has told him that the team that he has for childhood is not the best. But he has always said it is weak, why? Because when one tells you but why, if no one else can say this to the minister.... we have to maintain a position a little more moderate” (MDS Representative I).

In essence, the national institutions recognize that UNICEF has been present in the reform, but not exercising all the influence it could without being sufficiently critical and active. This could be based on their diplomatic nature and the fact that the Government as a sovereign entity has the right to make the final decision for a policy.

“UNICEF has been very present, but not in the way that I wanted to and that I have talked with the UNICEF people. UNICEF, unfortunately, and they have explained it to me because they cannot go in such a critical position with the State of Chile, because if they could not continue to exist in the country, they do not agree with this institutional architecture” (MDS Representative I).

5. CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, the role and influences of the International Organizations (IOs) in decision and policy-making in the elaboration of policies towards children in Chile can be observed and analyzed through the policy influence approach models presented by Start and Hovland and Jones. Placing the focus specifically on the IOs involved in the Child Reform, the thesis has investigated qualitatively to answer the question of, *how has this Child Reform under the National Policy for Children and Adolescents been shaped by the international actors?*

To answer this question, this chapter aims to include all the relevant information presented in the previous chapter of the results analysis providing the role and influences of the IOs through the policy influence approach and its corresponding types. A general objective and three specific objectives were previously mentioned and below are the main conclusions according to each objective.

GENERAL OBJECTIVE:

In analyzing the role of the IOs involved in the Child Reform presented by Michelle Bachelet's Government Program, it can be concluded that there have been 5 organizations present in its decision-making process. These were the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank (WB).

Specifying each of their roles the map of actors and its complementary table was presented in the thesis. From the information analyzed the following can be concluded:

- UNICEF is the only IO that appeared in the **great interest and great influence quadrant**. It has exhibited an active support for the reform, much interest and specifically moderate interest in the Child Reform.
- The UNCRC and ILO presented identical findings; appearing in the **great interest and little influence quadrant**. Both had extended active support, much interest and some form of influence towards the reform.
- The IDB and the WB display identical results as well; both appear in the **little interest and little influence quadrant**. They exhibit the same role in showing moderate interest, in passively opposing the reform and as such has had little to no influence on the reform.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE 1:

How the IOs identified, used the policy approaches and policy influence types to impact the reform, are recapitulated below:

The UNCRC and the UNICEF both employed the **advising** type of approach; working and/or intervening from the "inside track" by cooperating and persuading the Chilean State through evidence/science-based activities and advice.

Secondly, in relation to **advocacy**, two IOs were identified within this quadrant – the UNICEF and the ILO. The latter has mentioned the issue of child labor but it has been voiced to a lesser extent compared to the mandate of and recommendations by UNICEF.

Thirdly, it is important to highlight that some organizations do not fit into one quadrant. UNICEF has examined and advised the State accordingly. Likewise, this type of organization focused on achieving an impact on the Child Reform through direct advocacy efforts; moving/participating mostly from the “inside track” evidence based; Country Program Document, Annual Reports directly interacting with the government through lobbying and being involved in its parliamentary discussions whereby the Chilean government had to listen/negotiate with UNICEF representatives in promoting the institutional change for the system of guaranteeing children rights.

UNICEF has exercised its advocacy strategy by using the media to slightly “pressure” the government and promote to the public their particular interests and mandate they have set out for achieving full guarantee of children’s rights and protection.

The activism –policy influence type- was not utilized by any of the IOs involved. This is due to IOs having a more diplomatic nature when it comes to international relations especially if they have offices established in the country (which is the case for Chile, having the UNICEF, IDB, ILO and World Bank offices there). Despite the urge to pressure the Chilean State, the advocacy approach only resulted in minimal pressure.

Ultimately, long-term success of the IO’s influences should be measured in terms of achieving the intended impact and structural change. Although not all has been incorporated into the reform and not in the intended matter, the researcher considers that any movement to the next step in the policy cycle is an affirmation that the influence approach has worked.

It is also understood that the IOs can have varying interests, roles and priorities and therefore the end result of having an ideal policy for children may take years to achieve; they have proven that significant amendments have to be consistent with the changes in time and technology (this was shown based on the various transitions and improvements of the international agreements – the CRC, the MDGs and the SDGs).

The desired end result of advocacy may take years to achieve, but significant contributions to the goal of effecting change can be achieved along the way. But even when we can identify what has been achieved, it can still be difficult to evaluate how it was achieved.

OBJECTIVE 2:

The outcome of the analysis may be summarized using one line stated by an interviewee,

“... there is a temporal and cultural gap between the ratification of the CRC in 91, what was ratified in the National Congress, has been ratified at another speed, very late in different public bodies, and in Chilean society” (ILO Representative).

Over the years there has been a general awareness of the need for reform and the state of governmental policies relating to childhood in Chile. However, this awareness has led only to the development of other policies but not to their installation or effective execution.

Nevertheless, a shift in the treatment of these policies in the form of steps to implement them has been noticed in recent years. The researcher attributes this to the increase in significance of public opinion as well as the involvement of IOs. The realization that the Chilean population waits expectantly for improved management of childhood policies led the Michelle Bachelet government to discontinue the isolation of these policies from mainstream politics and to purposefully include them in order to yield the desired results.

In today's public policy relations, strategic alliances are in a country's best interest. Consequently, the norms and procedures outlined by various International Organizations will be adhered to even for the sake of maintaining allies. Notwithstanding, the mere presence of IOs is sufficient encouragement for compliance. They serve to spread information, highlight transnational dilemmas, keep government actors in check as well as provide expertise in specific areas.

Through their consultative status, UNICEF in 2012 developed a five year strategic plan to counter existing inequalities and challenges to children's rights. A key variable of measurement in this programme was evidence-based advocacy for child rights and inclusion, in the context of legislative and institutional reforms.

Working with the Government and other stakeholders, UNICEF and the UNCRC provided evidence-based technical assistance and at the end of the five-year period, reported successful advocacy for the incorporation of child rights into a series of laws and projects. These include the Inclusive Education Act, the New Public Education Act, the Draft Child Rights Protection Act, the Draft Act creating the National Service for Special Protection and the Draft Act creating the National Service for Youth Social Reintegration, in addition to the Draft Act creating the Undersecretary for Children and the Draft Act creating the Ombudsperson for Children, both of which were recently approved by Parliament. These laws and projects represent the framework that will allow implementing the comprehensive child rights protection system which the Organization originally outlined and which was the country's goal.

The year 2017 was the final year of UNICEF Chile's cooperation programme cycle, and saw a positive restructuring of its human capacity, aligning it with the programmatic refocus of UNICEF Chile's approach towards evidence-based advocacy and policy dialogue. The UNCRC, UNICEF and the ILO oriented their role in Chile based on existing needs, gaps and opportunities surrounding the situation of children, and the most impactful strategies to address them.

It is hoped that focus will be maintained in the upcoming cooperation programme (2018-2022), with the implementation of even more innovative strategies and evidence-based actions to place emphasis on equity and social inclusion, protection and justice, to address the many remaining gaps relating to the protection of all children.

The interviews conducted, established that Chile has been a social laboratory throughout the years with a side-effect of inconsistent policies. Having experienced a range of governance styles from Democratic Liberalism in 1958 to Neoliberal Authoritarianism in the mid-1970s and finally three democratic coalition governments in the 1990s, each with its unique leadership regime, the country has demonstrated a perpetual divide between its pronounced policies and their implementation. This is in part attributed to the deficiencies of International Organizations as whereas they can exist only in the capacity of advisors (guests) because ultimately, the Chilean State possesses the voting power.

Despite the challenges, Chile's experience can provide useful lessons for other countries on how to improve systematically through, for example, the strategic use of national and international assessment markers, a commitment to quality-focused incremental improvements and greater engagement with both the public and private sectors.

OBJECTIVE 3:

As it relates to how the national institutions view the IOs involved, it is evident that organizations such as the UNCRC and UNICEF have played a supportive role in and for the reform. The national actors consider their role as important on the one hand as these institutions have been responsible for advising the country on the changes that should be made and enhanced with the hopes of the national policy for children being improved.

Great emphasis has been placed on the CRC which is the document both organizations use as their guidelines for making recommendations to Chile; the impact lies in the fact that the UN entities have consistently informed the State that its outdated legislation and the lack of an efficient institutional structure will prevent them from guaranteeing the necessary rights for all children in the country. Complying with the recommendations signifies complying with the CRC and indirectly complying or abiding by international bodies which in this case refers to the UNCRC and the UNICEF. They both have been viewed as having a consistent role and great impact as it relates informing the Chilean State on how to create ‘an appropriate world’ for its children.

It is evident that there has been quite a number of IOs involved in the decision-making process of the reform. The researcher acknowledged and identified the participation and contributions of the IDB, ILO and the World Bank. However of these identified, most of the national actors involved did not cease to mention or refer to UNICEF’s importance and/or relevance or the lack thereof.

It is understood that the final decision of what has been selected from the agenda setting and presented as a reform is that of the ruling the Government. It is important to add that UNICEF in all instances has been viewed to have an advisory role where the Government has requested its expertise on several occasions.

They alluded to how supportive it has been in policy-making process. This constant reference to the UNICEF can be attributed to the fact that this organization is entirely dedicated to improving children’s lives, ensuring that their needs are met and their rights guaranteed. Notably, UNICEF has utilized the three aspects of the policy influence approach and it is the only organization that has exhibited active support, much interest and moderate influence as it relates to the reform (seen in table 6).

On the other hand, this child-centered organization has demonstrated great interest and moderate influence on Bachelet’s Child Reform. There are a number of national actors who do not believe that UNICEF has exercised the true potential it showed in previous years for this particular reform. As such, these actors are also of the view that if there were less internal issues, the organization would have been able to have a greater impact on the reform.

Delimitations and Limitations to thesis

The challenge with this form of analysis is that the term influence is often interchangeable with the term advocacy. For this reason, the researcher explicitly defined the difference in the conceptual framework to avoid any misunderstanding that could affect the outcome of the study.

Along with this characteristic the delimitations to this research are as follows:

- The researcher translated from Spanish to English all the information sourced and the interviews conducted. The translations should be considered as unofficial translations and in some instances the translations produced were based on context and the general idea provided.

Regarding the limitations:

- The researcher was unable to find any relevant reports from the ILO, the IDB and the World Bank that may have spoken directly or indirectly about reforming the existing child policies in Chile or offering recommendations for reform. Therefore not all the IOs involved in the reform were grouped to a specific quadrant in the policy influence approach presented in Diagram 2.
- Based on the time that was stipulated to complete the investigation, the researcher was provided with a database of interviews from the FONDECYT project to analyze in accordance with the policy influence approach. The sample chosen was based on convenience and therefore the views expressed do not necessarily represent the larger population
- Time affected the depth of the study as the researcher had the intention to conduct further interviews but was unable to do so as the desired interviewees were unavailable during the investigation period.

The Impact of Studying Influence in Public Policy

It has been observed by the researcher that there has been lack of analyses of various international organizations and their policy roles and recommendations. This lack contributes to the limited studies or researches investigated on the role and impact of IOs in the field of child policies in general and how they have shaped such policies for Chilean children; its Child Reform specifically.

All the IOs involved had identified that the main issue with Chile achieving optimal performance status in minimizing all forms of inequality amongst children, has been deep-rooted in the institutional framework.

In the agenda setting this problem was identified and the need for the reform was expressed in this phase of the policy cycle. The problem of children still being faced with poverty and inequality in comparison to other marginal groups was converted to political issue and resulted in the reform and to a larger extent the National Policy.

The role of IOs through the policy influence approach makes a salient contribution to public policy research especially as it relates to the National Policy for Children and Adolescents in Chile. National actors have always worked alongside international ones in terms of their membership in the IOs for children and their corresponding international agreements. In recent times however, their interaction has become more intertwined based on the increasing world changes and the IOs' concern for the welfare of children.

Scope for future studies/ research

With respect to the scope of the present investigation, two areas can be identified. The first corresponds to the scope for public policies and the second to the scope in the academic field.

This thesis has utilized a unique and complex policy approach one in which can be based on relativity. It has used one of the many public policy analysis tools by applying the policy influence approach mainly used to analyze the civil society organizations, specific interests' groups and not necessarily placing direct focus on international organizations. This approach has

allowed the researcher to gain additional knowledge on the mechanisms used to effect a reform and aid in public policy-making.

It can evoke the possibility of additional studies or research from different policy perspectives and approaches (for example those of governance, policy frames and policy networks).

Academically, research on IOs are generalized and have a tendency to focus on the phenomenon of globalization and its impact on foreign or economic policies, or they focus on one specific organization related to childhood and they neither consider the influence of those that are not directly related to that field nor place much investigations on the IOs' influence on one particular policy change. This has demonstrated how intricate academic studies can be on the international organizations and can be considered for research.

It would also be interesting to analyze the impacts of the IOs from the political perspective with a different ruling government (administration). This is because the thesis investigated the reform of former President – Michelle Bachelet and now that there has been a change in government and ruling party, studies can be done to identify if the mechanisms and types of policy influence will remain the same, if more IOs will decide or be forced to participate in further reform and if the intensity from the IOs will change.

To conclude, the thesis demonstrated to an extent that the actions and mechanisms (through the roles and influences) proposed by the International Organizations involved, reflect their capability of identifying the problem with child policies in Chile, guiding the changes that were expected take place during Michelle Bachelet's administration (2014 – 2018) resulting in the decision to include pertinent aspects in the Child Reform with the aim of fighting poverty and inequality amongst Chilean children.

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7. APPENDIX

Table 7. Dimensions used for Analysis

Axis	Policy Influence Approach	Through what channels?	Policy Influence Type Activities
Interest/value based	Lobbying	Lobby and negotiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Face to face meetings discussions • Relationships and trust • Direct incentives and diplomacy
Evidence/science-based	Advising	Evidence and advice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research and analysis • Evidence-based argument • Providing advisory support • Developing and piloting new policy approaches
Evidence/science-based	Advocacy	Public campaigns and advocacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public communications and campaigns • Public education • Messaging • Advocacy

Prepared by Research based on information from Start & Hovland, 2004 and Jones 2011

Table 8. Institutional Documents Utilized

Institution	Name	Year	Link
Government of Chile	Programa de Gobierno Michelle Bachelet 2014 - 2018	2013	https://observatorioplanificacion.cepal.org/sites/default/files/plan/files/ChileProgramadeGobiernoMB.pdf
UNCRC	Concluding observations on the combined fourth and fifth periodic reports of Chile	2015	http://docstore.ohchr.org/SelfServices/FilesHandler.ashx?enc=6QkG1d%2fPPRiCAqhKb7yhssK3M5T%2fDPY15MHGhtMS6B4wdmjWcNApSrS0KSJLt8kAqr1bgXOwnr41neD%2fuDwW0SCZFfVUScvcMRKqzD11JKeGciZAvhTPZCWygkySsf01
UNICEF	Chile Country programme document 2012-2016	2011	https://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/Chile_final_approved_2012-2016_English_20_Oct_2011.pdf
UNICEF	UNICEF Annual Report	2013	https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Chile_COAR_2013.pdf
UNICEF	Annual Report	2014	https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Chile_Annual_Report_2014.pdf
UNICEF	Annual Report	2015	https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Chile_2015_COAR.pdf
UNICEF	Annual Report	2016	https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Chile_2016_COAR.pdf

UNICEF	Annual Report	2017b	https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Chile_2017_COAR.pdf
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Table 9. Parliamentary Discussions Analyzed

Law	Discussion	Date
21.067	1. SEGUNDO INFORME DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL ENCARGADA DE TRAMITAR PROYECTOS DE LEY RELACIONADOS CON LOS NIÑOS, NIÑAS Y ADOLESCENTES, recaído en el proyecto de ley, en primer trámite constitucional, que crea la Defensoría de los Derechos de la Niñez. BOLETÍN N°10584-07	23.08.2016
	2. INFORME DE LA COMISION ESPECIAL ENCARGADA DE TRAMITAR PROYECTOS DE LEY RELACIONADOS CON LOS NIÑOS, NIÑAS Y ADOLESCENTES, recaído en el proyecto de ley, en segundo trámite constitucional, que establece un sistema de garantías de los derechos de la niñez. Sesión N°270	10.01.2017
21.090	3. INFORME DE LA COMISIÓN DE GOBIERNO INTERIOR, NACIONALIDAD, CIUDADANÍA Y REGIONALIZACIÓN, RECAÍDO EN EL PROYECTO DE LEY QUE OTORGA NUEVAS ATRIBUCIONES AL MINISTERIO DE DESARROLLO SOCIAL EN MATERIA DE NIÑEZ Y CREA LA SUBSECRETARÍA DE LA NIÑEZ, DEPENDIENTE DEL MISMO - ----- BOLETÍN N°10314-06 (S)	20.11.2017