

Children's Rights Discourse In *Human Rights Watch* Report Titles

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Abstract

This paper is an analysis of report titles of Human Rights Watch (HRW). The titles of HRW reports seem not to have special grammatical rules, they rather tend to be sensational, and probably contain more formal markers and discursive features than ordinary titles of reports. This study thus aims at finding out the characteristics of this organization's report titles during nine years (from 2006 to 2014), as far as children's rights are concerned. This library research shows that the rights of the child are the most advocated among HRW's fifteen topics. In the light of Kambaja's (2009) procedural approach and van Dijk's (1993) analytical framework, it is argued that formal markers and discursive features can be powerful persuasive techniques to attract readers' attention on international issues in this modern world full of competitive NGOs.

Keywords: Human Rights Watch, children's rights, adultism, report title, Critical Discourse Analysis, formal marker

1. INTRODUCTION

The term "children" evokes issues such as education, medical care, innocence, fragility, future, abuse, and exploitation. About developing countries, the media are full of stories of infant mortality, child labor, street children, child soldiers, and juvenile delinquency. Traditionally, the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of the society, while parents have a prior *right* to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children (Universal Declaration of Human Rights). However, since 1989, parents have primary *responsibility* to secure the conditions of living necessary for the child's development, according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The latter is the most widely accepted human rights treaty in the world, but it particularly aims at "developing countries", an expression repeated four times within it.

Many authors have studied one aspect or another of children's rights. Roche (2005), for instance, supports the UNCRC to the detriment of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). This author states, "The UNCRC can be seen as having heralded and helped

legitimize a new language of children's rights". The latter is undoubtedly booming. It has inspired new treaties (e.g. The Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflicts) as well as many NGOs around the world. It has invaded everyday language with terms such as *child's best interests*, *free primary education*, *disabled child*, *child mortality*, *sexual exploitation*, and *sexual abuse*.

The present study is concerned with this children's rights discourse. It is an analysis of 104 report titles (henceforth identified as R) of HRW on children's rights from *What Future?* (R1) to *No Way Out* (R104). It attempts to bring out the formal markers and discursive features used in these titles.

Before the analysis proper, let us briefly discuss about the addresser. On its website HRW presents itself as a nonprofit, nongovernmental human rights organization made up of roughly 400 staff members around the globe. It states its mission as follows:

Human Rights Watch defends the rights of people worldwide. We scrupulously investigate abuses, expose the facts widely, and pressure those with power to respect rights and secure justice. Human Rights Watch is an independent, international organization that works as part of a vibrant movement to uphold human dignity and advance the cause of human rights for all.

Thus HRW's mission is to defend the rights of people and promote justice around the world. However, it tends to use a persuasive discourse by appealing on readers' feelings and sympathy for children.

2. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The database of this research was collected on HRW's website (www.hrw.org), in the rubric "reports" from 2006 to 2014. This rubric actually contains more information including report covers and abstracts. Besides numbers and dates (see the appendix), the corpus counts 1,342 words. In all, from April 4, 2006 to October 29, 2014, HRW published 780 reports, but only 104 address children's rights. It is important to note that this selection was carried out automatically by year and topic.

With regard to data analysis, text linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to find out formal markers (*and*, *or*, *maybe*, and *in order to*) and discursive features (*context*, *meaning*, *word choice*, and *rhetoric*). First, Kambaja's (2009) procedural approach

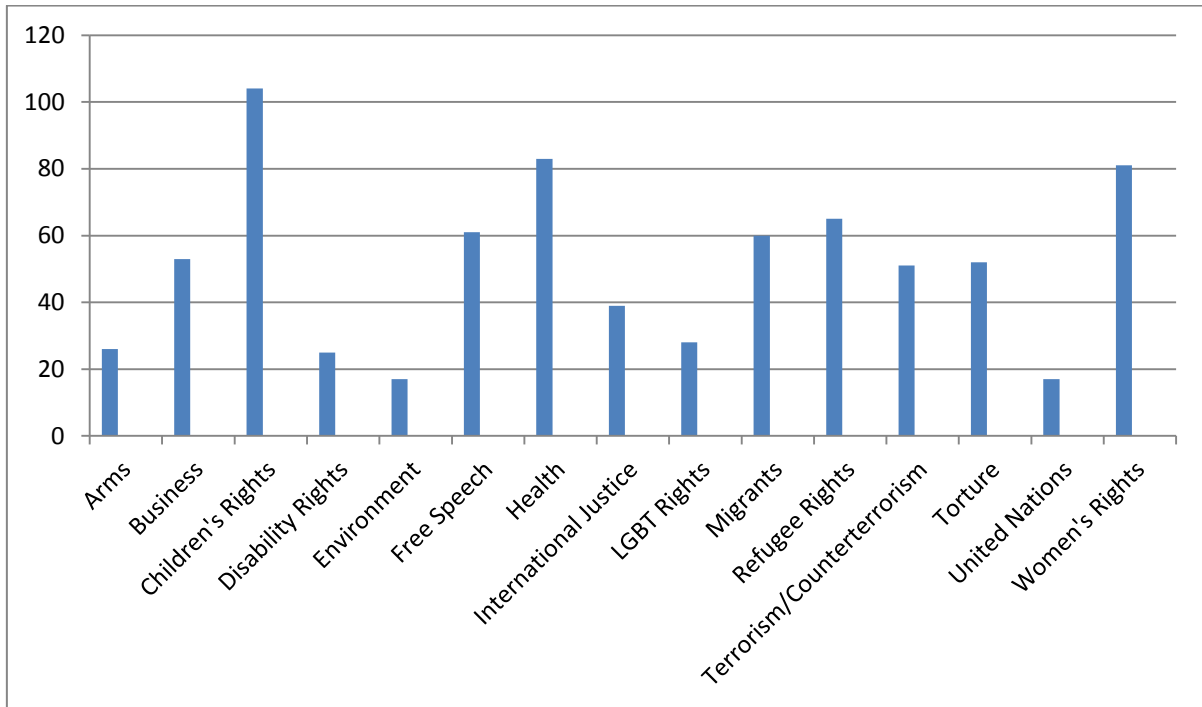
will be used to know how connectives provide instructions on building the context in which utterances must be interpreted. This author studied the role of linguistic markers in the Constitution of the 3rd Republic of the DRC. Second, van Dijk's (1993) procedure will be helpful in the analysis of underlying structures of children's rights discourse. On his part, this scholar analyzed the transcript of a speech made by a British Conservative Member of Parliament defending articles written by a right-wing head teacher from Bradford, UK, on multicultural education (Baxter 2010: 129). This analytical framework has already been used in a previous study (Badye 2017).

3. ANALYSIS OF THE HRW REPORT TITLES

The results of this analysis will be presented and discussed as follows: first, it will be shown that although HRW has 15 centers of interest (arms, business, environment, health, women's rights, etc.), "children's rights" are among its favorite topics. Second, the formal markers and discursive features found in its report titles will be successively explored.

3.1 Topics of HRW Report Titles

In previous studies (Mulamba and Badye 2015, Badye 2017), twelve issues of international politics have been identified: sexism, racism, ageism, adultism, conflicts, diseases, poverty, environment, technology, culture, victims, and universal values). Similarly, HRW tackles the following fifteen topics: Arms, Business, Children's Rights, Disability Rights, Environment, Free Speech, Health, International Justice, LGBT Rights, Migrants, Refugee Rights, Terrorism/Counterterrorism, Torture, United Nations, and Women's Rights. The distribution of reports by topics is summarized in the histogram below:

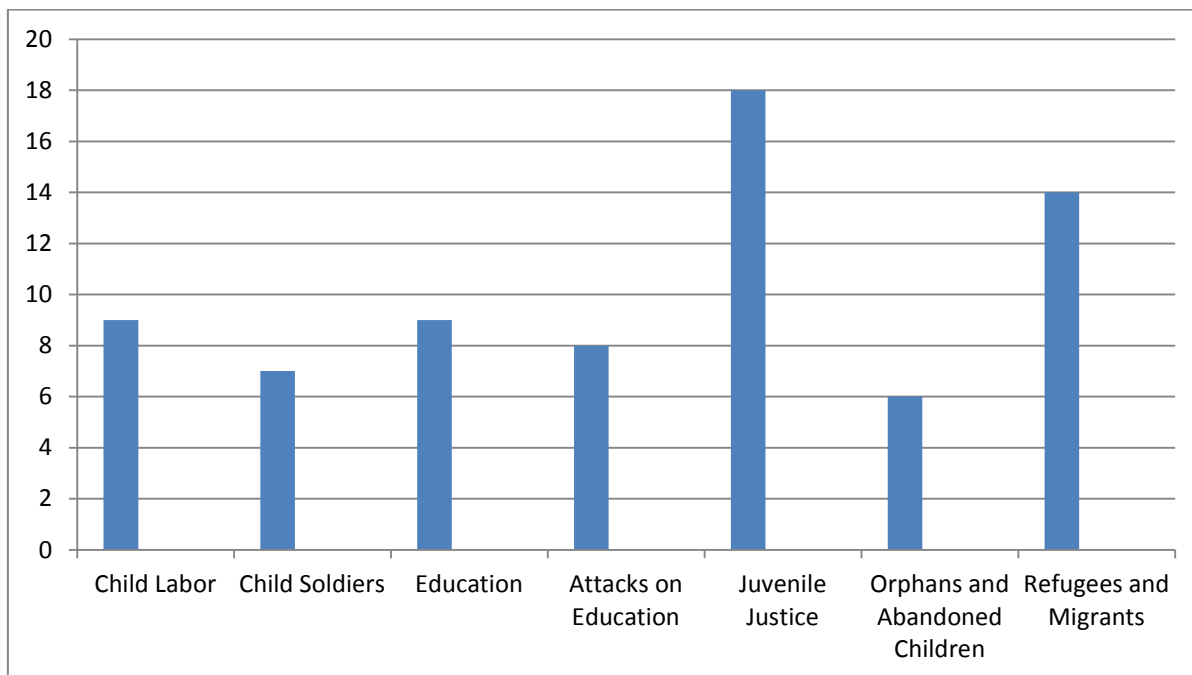


Histogram 1: Distribution of reports by topics

From this diagram, it can be noticed that “children’s rights” have been the most advocated human rights. It is worth mentioning, however, that a single report can comprise more than one topic. “Tough, Fair, and Practical” (R62), for example, tackles five issues at a time (children’s, LGBT, migrants, refugee, and women’s rights).

Regarding its topics, it is evident that HRW is based on “liberalism”, a political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing the freedom of the individual to be the central problem of politics (Minogue et al. 2018). In some countries, political debates oppose conservatives and liberals. According to Lakoff (1995), the former defend the idea of “moral strength” whereas the latter are “fragmented into isolated interest groups based on superficial localized issues: labor, the rights of ethnic groups, feminism, gay rights, environmentalism, abortion rights, homelessness, health care, education, the arts, and so on”. HRW is thus fragmented into Arms Division, Business Division, Children’s Rights Division, etc.

Some of the above topics have subtopics. For example, here are the subtopics of children’s rights: child labor, child soldiers, education, attacks on education, juvenile justice, orphans and abandoned children, refugees and migrants. Consider the following histogram:



Histogram 2: Distribution of reports on children's rights by subtopics

It can be seen that the rights of juvenile offenders (see juvenile justice) have been the most advocated between 2006 and 2014. The great majority of these reports criticize the US justice system. These recurrent criticisms are probably due to the fact that the USA is the only developed country which has not ratified the UNCRC. Conversely, the least advocated rights are those of orphans and abandoned children (only six reports). It should be mentioned, however, that some report titles are not classified above either because they are too broad or because they fit better in other topics such as health, torture, and women's rights. Others appear in more than one subtopic (e.g. R2, R54, R64 and R75).

Finally, the main titles (in bold in the appendix) are short and often opaque to understand but subtitles are usually elaborated and hint to the context.

3.2 Formal Markers in HRW Report Titles

Blakemore (2006: 221) defines formal markers as “syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode”. They are also called *discourse markers*, *cohesive markers*, *metalingual markers*, *connectors*, or *connectives*. In text linguistics, they can be classified in many ways. They are used for cohesive relations or textual meanings (Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1985). They can be classified in additive, adversative, causal, or temporal markers (Evensen 1987:

177). Moreover, they can be grouped among metadiscourse which is ‘discourse about discourse, intended to *direct* rather than *inform* readers’ (Crismore 1990: 192). All of them can be expressed by three mega-connectives, as shown below:

MEGA CONNECTIVES	MEANINGS/INSTRUCTIONS		CONNECTIVES	
AND	<i>Listing</i>	<i>Enumeration</i>	First, furthermore, finally; one, two, three, four, etc.	
		<i>Addition</i>	<i>Reinforcement</i>	Also, again, furthermore, further, moreover, in addition
			<i>Equation</i>	Equally, likewise, similarly, correspondingly
	<i>Transition</i>		Now, with reference to, regarding, let us turn to, as for	
	<i>Summation</i>		In conclusion, to conclude, to sum up briefly, in brief	
	<i>Apposition</i>		i.e., that is, that is to say, viz., namely, in other words	
	<i>Result</i>		So, therefore, as a result, accordingly, consequently	
	<i>Inference</i>		Then, in other words, in that case, else, otherwise	
OR	<i>Replacement (Alternative)</i>		Again, alternatively, rather, better/worse (still)	
	<i>Reformulation</i>		Better, rather, in that case, to put it (more) simply	
BUT	<i>Contrast</i>		Instead, conversely, then, on the contrary, by contrast	
	<i>Concession</i>		Besides, however, nevertheless, still, although, yet	

Table 1: Connectives and their meanings/instructions (Adapted from Muchiri 1993: 138-142)

Therefore, formal markers can instruct the reader, as Kambaja (2009: 96) writes, “Connectives are not only markers of textual coherence, but they are also ‘instruction expressions’, that is, they provide instructions on how to build the context in which the utterance must be interpreted” (Translation mine). Consequently, let us assume that the instructions provided in table 1 are hierarchically arranged: “And” is mostly used for listing (first hypothesis); if not, it expresses transition, summation, apposition, result, or inference (second hypothesis). But unlike this author who worked on the connectives which operate between propositions, the present study focuses on those which link lexemes (except for “Maybe We Live *and* Maybe We Die” (R97)).

The connective “and”, for instance, is used 51 times in the corpus, which generally leads to vagueness and lack of communication. For experienced analysts, however, this is an opportunity to make hypotheses about each occurrence: Is it used for listing (enumeration, addition), transition, summation, etc.?

3.2.1 Listing

Here, listing refers to a series of names, items, figures, etc., especially when they are written or printed. Accordingly, the corpus contains series of violations, victims, perpetrators, as well as countries where these violations take place. There are two kinds of listing: enumeration and addition.

3.2.1.1 Enumeration

To quote Muchiri (1993: 139), “Enumeration indicates a cataloguing of what is being said; most enumerations belong to clearly-defined ‘sets’”. The latter can be *states*, *countries*, *violations*, or *victims* as illustrated below:

- (1) a. Occupation of Schools in India’s Bihar and Jharkhand States (R55)
- b. Ending the Juvenile Death Penalty in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Pakistan, and Yemen (R40)
- c. Ongoing Impunity for Police Beatings, Rape, and Torture in Papua New Guinea (R10)
- d. Violence against Students, Teachers, and Schools in Thailand’s Southern Border Provinces (R66)

From Kambaja’s (2009) approach, it can be said that the connective “and” first instructs the reader to consider the items enumerated as clearly-defined sets. However, in the case of (1d), “and” raises a second hypothesis: since schools are not human beings to be victims of violence, the reader should infer that attacks against these institutions amount to violence against students and teachers. Enumeration occurs 13 times in the corpus.

3.2.1.2 Addition

The connective “and” is also used to show addition to what has been previously indicated. If the last item in the list makes the idea stronger, this addition is called *reinforcement*. Consider the following examples:

- (2) a. Custody and Control (R9)
- b. Violence against Palestinian Women and Girls (R11)
- c. “Tough, Fair, and Practical” (R62)
- d. Child Marriage and Human Rights Abuses in Tanzania (R104)

It should be emphasized that the items listed above are not interchangeable: in (2a), control comes on top of custody while violence against girls would be worse than violence

against women (2b). By contrast, in (2c), “and” instructs the reader to infer that reinforcement is only in the mind of the producer of the utterance. Direct speech will be discussed below (see 3.3.2). As Kambaja (2009: 101) puts it, “The hypothesis of stratification of instructions reassures us that there cannot be ambiguity of intention in the utterance, but the addresser’s intention” (Translation mine). In (2d), the first hypothesis is reinforcement but soon, a second one (equation) emerges: child marriage amounts to a human rights abuse. Marriage becomes a right at adulthood (UDHR, article 16).

Therefore, addition is called *equation* if there is similarity with what has preceded, as in the following utterances:

- (3) a. Adult and Child Migrants in Malta (R77)
 - b. Summary Returns of Unaccompanied Migrant Children and Adult Asylum Seekers from Italy to Greece (R81)
 - c. Exploitation and Abuse of Girl Domestic Workers in Guinea (R19)
 - d. Recommendations for the Government and the LTTE (R8)

It is clear that, the connective “and” instructs to establish an equation (in suffering) between adult migrants and child migrants in (3a), unaccompanied migrant children and asylum seekers in (3b). In (3c), exploitation and abuse can even be considered as synonyms (like jails and prisons in R79). Besides, in R47 the order is reversed: abuse and exploitation. Finally, in (3d) the Sri Lanka’s government is equated with the LTTE armed group.

3.2.2 Transition

“And” can also express transition, i.e. a new stage in the sequence of thought. As Yule (1996: 46) states, “The implicature of ‘and’ is ‘and then’ indicating sequence in ‘She put on her clothes and left the house’”. Examples include:

- (4) a. State Collusion in Abductions and Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group (R14)
 - b. Besieged, Displaced, and Detained (R45)
 - c. The Illegal Arrest, Arbitrary Detention and Torture of People Who Use Drugs in Cambodia (R56)
 - d. US Border Screening and Returns of Central Americans to Risk of Serious Harm (R103)

Therefore, if “and” is not used for listing (enumeration or addition), the reader is instructed to consider transition as coming next in the hierarchy of hypotheses. In all the above utterances, “and” can thus be replaced by precise connectives such as *then*, *and then*, *next*. In (4d), however, it is worth noting that the phrase “to risk of serious harm” goes with “returns” (not with screening) unlike in expressions such as *adult and child migrants* (R77) or *children and youth living with HIV* (R6).

3.2.3 Apposition

As there is no case of summation (generalization) in the data, let us move to apposition, which is used to refer back to previous sentences or to parallel or related references (Muchiri 1993: 140). There is only one example of apposition:

(5) State Responsibility for “Disappearances” and abductions in Sri Lanka (R30)

In fact, the first hypothesis that may come to the reader’s mind is equation, but the context or co-text brings in another hypothesis. Accordingly, the connective “and” between *disappearances* (in quotation marks) and *abductions* instructs the reader to interpret it as *i.e.*, *that is*, *viz.*, *in other words*, or *rather*. This is called “ironic quotation” (see 3.4.4.5 below).

3.2.4 Result

“And” can express the consequences of what was said before, as exemplified below:

(6) a. War Crimes and the devastation of Somalia (R42)

b. Humanitarian Law Violations and Civilian Victims in the Conflict over South Ossetia (R46)

In each utterance, the second term is the consequence of the first one. Hence, (6a) can be rephrased as “The devastation of Somalia because of war crimes”, and (6b) as, “Civilian victims as a result of humanitarian law violations”.

3.2.5 Inference

The connective “and” can also indicate an *inference* from what is implicit in preceding sentences or words. Consider the following utterances:

(7) a. Child and Forced Marriage in South Sudan (R84)

b. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by African Union Forces in Somalia (R100)

The reader should infer about (7a) that child marriage is inevitably forced, i.e. without the girl's consent. That is why lawyers talk of "consenting adults" to refer to people who are considered old enough to decide whether they should agree to have sex. Regarding (7b), there are at least two inferences: first, the adjective *sexual* also applies to *abuse*, and second, the expression *sexual exploitation* differs from *sexual abuse*. The former usually means use of a woman as a prostitute at the service of a boss. Here, it seems to mean exploitation of women's poverty to induce them in prostitution for a little money.

3.2.6 For Prepositions 'In' and 'Versus'

Finally, the connective "and" appears in many novel, film, and story titles (e.g. "Beauty and the Beast", "The Old Man and the Sea") instead of the prepositions "in" and "versus". For example:

- (8) a. Student Violence, Impunity, and the Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire (R36)
- b. Children and the Chhattisgarh Conflict (R39)
- c. Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo (R51)
- d. The "Ten-Dollar Talib" and Women's Rights: Afghan Women and the Risks of Reintegration and Reconciliation (R63)

It is obvious that the preposition "in" can perfectly fit in (8a) and (8b). "Versus" can be used in the remaining utterances. In brief, "and" links incompatible ideas here. It should be mentioned, however, that there is transition between reintegration and reconciliation (see where "and" is not underlined in 8d).

3.2.7 Alternative

As shown in table 1 above, the connective "or" is firstly used for alternative. It occurs only once in the corpus:

- (9) A question of Life or Death (R43)

Through this title, HRW argues that the access to treatment for children with AIDS in Kenya will save their lives because since its discovery in 1981, the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome is known as the "killer disease".

3.2.8 Doubt

The connectives for doubt/hypothesis include *possibly*, *probably*, *perhaps*, and *maybe*. They are quite rare in the corpus. Only one has been found:

(10) “Maybe We Live and Maybe We Die” (R97)

The adverb “maybe” is used twice to emphasize the plight of children recruited and used by armed groups in Syria.

3.2.9 Purpose

A few titles contain connectives that express purpose, particularly “to” (in order to) as shown below:

- (11) a. “They Came Here to Kill Us” (R13)
 b. Left to Survive (R44)

These titles can be rephrased as follows: “They came here *in order to* kill us”, and “They were left *so as* they survive”.

In sum, formal markers establish cohesive relationships (additive, adversative, causal, and temporal) in texts. However, mega-connectives such as “and” instruct readers to make a series of stratified hypotheses to know their specific meaning. Without these hypotheses, “and” leads to vagueness and lack of communication.

After formal markers, let us examine the discursive features.

3.3 Discursive Features of HRW Report Titles

As mentioned in methodological considerations, van Dijk’s (1993) analytical framework will be used in the analysis of the data. The following four steps will be considered: context, meaning, word choice, and rhetoric.

3.3.1 Context

van Dijk’s (1993) seven features of context are: access, setting, medium, audience, genre, social action and social relations, and participant positions and roles.

HRW has *access* to mainstream media because according to NGO Monitor (2009: 7), it is a “superpower” among international NGOs. As Karns (2017) argues, “Since World War II – and particularly the 1970s – international NGOs have become important actors within UN

and its specialized agencies and within other forums”. As a result, NGOs as well as other organizations from civil society attempt to solve *all* social and political problems of developing countries. As Kenny (2017) puts it, “During the 1990s, in particular, many authors, politicians, and public authorities keen to find solutions to some of the different kinds of problems facing developing countries seized upon civil society as a kind of panacea”. Therefore, the human rights debate emerged during the Cold War and it is booming since 1989, i.e. since the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The *settings* are not only world forums such as those organized by the United Nations, but also all the 193 UN member states, particularly those which do not abide by the international treaties they signed or ratified.

As *medium*, HRW uses the internet, social media, as well as some mainstream media including Radio France International (RFI). The first *audience* or *ratified participants* (Cruse 2006: 169) of HRW consists of holders of power (heads of states, ministers, police officers, military commanders, war lords, rebels as well as the international donors).

Among the numerous types of text available (press releases, videos, interviews, conferences, etc.) for human rights advocacy, HRW’s favorite *genre* is undoubtedly “reports”. These generally contain the following sections: report summary, recommendations, background to the situation expose, details on the abuses exposed, international standards, conclusion, and acknowledgements.

With regard to *social action and social relations*, HRW presents itself as the advocate of the marginalized. Since children’s cries, for instance, cannot reach the world decision-makers, the organization plays the role of mediator.

Finally, there are three *participant positions and roles*: neutral actors, the victims (here children), and holders of power (adults in general). They are summarized in the table below:

US		THEM
NEUTRAL ACTORS	CHILDREN	ADULTS
Human Rights Watch	Migrant children	Governments
	Children living with HIV	
The Committee on the Rights of the Child (UN)	Child soldiers	Armed groups/Armed forces
	Students	
Teachers	Civilians	
	Street children	Police

Medical staffs	Juvenile offenders	Judges
	Children from minorities	Dominant group adults
	Workers	Employers
	Talibés	Marabouts
	Girls	Men

Table 2: Participants in children's rights debate as seen in HRW report titles

It should be mentioned that all “adults” do not explicitly appear in HRW report titles. Some of them such as marabouts and employers are inferred from talibés (Muslim school boys) and workers. The general public and discourse analysts belong to the category of participants known as overhearers (Cruse 2006: 169) or receivers (Leech 1983: 13). Moreover, it is worth noting that political discourse tends to polarize people in *us vs. them* (conservatives vs. liberals, developed vs. developing countries, north vs. south, men vs. women, etc.). In children's rights discourse, it results in children vs. adults. This ideology is called “adulthood” and it holds that adults dominate and abuse children in many communities.

3.3.2 Meaning of HRW Report Titles

The topic, as presented by HRW (see 3.1), is “children's rights”. As in the “Honeyford case” analyzed by van Dijk (1993: 128), proportionally, the topic may be defined in various ways, including, “Little girls are married to old men”, “Migrant children are turned back by governments”, and “Street children are abused by police officers”. However, the incriminated adults do not always appear in its report titles. HRW uses five strategies not to expose the “agents” in its titles: polarization US/THEM, nominalization, passive forms, direct speech, and degree of completeness.

Ideological *polarization* clearly appears in numerous HRW report titles as in the following:

- (12) a. “They Came Here to Kill Us” (R13)
- b. “They Shot at Us as We Fled” (R34)
- c. “Being Neutral is Our Biggest Crime” (R37)
- d. “They Say We're dirty” (R93)

The victims are respectively civilian children (in 12a, 12b, and 12c) and India's marginalized children in (12d). Although “they” or “their” does not appear in (12c), it is easily inferred by the presence of “our”. In other words, *our* biggest crime (we innocent

children) is opposed to *their* abuses (they government, vigilant, and Naxalite). These polarizations are better understood thanks to subtitles which are elaborated.

The second strategy is *nominalization*. Fairclough (1989: 51) defines it as a strategy through which “a process is expressed as a noun, as if it were an entity”. Consider the following titles and subtitles:

- (13) a. Corporal Punishment of Children in US Public Schools (R38)
 b. My So-Called Emancipation (R59)
 c. Attacks on Teachers and Schools in Pakistan’s Baluchistan Province (R67)
 d. Exploitation in the Name of Education (R91)

The two titles (13b) and (13d) do not state explicitly *who* emancipates, exploits and educates. Similarly, the subtitles (13a) and (13c) do not state *who* punishes and attacks children. From such subtitles, it appears that teachers can be neutral actors, victims, or evil adults depending on situations.

The third strategy is *passivization*. Agentless passive forms are also very frequent in HRW report titles, as exemplified below:

- (14) a. A Teenager Imprisoned at Guantanamo (R18)
 b. Besieged, Displaced, and Detained (R45)
 c. Buffeted in the Borderland (R68)
 d. Futures Stolen (R71)

Such titles can raise many questions, including, “The victims are imprisoned, besieged, displaced, detained, and buffeted *by whom?*” and “The futures are stolen *by whom?*” However, only experienced discourse analysts can identify nominalization and agentless passives, as well as the questions these strategies raise.

Direct speech constitutes the fourth strategy. In his study of reported speech, Mulamba (1993: 257) observes:

Direct discourse usually helps the writer to avoid misinterpreting the author’s idea by keeping the two texts distinct. By so doing, s/he distances him-/herself from its content and attributes the responsibility to the author.

Of the 104 titles under analysis, 29 are in the form of direct speech. It is clearly a way to show that HRW is the voice of the voiceless; it faithfully reports complaints of the

weak in their own words, it brings people's words to decision-makers, etc. Consider the following titles:

- (15) a. "Everyone Lives in Fear" (R7)
- b. "Look at Us with a Merciful Eye" (R83)
- c. "This Old Man Can Feed Us, You Will Marry Him" (R84)
- d. "You Don't Have Rights Here" (R103)

Obviously, in (15a) and (15b), HRW quotes victims' words. By contrast, in (15c) and (15d), it respectively quotes bad parents (or guardians) and public authorities.

Finally, let us consider the fifth strategy, viz. *degree of completeness* in HRW report titles. Their close examination reveals that the concept of "family" is missing. No term related to it (e.g. father, mother, brother, sister, etc.) appears in its titles, although some of them are used inside the reports proper. And yet, article 16.3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states, "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society", an argument repeated in the preamble of the UNCRC.

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning a key difference between the UDHR and the UNCRC on this matter. Article 26.3 of the former states, "Parents have a prior *right* to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children" whereas article 27.2 of the latter stipulates, "The parent(s) or others responsible for the child have the primary *responsibility* to secure, within their abilities and financial capacities, the conditions of living necessary for the child's development". Therefore, having children has shifted from being a right to responsibility. HRW is not concerned with the rights of parents and families.

3.3.3 Word Choice in HRW Report Titles

Word choice is another main feature of HRW's discourse. It can be subdivided in two groups: political correctness and doublespeak. The former contains euphemistic expressions of people while the latter is 'language designed to alter our perception of reality and corrupt our minds' (Lutz 1999: 64). Here are some politically correct expressions:

- (16) a. Street Children Illegally Detained in Kigali, Rwanda (R2)
- b. The Consequences of Insurgent Attacks in Afghanistan (R17)
- c. Forced Begging and Other Abuses against Talibés in Senegal (R57)
- d. The Irreparable Harm of Placing Children on Sex Offender Registries in the US (R85)

To put it simply, the term ‘street children’ refers to *homeless children*, ‘insurgents’ to *rebels*, ‘talibés’ to *child beggars*, and ‘sex offenders’ to *rapists*. HRW report titles are full of these expressions, including *migrant children*, *child migrants*, *unaccompanied migrant children*, *juvenile offenders*, *people who use drugs*, *children living with HIV*, *girl domestic workers*, and *children with disabilities*. The latter had the following synonyms over time: *lame*, *crippled*, *handicapped*, *disabled*, *physically challenged*, *differently abled*, *people with disabilities* (Mulamba and Badye 2015: 13).

Likewise, below are some doublespeak expressions used in HRW report titles:

- (17) a. Militia Attacks and Ethnic Targeting of Civilians in eastern Chad (R13)
- b. From Foster Care to Homelessness for California Youth (R59)
- c. Israel’s Unlawful Destruction of Property during Operation Cast Lead (R60)
- d. Youth Sentenced to Life in Prison without Parole in California, An Update (R76)

The term “ethnic targeting” probably refers to genocide, “foster care” to adoption and “operation” to attack. Conversely, “parole” is a legal technical word meaning ‘permission that is given to a prisoner to leave prison before the end of their sentence on condition that they behave well’. Doublespeak includes the use of jargon to address general public. It is thus clear that HRW advocates children’s rights *without children* because very few children can understand the terms such as *peril* (death), *impunity* (lack of sanctions), *white phosphorus* (a type of bomb), *litigation* (the process of making or defending a claim in court), etc.

Above all, doublespeak expressions have two contradictory meanings: “Applied to an opponent, it is abuse; applied to someone you agree with, it is praise” (Orwell 1949: 70). Let us take the case of “operation” which is a military technical term used in the structure ‘Operation + code name’ (e.g. Operation Cast Lead). In a book-length poem entitled *Operation*, the Canadian writer Moez Surani shows that the most powerful UN member states use this term to mask modern wars. HRW ironically entitled one of its reports “Operation Likofi” (Badye 2017) to criticize a Congolese anti-criminality police raid. This attitude hides the following polarization: “WE launch operations; THEY attack, kill, and forcibly make disappear”. Clearly speaking, developing countries are not allowed to launch operations. That is why HRW uses “attack” when it is about DRC, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Afghanistan, Chad, India, Pakistan, and Syria.

3.3.4 Rhetoric of HRW Report Titles

Generally speaking, rhetoric has two meanings: first, it refers to speech or writing that is intended to influence people, but that is not completely honest or sincere. Second, it is the skill of using language in speech or writing in a special way that influences or entertains people. This section is concerned with the second meaning. As illustration, let us consider the following two titles on the police raid just mentioned above:

- Report of The United Nations Joint Human Rights Office on Human Rights Violations Committed by Agents of the Congolese National Police during Operation Likofi in Kinshasa between 15 November 2013 and 15 February 2014
- Operation Likofi: *Police Killings and Enforced Disappearances in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo*

The former comprises 34 words and tends to be as formal as possible. By contrast, in only 13 words, the latter is rhetorical, with a two-word main title followed by a subtitle providing clarifications about the abuses, perpetrators, and location. HRW thus uses *figurative language*, i.e. “language that means more than what it literally says” (Myers 1994: 123). To put it simply, rhetoric is a persuasive technique in this epoch of countless reports published daily on the same issues.

Rhetorical devices or figures of speech include metaphor, personification, metonymy, hyperbole, irony, oxymoron, alliteration, and rhetorical question.

3.4.4.1 Metaphor

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 36), “Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding”. Hence, the notion of “conceptual metaphor” (e.g. argument is war) whereby the concept of argument is understood in terms of war. Here are some examples of metaphor from the corpus:

- (18) a. “Their Future is at State” (R67)
- b. Swept Under the Rug (R5)
- c. “Targets of Both Sides” (R66)
- d. Out of Sight (R20)

While advocating children's rights, the very concept of childhood or children is understood through at least four other concepts. First is the conceptual metaphor *children are the future* in (18a) as well as in Early to War (R21), Futures Stolen (R71), and Branded for Life (R92). Second is *children are dirtiness* in (18b) as well as in Swept Away (R2), Toxic Toil (R89), and "They Say We're Dirty" (R93). Third is *children are targets* as in (18c), Up in Flames (R46), Rain of Fire (R49), and Buffeted in the Borderline (R68). Finally is *children are invisible creatures* in (18d) as well as in Workers in the Shadows (R47), "Look at Us with a Merciful Eye" (R83), and Two Years With No Moon (R99).

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4-5) emphasize that metaphors are closely related to culture. They write, "Imagine a culture where an argument is viewed as a dance, the participants are seen as performers, and the goal is to perform in a balanced and aesthetically pleasing way". HRW's culture or ideology is liberalism (see 3.1). Conversely, most conservatives believe in the saying "spare the rod and spoil the child" which contains an ontological metaphor: *children are substances* that can be spoiled by negligence.

3.4.4.2 Personification

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 33) state, "[Personification] allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities". These authors believe that personifications are the most obvious ontological metaphors, that is, ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 26). It can be found in titles such as:

- (19) a. Life Doesn't Wait" (R6)
- b. Lonely Servitude (R80)
- c. Tobacco's Hidden Children (R95)

Life is a natural phenomenon; it has no will to wait or not to wait (19a). The adjective "lonely" fits with human beings, not with practices such as "servitude" (19b). NGOs and journalists like very much this structure (i.e. human quality + abstract reality), as in the well-known expression "humanitarian crisis". Finally, as a plant, tobacco cannot possess hidden children (19c).

3.4.4.3 Metonymy

Metonymy is the act of referring to something by the name of something else that is closely connected with it. As Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 36) state, “Metonymy has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another”. Consider the following lines:

- (20) a. Attacks on Education in Afghanistan (R4)
- b. Children in the Ranks (R15)
- c. Government, Vigilante, and Naxalite Abuses in India’s Chhattisgarh State (R37)
- d. Classrooms in Crosshairs (R78)

Therefore, “education” is used for *students* (teachers and schools) (20a), “the ranks” for *armed forces* (20b), “government” for *ministers*, “Naxalite” for *the Maoists* (20c). HRW names some rebel groups such as LRA, FNL, LTTE, and Al-Shabaab. Finally, (20d) contains a synecdoche, “where the part stands for the whole” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 36). Here, “crosshairs” are parts of firearms.

3.4.4.4 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is exaggerated or extravagant statement used to make a strong impression, but not intended to be taken literally (Williams 2011). It can be found in HRW report titles such as:

- (21) a. No One is Safe (R24)
- b. “I lost Everything” (R60)
- c. “Hellish Work” (R64)
- d. “I’ve Never Experienced Happiness” (R90)

These titles are exaggerations insofar as in the case of (21a) the vast majority of civilians in Thailand’s Southern border provinces may be threatened by insurgents, but there must be some such as officers’ and authorities’ family members who are safe. The expression “no one” can be put in the category of *everything* and *never*. In (21c) the adjective “hellish” (extremely unpleasant) would fit with slaves not with migrant tobacco workers. Finally, (21d) is an exaggerated statement because happiness comprises both great successes as well as daily little pleasures including jokes, conversations, meals, and drinks. Therefore, a person who has never experienced happiness (not even these little pleasures) does not exist. In general HRW

discourse is sad and it gives the impression that life is very hard, especially in some developing countries.

3.4.4.5 Irony

Irony is the use of a word in a way that conveys a meaning opposite to its usual meaning. Consider the following titles:

- (22) a. “The *Best* School” (R36)
- b. My So-Called *Emancipation* (R59)
- c. The “*Ten-Dollar Talib*” and Women’s Rights (R63)
- d. Florida’s Prosecution of Children as Adults under its “*Direct File*” Statute (R92)

The words in italics convey meanings opposite to their usual ones through the use of “so-called” and quotation marks. Myers (1990: 421-2) calls it “ironic quotation”. This author argues, “Even the most blatant distortion of texts is not ironic if the reader does not recognize an intention that it be recognized as blatant distortion”. In the present case, HRW intends that its readers recognize as not its own expressions “the best school”, “emancipation”, “ten-dollar talib”, and “direct file”. Myers (1990: 423) further asserts, “The ironicized words are read not as transparent bearers of meaning but as the object of analysis”. As ironic writers, HRW advocates’ reports deserve thorough study.

3.4.4.6 Oxymoron

Oxymoron consists in using together two terms that normally contradict each other. Some of them are provided below:

- (23) a. A Violent Education (R38)
- b. Workers in the Shadows (R47)
- c. The Christmas Massacres (R48)
- d. Rain of Fire (R49)

Through these titles HRW advocates that education should never be violent (23a), all workers should be officially declared (23b), and massacres should not take place on Christmas (23c), at least in “normal” countries. In (23d), the nature of *rain* (i.e. water) is in contradiction with *fire*: the former puts out the latter. And yet, the NGO uses this

contradiction to denounce the launch of “white phosphorus” (a type of bomb) on civilian populations.

3.4.4.7 Alliteration

Alliteration is a series of words that begin with the same consonant sound, as in the following titles:

- (24) a. Sabotaged Schooling (R55)
- b. Classrooms in the Crosshairs (R78)
- c. Raised on Registry (R85)
- d. Toxic Toil (R89)

HRW uses this figure of speech probably because it turns report titles into mnemonics, i.e. strategies which help remember something (here, reports and issues treated in them). It can be said that the reporters sometimes prefer to play with the language to catch the readers’ attention (Myers 1994).

3.4.4.8 Rhetorical Question

Finally, a *rhetorical question* is asked only to make a statement or to produce an effect rather than to get an answer. In fact, a rhetorical question already has the answer hidden in it. Consider these three illustrations:

- (25) a. What Future? (R1)
- b. “How Come You Allow Little Girls to Get Married?” (R73)
- c. “Where Do You Want Us to Go?” (R98)

The first rhetorical question is used instead of a statement such as, “Street Children in the DRC have no bright future” (25a). Similarly, (25b) comes from the statement, “You must not allow little girls to get married”. In (25c), the statement can be, “Street Children also have the right to live in city”. This figure of speech justifies HRW’s indignation and advocacy. And yet, there are cultural practices and social realities that are difficult to change overnight.

To sum up, the discursive features have been analyzed through van Dijk’s (1993) procedure which comprises the following four steps: context, meaning, lexical choice, and rhetoric. The latter have shown how HRW writers have exploited different strategies to plead for children.

4. CONCLUSION

This study has been a pragmatic analysis of HRW report titles. It has been based on the observation that these titles do not only aim at attracting general public's attention, they also attempt to influence decision-makers. It is clear that members of HRW are human rights advocates who address recommendations to governments, national parliaments, police officers, military commanders, war lords, the United Nations, and international donors.

It has analyzed the *formal markers* used therein, and noticed that HRW extensively uses the connective "and" (51 occurrences in the corpus). As a mega-connective, "and" actually comprises specific connectives such as *also*, *moreover*, *in addition*, *furthermore*, *similarly*, etc. which perform logical marking explicitly. Along Kambaja's (2009) procedural approach, it has been shown that this connective provides instructions on how to build the context in which the data under analysis must be interpreted. Accordingly, the instructions provided by this connective were hierarchically arranged as follows: listing, transition, apposition, result, and inference. The other connectives found in the corpus are *or* (for alternative), *maybe* (for doubt), and *to* (for purpose).

Regarding the *discursive features* of HRW report titles, this research first concentrated on the *context* of human rights discourse, which encompasses children's rights discourse. It was argued that debates on human rights emerged in the 1960s, and they have been booming since 1989. However, pragmatically speaking, context can be restricted to speech event participants: speaker (HRW), addressees (human rights abusers), ratified participants (holders of power and international donors), and overhearers (general public and discourse analysts). These participants have essentially three roles: neutral actors, actors, victims, and abusers.

As for *meaning*, it has been noticed that "agency" – the grammatical subject position in a sentence (Mulamba and Badye 2015: 14) – is not always clear in these titles. HRW uses strategies such as polarization US/THEM, nominalization, passive forms, direct speech, and degree of completeness. Accordingly, the absence of concepts related to family (such as parents, father, mother, brother, sister, etc.) is disturbing given that human beings live in society and, "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society" (UDHR, article 16.3). But this organization advocates individual rights, not groups' rights.

With regard to *word choice* of children's rights discourse, HRW has a special way (politically correct language) of referring to participants. There are *migrant children*, *child migrants*, *children living with HIV*, *street children*, *child soldiers*, *students*, *girl domestic*

workers, youth offenders, etc. on the one hand, and *governments, insurgents, vigilantes, etc.* on the other. Conversely, the organization uses doublespeak (*impunity, ethnic targeting, foster care, Operation Cast Lead*) to hide its bias towards developed countries.

Finally the *rhetoric* of its report titles includes a whole set of figures of speech. In sum, HRW report main titles are short, pithy, and often metaphorical just like proverbs and idiomatic expressions. Besides, many of these main titles simply consist of well-known proverbs (e.g. *Out of sight, out of mind* (R20)) or based on popular idioms (e.g. *to live off the back of somebody* (R57), *against all odds* (R74), *to sweep something under the carpet/rug* (R5), etc.). Only subtitles are elaborated and specific about the context under description. Therefore, as puns in ads (Myers 1994: 61), the primary function of rhetoric here is to attract the attention of bored readers, saturated with reports.

Given that there are more and more international NGOs, the above persuasive techniques, particularly emotional appeal in the rhetoric, seem very useful to attract mainstream media as well as international decision-makers. But emotional appeal is not enough. As McCrimmon (1980: 213) notes, “Someone has said that emotional appeal is the starter and logical argument the steering wheel”. Moreover, children’s rights constitute a perfect topic for human rights advocates because, by definition, children cannot join the debate unlike women, refugees, migrants, LGBT, and members of ethnic groups. Therefore, a discourse is created and decisions are made by diplomats, activists, lobbyists, experts, scholars, and politicians supposedly in their “best interests”, but without them and without their parents. It is therefore paradoxical to accuse parents and authority of adultism and exclude children in the discourse about them.

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX

The following corpus has been retrieved from HRW's website. The numbers (R1, R2, R3, etc.) and chart have been added for the purpose of the present study. The main titles in bold are shorter and more metaphorical than the subtitles in italics. Conversely, the latter tend to contain information about victims, abusers, and countries. The mega-connective "and" is underlined to show its high frequency.

N°	Date	Report Titles
R1	April 4, 2006	What Future? <i>Street Children in the Democratic Republic of Congo</i>
R2	May 14, 2006	Swept Away <i>Street Children Illegally Detained in Kigali, Rwanda</i>
R3	June 16, 2006	A Long Way from Home <i>FNL Child Soldiers in Burundi</i>
R4	July 10, 2006	Lessons in Terror <i>Attacks on Education in Afghanistan</i>
R5	July 27, 2006	Swept Under the Rug <i>Abuses against Domestic Workers Around the World</i>
R6	August 1, 2006	"Life Doesn't Wait" <i>Romania's Failure to Protect <u>and</u> Support Children <u>and</u> Youth Living with HIV</i>
R7	September 11, 2006	"Everyone Lives in Fear" <i>Patterns of Impunity in Jammu <u>and</u> Kashmir</i>
R8	September 19, 2006	Improving Civilian Protection in Sri Lanka <i>Recommendations for the Government <u>and</u> the LTTE</i>
R9	September 24, 2006	Custody <u>and</u> Control <i>Conditions of Confinement in New York's Juvenile Prisons for Girls</i>
R10	October 29, 2006	Still Making Their Own Rules <i>Ongoing Impunity for Police Beatings, Rape, <u>and</u> Torture in Papua New Guinea</i>
R11	November 6, 2006	A Question of Security <i>Violence against Palestinian Women <u>and</u> Girls</i>
R12	November 12, 2006	"Children of the Dust" <i>Abuse of Hanoi Street Children in Detention</i>
R13	January 9, 2007	"They Came Here to Kill Us" <i>Militia Attacks <u>and</u> Ethnic Targeting of Civilians in Eastern Chad</i>
R14	January 23, 2007	Complicit in Crime <i>State Collusion in Abductions <u>and</u> Child Recruitment by the Karuna Group</i>
R15	February 1, 2007	Children in the Ranks <i>The Maoists' Use of Child Soldiers in Nepal</i>
R16	March 15, 2007	Paying the Price <i>Violations of the Rights of Children in Detention in Burundi</i>
R17	April 15, 2007	The Human Cost <i>The Consequences of Insurgent Attacks in Afghanistan</i>
R18	June 1, 2007	The Omar Khadr Case <i>A Teenager Imprisoned at Guantanamo</i>
R19	June 15, 2007	Bottom of the Ladder <i>Exploitation <u>and</u> Abuse of Girl Domestic Workers in Guinea</i>
R20	July 4, 2007	Out of Sight <i>Endemic Abuse <u>and</u> Impunity in Papua's Central highlands</i>
R21	July 16, 2007	Early to War <i>Child Soldiers in the Chad Conflict</i>
R22	July 26, 2007	Unwelcome responsibilities <i>Spain's Failure to Protect The Rights of Unaccompanied Migrant Children in the Canary islands</i>
R23	August 5, 2007	Return to War <i>Human Rights under Siege</i>
R24	August 27, 2007	No One Is Safe <i>Insurgent Attacks on Civilians in Thailand's Southern Border provinces</i>
R25	September 11, 2007	No Easy Answers

		<i>Sex Offenders Laws in the US</i>
R26	October 3, 2007	Discrimination against Ethnic Nepali Children in Bhutan <i>Submission from human Rights Watch to the Committee on the Rights of the Child</i>
R27	October 23, 2007	Renewed Crisis in North Kivu
R28	January 13, 2008	“When I Die, They’ll Send Me Home” <i>Youth Sentenced to Life without Parole in California</i>
R29	February 6, 2008	Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination <i>During its Consideration of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Periodic Reports of the United States of America</i>
R30	March 5, 2008	Recurring Nightmare <i>State Responsibility for “Disappearances” and abductions in Sri Lanka</i>
R31	March 24, 2008	Adults Before Their Time <i>Children in Saudi Arabia’s Criminal Justice System</i>
R32	April 11, 2008	Denied Status, Denied Education <i>Children of North Korean Women in China</i>
R33	May 1, 2008	Executive Summary: The Rest of their Lives <i>Life without Parole for Youth Offenders in the United States in 2008</i>
R34	May 18, 2008	“They Shot at Us as We Fled” <i>Government Attacks on Civilians in West Darfur in February 2008</i>
R35	May 20, 2008	Child Soldiers Global Report 2008 <i>Summary</i>
R36	May 21, 2008	“The Best School” <i>Student Violence, Impunity, and the Crisis in Côte d’Ivoire</i>
R37	July 14, 2008	“Being Neutral is Our Biggest Crime” <i>Government, Vigilante, and Naxalite Abuses in India’s Chhattisgarh</i>
R38	August 19, 2008	A Violent Education <i>Corporal punishment of Children in US Public Schools</i>
R39	September 5, 2008	Dangerous Duty <i>Children and the Chhattisgarh Conflict</i>
R40	September 10, 2008	The Last Holdouts <i>Ending the Juvenile Death Penalty in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Pakistan, and Yemen</i>
R41	October 17, 2008	Returns at Any Cost <i>Spain’s Push to Repatriate Unaccompanied Children in the Absence of Safeguards</i>
R42	December 8, 2008	“So Much to Fear” <i>War Crimes and the devastation of Somalia</i>
R43	December 16, 2008	A Question of Life or Death <i>Treatment Access for Children Living With HIV in Kenya</i>
R44	December 22, 2008	Left to Survive <i>Systematic Failure to Protect Unaccompanied Migrant Children in Greece</i>
R45	December 23, 2008	Besieged, Displaced, and Detained <i>The plight of Civilians in Sri Lanka’s Vanni Region</i>
R46	January 23, 2009	Up in Flames <i>Humanitarian Law Violations and Civilian Victims in the Conflict over South Ossetia</i>
R47	February 11, 2009	Workers in the Shadows <i>Abuse and Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers in Indonesia</i>
R48	February 16, 2009	The Christmas Massacres <i>LRA attacks on Civilians in Northern Congo</i>
R49	March 25, 2009	Rain of Fire <i>Israel’s Unlawful Use of White Phosphorus in Gaza</i>
R50	June 16, 2009	No Equal Justice <i>The Prison Litigation Reform Act in the United States</i>
R51	July 16, 2009	Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone <i>Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo</i>
R52	August 10, 2009	Impairing Education <i>Corporal Punishment of Students with Disabilities in US Public Schools</i>
R53	October 29, 2009	Lost in Transit <i>Insufficient Protection for Unaccompanied Migrant Children at Roissy Charles de Gaulle Airport</i>
R54	December 2, 2009	Locked Up Far Away <i>The Transfer of Immigrants to Remote Detention Centers in the United States</i>
R55	December 9, 2009	Sabotaged Schooling <i>Naxalite Attacks and Police Occupation of Schools in India’s Bihar and Jharkhand States</i>

R56	January 25, 2010	“Skin on the Cable” <i>The Illegal Arrest, Arbitrary Detention and Torture of People Who Use Drugs in Cambodia</i>
R57	April 15, 2010	“Off the Backs of the Children” <i>Forced Begging and Other Abuses against Talibés in Senegal</i>
R58	May 5, 2010	Fields of Peril <i>Child Labor in US Agriculture</i>
R59	May 12, 2010	My So-Called Emancipation <i>From Foster Care to Homelessness for California Youth</i>
R60	May 13, 2010	“I Lost Everything” <i>Israel’s Unlawful Destruction of Property during Operation Cast Lead</i>
R61	June 22, 2010	Eternal Emergency <i>No End to Unaccompanied Migrant Children’s Institutionalization in Canary Islands Emergency Centers</i>
R62	July 8, 2010	“Tough, Fair, and Practical” <i>A Human Rights Framework for Immigration Reform in the United States</i>
R63	July 13, 2010	The “Ten-Dollar Talib” and Women’s Rights <i>Afghan Women and the Risks of Reintegration and Reconciliation</i>
R64	July 14, 2010	“Hellish Work” <i>Exploitation of Migrant Tobacco Workers in Kazakhstan</i>
R65	September 9, 2010	Needless Pain <i>Government Failure to Provide Care for Children in Kenya</i>
R66	September 20, 2010	“Targets of Both Sides” <i>Violence against Students, Teachers, and Schools in Thailand’s Southern Border Provinces</i>
R67	December 13, 2010	“Their Future is at Stake” <i>Attacks on Teachers and Schools in Pakistan’s Baluchistan Province</i>
R68	December 16, 2010	Buffeted in the Borderland <i>The Treatment of Asylum Seekers and Migrants in Ukraine</i>
R69	June 15, 2011	“My Children Have Been Poisoned” <i>A Public Health Crisis in Four Chinese Provinces</i>
R70	July 20, 2011	Schools and Armed Conflict <i>A Global Survey of Domestic Laws and State Practice Protecting Schools from Attack and Military Use</i>
R71	August 24, 2011	Futures Stolen <i>Barriers to Education for Children with Disabilities in Nepal</i>
R72	December 6, 2011	A Poisonous Mix <i>Child Labor, Mercury, and Artisanal Gold Mining in Mali</i>
R73	December 7, 2011	“How Come You Allow Little Girls to Get Married?” <i>Child Marriage in Yemen</i>
R74	January 3, 2012	Against All Odds <i>Prison Conditions for Youth Offenders Serving Life without Parole Sentences in the United States</i>
R75	February 20, 2012	No Place for Children <i>Child Recruitment, Forced Marriage, and Attacks on Schools in Somalia</i>
R76	March 1, 2012	“When I Die... They’ll Send Me Home” <i>Youth Sentenced to Life in Prison without Parole in California, An Update</i>
R77	July 18, 2012	Boat Ride to Detention <i>Adult and Child Migrants in Malta</i>
R78	September 11, 2012	Classrooms in the Crosshairs <i>Military use of Schools in Yemen’s Capital</i>
R79	October 10, 2012	Growing Up locked Down <i>Youth in Solitary Confinement in Jails and Prisons Across the United States</i>
R80	November 15, 2012	Lonely Solitude <i>Child Domestic Labor in Morocco</i>
R81	January 21, 2013	Turned Away <i>Summary Returns of Unaccompanied Migrant Children and Adult Asylum Seekers from Italy to Greece</i>
R82	February 7, 2013	Breaking the Silence <i>Child Sexual Abuse in India</i>
R83	March 4, 2013	“Look at Us with a Merciful Eye” <i>Juvenile Offenders Awaiting Execution in Yemen</i>
R84	March 7, 2013	“This Old Man Can Feed Us, You Will Marry Him” <i>Child and Forced Marriage in South Sudan</i>

R85	May 1, 2013	Raised on the Registry <i>The Irreparable Harm of Placing Children on Sex Offender Registries in the US</i>
R86	June 5, 2013	Safe No More <i>Students <u>and</u> Schools under Attack in Syria</i>
R87	June 23, 2013	Barely Surviving <i>Detention, Abuse, <u>and</u> neglect of Migrant Children in Indonesia</i>
R88	July 15, 2013	“As Long as They Let Us Stay in Class” <i>Barriers to Education for Persons with Disabilities in China</i>
R89	August 28, 2013	Toxic Toil <i>Child Labor <u>and</u> Mercury Exposure in Tanzania’s Small-Scale Gold Mines</i>
R90	March 6, 2014	“I’ve Never Experienced Happiness” <i>Child Marriage in Malawi</i>
R91	March 19, 2014	Exploitation in the Name of Education <i>Uneven Progress in Ending Forced Child Begging in Senegal</i>
R92	April 10, 2014	Branded for Life <i>Florida’s Prosecution of Children as Adults under its “Direct File” Statute</i>
R93	April 22, 2014	“They Say We’re Dirty” <i>Denying an Education to India’s Marginalized</i>
R94	May 1, 2014	Without Dreams <i>Children in Alternative Care in Japan</i>
R95	May 13, 2014	Tobacco’s Hidden Children <i>Hazardous Child Labor in United States Tobacco Farming</i>
R96	June 19, 2014	Under Kurdish Rule <i>Abuses in PYD-run Enclaves of Syria</i>
R97	June 22, 2014	“Maybe We Live <u>and</u> Maybe We Die” <i>Recruitment <u>and</u> Use of Children by Armed Groups in Syria</i>
R98	July 17, 2014	“Where Do You Want Us to Go?” <i>Abuses against Street Children in Uganda</i>
R99	September 1, 2014	Two Years With No Moon <i>Immigration Detention of Children in Thailand</i>
R100	September 8, 2014	“The Power These Men Have Over Us” <i>Sexual Exploitation <u>and</u> Abuse by African Union Forces in Somalia</i>
R101	September 15, 2014	Abandoned by the State <i>Violence, Neglect, and Isolation for Children with Disabilities in Russian Orphanages</i>
R102	September 24, 2014	“I’m Scared to Be a Woman” <i>Human Rights Abuses Against Transgender People in Malaysia</i>
R103	October 16, 2014	“You Don’t Have Rights Here” <i>US Border Screening <u>and</u> Returns of Central Americans to Risk of Serious Harm</i>
R104	October 29, 2014	No Way Out <i>Child Marriage <u>and</u> Human Rights Abuses in Tanzania</i>