Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks

R. Charli Carpenter

University of Pittsburgh

A proliferating literature in IR theory documents the impact of transnational advocacy networks on global public policy making. We know little, however, about the process by which advocacy networks select issues around which to mobilize in the first place. This paper aims to develop a framework for analyzing variation in issue emergence by comparing two prominent issues in the transnational network around children and armed conflict (child soldiers and girls in war) to an issue absent from this advocacy sphere (the protection needs of children born as a result of wartime rape). This variation is not easily explained by extant hypotheses about issue emergence, which suggests the need for rigorous research on both positive and negative outcomes in global agenda setting. I conclude with several suggestions toward that end.

In conflict zones where sexual violence is a feature of war, babies are often born as a result of rape and sexual slavery (Grieg 2001). Anecdotal evidence and press reports have demonstrated for almost fifteen years that such children "born of war" are at risk of infanticide, abandonment, abuse, neglect, discrimination, and social exclusion in conflict and postconflict settings specifically as a result of their biological origins (Evans 1993; Sullivan 1996; Smith 2000; Powell 2001; Raghavan 2004; Wax 2004). Cognizant of such concerns, four separate international documents have called for organizations engaged in child protection in conflict zones to increase advocacy and programmatic attention to children born of wartime sexual violence (Machel 2000; Lindsey 2001; Rehn and Sirleaf 2002; UNSG 2002).

However, despite media and donor concern for this category of war-affected child, awareness of their particular vulnerabilities by gender-based violence spe-

cialists, and the presence of a few small organizations lobbying specifically for their rights, major organizations in the growing advocacy network around "children and armed conflict" (CaAC) have not defined children born to sexual violence survivors in conflict zones as a category of concern. As recently as 2004, while attention to other categories of war-affected child proliferated, a UNICEF child protection officer stated: "I can't think of any organization that has dealt with [children born of wartime rape] specifically."[1] This continued to be true through early 2006, despite the widespread publicity regarding stigma and maltreatment of so-called "janjaweed babies" in Darfur (Matheson 2004; Raghavan 2004), and the increasing attention in transnational civil society to children and armed conflict generally.

Why do some issues and/or populations of concern but not others galvanize the attention of transnational advocacy networks (TANs)? While the relationship between advocacy networks and global policymaking has been established (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Florini 1999; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Thomas 2002; Joachim 2003), very little empirical research currently exists explaining why transnational activists themselves mobilize around certain problems and not others at specific points in history. Indeed, the criticism that we understand little about where norms come from has been leveled at constructivism generally (Kowert and Legro 1996; Checkel 1998). While scholars of advocacy networks would be the first to point to the importance of civil society actors in this process, and while one of the most pivotal aspects of advocacy network politics is the construction of specific problems as international issues in the first place (Price 2003), this early stage in the advocacy process is seldom analyzed by such scholars explicitly.

But these are important questions, as advocacy is impossible until an issue is defined by entrepreneurs (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and adopted by major "gatekeepers" in an advocacy arena (Bob 2005a), and because advocacy networks are highly selective about the issues they choose to champion. In the human rights domain for instance, major NGOs have long focused primarily on civil and political rights to the exclusion of economic rights (Lake and Wong 2005); for the first 50 years of human rights norm development, groups such as gays and lesbians, disabled persons and those suffering caste-based discrimination attracted very little attention from the human rights network (Bob 2005b; Lord 2006; Mertus 2006).[2] Similarly, in the disarmament area, advocates have long sought to ban or regulate the trade in landmines and small arms, but attention to cluster bombs, whose effects are remarkably similar to those of landmines, has emerged on the agendas of major gatekeeping organizations only very recently (Tzinis 2006).

This article argues that existing research on TANs, like constructivism generally, does poorly at explaining such variation across issues and over time. While little explicit attention to issue emergence appears in the existing literature, it is possible to distill a number of implicit hypotheses from these studies. Specifically, permissive conditions for issue emergence include the attributes of issues themselves (Keck and Sikkink 1998), the presence of political entrepreneurs (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998), and a favorable norm pool into which a new issue may be aligned (Price 1998). This paper demonstrates that such explanations are insufficient theoretically because the same factors can co-occur with issues that do *not* emerge on TAN agendas.

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[1] Personal interview, April 2004.

[2] Even when a particular issue receives international attention, it can be delimited in such a way as to draw attention to only certain cases. For example, although rape of civilian women by enemy forces emerged on the international agenda in the early 1990s after 50 years of prior neglect, rape and exploitation of women and girls by UN peacekeepers and humanitarian workers became an issue only 10 years later (Naik 2002), and to date sexual violence against civilian men is rarely mentioned on advocacy websites for the protection of civilians in armed conflict (del Zotto and Jones 2002).

I develop this argument by first laying out a theoretical framework for thinking about issue emergence in TANs, and then analyzing the existing issue agenda for the network around "children and armed conflict." A laundry list of issues—including child soldiering and girls in armed conflict—currently occupies the CaAC network agenda, as evidenced by a qualitative analysis of online content from advocacy websites. Others, including stigma against children born of wartime rape, are absent from this advocacy discourse. I argue the variation between these three issues cannot be adequately explained by the factors commonly identified as correlates of issue emergence, because these factors are present as well—indeed to a higher degree—with the neglected issue. The case thus calls into question the explanatory power of existing hypotheses and highlights the need for a better theoretical framework and modified hypotheses for issue emergence in TANs. Such a framework would advance not only the literature on advocacy networks specifically, but also theories of the social construction of norms and ideational categories generally (Nadelmann 1990; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998). I conclude with several suggestions toward that end.

Theorizing Issue (Non)emergence in Advocacy Networks

In their classic definition, Keck and Sikkink (1998:8) describe networks as "voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange." Many types of network activity exert an influence in world affairs, but here I emphasize networks of activists motivated by shared, principled discourse and aiming to affect political behavior through moral argument, or what the literature refers to as "transnational advocacy networks" (Price 2003). All social networks are "network[s] of meanings" (White 1992:67); advocacy networks are networks of *principled* meanings, in this case about rights and obligations between political actors and human beings.

Transnational networks are composed of a variety of nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, governments, and myriad individuals located within these bureaucracies and other levers of symbolic power in world affairs, including academia and the media. As the literature has demonstrated, networks such as these do a great many things, including lobbying, standard-setting, monitoring of compliance with standards, and shaming norm violators (Keck and Sikkink 1998). But two of the most pivotal yet understudied aspects of transnational network politics are the construction and acceptance of specific problems as international issues in the first place (Price 2003). These twin steps, together constituting what I call *issue emergence*, are logically prior to building campaigns, negotiating treaties, and holding states accountable to new norms.

Yet because studies of advocacy networks to date have typically worked backward from *preexisting* items on advocacy network agendas, most of the theorizing has dealt with later steps in the advocacy chain, such as the process of creating and diffusing new norms (which occurs when states sign onto treaties) or the process of campaigning for the creation of new norms, which occurs once a critical mass of civil society actors converges around a specific platform such as "create an international criminal court" or "ban landmines." Thus, we know a fair amount about why campaigns form around certain issues but not others, and the conditions under which campaigns, once formed, succeed or fail (Burgerman 2001; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002). Less has been written about the crucial early question of why advocates and advocacy networks pay attention to certain issues and not others in the first place.

I argue that understanding the dynamics of *issue emergence* is crucial to assessing the role of TANs in world politics. Not all human rights issues become codified as international norms: once an issue has emerged within a TAN issue pool, it may or may not elicit a campaign or concerted action. But if an issue never enters the

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                              Problem
                               /  \
                Issue Definition      No Issue Definition
                   /        \                      \
                  /          \                     No Issue Emergence
          Issue Adoption      No Issue Adoption
            /                       \
     Issue Emergence              No Issue Emergence
          |
       Advocacy
         /    \
   Campaign      No Campaign
    /     \
New Norm   No New Norm
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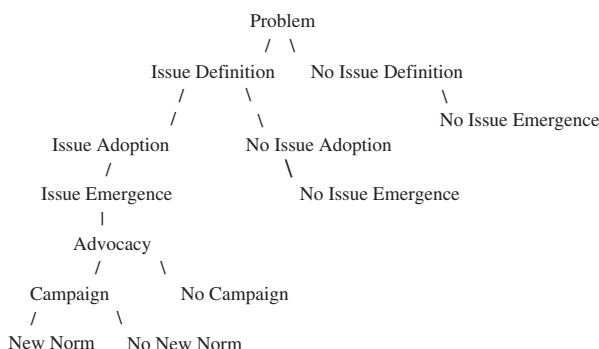
FIG. 1. Issue Emergence

agenda, no effective advocacy is possible, as all subsequent advocacy politics depend on an issue being defined as such by a norm entrepreneur and accepted as such by a critical mass of activists and gatekeepers (see Figure 1). In short, issue emergence is the conceptual link between the myriad bad things out there and the persuasive machinery of advocacy politics in world affairs.

In mapping out these relationships, it is helpful to recall Keck and Sikkink's distinction between problems, issues, and campaigns.[3] In the human rights area, for example, *problems* are preexisting grievances that may not yet have been defined as issues. *Issues* emerge when (1) advocates name a problem as a human rights violation and (2) when major human rights NGOs begin referencing the issue in advocacy materials. *Campaigns* involve concerted efforts by multiple organizations lobbying for a specific outcome around a certain issue. Campaigns and coalitions sometimes form around, but are distinct from, specific issues (Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002:7).[4]

For a time, the literature on TANs was critiqued for failing to analyze "dogs that didn't bark," or nonsuccessful campaigns. A fair amount has now been written explaining the success or failure of campaigns (Price 1999; Thompson 2002; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Bob 2005c), and this article adds little to our understanding of those questions. But significant variation also exists at earlier stages of the process: as Keck and Sikkink's (1998:7) original study recognized, many issues on a network agenda do not result in specific campaigns as did the child-soldier issue. For example, the human rights problems specific to "girls in armed conflict" have been recognized as an issue within the CaAC network, but have not resulted in a specific campaign. At the same time, other problems exist for war-affected children that are not recognized as issues at all, such as stigma against children born of wartime rape.

What is of interest here is how to explain variation in the issue emergence stage: how do problems become issues, and why do some issues end up on TAN agenda space while others fall by the wayside? Although existing TAN literature tends to talk only vaguely about "norm entrepreneurship" as a permissive condition, it is useful to distinguish at least two necessary phases of transnational issue emergence,

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[3] What Keck and Sikkink call "problems" are described as "underlying conditions" by scholars of agenda-setting, who use the term "problem" as Keck and Sikkink use the term "issue." See Baumgartner and Jones (1992), Kingdon (1995). As this article contributes more to the TAN literature than to the domestic agenda-setting literature, I rely on the terminology popularized by Keck and Sikkink.

[4] Thus, the Campaign to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers was a campaign around the issue of child soldiers, aimed specifically at codifying a prohibition on child recruitment in international law (and now, at encouraging ratification). The child soldiers issue, however, is much broader, as is the issue pool within the "CaAC" network.

either of which may fail to occur: *issue definition* by an entrepreneur and *issue adoption* by one or more major human rights organizations.[5] Issue definition involves demonstrating "that a given state of affairs is neither natural nor accidental, identify[ing] the responsible party or parties, and propos[ing] credible solutions" (Keck and Sikkink 1998:19). Issue adoption occurs when the issue is championed by at least one major player in the broader network (Bob 2005a).[6]

The distinction between issue definition and issue adoption is vital for understanding issue emergence, because as the case below demonstrates, an issue may be defined by an entrepreneur but not adopted into the mainstream TAN discourse by human rights "gatekeepers," including major NGOs and/or human rights intellectuals. Lake and Wong (2005) have demonstrated the contagion effect on the human rights community when leading NGOs such as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International begin referencing new issues; correspondingly, many problems never get defined or, once defined, never spread because they are not endorsed by such powerful gatekeepers, whose "choices have powerful demonstration effects, signaling that certain causes are important" (Bob 2005a:6). Only when both issue definition and adoption have occurred can an issue be said to have "emerged" in a network's discursive space.

Possible Explanations for Issue Emergence

What then accounts for variation in issue emergence? Although few scholars of TANs have tackled this question directly, a number of implicit hypotheses may be distilled from the existing literature on network influence. The first suggests that certain attributes of specific problems lend themselves to international advocacy. Keck and Sikkink's ground-breaking study on TANs developed an implicit theory of issue formation within networks, emphasizing the importance of *issue attributes* in advocates' success on specific campaigns. The attributes most helpful in terms of framing issues are "causes [that] can be assigned to the deliberate actions of identifiable individuals"; "issues involving bodily harm to vulnerable individuals, especially when there is a short and clear causal chain assigning responsibility; and issues involving legal equality of opportunity" (Keck and Sikkink 1998:27). The idea that the intrinsic nature of an issue can explain its success in efforts to build new international norms is shared by a variety of scholars (Nadelmann 1990; Price 2003). Can these "attributes" also explain why certain problems get defined and then adopted as issues in the first place? If so, then attributes such as perceived innocence, vulnerability to bodily harm or equal rights violations, and a short causal chain should correspond to issue emergence, and the lack of such attributes should correspond to issue nonemergence.

A second explanation for the emergence of certain international standards but not others, which might plausibly be applicable as well to issue emergence, is the extent to which advocates can link a new set of intersubjective understandings to *preexisting moral standards*. This perspective, associated in particular with Richard Price's work on weapons taboos, suggests that the promotion of new

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[5] I am grateful to Michael Goodhart for this analytical insight.

[6] This conceptualization requires operationalizing who the "gatekeepers" are within a specific issue network and creating a measure of the point at which at least one "adopts" the issue. Hyperlink analysis of advocacy websites provides a useful measure of the former (Adamic and Adar 2001; Park and Thelwall 2003), the assumption being that hyperlinks in cyberspace function as citations: the most powerful organizations in an advocacy network will have the highest in-link density in cyberspace (Bae and Choi 2000; Lake and Wong 2005), and organizations without incoming links exert little gatekeeping influence in setting the advocacy agenda, though they may function as political entrepreneurs. For the purposes of this analysis, I assume an issue to have emerged at the point it is referenced in some form on one or more advocacy websites appearing within a network representation produced through hyperlink analysis. On web content as a data source for transnational issue agendas, see Rogers (2002) and Foot and Schneider (2005).

moral standards is most likely to succeed if these can be "grafted" onto preexisting taboos.[7] For example, the chemical weapons taboo was popularized partly because it built upon an earlier prohibition on the use of poisons in warfare (Price and Tannenwald 1996), and advocates of the Ottawa Convention banning anti-person-nel landmines sought to move debate over landmines away from arms control discourse and graft it onto the relatively robust norm of civilian immunity by em-phasizing landmines' indiscriminate effects (Price 1998).

Although Price's coinage of the term "grafting" is meant to highlight the strategic and conscious aspect of this process, the notion that new issues must "resonate" with existing frames has been articulated in earlier constructivist literature. Florini (1996) discusses the relationship of emerging norms to other norms in the "pool." In the human rights sphere, Bob (2002) argues that the groups most likely to have their oppression championed by international human rights networks are those who suffer from violations *recognized* by the networks: "International human rights organizations have long focused their concern on basic rights rooted in the Inter-national Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Groups suffering abuses that fit into these categories have a better chance of gaining international support than groups suffering other forms of oppression." If the grafting thesis can explain issue non-emergence in the human rights area, we would expect to see nonemergent issues clash with existing human rights standards, and to see emergent issues fit more easily.

A third common theme in the literature on advocacy networks is the importance of specific altruistically motivated individuals who initiate a campaign and lobby to draw awareness to an issue (Nadelmann 1990; Lumsdaine 1993; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Price 1998). These "political entrepreneurs" identify under-studied causes and begin to work through their social networks to rally other influential individuals to their cause. At least one initial norm entrepeneur, such as an Henri Dunant (Finnemore 1996) or a Jody Williams (Price 1998) is necessary, but it is the strategic creation of "norm leaders" which catapult an issue to international prom-inence (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998). These can include specific states whose desire to champion a particular cause can contribute to international prestige or the solidification of certain forms of domestic identity, as in the case of Canada's lead-ership on the Ottawa Treaty and the "Human Security" agenda in international society (Gwozdecky and Sinclair 2001). Relatedly, celebrities available to take up an international cause can be a vital element in issue emergence (Bob 2005c), and the global media is sometimes described as a possible source of advocacy momentum around specific issues (Dale 1996), categories of victim (Carpenter 2005) or regions (Ramos 2005; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005).[8] If norm entrepreneurship can explain issue emergence, we would expect to see issues with strong entrepreneurs or media visibility to end up on the agenda, and we would expect those issues absent from the agenda to lack such champions.

While all of these factors no doubt are relevant, the network around CaAC ex-poses their limitations as explanations for issue emergence. To make this case, I describe the CaAC network and network agenda in the next section, and then compare two prominent CaAC issues (child soldiering and girls in armed conflict) to an issue absent from the CaAC agenda (children born of wartime rape). The comparison suggests that the factors described above do not co-occur with the variation observed within the CaAC issue pool. Thus, scholars of TANs must revisit

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[7] Similarly, advocates often pick strategically between different grafting opportunities: for example the child soldiers campaign had at least two frames in which to situate the problem of child recruitment, which is outlawed both in humanitarian law and by the International Labor Organization; as Achvarina (2006) notes, activists have chosen largely to treat it as a humanitarian issue rather than a child labor issue.

[8] Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers (2005) posit a reciprocal causal relationship between the media and human rights reporting, based on a statistical analysis of Amnesty International press releases.

our assumptions about the factors driving the shape of the transnational issue agenda.

Issues and Nonissues on the CaAC Network Agenda

The CaAC network exists within a cluster of human rights networks. It is embedded within the broader children's rights network, which is again a subset of the broader human rights network about which much has been written (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999; Hawkins 2002; Joachim 2002; Thomas 2003). The principled belief at the core of this issue network's efforts is that children should be better protected from the effects of armed conflict; as the UN web portal on this issue states: "international and local standards of conduct should be resurrected and respected, in order to prevent the abuse and brutalization of children."[9]

As a specific category of concern, "children affected by armed conflict" are a relatively recent construction in human rights discourse, although a concern for children as the "innocent victims" of armed conflict dates back centuries, and major humanitarian and development organizations such as Save the Children and UNICEF emerged out of early twentieth-century efforts to protect child victims of war (Beigbeder 2002). However, only in the early 1990s did the broader human rights network and UN machinery begin talking about CaAC as a specific issue area within the human security arena (Oestreich 1998).

Recognition of this problem took root at the World Summit for Children in 1990. In 1994, following a recommendation from the General Assembly, the UN Secretary General commissioned a global study on the effects of armed conflict on children, and the resulting document, the 1996 Graca Machel Report, galvanized the human rights network, the United Nations, and governments worldwide (Machel 1996). As a result, Secretary General Kofi Annan established the Office of the Special Representative to the Secretary General (OSRSG) on CaAC, appointing Olara Ottunu as the first Special Representative in 1997. Simultaneously, the newly christened Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs was developing its "protection of civilians" mandate with an emphasis on "children and war" incorporated as a component. These offices, along with other agenda-setting bodies in the humanitarian community (such as UNICEF, UNHCR, and the ICRC) began working closely with the secretariat to place children's rights in war on the agenda of the most powerful body in global governance, the Security Council.

These efforts resulted in a number of Security Council thematic debates and resolutions in 1999, just as the Campaign to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers was gaining momentum. This campaign led to the negotiation of a new protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 2000, as well as a whirlwind of activity around the issue of children and war. Aiming to capitalize on the success of the child soldiers campaign and broaden humanitarian concern with CaAC more generally, the Canadian government unveiled a multiyear initiative on "war-affected children" at an international conference in Winnipeg in 2000 and committed its development agency to earmarking funds for research and programming on children in armed conflict, spawning additional projects, activities, and media concern (CIDA 2000).

The set of advocacy organizations whose websites are most densely linked in this issue area on the world wide web are depicted in Figure 2[10] and listed in Table 1;

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[9] See website for the Office of the Special Representative to the Secretary General for CaAC. Available at http://www.un.org/special-rep/children-armed-conflict/ (May 22, 2005).

[10] Inlink/outlink data on which Figure 2 is based is available to researchers in .xls format from my website at http://www.pitt.edu/~charli/networks; spreadsheet data has been converted to graphical form using Ucinet software. See Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman (2002).
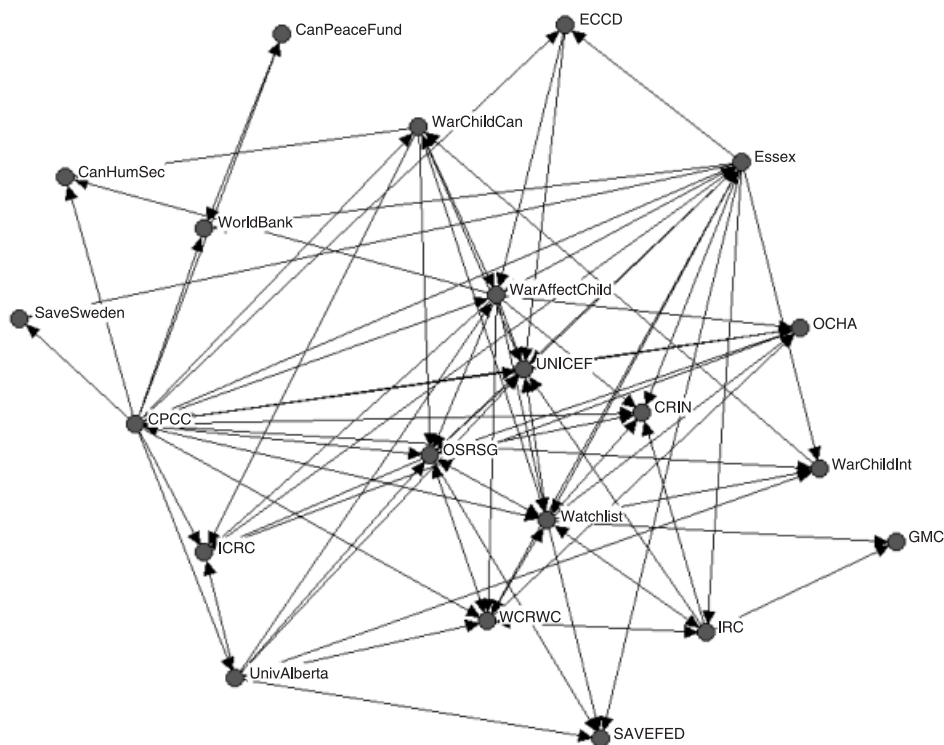
F$_{\text{IG}}$. 2. Graphical Representation of children and armed conflict (CaAC) Network Hyperlinks two degrees of separation from Watchlist

many others are present within transnational society although less visible on the world wide web.[11] So salient has the "CaAC" issue area become that even formerly development-oriented relief and advocacy organizations such as Save the Children have begun reemphasizing children in emergencies in their advocacy and programming. Like other advocacy networks, the CaAC network regards advocacy and awareness raising itself—among donor publics, local actors, civil society organizations, governments, and global policy makers—as a crucial step in protecting the rights of children on the ground. A key organization in the network, the Watchlist on CaAC, defines its advocacy role as follows:

> The Watchlist works to ensure that the security and rights of children in armed
> conflicts around the world are protected. The Watchlist compiles information
> provided by a variety of sources to inform and influence the UN Security Council,
> UN and other international agencies, national governments and the public to
> create policies and programs that protect children's lives.[12]

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[11] These 30 organizations were identified using a manual hyperlink analysis, beginning with the Watchlist on CaAC website and including every linked organization within three degrees of separation whose site contained a web page specifically focused on CaAC as a multi-issue policy arena. Hyperlink analysis is a methodology for establishing the boundaries of a linked community within cyberspace (Wasserman and Faust 1994; Park 2003; Thelwall 2006). Although this method is an imperfect proxy for capturing the "network" as it discriminates in favor of technologically savvy Northern organizations, these are precisely the organizations who play the greatest role in shaping the issue pool in an advocacy arena. Qualifying websites were identified independently by two separate graduate student coders.

[12] See Watchlist on CaAC website. Available at http://watchlist.org/about/ (March 7, 2006).

TABLE 1. Children and Armed Conflict (CaAC) Organizational WebPages within Three Degrees of Separation from Watchlist on CaAC*

First Degree of Separation	Second Degree of Separation	Third Degree of Separation
Watchlist on CaAC	Canadian Human Security Network	Search for Common Ground
Child Rights Information Network	CIDA War-Affected Children Website	Global Issues
International Rescue Committee	Canadian Peace Fund	Peace Pledge
Save the Children Federation	International Committee for the Red Cross	Save the Children Denmark
Canadian Peacebuilding Committee	World Bank	
Global Movement for Children	War Child Canada	
Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs	War Child U.K.	
Office of the Special Representative to the Secretary General for CaAC	War Child Netherlands	
Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children	Save the Children U.S.A.	
War Child International	Save the Children Sweden	
United Nations Children's Fund	University of Alberta Children and War Project	
University of Essex Armed Conflict Unit	Free the Children	
	International Bureau for Children's Rights	
	University of Victoria Institute for Child Rights and Development	

*One degree of separation indicates the number of clicks it takes to navigate from the Watchlist links page to a qualifying organization's website. Qualifying organizations within one degree of separation are listed on the Watchlist links page. Organizations within two degrees of separation are linked to by organizations listed on the Watchlist links page. Organizations within three degrees of separation are linked to by an organization linked to by an organization listed on the Watchlist links page. After three degrees of separation, the link analysis becomes saturated, as no new qualifying organizations appear that are not already listed as being in the network.

TABLE 2. Frequency of Agenda Items in Children and Armed Conflict (CaAC) Web Dataset 2005

Issue	Number of Websites Referencing	Percentage of Total
Child soldiers	23	76
Separation/loss	21	70
Psychosocial	20	66
Displacement	18	60
Education	18	60
Killing	17	56
Physical violence/abuse	15	50
Health/malnutrition	14	46
Maiming/disability	14	46
Security/protection	13	43
Trafficking/abduction	11	36
Girls	11	36
Rehabilitation/reintegration	10	33
Landmines	10	33
Child labor	10	33

The CaAC Network Issue Agenda

Yet organizations in this network do not advocate for *all* war-affected children equally. Issues and corresponding categories of war-affected children vary greatly in terms of their prominence on the CaAC network's official agenda, and some (including stigma against children born of wartime rape) are absent entirely. Qualitative analysis of the online advocacy content for 30 major advocacy organizations in 2005 determined 76% of websites mentioned child soldiers; 70% mentioned separated children or orphans; 60% mentioned displaced children; and 36% mentioned girls as a particular category of concern (see Table 2).[13] In addition to these specific categories of concern, the analysis found a number of thematic issues that varied in salience across websites.[14] Common among these were killing, discrimination, reintegration, family reunification, education, and landmines.

Child soldiers are the single most prominent category on the list. Recruitment of children in armed conflict was discussed at the negotiations for the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, and in the Committee on the Rights of the Child in subsequent years. A seminal book written by Goodwin-Gill and Cohn (1994) drew attention to this global phenomenon, and the 1996 Graca Machel report emphasizes recruitment as a key impact of war on children. While ad hoc efforts to prevent child soldiering predated the Machel report, concerted advocacy around child recruitment as a specific issue picked up in 1998, when in the wake of the successful campaign to ban landmines civil society organizations began "looking for other issues which had stagnated within the UN system and which might lend themselves to a similar formula" (Sorger and Hoskins 2001:135). The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers was launched in June 1998, with its initial aim the adoption of an Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child prohibiting military recruitment and use in hostilities of any one under 18 (Maslen 1998:447). The Protocol was successfully negotiated in 2000, and though its overall effects on states' recruitment policies are indeterminate (Achvarina 2006), the effect of the

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[13] Text from the organizational websites as of June 2005 was downloaded into a qualitative data analysis application and coded independently of the PI by a graduate student coder using Atlas.ti 5.0 data analysis software.

[14] According to some interview respondents, a controversy existed while drafting the original Machel Report as to whether to frame the agenda in terms of categories of affected child or cross-cutting issues. The current overlapping nature of both approaches may reflect this ongoing debate. One respondent reported the UN is now moving away from the use of categorization in this way altogether.

negotiations on the salience of child soldiering as an international issue was pro-found (Snyder 2001). Not only is child soldiering the single most often-cited issue among children's rights organizations dealing with armed conflict, but several or-ganizations in the "network" define "CaAC" as an issue area *synonymously* with the specific issue of "child soldiers."[15]

A category that has drawn relatively recent attention, and which currently oc-cupies a lesser amount of agenda space, is the situation facing *girls in armed conflict*. Efforts to speak about girls distinctly from the larger category of "child" in the human rights movement also go back to the codification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, where activists succeeded in introducing sex-variable pronouns for the first time in an international treaty (Cohen 1997). An additional discursive change began during the lead-up to Beijing in the early 1990s, when the standard discourse "women and children" of humanitarian discourse turned to "women and girls" as part of the emerging gender-equality framework within the human rights network.[16] While girls were linked to women before they were linked to the broader category "child," the need to emphasize girls in particular was soon picked up on by the CaAC network. Graca Machel's 1996 report included a section on "girls"; subsequently, independent scholars and activists began seeking to disag-gregate the category of "war-affected child" by sex to highlight the specific forms of abuse to which girls are subject in armed conflict. A background paper on the topic of girl soldiers was presented at the 2000 Winnipeg Conference, aimed at decon-structing the myth that child soldiers are all male and pointing to the large-scale presence of young women in armed groups and revolutionary movements across Africa, Asia, and Latin America. At the conclusion of the conference the Canadian government issued a 3-year grant to researchers Dyan Mazurana and Susan McKay to conduct a study of girl soldiers and girls in demobilization programs. The report entitled *Where are the Girls?* was released in 2004, documenting agency, victimization and a complex set of gender-based factors contributing to girls' specific forms of insecurity in war (Mazurana and McKay 2004). Reports were simultaneously emerging at other focal points in the network, including the Quaker UN office headed by Rachel Brett; by early 2004 the Special Representative's web portal included content on girls as a category.[17]

In contrast with categories such as child soldiers and girls in armed conflict, *children born of wartime rape or sexual exploitation* are not yet on the official agenda.[18] Such children are frequently born to survivors of war-related sexual violence (Grieg 2001).[19] As the World Health Organization has briefly acknowledged in a document on gender-based violence, children born to wartime rape survivors are at particular risk of a variety of human rights abuses and developmental difficulties due to their biological origins (WHO 2000). Because of attachment difficulties due to trauma, their birth mothers may neglect or even kill such children; they may be at greater

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[15] For example, see Youth Advocate Program International at http://www.yapi.org/conflict/. As noted above, such organizations were excluded from the sample because we were interested in examining the range of issues described as constitutive of "CaAC" as a multi-issue arena.

[16] This construction is somewhat controversial because while it spotlights gender, it is sometimes argued that the association with girls may infantilize women. See Whitworth (2005).

[17] See http://www.un.org/special-rep/children-armed-conflict/English/GirlsinWar.html (May 22, 2005). The *Wayback Machine* Internet Archive was used to determine the month in which this content first appeared. See http://www.archive.org/web/web.php.

[18] This does not mean there has been zero activity in this area; only that the activity has not penetrated official network discourse. The issue has been raised briefly in certain contexts and is mentioned in some network docu-ments—including the Graca Machel report. No organization to date, however, has done a cross-national study or initiated a campaign, and none of the websites here explicitly refers to these children as a category.

[19] The number of such children has not been documented, although some hundreds to thousands are reported existing in nearly every war-torn society that has experienced spates of sexual violence, and a 2001 report by the War and Children Identity Project in Norway has aggregated these reports to estimate a population of at least 500,000 worldwide (Grieg 2001).

risk of HIV-AIDS and malnourishment as infants and face stigma, discrimination, and statelessness as they grow older (Carpenter 2007). As described in a recent UNIFEM document (Rehn and Sirleaf 2003:18), children born of rape and sexual exploitation "become the symbol of the trauma the nation as a whole went through, and society prefers not to acknowledge their needs."

Despite these trends, and despite emerging awareness among specialists in gender-based violence, children of wartime rape have not been constructed as a category of concern by the CaAC network.[20] No organizational websites in this sample referenced children born of wartime rape as a group facing particular difficulties in conflict and postconflict situations. Also absent are thematic concerns particularly relevant to the protection of children born of rape, such as infanticide or abandonment; nor is this category of child mentioned specifically under comments about discrimination. While content analysis of websites is an imperfect measure of the issue pool in an advocacy arena, these results are corroborated by findings from focus group research conducted at University of Pittsburgh between December 2004 and March 2005. When asked to describe the "key protection issues for children in conflict zones," no participants referred unprompted to children born of wartime rape as a category particularly impacted by armed conflict. That the children as a category are generally absent from the formal network agenda is confirmed by in-depth interviews with humanitarian practitioners.[21] Can TAN scholarship explain the prominence of categories such as child soldiers and girls on the CaAC agenda, and the corresponding absence of attention to children born of war?

Existing Explanations

Explanations drawn from existing TAN literature do a poor job of explaining this variation. First, the issue attributes emphasized by the above authors (bodily harm, equal rights violations, perceived innocence, short causal chain) do not correlate well to the presence or absence of the issues presently discussed on the CaAC agenda. For example, child soldiers, many of whom maim, kill, rape, and gain social benefits and security from participation in armed forces, are a particularly problematic category to cast as uniformly innocent and vulnerable: in many cases child soldiers may in fact be perpetrators of atrocities; they are as likely to have joined voluntarily as to have been forcibly abducted (Brett and Specht 2005), and as one humanitarian official put it, "Compared to some other children experiencing the effects of armed conflict, child soldiers are extraordinarily well off."[22] Yet advocacy on their behalf has been enormously successful, whereas newborn babies resulting from sexual violence, who are more arguably both innocent and helpless, have not been articulated as a priority for the child protection community.

Girl children affected by war arguably better meet the criteria of vulnerability, and females across the board are more likely to be socially perceived as innocent bystanders to conflict, which might better explain the issue salience of girls as a category (Sjoberg 2006). However, Keck and Sikkink's model would predict that gender discrimination per se would be a particularly difficult issue to define and

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[20] There are other notable omissions from this list as well. For example, children of military families in troop-contributing states are not defined as war-affected, nor do these organizations consider the continuum of peace-time violence, exposure to media images of violence in industrialized countries or the militarization of children by the war toy industry as issues to be addressed in the global public sphere, despite some domestic lobbies around these very issues. See Enloe (2000).

[21] Almost all practitioners I have spoken to report that programming directed at children born of war rape as a specific group is largely nonexistent. Many practitioners claim however that although they are not singled out for attention, this does not necessarily mean they are underserved. Without any assessments it is impossible to determine whether this is the case.

[22] Personal conversation, New York, May 2005.

address given its broad, multifaceted character. Indeed, feminist literature in human rights advocacy has demonstrated the barriers to addressing systemic societal forms of abuse and discrimination precisely because it is often diffuse and difficult to trace to specific actors, particularly states (Joachim 2003; Thompson 2002). While this problem may have impeded successful political change on behalf of women, it has not posed an obstacle to constructing and adopting gender discrimination as an issue. Indeed, these attributes have framed the discussion through efforts to "recast" human rights discourse and to narrow in on specific categories of discrimination such as violence against women (Bunch 1990; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Weldon 2006). The emergence of girls and child soldiers on the CaAC agenda, and the absence of children born of war, suggest that such issue attributes, while relevant, are hardly decisive in determining the content of the international human rights agenda.

From the "grafting" perspective, the absence of children born of war rape from the CaAC agenda would be predictable to the extent that the particular harms they are likely to suffer fall outside the conventional categories of harm enshrined in the international treaties and norms on which the network typically draws. But this is also not the case. The most common and distinct harms to which children born of rape are subject—infanticide, stigma and discrimination, abuse or neglect, and difficulties in securing identity rights—all are regulated by the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (LeBlanc 1995). Additionally, children born of war rape are arguably protected by other international legal instruments relevant to civilian populations and children in conflict situations in particular. All of these international standards incorporate, in principle, the assumption of impartiality: that children's human rights codified in law apply to all children, regardless of sex, nationality, religion, social origin, *birth or other status* (Cohen 1997). By contrast, the issue of child soldiers was raised not because it fit neatly with existing norms but because it highlighted a *contradiction* in those norms: the definition of a child in the CRC had been distorted to permit recruitment of individuals above 15; in order to ban child recruitment, advocates actually had to convince states to alter these pre-existing treaty provisions.[23] Seemingly the grafting thesis, while capturing how advocates engage a "logic of arguing" (Risse 2000) once they have adopted an issue, does little to explain the decision to adopt in the first place.

Finally, the significance of political entrepreneurs in catapulting issues to international prominence is also cast into doubt by the facts of this case. It is true that successful issues described here can be traced to specific individuals or organizations: the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSUCS) on the one hand, and Dyan Mazurana's action research in various international fora on the other. However, this is no less true for children born of war: although no major gatekeeper in the CaAC network has adopted them as a category of concern, at least one small NGO in Norway has defined them as such, as have some human rights intellectuals, including this author.[24] In addition, a number of celebrities[25] and states (particularly Britain) expressed interest in "war babies" at various pivotal moments during the Bosnian conflict,[26] but despite the predictions of realism or

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[23] I am grateful to Lisa Alfredson for this insight.

[24] See the War and Children Identity Project Website at http://www.warandchildren.org. Notably, this NGO is practically invisible on the world wide web because major international child rights organizations do not link to it. Academic scholarship addressing this population is scarce and mostly unpublished to date, but includes Carpenter (2007), Daniel (2003), Weitsman (2003).

[25] A women's rights activist told me wryly, "A certain Hollywood figure, I won't say who, during the Bosnian conflict was all the time asking women's organizations how to help the rape babies. The emphasis in particular was on making sure that American couples could adopt them." Personal Interview, June 2003.

[26] In 1993, Tim Yeo, then the Junior Health Minister for the British government, introduced controversial legislation in Parliament to streamline red-tape for international adoptions of war-rape orphans from Bosnia (Stanley 1999). The effort was heralded by some as a "humanitarian effort" but criticized by the Bosnian

resource mobilization theory that transnational advocacy is driven by the concerns of powerful governments and donors, issue space failed to emerge in the 1990s that might have harnessed publicity potential (and financial contributions) on behalf of these children.[27] When attempts were made to create such space, they did not result in concerted action.[28] Media attention to this issue has also been plentiful: numerous reports of "rape babies" in war zones from Bosnia to Rwanda to East Timor to Sudan have appeared in the press (Powell 2001; Becirbasic and Secic 2002; Wax 2004; Polgreen 2005). Seemingly, celebrity, activist, journalist, and state norm leaders' interest in specific issues can be no more than an exacerbating factor in issue adoption given other permissive conditions within and among TANs themselves.

In short, the conditions for issue emergence alluded to in the existing TAN literature cannot by themselves explain cases of nonemergence, because as the case of "children born of war" demonstrates, the same factors can also co-occur with those issues that never get on the agenda. Indeed, the advocacy gap surrounding children born of wartime rape is particularly interesting theoretically because such children are precisely the sort of victim that extant literature on advocacy networks would predict might be *most* likely to receive advocacy attention. That they have not suggests the need to revisit theoretical assumptions about the preconditions for issue emergence in transnational civil society.

Toward Better Theories of Issue Emergence

Better measuring and explaining issue emergence will fill an important gap in theoretical and practical knowledge about the factors shaping transnational politics. Advocacy is impossible until an underlying condition in world affairs is defined as a problem by political entrepreneurs and then adopted as an issue by major "gate-keepers" in an advocacy arena. A research agenda on issue emergence will need to take seriously the two distinct early stages of issue definition and issue adoption and theorize the relationship between these stages. In the remainder of this paper, I outline four important directions for scholarship on TANs to take as it develops a better theory of issue emergence in TANs.

Operationalize TANs and TAN Issue Agendas: The World Wide Web as a Data Source?

Explaining variation in TAN issue agendas will require better tools for capturing that variation and observing how it changes over time. Measures are needed both for networks themselves, which are often underspecified in the TAN literature, and for the issue agenda within particular networks. A means that might easily be used to more systematically capture TAN parameters and sample the TAN issue agenda is web sphere analysis of advocacy websites, as utilized above (Foot and Schneider 2005). Price (2003:597) reminds us that the TAN literature has not adequately exploited the Internet as a data resource or systematically analyzed it as an

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government as a form of imperialism and by some, who pointed out that Britain might have also sought to extend asylum preference to rape victims in order to keep the mothers and babies together, rather than focus on importing the children for adoption by British couples.

[27] Indeed, several key human rights organizations involved in collecting data on the needs of war-affected children and women attempted to dampen down enthusiasm to treat "war babies" as a programmatic concern in themselves, emphasizing the importance of allowing the Bosnian government to deal with the issue and provide generic support to local humanitarian initiatives. See Williamson (1993) and Center for Reproductive Law and Policy (1994).

[28] For example, the 2000 Machel Review document specifically called for a fact-finding study entitled *Where Are the Babies?* to follow up on this category of child (Machel 2000). But the presence of this issue on the initial agenda of the Review conference did not result in the incorporation of attention to the issue in the draft documents resulting from the conference; indeed, that background paper was eventually removed from the conference website, and no fact-finding study was undertaken in the wake of the conference.

organizational medium for advocacy networks. Yet the world wide web is a rich source of information about who is "doing" which particular transnational issues, how actors in TANs define these issues, and how different issues move through ideational space over time.

First, the world wide web is a useful and under-explored tool for mapping out the constituent organizations (or, at least, the gatekeepers) in a particular issue network, because one can identify the cluster of organizations most prominent in an issue network according to their reciprocal linking practices (Rogers 2002).[29] If networks themselves are defined in terms of relational links between discrete nodes, hyperlinks in cyberspace connect websites much as social relations connect agents in real space (Wasserman and Faust 1994; Park 2003; Thelwall 2004). These hyperlinking practices between online organizations are not simply an instrumental means by which to navigate from one cyber-locale to another. They also constitute recognition of organizational membership in a community of understanding, and like citations in academic networks, in-link density constitutes an indicator of who the "authorities" or "gatekeepers" in a network are, providing a clue as to the structural relations within networks.[30] Although "hyperlink analysis" is an imperfect proxy for capturing the entire "network" as it discriminates in favor of resource-rich, technologically savvy Northern organizations able to maintain a web presence, these are precisely the organizations—the gatekeepers—who play the greatest role in shaping the issue pool in an advocacy arena.

Secondly, the content of advocacy discourse on websites of the organizations appearing in a hyperlinked on-line network provide a useful sample of TAN discourse that can be easily converted to text files for replicable qualitative analysis. Norm advocates will themselves argue that organizational websites are a vital source of content about the issues that define the organizations. "In creating an online persona, NGOs engage in framing activities . . . by shaping the ways that issues are conceptualized and understood" (Warkentin 2002:36–37). Such text can be quantified by TAN researchers to examine the frequency of references to new issues over time, drawing on methods used to measure "issue salience" in the media, public opinion, or legislative debates in domestic politics. In so doing, researchers can observe variation across issues, networks, and over time in specific transnational issue pools.[31]

Whatever the empirical data-sources used, it is clear that TAN researchers need to move in the direction of creating datasets that can capture variation in the objects of study in order to move TAN literature beyond inductive analysis and begin to explain variation in the shape of the issue agenda over time. In terms of explaining rather than measuring such variation, I make the following three modest suggestions for future TAN research below.

Unpack the "Norm Entrepreneur" Concept

With respect to the early phase of *issue definition*, one direction for research on TANs is to unpack the concept of the "political entrepreneur." Such entrepreneurs are easiest identified in hindsight after they have gained notoriety as a result of a successful campaign. The very term "norm entrepreneur" assumes an international norm (defined as intersubjective ethical understandings between states)

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[29] It is highly noticeable for example when an organization that is trying to be loud on an issue ends up being virtually ignored in cyberspace by powerful organizations' refusal to engage in reciprocal linking practices. This both constitutes a denial of membership in a community and helps to render an organization's platform less visible within network discourse by failing to direct Internet users toward its location in cyberspace.

[30] For example, Park (2003) discuss hyperlinks as a function of the "credibility" among web sites, a reflection of the perception within an issue network of who the key agenda-setters are.

[31] On web content as a data source for transnational issue agendas, see Rogers (2002) and Foot and Schneider (2005).

results from advocacy; but much attempted political entrepreneurship may never result in international norms per se. In order to understand variation in issue definition, researchers need to examine cases of unsuccessful or nonexistent norm entrepreneurship.

First, what configuration of traits is necessary for political entrepreneurship in the first place? What is it that makes certain individuals gravitate toward unnoticed problems in world politics? Personal relationship to the problem? Personality type? Chance? And what leads certain of these individuals to politicize such "problems" once they are recognized? Are cognitive factors relevant? How do structural factors—such as an individual's education, skill-set, mobility or proximity, and access to elite infrastructure—connect with their individual traits to produce meaningful agency? Perhaps an agent-based approach to issue emergence in advocacy networks could provide much greater insight into why certain problems but not others eventually galvanize global civil society.

Second, assuming a problem is defined by a norm entrepreneur, an issue must be adopted by a gatekeeper to emerge. How do political entrepreneurs attract the attention of TAN gatekeepers, and under what conditions do TAN gatekeepers adopt new issues onto their agenda space? There is nothing automatic or inevitable about this process: not all political entrepreneurs are effective at capturing the attention of powerful agenda-setters within major networks. An example relevant to my case is the Norway-based "War and Children Identity Project" whose efforts to market the idea that "war children" have specific unrecognized rights-based claims have been largely ineffective to date. Why? Is it the manner in which they have defined the issue? Or the manner in which they marketed it? What would increase their chance of success? Here, the American politics literature on agenda-setting and lobbying might be useful if exported to the subject of transnational advocacy (Baumgartner and Jones 1992; Kingdon 1995).

Take the Politics of Networks Seriously

Another fruitful research direction for TAN scholars is to interrogate the internal politics of advocacy networks themselves. Keck and Sikkink's original study and much recent work on TANs is largely optimistic, defining networks in terms of their reciprocal and horizontal relations of information exchange. But such a view masks power relations within networks (Mische 2004; Weldon 2006). Lake and Wong's (2005) recent analysis of Amnesty International demonstrates that advocacy networks are better described as "scale-free" networks dominated by a few major "hubs" rather than "distributed networks" characterized by equal influence and exchange among nodes.[32] The difference such dynamics make to intranetwork relations have been largely unexplored by theorists of TANs, but they would appear to be crucial in shaping the TAN issue agenda.

At a minimum, it is clear that certain major organizations function as gatekeepers within an issue area, and these gatekeepers are selective in the number and type of issues they end up promoting. Therefore, scholars of TANs need a theory about how TAN gatekeepers select potential new issues from the "primordial soup" of possible emerging claims (Kingdon 1995), as well as how minor players within a network can leverage different types of power to influence gatekeeper adoption decisions.

For example, my focus group and in-depth interview data from the CaAC network suggests a typology of roles that individuals in "gatekeeping" organizations such as UNICEF can play—on a continuum from obstructionist to sympathist to advocate in relation to a new issue. Why do certain individuals adopt different

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[32] Airports are an example of a scale-free network, with many minor hubs connected by a few major hubs. See Barabasi (2003).

positions; why do new issues resonate with some insiders in gatekeeping organizations and not others; and how do they use their organizational leverage to help market or dampen down attention to new issues within their sphere of influence?

Possibly, if "gatekeeping" is seen as a role rather than a structural position in a network, then it may be helpful to conceptualize different individuals playing both gatekeeping and entrepreneurship roles at different stages of this process. For example, a sympathist in a gatekeeping organization may function as a gatekeeper when a political entrepreneur outside the organization approaches that person to pitch a new idea or issue; but may then assume an entrepreneurship role in an effort to sell the idea within the organization to other "gatekeepers" among the senior staff or colleagues.[33] Additionally, multiple insider sympathists may exist within a gatekeeping organization, leading to the possibility of contestation about *how* to proceed with this packaging: understanding how multiple insider sympathists negotiate disagreements about framing new ideas will require methodologies that can trace and capture this process.

To understand these aspects of issue emergence, scholarship on networks must look inside the black box of "gatekeeping" organizations as well as among network organizations as a group. Recent research applying theories of bureaucratic politics to international society are a step in the right direction (Barnett and Finnemore 2004). Cooley and Ron (2002) have argued that bureaucratic decision-making in the transnational sector is driven at least as much by short-term concerns with organizational survival as by normative commitments. Bob (2005c) argues that organizations select issues to champion in terms of their "substantive, cultural, tactical and ethical" match to an organization's mandate. Perhaps the institutional environment affects not only the "tacit material relations among transnational actors" (Cooley and Ron 2002:37), but also their very construction of their normative interests.

Account for Internetwork Politics

Finally, TAN scholars should consider the socio-political dynamics *between networks* advocating around related issues as a factor possibly affecting issue emergence. TAN scholars often talk about "human rights network" for example as if it is a cohesive whole, but it might instead be conceptualized as a set of separate but interrelating issue networks around rights-related topics. For example, the issue network around "conflict timber" may be connected to but distinct from the network around "Narmada dams," but each of these may be part of a broader network addressing "natural resource exploitation" (Rogers 2002); this larger network may also be distinct from but also contain some ties to the more diffuse networks around corporate social responsibility, human rights, and disarmament. In other words, the density of internetwork ties should be measured rather than assumed in order to capture its relationship to issue emergence.[34]

How might the nature and density of inter-issue-network ties relate to questions of issue emergence? Earlier TAN literature has been largely optimistic about such internetwork cohesion effects (Joachim 2003), pointing to "network density" as an asset for issue advocacy (Keck and Sikkink 1998:28) and "spillover" effects between networks as a means of amplifying advocacy frames (Meyer and Whittier 1994). Yet at least three facets of internetwork dynamics may combine instead to constrain issue emergence where a potential issue overlaps several possible issue areas. First, internetwork understandings of turf may play a role in the construction and adoption of new issues. An issue that might plausibly "belong" in multiple networks'

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[33] In fact, "gatekeeping" is probably a relational term.

[34] For example, Irene Tzinis (2006) has found, interestingly, that the emerging network around cluster munitions is only weakly tied to the transnational network around landmines.

agenda space can be easily assumed off any given network's agenda, even where advocates in several networks agree someone should be working on it. Second, an issue that spans multiple networks' advocacy space may invite different interpretations of the problem, contributing to frame disputes and inhibiting coalition building. Third, to the extent that strong coalitions are necessary for the emergence of such issues, rather than simply desirable, internetwork salience of an issue may complicate the process of consensus building required to develop an acceptable advocacy frame. As many transnational advocates occupy professional positions or affiliations in several related networks over the course of their career (Mische 2004), potential issue adopters' identities may be bound up in identifying issues that avoid normative conflicts between the multiple communities in which they are embedded.

For example, preliminary evidence from the case presented here suggests some support for the hypothesis that the decision (so far) not to adopt "children born of war" as a category of concern within the CaAC network is driven at least as much by coalitional dynamics *between* issue networks as by the issue's intrinsic merits. An argument frequently given against advocating on the issue of "children born of war" is that doing so is particularly delicate and difficult due to its overlapping nature with other issues important to CaAC network partners, particularly the issue of wartime sexual violence. In short, what makes it difficult to develop an advocacy frame for "children born of war" is the fact that the issue bridges at least two different, though overlapping, advocacy networks: the CaAC network and the network of organizations concerned with gender-based violence in conflict zones. This leads advocates in both networks to "pass the buck" to experts in adjacent issue areas.[35] In the meantime, consensus-building on an appropriate frame is stalled: there was considerable disagreement across the interviews collected about whether this issue was appropriately conceptualized as a child protection issue or dealt with in the context of programming to support mothers, or both.

In short, scholars of TANs should understand transnational advocates as agents situated not simply in a common ideational space vis a vis their targets of influence, but also within a bureaucratic and coalitional politics constitutive of TANs themselves. More clearly measuring and understanding these intra and internetwork dynamics will lead to clearer insights about the correlates of issue emergence in transnational civil society.

Conclusion

I have made three arguments. First, the question of how and why certain issues do or do not become visible on the global agenda needs more attention from researchers interested in the political impact of transnational advocacy networks. I have shown empirically that there is considerable variation in the emergence and prominence of transnational causes and that capturing and explaining this variation is relevant both for IR theorists and for transnational activists themselves.

Second, my comparison of two issues on the CaAC agenda to one that is not has demonstrated the implausibility of importing explanations for issue network influence to the earlier stage of issue formation. According to such explanations, children born of wartime rape should have emerged as a category of concern in the CaAC network on the basis of media attention, donor resources, political opportunity, issue attributes, and frame availability. In short, factors explaining why advocates succeed or fail in pitching issues to states do not work unproblematically to

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[35] For example, a representative of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children told me in an interview: "There is no data on this that I know of . . . I never tried to compile those numbers. But you should talk to UNICEF, child protection organizations must keep track of these things." Similarly, child protection specialists often referred me back to those working in the area of sexual violence or reproductive health.

explain why advocates take up certain causes and not others in the first place. We need to explore issues that have not emerged as well as those that have in order to understand this variation and develop a more nuanced view of TAN politics.

Third, an agenda for understanding issue emergence and nonemergence should incorporate new methodological tools for more rigorously operationalizing TANs and their interrelations, measuring and tracking issue salience in the transnational sphere, and using a deductive approach to look for broad patterns across cases rather than relying solely on process-tracing. Such research should take seriously the role of individual agents, including successful and unsuccessful political entre-preneurs and different individuals within gatekeeping organizations. The strategies adopted by these agents must be viewed within the context of transnational struc-tures conceptualized to include relationships of power within organizations, within networks, and between networks.

Such an approach to issue emergence in advocacy networks should provide much greater insight into why certain problems but not others eventually galvanize global civil society, with relevant insights for theorists as well as for those attempting to affect moral change in world affairs.

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