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INTERNATIONAL ACTORS, NORMS AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

by

AMANDA MOLL

Under the Direction of Dr. Carrie Manning

ABSTRACT

A number of international humanitarian organizations focus on human development and aim to improve the situation of children. In many developing countries, states have not been able to fulfill the educational or basic needs of its children. To fill this void, international actors have stepped in to help with human development. This thesis focuses on answering the question: *How are norms diffused to local communities*? Looking at the implementation of human development norms, this paper examines the norms-based actions that NGOs take to maximize the development potential of children. Programs aimed at increasing basic education as well as fighting child labor are addressed. When exploring the norm socialization process NGOs use to promote programs in education and child labor, it is clear that a different process is present than is suggested by existing literature. This is due to the locale where norms are implemented: local communities.

INDEX WORDS: International Actors, Human Development, Norms, NGOs, CARE, Educational Development, Child Labor, Humanitarian, Millennium Development Goals

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by

AMANDA MOLL

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2008

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Acronyms

BGE	CARE's Basic and Girls' Education Unit
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, an NGO
CO	Country Office
COMBAT	Combating Child Trafficking in Togo Through Education
EFA	Education for All
ILO	International Labor Organization
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PCTFI	Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative
PROBASE	Promotion of Community Participation for Basic Education for All
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

A number of international humanitarian organizations focus on human development and aim to improve the situation of children. In many developing countries, states have not been able to fulfill the educational or basic needs of its children. To fill this void, international actors have stepped in to help with human development. This thesis focuses on answering the question: How are norms diffused to local communities? *Looking at the implementation of human development norms, this paper examines the norms-based actions that NGOs take to maximize the development potential of children. Programs aimed at increasing basic education as well as fighting child labor are addressed. When exploring the norm socialization process NGOs use to promote programs in education and child labor, it is clear that a different process is present than is suggested by existing literature. This is due to the locale where norms are implemented: local communities.*

Setting the Stage

Humanitarian and development issues are prominent topics today. Currently, an unprecedented number of actors are working in various development sectors, and the amount of work being done far out-paces scholarship documenting these efforts. Within the field of human development, burgeoning efforts are being made to promote education and fight child labor. One of the most prolific approaches used to advance these causes is to make them norms and create shared beliefs about appropriate behavior. Because education and child labor are often difficult issues for states to deal with effectively, international actors have more and more become the agents to bring about change. When dealing with these two topics, local communities are the targeted beneficiaries and level of change. The resulting question in examining this field of work is: *How are norms diffused to local communities?* As will be discussed, the role of NGOs in promoting norms at the community level is of increasing interest in the field. This thesis will move beyond the state and look at how norm adoption and internalization also involves other actors in the norm adopting community, thus altering the norm socialization process. Through a case study analysis of the norm socialization process in the cases of education and child labor, this thesis will show how, once adopted as international norms and universal goals, education and child labor have in practice filtered down to their targeted beneficiaries through the work of

NGOs. This process will build upon similar norm socialization processes in the field, taking into account non-state actors and their role in implementing human development norms.

The format for exploring this relationship is as follows: In the first section, the significance of human development and norms will be examined. Relevant literature concerning the state of the field will be used to place the research question into context. Section two introduces the spiral model as the relevant model around which this analysis will be centered. In the third section, not only will education and child labor be defined as human development cases, but the challenges inherent in their promotion and an introduction of the case study will be provided. Additionally, CARE will be introduced as the NGO used in the case study. Finally, the fourth section applies the spiral model to human development through an examination of CARE's experiences in the field.

The significance of human development and norms

The existing literature on norms primarily focuses on their ability to influence change. Although scholars may argue about the degree and extent of effectiveness that norms have in creating change, there is little debate about the basic ability of norms to provide a basis for action (see Keck and Sikkink 1998, O'Neill et. al. 2004, Barnett and Finnemore 1999, Haas 1989, Legro 1997, Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, Mitchell 1973, Risse and Sikkink 1999). Scholarship in the area has also looked at the unique roles of international actors as agents of change, mobilizing based on normative issues (see O'Neill et. al. 2004, Hawkins 2002, Keck and Sikkink 1998, Finnemore 1993, Barnett and Finnemore 1999, Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, Klotz 1995, Price 1998). In recent years, international actors have created many new norms in the area of human development. To this point, however, human development issues have yet to be examined in the literature.

The quite extensive literature on norms, as well as state and non-state actors has examined many issue areas such as trade and security (see, Berger 1996, Jepperson et. al. 1996, Price 1998, Eyre 1996, Price 1996, Herman 1996) and human rights (see Risse and Sikkink 1999, Hawkins 2002, Sikkink 1998, Thomas 2001). In terms of the relevant actors who are actively engaged in norms promotion, a large majority of recent scholarship focuses on states as the primary targets for norms-based change (see for example: Klotz 1995, Finnemore 1996, Jepperson et al 1996). Increasingly, however, there is a rising recognition of additional non-state actors to the field. For example, Haas (1989) recognizes the role of epistemic communities as influential in affecting norms change within the Mediterranean region.

Keck and Sikkink (1998) also address the role of non-state actors who are affecting human rights change through their analysis of transnational advocacy networks. Using Keck and Sikkink's definition of a transnational advocacy networks as "networks of activists, distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas or values in motivating their formation", this thesis will focus on how NGOs have been influenced by norms and use them as motivating factors for creating change at the community level (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 1). Although their analysis focuses on how these networks affect norms-based change in state behaviors, their work provides a solid base for examining how NGOs' programs are affected by international norms. This analysis will expand upon current literature by not only applying and adapting a norm-socialization model (the spiral model) to the actions of NGOs, but it will also address the previously unexamined norms issue of human development change.

Using a Model to Assess Norms-Based Change

As was just mentioned, Keck and Sikkink (1998) provide a valuable discussion concerning the role transnational advocacy networks play in the promotion of human rights.

These networks are "significant transnationally and domestically. By building new links among actors in civil societies, states and international organizations, they multiply the channels of access to the international system" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 1). Although Keck and Sikkink explore human rights case studies such as slavery, the lessons learned about the power of transnational advocacy networks may be applicable to the case of human development. This paper will explore the ways which an NGO, CARE, has been influenced by the global development of norms focusing on education and child labor. With local NGO offices in over 60 countries, CARE itself may be categorized as a significant part of a transnational advocacy networks aimed at fighting poverty and creating human development change.

When assessing how norms are created, implemented and ultimately lead to action and change in their intended fields, a number of theoretical models provide guidance. In examining the model transnational advocacy networks have in promoting human rights norms, Keck and Sikkink (1998) suggest a "boomerang model" where domestic groups reach out to international allies to bring pressure on its government to change certain policies. Although there is no doubt that models such as this may be identified in the cases of education and child labor, the focus in this thesis will be more on the entire norm socialization process.

In the cases of education and child labor, there are three levels of agents that must be engaged in order for norms to progress from a theoretical stage to one of action and change: *IGOs* are critical in the creation and implementation, *NGOs* help frame the norms for action and are integral in the implementation, and norms are imposed on (and hopefully internalized by) *local communities*. This process of norm change has been likened to a process of socialization. Risse and Sikkink (1999) discuss the socialization of norms and have created a five stage spiral model to help explain how human rights norms have been incorporated into domestic structures.

Their spiral model suggests that norms follow a similar implementation model: (1) the identification of repression, (2) states deny any repression and the international community introduces a norm specifying appropriate actions relating to the area of repression, (3) pressure (both internal and external) is put on states to adopt the new norm, (4) states adopt a shallow and minimal adaptation of the norm, providing a prescriptive status, and (5) states internalize the norm, seen through rule-consistent behavior. Providing a theoretical framework for much of the norms literature, this spiral model primarily focuses on *state* adoption of human rights norms. As aforementioned, although states are active players in the human development realm, they often have trouble successfully addressing issues such as education and child labor. Due to this failure of the state, international actors have emerged to provide substantial leadership in the field.

Although the employment of human rights and human development both utilize the promotion and involvement of different actors, the spiral model and other human rights-based norms approaches provide importance guidance in evaluating the norms-based work in human development. Within the stories of education and child labor promotion, a pattern of change initiated by NGOs that is similar to the spiral model is present. Although human development is highly related to human rights (as will be discussed), the actors involved in the norms-based promotion of each are very different. When dealing with human rights, states are the main actors being evaluated. Contrastingly, local communities are the targeted beneficiaries when promoting human development norms. This difference leads to an alteration in norm socialization process. Using the spiral as a basis, the following socialization model will be used to examine how human development norms are diffused to the local level. Stages 1 and 2 remain the same and are easily seen in the norm stories of education and child labor: (1) the identification of children's

development being suppressed, and (2) the creation of norms (both education and child labor). The third stage of the spiral model: "pressure (both internal and external) is put on states to adopt the new norm", must be adapted when viewing NGO action. In the upcoming cases to be examined, norm adoption will be examined on the level of NGOs instead of states. Again, this analysis, while fully cognizant of the fact that states are important actors, will focus solely on the degree to which NGOs have aided in norm diffusion at the local level. Therefore, in following the spiral model's structure, stage 3 will be examined as the adoption by NGOs of the norm into their goals and programming. Without NGO adoption of the norms, programs aimed at getting local communities to internalize these norms cannot be created, much less implemented. Stage 4 of the spiral model describes initial norm adoption. Within the context of norms influencing NGO actions, this will be evaluated through the promotion of the norm at the local level through NGO efforts at working with local communities. Framing the norms for community-level adoption and taking appropriate measures to create individualized programs will be examined and are a vital component to the initial norms adoption represented in stage 4. Finally, stage 5 of the spiral model addresses the successful internalization of the norms. Programs present in the case study will be examined to assess the completion of this stage.

Case Selection

Education and Child Labor as Human Development Cases

International norms pertaining to human development, specifically education and child labor, are codified in several international institutions. In 2000, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 55/2, the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which created the basis for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Since this declaration, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) had adopted the eight MDGs as their baseline

definitions for human development. Following the UNDP's lead in defining human development, this paper will use these eight MDGs as definitions and indicators for human development. The eight MDGs address a number of human development issues including: poverty, education, gender equality, decreasing child mortality, improving maternal health and combating diseases such as HIV/AIDS and Malaria. They also address the need for environmental sustainability (as a path to providing safe and healthy living conditions for all) and developing a global partnership for development (UN Millennium Project, 2007). MDGs Two (achieving universal primary education) and Three (achieving gender equality, especially in educational opportunities) both include indicators for education. Child labor is also indirectly addressed in these goals: if children are too busy working during the day, they cannot/will not attend school.

The choices of education and child labor as cases to study the implementation of norms are significant for a number of reasons. To this point, no work has been done in the political science field on international programs aimed at reaching children's development in these areas. By looking at norms relating to child education and labor, this thesis will shed light on overall norms development. The majority of the focus will be on the implementation of education norms, but the case of child labor will be used in a secondary manner to provide juxtaposition and context.

The breadth of sectors and areas that are affected by either the absence or presence of education is outstanding, yet rarely is enough attention given to the impact of education and its use as a tool for overall human development. Education, especially primary and basic education, is one of the most effective developmental programs that can proactively revolutionize communities. The good news is that in this absence of publicized attention, much work is being

done. In part due to the weak internal infrastructures, many developing states are limited in the services they are able to provide. As a result, international actors have provided a vital role in aiding and guiding development at the local community level.

The Challenges in Promoting Human Development Norms and the Case CARE Provides

These norms are often hard for individual governments to address: they often require changes in practices that are culturally engrained in societies. Although parents say they want their children to attend school, they are often deterred from doing so because the opportunity cost of attendance is so high that the family cannot afford to lose their children during the day. Creating change and enforcing the international norms surrounding the promotion of education and the fight against child labor is often difficult for governments. Using the case of education provides a good case of a positive and prescriptive norm (you *should* provide a basic education for your children), while the secondary inclusion of child labor invokes a negative and proscriptive norm (you *should not* allow your children to partake in dangerous and exploitive child labor). By noting the creation of these norms by IGOs (primarily the UN and the ILO), and more importantly, focusing on the actual implementation by NGOs, focusing on CARE, this paper will add greatly to the field of norms by expanding the field to not only examine norm socialization aimed at community level change but also include human development. In fact, with so many issues facing society, education and child labor often remain on the back-burner, only a secondary thought. NGOs are frequently the organizational platform for activists to help create change. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) describe the role of NGOs in promoting norms:

> all norm promoters at the international level need some kind of organizational platform from and through which they promote their norms. Sometimes these platforms are constructed specifically for the purpose of promoting the norm, as are many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) … and the larger transnational advocacy networks of which these NGOs become a part. (899)

Norm creation in these cases can be documented through an analysis of international declarations and treaties, mostly initiated by the United Nations (UN) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). In examining the extent to which norms have affected NGOs' abilities to address development issues, this paper will focus on the efforts put forth by CARE (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere). As one of the largest and most influential humanitarian organizations in the world today, CARE provides a useful case study for examining how NGOs have implemented these norms at the local level. Created out of the aftermath of World War II, CARE has proactively fought poverty and its underlying causes during the past sixty years. Currently working in more than 60 countries, CARE operated last year on a budget of $646 million, almost doubling that of Save the Children, which operated at $364 million during FY 2006. CARE's dedication to the field and partnerships within the international community make it an ideal organization to examine. CARE's Basic and Girls' Education (BGE) unit (which also includes programs aimed at fighting child labor) was initially created and structured in 1994 (after the 1990 world conference where education was prioritized as a global goal; this will be discussed in more detail) and thus creates a unique and compelling case on the power of how NGOs have been influenced by norms in education and child labor and transferred them into real action.

CARE is a good case to examine for several reasons. Not only is it known for innovative approaches but it is also considered by many as a leader in the field of development. This is particularly true for CARE's programs in education and it provides a good case study for the types of work NGOs do in the field that blend advocacy with service provision. Because CARE works in numerous diversified sectors, it is often able to, unlike other single-issue NGOs,

decrease opportunity costs involved in the promotion and provision of education and the fight against child labor.

The use of norms in human development: Applying and Adapting the Spiral Model to NGOs and Human Development

Stages 1 and 2: Identification of Repression and the Creation of Norms

Stage 1 of the spiral model involves the identification of repression. A plethora of literature today discusses not only the lack of access to basic education but also child labor violations (see UNESCO 2002, UNESCO 2003, UNESCO 2007, Chabbott 2003, Bhalalusesa 2005, CARE 2007a, CARE 2007c, Chowdhry and Beeman 2001, King et al 2007). There is no doubt as to the state of human development concerning these two issues. As such, it can and will be assumed that stage 1 not only remains the same but has been fulfilled (remembering that the focus of this thesis is to examine actual outcomes of NGO-influenced normative change in communities).

Stage 2 addresses the introduction and creation of norms concerning education and child labor. Although this thesis will not focus on the entire norm creation process, the creation and introduction of the two norms will be briefly examined.

The Creation and Introduction of an Education Norm

A central tactic in increasing the importance of education on both international and national agendas is its formalization as a norm. One of the most important normative ties which international actors, such as the UN and its affiliated organizations, use in promoting education is to equate basic education to human rights. Not only is education linked to the UN's 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), but it is also a key component of the

Millennium Development Goals. The 2002 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report describes the link between education and the UDHR:

> The right to education is articulated clearly in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). This recognizes the intrinsic human value of education, underpinned by strong moral and legal foundations. Seen in this light, education is also an indispensable means of unlocking and protecting other human rights by providing the scaffolding that is required to secure good health, liberty, security, economic well-being, and participation in social and political activity. Where the right to education is guaranteed, people's access to and enjoyment of other rights is enhanced. (14)

Access to education is not only a right, but there are numerous civil and social rights which are thwarted by an absence of education. This linkage of education to human rights creates an important foundation for action and ultimately norm internalization and implementation.

According to Finnemore and Sikkink, efforts to promote a new norm must take place within the context of established norms. The inclusion of education in the 1948 UDHR creates this vital link. Few individuals will argue that human rights are not to be desired; therefore, by linking basic education to human rights, the first steps toward creating a basic education norm are complete. Price also discusses the need to link new norms to existing ones: by "grafting a new norm onto existing norms", the new norm has a basis to springboard from, making its dissemination and implementation easier and more efficient (617).

This link between human rights and education is an effective framing method. Creating and accepting a norm requires invoking a sense of right and wrong in society; in this context, not providing children education is morally unacceptable because it violates their human rights. Scholars suggest that norm promoters (in this case, both IGOs and NGOs) gain the majority of their strength from its frame (see Keck and Sikkink 1998, Barnett and Finnemore 1999). If an issue is built on a weak frame, actors will have a difficult time spreading and implementing it. In

the case of framing the norm of universal primary education, its link to human rights provides a strong basis which many international actors have used as motivation and justification.

Not only is education a human right but it is also seen as a key component in any sustainable development strategy (see Chabbott 2003, Harber 2006, Jansen 2005, Jones 2006, King et al 2007, McNeely 1995, Robinson 2005, Sakya 1998, Wedgwood 2007). An uneducated community, at any age, has little hope for development and progress. It has been documented that no country has reached industrialized status without universal primary education. Moreover, 2005 was named as the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, further promoting the use of education in development plans (UNESCO 2006).

In defining what it means to create an "education norm", it helps to examine the goals of Education for All (EFA). In 1990, the UN sponsored a meeting, known as the World Education Forum, which discussed the state of education. Out of this forum, the basis of the Education for All program was developed. This program provides a global recognition about the need for immediate action to rectify low global education enrollment and completion rates. It also provides a global framework for action, known as the World Declaration on Education for All. Within this declaration there are six internationally agreed upon education goals aimed to meet the learning needs of all children, youth, and adults. These goals, which constitute the EFA framework, can be found in Appendix 1. These goals are timebound, with a deadline of 2015 quickly looming.

The norm of education as a basic right includes in it the notion that access to education is an inherent human right and the denial of education is not normal or acceptable. As its appearance in both EFA and the MDGs indicates, the norm has been created and accepted by the

international community. This sets the stage for the upcoming analysis on how it is being promoted and implemented by international actors.

The Creation and Introduction of a Child Labor Norm

The child labor norm can be defined as the universal acceptance that children should not partake in dangerous and exploitive labor which prohibits them from attending school and properly developing. This norm has likewise been adopted by the international community through its formalization in ILO Conventions 138 and 182. It has been implemented through actions like the ILO's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor as well as its link to EFA and the MDGs. The test of its successful institutionalization by states is when children are all engaged in developmentally appropriate activities (including school) instead of dangerous and exploitive labor. It is important to note the difference between children participating in work activities and dangerous and exploitive child labor. Within many communities, it is economically necessary for children to participate in wage activities. The line is drawn between partaking in work and child labor when these activities become economic exploitations which are detrimental to a child's development (physical, mental, spiritual and/or moral) and/or interfere with school attendance at a rate appropriate for that child's development status (CARE 2007a).

It is curious to note that the norm against child labor, although an integral part of achieving the MDGs Two and Three today, was not born out of an earlier norm (like education's basis in human rights). However, it is tightly linked to the education norm today. Although the norm against child labor has existed for many years, it is only relatively recently that international actors decided to champion it and include it in their programming. NGOs became actively interested in child labor after they made the connection between the child labor norm

and the success of the MDGs and (EFA). CARE is one of the first NGOs to take-up child labor as a programming goal (CARE 2007a). The ways which CARE has added to the framing of both norms will be further discussed later.

Stage 3: NGO Adoption of Education and Child Labor as Programming Goals

As mentioned earlier, although stage 3 in the original spiral model examines state adoption of norms, because the focus of this thesis focuses on NGOs as the vehicle for change at the community level, this section will investigate NGO adoption of the norms as programming goals. This adoption creates a foundation necessary for norm implementation in stage 4. As previously alluded to, in 1990 the UN sponsored an international meeting on the state of education held in Jomtien, Thailand. At this meeting, known as the World Education Forum, various international organizations, both UN affiliated and NGOs, collaborated on how to increase education levels (Baba 2002, 4). The World Declaration on Education for All was published as the product of this meeting, creating the Education For All program, whose intention is to meet the basic educational needs of all individuals, and renew the status of education as a basic human right. The Framework for this declaration begins by addressing the grave situation in world education: lack of access to primary school, almost one billion illiterate adults, limited access to printed materials, high drop-out rates and low attendance rates in schools (World Declaration on Education for All 1990). The document further lays out the basis for the Education for All program.

Ten years after the Education For All Program was created, another global meeting was held, reevaluating the goals set forth in Jomtien. With little surprise, the goals of the 1990 conference were reaffirmed, and universal education was confirmed as an international goal. Out of this came a list of six EFA goals, known as the Dakar Framework for Action (see

Appendix 1 for these goals). One of the most significant aspects of these sets of goals is that they set a target year by which to have goals met: 2015.

These two international meetings spurred significant action by both IGOs and NGOs in promoting universal primary education. CARE is no exception. Although CARE had many programs that touched on education and child labor prior to the 1990 creation of EFA, changes in international efforts beginning at Jomtien were mirrored by CARE. Encouraged by the World Proclamation on Education for All, in 1993 CARE staff "agreed to make education a key development initiative for the organization" (CARE 2005, 1). The formalization of education as a programming initiative at CARE USA soon followed in 1994, creating the foundation for what would later be called the Basic and Girls' Education (BGE) unit. (See Appendix 2 for a timeline of the Education Sector Development at CARE.) The increasing momentum in education programs at CARE has grown as international efforts in the field have developed (CARE 2005).

The growth of international attention to education has contributed to the deepening of CARE's programmatic commitment to education. Recognizing the importance of education as a human right, and as a tool for sustainable development and poverty reduction, CARE has since made education a programming goal. According to its 10-year study on education efforts,

> These factors [the growth of global attention to and action surrounding education] have allowed for education programming to be introduced fairly rapidly into countries and communities in very different contexts throughout Asia, Latin America and Africa. The expansive geographic reach of the initial education programs in CARE country offices led to widespread sharing of experiences throughout the organization. The formation of a Basic and Girls' Education Unit at CARE USA that followed the mid-1990s prioritized the development of internal technical expertise, assessment tools and intellectual capital. This formalization of the sector has helped to ensure the CARE stays abreast of the rapidly changing education field and its political and funding trends. (1)

As international efforts to promote educational development and fight child labor have grown, so have CARE's efforts.

With offices in over 60 countries across the world, CARE's programs reach millions of people. Change in internal efforts concerning the importance of education has not been contained solely to CARE USA. Rather, the goals of EFA have also been mirrored through change at the country office (CO) level. For example, keeping the EFA and MDG goals in mind, CARE India aligned its ongoing education efforts and goals to EFA. As discourse in the field develops concerning issues of access to education and the quality of education, efforts and goals at the CO-level are aligned to match these (CARE 2005).

Likewise, child labor has also recently been adopted as a CARE programming goal. As mentioned earlier, although there are historical roots backing the global norm against dangerous and exploitive child labor, efforts by the international community have only come recently. CARE is one of the leading NGOs taking a proactive stance against child labor, including it in their BGE unit. In fact,

> Child labor is increasingly recognized as a major barrier to attaining basic education for many children in developing countries. Having realized its importance to a rights-based approach, CARE has placed a strategic focus on developing programming initiatives targeting children at-risk and those involved in child labor through educational interventions tailored to meet their specific needs (CARE 2005, 31).

Once again, child labors' links to education and human rights has provided a platform for action. There is little doubt of the acceptance of these norms by CARE.

This adoption of the education and child labor norms into CARE's programming and goals fulfills stage 3 of the norm socialization process. This stage is where analysis of human development norms differs from the human rights-inspired spiral model. Remembering that local communities are the targeted beneficiaries of norms-based action (rather than states) and remembering that NGOs are seen as more effective at reaching these beneficiaries, it is necessary to examine NGO adoption of the norms first. This step is vital both for local change occur and

for the socialization model to be completed. Without NGO adoption of these norms, organized and intense work at the local level is unlikely to occur.

Stage 4: Initial Norms Adoption: Measures taken for Community-Level Adoption

Traditionally, stage 4 in the norm socialization spiral model involves states superficially and minimally adopting the norm. This stage is a precursor to full-fledged internalization and adoption. During this initial norm adoption, states are testing the water, deciding if they like the results. Similarly, in the case of NGOs implementing human development norms, the recipients and ultimate judges of whether norms will be internalized are the local communities where programs are taking place. In evaluating how NGOs reach local communities to diffuse norms, three sub-steps will be examined: (1) the way which NGOs individually frame norms for local implementation, (2) the ways NGOs have institutionalized the norms by involving communities, and finally (3) how NGOs use norms to elicit donor funding, enabling this type of individualized approach. All three of these sub-steps are necessary for communities to successfully move past a minimal adoption of these two norms and achieve stage 5.

The Role of NGOs in Contextualizing and Framing Norms for Action and Local Implementation

As discussed earlier in this paper, the method of framing education and child labor is one of the most important steps in creating substantial change. Facing often implausible conditions, there is much work being done. Although a large proportion of the initial framing and contextualizing is done by IGOs (namely the UN and ILO), there is still a substantial role for NGOs to play.

Any way that an issue can be framed to create positive interest is a precursor for NGO success. The most important item to take into consideration when framing an issue is its cultural

resonance. Therefore, the values of the society in which an NGO is trying to promote the merits of basic universal education will play heavily upon how the issue is framed. If the community values strong community cohesion, then civil society empowerment would be a powerful frame for promoting education. If the society is not particularly interested in civil society development, the tangible education benefits for children such as increases in personal income and heightened standard of living might be an effective frame. Whatever the case may be, the frame has to be specific to each community; framing is rarely a "one size fits all" item. Although the UN has framed education as an important goal, often NGOs are the actors to individualize this goal and make it a relevant issue for each community.

Remembering that development programs must be individually tailored to each community the NGO is working in, the initial frame used to garner support from the international community and international actors isn't always effective. As such, once the norms surrounding education and child labor have been picked up by NGOs, they often have had to be individualized and tailored to each community before action and change can occur. One method which CARE has used to successfully frame education and child labor for action is to individualize all of its programs to its proposed arena for action. By engaging with local stakeholders and leaders during the initial stages of project/program formation, the chances for success are greatly heightened.

Because education is often a complex issue, commitments to correctly framing programs for implementation at the local level is imperative. "Involving teachers, parents, families, communities, elders, government officials and politicians requires an understanding about the complexities of political decentralization and power dynamics- topics once left to political scientists and anthropologists" (CARE 2005, 4). Thankfully, with the increasing relevance of the

topic in international and domestic forums, significant financial resources have made it possible for CARE country offices (COs) to work in partnership with local communities to develop individual and context-based programming rather than using a cookie-cutter approach. CARE's regional management units offer COs a chance to create and implement regional and local education programming. This individual framing of the topics to individual communities is part of the spiral model's stage 4.

The Ways NGOs have Institutionalized the Norms by Involving Communities

Whereas in the previous section it was necessary to garner local support and input in framing issues for later implementation and acceptance, this section focuses on the need for community support *during* project execution. As aforementioned, simply giving money to communities to promote education or fight child labor is not adequate. Sustainable, integrated community-based programs are necessary for long-lasting success (ultimately, stage 5). Unless the community believes in the program, its success is unlikely. However, if the community can rally around a school, or an entire educational infrastructure, its continued success is much more likely. If community leaders feel they have played a part in building something that can help the community, they are much more likely to do everything to ensure its success. Likewise, if parents and children alike know the benefits of primary education or the dangers of exploitive child labor, they are much more likely to work within the system and to believe in the norms.

Any sense of ownership greatly enhances accountability, enrollment numbers and greater overall community success. This type of ground-up approach, working at the community level, is what CARE does to increase education levels. CARE's work is aimed

> to improve access to, and achievement in, primary education systems; and to improve access to, and achievement in, literacy and life skills for adults and adolescents. To achieve its goals, CARE's programmatic approach includes

> training and capacity building of educators and local organizations, community schools, early childhood development, literacy and nonformal education, infrastructure improvements, and the provision of educational equipment and supplies (Basic Education and Policy Support Activity 2000, 9).

Working within communities is key to success. If NGOs actually work within communities, they are more able to differentiate and individualize their plans.

Community leaders are exceptionally able to communicate what their needs are. One of the most powerful ways NGOs can be effective is to make plans community-specific and consult with community leaders to plan effective programs. The types of education programs needed in agrarian communities are vastly different from those in urban areas. Community leaders are the key individuals to help structure a program that can create tangible changes. This partnership between NGOs and communities helps increase the success of individual programs and in the attainment of both universal primary education and eradicating dangerous and exploitive child labor. Overall, "international NGOs seek to empower communities as a way to strengthen them and to improve access to and quality of education. Many NGOs working in education today began through integrated community development programs, which generally included a literacy component, or sponsorship of children" (Miller-Grandvaux 2002, 9).

Building interest in a community often necessitates strengthening civil society. By strengthening society, education programs can be tailored to fit the community. According to a recent UNESCO report,

> The Dakar Framework for Action calls on governments to involve NGOs in the development and evaluation of education strategies by setting up EFA fora at the local and national level. 'Right from the planning stages, civil society needs to be involved,' reiterates Satyarthi [a key EFA activist]. 'We are the ones who can give more independent, critical and constructive points of view because of our understanding of the issues, our ability to innovate and our very direct relationship with the people (UNESCO 2006: Civil Society Pushes the Way Forward, 5).

Again, tying community building to empowerment creates a strong relationship. Once communities feel pride in a project, and if the project is organically grown, success is much easier. By building societal groups, the chances for an appropriate program increases, which then greatly increases the probability for program success.

One of the most unique and strongest attributes of CARE's programs is their involved and integrated relationship with communities (CARE 2007c). By getting communities involved in its programs and convinced of the importance of education and child labor, the norms become institutionalized and sustained change is increasingly likely. Although there are countless examples of CARE's programs involving communities and integrating the two norms, there is only room to discuss a few here. One point to keep in mind when examining these types of programs is the constant balance between the implementation of global norms and the local and cultural norms present in a community. Due to the need for this global/local norms balance, it is even more important to involve communities in any program aimed at change. Unless communities are involved and convinced of the timely importance of these norms, they are unlikely to accept and encompass change.

NGO use of the Norms to Elicit Donor Funding

Creating a sustainable human development program that is individually tailored for each community does not come at a cheap cost. In implementing stage 4, it is imperative to consider that it takes substantial financial resources as well as man power hours to create a successful program. Many times donor agencies, such as the World Bank and USAID, are willing to contribute to worthwhile programs, but are hesitant in giving development money directly to states, especially those with documented current or previous corruption. If a donor agency cannot ensure that the money will be going directly to education, it will be much less likely to

donate. This is where NGOs such as CARE enter the picture. In many instances, donor agencies will give development money directly to NGOs instead of states. These types of partnerships between donor agencies, NGOs and governments is vital for success. A joint report by the Human Development Network and the World Bank confirms this need for cooperation:

> Renewed progress in education clearly requires strong, productive partnerships. The job is too large for any one institution or agency alone, and too important for a single perspective to hold sway. Governments, NGOs and local stakeholders, with the support of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, will have to work closely together in a prolonged effort to ensure each country's objectives for education are met, and to build public and educator understanding of the need for educational change (Human Development Network 2002, 432).

This recognition that partnerships are necessary also recognizes that change is not an instant or an isolated incident. Change is the product of cooperation between dense networks.

Another reason why many donor agencies choose to give money to NGOs for development use is that NGOs are often more efficient in using money than are states. To put it basically, NGOs often get more "bang for their buck" when creating programs (Miller-Grandvaux 2002). NGOs operate within both formal and non-formal contexts in many cases. Not only are NGOs more efficient in spending money, but they are often very effective in lobbying and advocating for reform.

CARE, just like all other NGOs working in the field, must elicit a significant amount of funding from donors to support its programs. The ability of CARE and other NGOs to implement education and child labor norms is largely contingent on funding. As CARE's education and child labor programs have grown and developed, so has its financial capacity. The success of pre-1990 education programs greatly influenced donor participation post the 1990 Jomtien conference.

As can be seen in Appendix 2, the first incidence of significant education donor contributions came from an anonymous donor between 1988-1992, mirroring the growth of education in the international arena. These changes addressed the rights-based and sustainable-development emphasis growing elsewhere. The positive results of these programs helped bring in additional donors. Currently, the largest financial contributor to CARE's education programs is the US Government. With a strong and growing reputation in the field, CARE is a member of a consortium which enables faster access to US Government funds (CARE 2005).

CARE has also drawn from the power of education of child labor norms to elicit donor funding from a number of other sources: other governments, private donors, as well as multilateral and bilateral sources (e.g. EU). One of the largest private donors and supporters of CARE's BGE unit is the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative (PCTFI). In 2000, Patsy Collins funded the Basic Education Initiative, which enabled the already established BGE unit to grow and expand its reach. Inspired by the success of these programs, in 2000 the Priscilla Bullitt Collins' Remainder Unitrust offered CARE a substantial gift of $28 million to create a 20-year trust fund aimed at creating programs to reach out to the most marginalized girls in society, helping them gain an education (CARE 2007b).

The link between donor funding and the global norms surrounding education and child labor leaves little to the imagination. The creation of norms within the field caught many donors' attentions, bringing them to the arena. Although the traditional streams of funding continue to come through governments, the field is currently seeing an increase in the amount of "philanthrapreneurs" who are looking for an outlet to help provide poverty solutions. As it stands now, even though it is not the program within CARE with the largest financial base, education is the program with the most number of funders (CARE 2006). This supports the

assertion that the norms have not only been accepted but also that the norms have been "bought into" by donors, who see them as worth and timely investments.

These changes in the donor landscape (donor funding increasing over time as program success has grown) are integral to stage 4 of the norm socialization process. Without adequate funding, NGOs such as CARE would not be able to create and implement the type of individual programs necessary for sustained success. Cookie cutter programs that do not require individual tailoring and development with the help of local communities are often less successful. Therefore, the use of norms to elicit donor funding is a critical component in achieving stage 4.

Stage 5: Successful Cases of Norm-Based Change

Finally, stage 5 of the spiral model requires successful norm internalization. All previous stages must be fulfilled, and in the cases of education and child labor, signs of this success can be seen. Though specific examination of a few of CARE's programs in these areas, it is clear that international norms have significantly influenced not only CARE's abilities but also its strategies in affecting development promotion and change. When evaluating the following three programs, a common thread running through all of them is how they were able to mobilize the recipients, i.e. the communities, around the power and importance of these norms. Within the three upcoming success cases, the earlier steps of this modified norm socialization model may be seen, providing support for the adaptations made to the model.

CARE Benin: PROBASE

One of the examples of CARE involving communities in its programs is the PROBASE program in Benin. PROBASE, which stands for the Promotion of Community Participation for Basic Education for All, has proven very successful in targeting marginalized girls in Benin.

Some of the goals motivating the project include the strengthening of local institutional capacities (of NGOs, local institutions, local girls' education committees), community mobilization to change attitudes toward girls' education, and improving instructional practices to increase opportunities for girls.

When examining this program through a norms-tinted lens, stage 4 is visible from the start. One of the factors that made this program successful is its implementation at the village level through community-based female development agents (CARE Benin 2005). By using community members to implement the program, not only were they vital in helping to frame the program, but they are personally invested in the outcomes. The women involved in PROBASE are not only community members, but many are mothers working to help their daughters receive an education.

Some of the community mobilization campaigns which made the program successful include: public awareness campaigns to change attitudes, having local institutions support high-performing teachers and students, and after-school study sessions with local student mentors-this helped to target and get help for marginalized girls who are left behind in large classes. The programs implemented in PROBASE increased women's self-esteem and the community-based nature of the program helped to decrease discriminatory attitudes toward women and girls. Because the program was done in a participatory and consultative manner, there is little doubt as to its sustainability (CARE Benin 2005). In marginalized communities such as those participating in PROBASE, communities have little hope for government-initiated education initiatives. NGOs such as CARE are vital for any help to reach these areas. Through their efforts at getting local communities involved, CARE creates programs that engrain norms within communities in a supported and sustainable manner.

CARE Togo: COMBAT

Similarly, CARE's COMBAT (Combating Child Trafficking in Togo Through Education) program influenced both education and child labor norms by working at the community level. Recognizing the need in local communities for awareness surrounding the dangers (both short and long term) of child labor, CARE Togo created a program to reach out to local communities. One of the ways which the program reached out to communities was through television and radio broadcasts related to child trafficking. Some of the priorities to fight child labor in each of the pilot villages were (1) reaching out and gaining support from community-based organizations, including PTAs, village development committees, school management committees and local committees against trafficking, and (2) supporting communities' access to basic social services.

By involving and helping to develop not only PTAs (specific just to families involved in the local schools) but also village development committees, CARE has successfully mobilized the communities on the issue of child labor. Education-based approaches to fighting child labor include the addition of reward and motivation activities as well as discussions about the physical punishment of students in classrooms (CARE Togo, 2005). Once again, by involving communities in the discussion of appropriate behaviors, not only is CARE involving communities in the framing of the topics, but also in deciding what actions should be taken as a result. Once again, through this program the adapted norm socialization model is seen.

CARE Tanzania: Tusome Vitabe Project

Finally, CARE's Tusome Vitabe Project in Tanzania also provides evidence of NGOs institutionalizing human development norms through community participation. The goal behind the Tusome Vitabe Project's promotion of school libraries and reading clubs was to increase reading rates in order to build capacities and interest in continued learning. During the initial

stages of the program, CARE workers partnered with community members to complete a problem analysis. With these results, it as determined that schools needed additional textbooks and a functional library. Once a program was created, the community was involved at all stages of the process.

Community involvement was vital to the success of this program. Some of the community approach used in this program included the use of sub-committees to monitor and promote library management and readership activities, and ward-level coordination of efforts. Additionally, established parternships were vital to the success of the program; for example, districts agreed to support reading as part of the curriculum and reading activities and they budgeted for additional books. Additional partnership activities which aided to the success of the program include district-level identification of teachers and district endorsement of teacher librarians at each school (CARE Tanzania). By

One of the major lessons learned through this project was that local level implementation of this project is possible and can be effective. Through the pilot programs, it was found that wards and primary schools can be effective actors in procuring reading materials from the private sector. The program was successful in its decentralized establishment of school libraries and local reading clubs. A sign of the success of this program was through its diffusion: often schools in neighboring wards began to set up their own libraries in an attempt to imitate the success found in pilot areas (CARE Tanzania 2002). The integrated relationship with the community at all stages fulfills stage 4 and leads to programmatic success, completing stage 5. By involving communities at different levels, norm adoption and sustainable change is projected.

Conclusion

Exploring NGO involvement in human development provides a unique window into the stories of powerful change in implausible conditions. The programs in education and child labor that CARE has implemented provide a glimpse into the vast amount of work being done worldwide to promote issues of human development. Within the past two decades, there has been a whirlwind amount of change, both on the conceptual level, with the creation of norms, and in-the-field with their adoption and inclusion in the work of both IGOs and NGOs. While a vast majority of scholarship examining the place, impact, and role of norms has made a distinct and important niche in the literature of both comparative and international politics, it has yet to examine these types of community-level human development norms socialization stories.

As can be seen through the adoption of the Education for All Mandate, and more widely touted the well-publicized Millennium Development Goals, issues of human development are continually growing and gaining attention. Seen as vital tools for sustainable development, as well as addressing the underlying causes of poverty and inequality, norms concerning children's rights to education and their right to be protected from dangerous and exploitive child labor have been developed, accepted and now implemented. All children deserve the right to develop properly, and in the absence of these two rights, they are unlikely to do so.

By examining CARE's adoption and implementation of both the education and child labor norms, it is evident that much change has started to take place. Though this evaluation it is clear that human development norms follow a similar, yet differentiated, path of socialization. Through the work of NGOs such as CARE, education and child labor norms are being disseminated to local communities. By looking at this case, it is clear how, once adopted as international norms, education and child labor initiatives have been filtered down to their

targeted beneficiaries through the work of NGOs. Although some change would have happened without the creation and adoption of these norms, it is unclear what direction such change would have taken or how much time successful change in these fields would have taken. The norms-based literature on human rights provides a useful socialization framework for how norms such as these may be influential.

Although Risse and Sikkink's (1999) spiral model focuses on states as the intended recipients of norms-based change, this analysis suggests their basic model must be adapted when local communities are the targeted recipients. During this analysis, NGOs, rather than states, have acted as the distinctive vehicle for this change. Due to the involvement of different sets of actors, human development norm socialization is different from human rights norm socialization. While the human rights socialization process focuses on states, human development cases require the involvement of NGOs and, more importantly for success, local communities. Through examining these cases, it is clear the spiral model provides guidance but is different because of the change in actors.

Through this analysis, the norms-based theoretical literature can further develop and evolve. This analysis brought in, for the first time, the ever-growing field of human development. As the MDGs become the basis for more programs during the next eight years, the conclusion here on the need and ability to adapt socialization theory invites continued analysis of its applicability both in the human development field as well as when evaluating NGOs and community-level change.

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Appendix 1

Education for All Goals

Six internationally-agreed education goals aim to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015.

Goal 1 - Expand early childhood care and education

Goal 2 - Provide free and compulsory primary education for all

Goal 3: Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults

Goal 4: Increase adult literacy by 50 per cent

Goal 5: Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015

Goal 6: Improve the quality of education

(UNESCO, 2007b)

Appendix 2

Table 1: Timeline — Education Sector Development at CARE	
1990	Education for All (EFA) adopted by broad coalition, including CARE, in Jomtien, Thailand.
1988-1992	An Anonymous donor gives a total of $1 million for education programming in four grants of $250,000 each.
1993	Global Trends workshop takes place.
1994	CARE USA establishes Global Initiatives for four priority areas, including education.
1994	Four pilot projects in girls' education proposed: first, Women's IDEA project in Peru begins operation.
1994	CARE hires educational specialist to work with the SEAD unit and the Women's IDEA Project.
1994-1996	CARE raises $1.7 million for education through Global Initiative.
1995	New framework for girls' education launched.
1996	Education projects in Egypt, Ghana, Somalia, and Tanzania funded.
1997	Education becomes a sector — BGE Unit formally established.
1998	Education expands with 20 projects in 18 countries.
1998-1999	Two workshops held in Cairo in 1998 and one in Atlanta in 1999 provided strategic direction.
1999-2000	The Anonymous donor challenges CARE to show commitment to education. Institutional Strengthening Grant and the Basic Education Fellowship introduced.
2000	CARE USA adopts education as one of three critical program focus areas.
2000	Second grant from an Anonymous donor renews support for Institutional Strengthening Grant and the Basic Education Fellowship.
2000	Patsy Collins Endowment supports the Basic Education Initiative.
2000	BGE Unit expands; three technical experts join staff.
2000	EFA goals reconfirmed in Dakar, Senegal; Millennium Development Goals (MDG) adopted.
2000	CARE joins the Basic and Girls' Education Coalition, Washington, DC, and the Global Campaign
2001	CARE commits, through a Mellon Foundation Grant, to fund an Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) Coordinator position at UNESCO.
2003	Patsy Collins Trust Fund of $28 million allocated to CARE's education sector.
2004	Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative (PCTFI) Strategy approved by CARE USA Board.
2005	First-round of PCTFI funding distributed to country offices.

(CARE 2005, 9)