International norm diffusion processes and their outcomes on the ground: The case of de-institutionalising child protection in Cape Town

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I dedicate this study to all children who were in my care - especially Odwa and Kwekwe.

Your profound stories and life struggles impacted me in many ways

and you will forever be in my heart.

Word of thanks

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACRWC	African Charter for the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ANC	African National Congress
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CCI	Child Care Institutions
CELCIS	Centre of Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
CWPC	Children Without Parental Care
CYC	Child and Youth Care
CYCC	Child and Youth Care Centers
CYCW	Child and Youth Care Workers
DI	Deinstitutionalization
DSD	Department of Social Development
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EU	European Union
FBO	Faith-based Organization
FICE	International Federation of Educative Communities
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
IR	International Relations
NACCW	National Association of Child and Youth Care Centers
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NPO	Non-profit Organization
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
PBCYC	Professional Board for Child and Youth Care
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	UN Convention for the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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1. Introduction

> We still know little about processes of international norm diffusion and their transformation in domestic practices. (...) Translation studies tend to be rather underspecified with regard to the scope conditions of norm adoption and transformation. (…) Is it all a question of domestic and international power and/or of setting the right incentives for instrumentally rational actors? (Risse 2017, p. 14)

The international promotion and diffusion of benevolent norms has been one of the great achievements of our time, however threatened it may seem in certain cases. Yet it is also a field full of paradoxes and controversy. So is the closely associated field of 'development'. In this context, the work of development institutions, advocacy networks, and civil society has been celebrated as much as it has been critiqued. Scholars and practitioners have been "frustrated but at the same time fascinated by the complexities of development" (Vorhölter 2009, p. 1).

The topic of norm diffusion and translation fits right in here. Broadly defined, diffusion describes the spread of norms as a consequence of interdependence and translation refers to local reactions to a new norm in a new context (Gilardi 2012). This study is one case demonstrating the potential discrepancies between uniform normative assumptions and the complex and diverse realities of the target groups in their specific local contexts.[1]

Norm translation research has a long tradition in sociological studies. However, in the discipline of International Relations (IR), this topic is part of a relatively young but continuously growing debate on international norm diffusion processes. Risse (2017), Zimmermann (2017) and Gilardi (2012) provide thorough and recent reviews of the norm diffusion debate. So far, this debate has been shaped by two major approaches:

A classic 'norm socialization' approach (see e.g. Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse et al. 1999 or 2013) has focused on transnational advocacy efforts driving so-perceived 'correct' global norms (such as democracy or human rights) to local spaces. In this approach, norm diffusion 'effectiveness' is mainly understood as 'compliance' on the policy level, where outcomes are conceptualized as stages between rejection/resistance and full adoption/'internalization' of a norm.

[1] Examples from other contexts are i.e. Carpenter (2003) or Autesserre (2012), who points out further studies in this regard.

A new stream of 'norm localization' research (see e.g. Acharya 2004; Zwingel 2012) has criticized the idea of a uni-directional and unambiguous norm socializing process from the international to the local level and turned the focus to the contestation, translation and adaptation of norms in local contexts.

In summary, norm diffusion theory offers three main explanations regarding the determinants of outcomes of norm diffusion processes: Firstly, transnational influences, such as norm promotion by advocacy networks and funding dynamics within civil society. Secondly, domestic filters, such as the political opportunity structure, norm resonance and veto players. Thirdly, further norm diffusion mechanisms, such as competition, learning and emulation.

However, Risse (2017), Zimmermann (2017) and Gilardi (2012) emphasize the remaining lack of qualitative, in-depth and empirical insights on the transformation of international norm diffusion processes in domestic practices (Risse 2017, p. 14). They stress that neither norm socialization nor norm localization has been sufficient to capture the various different subtypes of norm translation outcomes at the level of the target locality. While newer theory recognizes more ambiguous outcomes, such as localization or the 'decoupling' of adopted norms and actual practice, these scholars highlight that many aspects remain empirically underexplored.

Zimmermann (2017, p. 36) notes that particular attention is due to micro-level processes in order to better understand the reactions of socialization targets on the ground. She highlights that in the existing research on scope conditions, the socialization targets do not 'talk back' (ibid.). She also proposed a new approach of 'norm appropriation' which is based on the argument that legitimate and realistic processes of norm translation can only derive from negotiation processes in an interactive sphere between 'the global' and 'the local'.

In the light of the identified gaps, the main research question of this study is formulated as:

Which empirical-analytical insights can be gathered on the ground to further differentiate the outcomes of norm diffusion processes and what shapes them - beyond the established factors, such as transnational influences, domestic filters and diffusion mechanisms?

This main research question was split in the two sub-questions: ***'What are the actual outcomes of norm translation processes at the implementation level of the target locality?'*** and ***'What shapes these outcomes on the ground?***

This study was designed to explore these questions in an empirical-analytical and micro-level case study. It explores how a very specific new norm has developed in the global child protection field, how this norm has been adopted and translated in the national context of South Africa, and in how far it has been translated into practice in the particular case of Cape Town.

A main focus is on the responses of the target practitioners on the ground. The question is how they perceive and evaluate the new norm from their perspective and what has driven them to adjust or not adjust their practices. Eventually, the case study offers an example of local target practitioners who, in Zimmermann's words, do indeed 'talk back'.

The above shows that the empirical case analysis performed in this study includes an assessment of a norm creation, diffusion and translation process on three dimensions: a global, a national, and a local dimension.

The child protection norm at hand in this dissertation is the 'de-institutionalization' of 'alternative care systems', which will hereafter be referred to by the acronym 'DI'. Put simply, this norm example can be defined as moving away from institutionalized child protection services, which are colloquially referred to as 'children's homes' or 'orphanages' (see 3.1.1 for terminology). In line with a broader 'developmental' paradigm in what is now regarded as 'international social work', DI envisions a focus on 'family and community-based' solutions and preventative measures rather than 'treatment', such as institutional services (see Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 693). In 2009, the 'UN Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children' (hereafter UN Guidelines) were endorsed to substantiate DI as a global norm.[2]

This change of best practice norms in the field has been eagerly advocated by a group of leading international non-governmental organizations (I-NGOs) within the international children's rights sector since the early years of the new millennium. The advocacy work of this group resembles the notion of a transnational advocacy network and reflects the logic and concepts of the norm socialization approach. In the following it will be referred to as the 'DI movement'.

[2] Chapter 3 will discuss the different stances and interpretations in terms of this norm in the sector.

In line with the rise of the DI movement and the development of a controversial debate thereof in the global child welfare field, a considerable body of academic and grey literature has developed on the topic.[3] While many highlight the paramount importance of the DI paradigm in addressing this fundamental children's rights issue, critical aspects regarding this global movement have also been emphasized. These fall in line with the logic and concepts of the norm localization approach. For example, Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2014, pp. 422-424) state that:

> Research conducted mainly in big orphanages in Romania and Russia generated a de-institutionalization movement that has had an impact in other countries with, perhaps very different characteristics, resulting in difficulties in the implementation of measures due to cultural, social and economic reasons.

The selection of the specific case example at hand is predominantly based on my (the author's) background in this field and my conduction of a previous empirical study on Cape Town's children's home sector in 2009 in line with my MA thesis.[4] My MA thesis had been motivated by a desire to gain a close insight into the realities of children's homes in Cape Town, as well as the international debates surrounding 'best practice' on this matter. In line with this study and my attendance of an international congress in this field in 2010 (FICE [5], Stellenbosch), I learned about the international DI movement and the different opinions and perspectives on it. After five years of working in Cape Town's children's home sector myself (2009 - 2014), I became intrigued by the idea to assess the complex interplay of challenges, controversies and interdependencies in this field from an academic, meta-level perspective.

The data collected in 2009 offered a unique opportunity for a diachronic assessment of the developments in the sector. The year 2009 also coincided with the year in which the field-specific UN Guidelines were endorsed at the global level and, in 2010, a new South African Children's Act came into effect. The given background did thus provide access to a relatively robust empirical baseline and setting and a possibility to trace the effectiveness of norm diffusion on the ground in this particular case.

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[3] Recent literature reviews are provided by Dozier (2012) and Babington (2015), Williamson and Greenberg (2010).

[4] Unpublished thesis, submitted at Hamburg University in September 2009, entitled 'Funds for Care – Care for Funds. An empirical study on the impacts of different funding structures on the care situation in Cape Town's Children's Homes'

[5] FICE stands for 'International Federation of Educative Communities' (www.ficeinter.net).

In terms of the DI topic, it is the aim of this study to contribute a further perspective to the debate: The perspective and realities of those who operate children's homes in Cape Town's child protection sector. It would appear that the insight of leading practitioners in terms of the obstacles to improving children's care and their attempts to tackle them has been underestimated or simply not mentioned in the literature. Instead they are commonly regarded as veto players in DI literature and suspected of running children's homes in accordance with their own needs and agendas. While this may be true in some cases, in others it is not. In this regard, a respondent at the global level[6] stated:

> I think there is definitely a need to hear how the practitioners on the ground perceive the global DI discourse. Your study will fill an important gap. I can't promise you that everybody will be happy about it, since the sector is as you know quite polarized. Hopefully it would be of value for those who are working directly with changing the behavior of residential care staff and donors.

Another interviewee was also concerned that there is a lot of polarization in the field and no space left for the middle ground, while "we actually need various points of view in the room, but we don't have that" (INT 16).

It is important to note that the purpose of this study is not to take a stance in terms of right or wrong. This is not a field where easy answers apply and there are many different perspectives from which to look at the topic (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, the study has been conducted in full awareness of and reflection on the potential role conflict between my being a previous practitioner in the field and my task of being an unbiased researcher.

Having outlined the background, motivation, subject and approach of this research, the following will briefly introduce the overall research process and methods before providing an overview of the structure of this dissertation.

Based on the conclusions drawn from the review of the norm diffusion literature (see Chapter 2) and the aspects demonstrated in the DI example (see Chapter 3), two hypotheses[7] were established for this study. Each pertains to one of the research questions pointed out above:

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[6] To exclude any potential risks, all (interview) respondents of this study insisted on and/or were granted anonymity. All main interviews have been allocated a number and are cited accordingly.

[7] The hypotheses serve to formulate the overall assumptions guiding this study and are used to structure the research in line with Rohlfing's (2012, p. 11) process for theory-centred case studies (see Chapter 4, see also evaluation of the overall research approach, p. 218).

H1: A micro-level empirical assessment at the level of implementation and practice is most likely to reveal a diversity of co-existing translation outcomes. This will include ambivalent sub-types of compliance and resistance beyond the concepts of decoupling or localization.

H2: The determinants of outcomes of norm diffusion processes become progressively more complex and multi-dimensional the closer the observations become. Transnational promotion strategies and domestic filters may themselves be shaped by ambivalence and thus promote ambivalent outcomes on the ground.

In line with the process of case study research defined by Rohlfing (2012, p. 9), the overall goal of this study is hence to test the established hypotheses in an empirical analysis in order to evaluate and possibly refine or modify them.

Overall, the validity of the hypotheses was assessed on each of the three dimensions of the given case study by using a mix of methods and working from the general to the specific. An initial analysis of the global rise of the norm example and the state of it in the case of South Africa sets the contextual frame for the subsequent empirical analysis of the specific case of Cape Town.

Data was gathered from different sources. The analysis of the global dimension of the study was based on a review of DI literature and complemented by two expert interviews, as well as observations and background talks at the two major topic-specific international conferences which both took place in Europe in 2016.

Within the DI literature, South Africa is often perceived as a very progressive case, but various implementation challenges are commonly highlighted and further elaborated upon in local South African literature (e.g. Patel and Hochfeld 2013, Jamieson 2014, Meintjes et al. 2007, Abdullah 2007). For the analysis of the national dimension the literature review included academic as well as some legal documents and various volumes of the field-specific local journal which has been published by the longstanding national umbrella organization for the field, the National Association of Child and Youth Care Workers (hereafter NACCW), since the 1980s.

After this predominantly literature-focused analysis of the global and the national dimension, the second part of the case study was based on an empirical field study of the actual translation of the DI norm in the specific case of Cape Town. There are 25 registered children's homes in this locality which fall in the scope of this study. All of these are

governed as non-profit-organizations. An in-depth, empirical-analytical assessment of this institutional field/micro-cosmos took place in two subsequent steps using two different methods: At first, the adaptation of program approaches and care models was assessed by a method of empirical-analytical fact finding in a diachronic comparison of empirically collected data. The previously collected data in line with the MA thesis from 2009 served as a baseline. Thereafter, the reasons for the adaptation, non-adaptation or resistance to the new norm were explored in Grounded-Theory-guided interviews with a group of 15 selected practitioners.

After this first introductory chapter, the body of this dissertation will be structured in six main chapters. First of all, Chapter 2 will present norm diffusion theory as the theoretical framework and foundation of this dissertation. It will conclude on the main approaches and developments in the overall debate and the remaining research gaps which have been highlighted in relation to understanding norm diffusion outcomes at the implementation level.

Thereafter, prior to the introduction of the overall research design and methodological approach which will take place in Chapter 4, the specific norm diffusion example at hand will be introduced and discussed in Chapter 3. This order of arrangement is important, being that the insights presented in Chapter 3 set the overall context and provide essential information for the development of the research design, the hypotheses and the methodological frame.

Overall, Chapter 3 will show how the case example demonstrates the immense complexity and multi-dimensional nature of norm diffusion realities and how outcomes at the implementation level can be featured by ambivalence and controversy. This can stem from all levels of the norm diffusion process. Chapter 4 will then combine the insights of the generic literature review in Chapter 2 with those presented in Chapter 3 in order to establish two hypotheses on this basis and explain how this study was designed to examine these in the subsequent case study.

The following three chapters, Chapter 5, 6 and 7, will present the empirical findings of the case study in accordance with the different dimensions and research steps. To begin with, Chapter 5 introduces and discusses the findings at the national dimension of South Africa. Thereafter, Chapter 6 presents the development of Cape Town’s children’s home sector in

the light of the DI norm and the findings of the diachronic comparison. Lastly, Chapter 7 will focus on the findings from the Grounded Theory style interviews reflecting the perspectives and explanations of the selected leading practitioners on the ground.

Eventually, Chapter 8 will provide the overall conclusion of this dissertation. It will conclude on the outcomes of the empirical findings gathered and what these contribute to norm diffusion theory in general as well as to the DI debate in particular. The findings will be evaluated in the light of the established hypotheses which will eventually be reformulated. Finally, the focus will return to the meta-level perspective. After a reflection of the strengths, limitations and suitability of the overall methodological approach, this dissertation will conclude with thoughts and suggestions for possible future research.

2. State of the art and moving ahead

This chapter will introduce norm diffusion theory as the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. Only recently have international norm diffusion processes become a central field of research and debate in the International Relations (IR) discipline, where it continues to grow and develop.

The aim of this chapter is twofold: firstly, to provide an overview of the development and current status of norm diffusion scholarship, and to point out the remaining gaps in understanding norm translation outcomes to which this study strives to contribute. The second aim is to outline the theoretical context and framework for the further analysis taking place in this study.

The chapter starts off by providing a general overview of the genesis, context and terminology of norm diffusion research. It explains why the rise of transnational civil society is a key contextual factor for the study of norms and their diffusion. It then continues to elaborate upon the two major approaches to norm diffusion research which have characterized the development of the debate in this field to date: the established trajectory of norm socialization research and more novel norm localization research.

The subsequent sub-chapter will introduce the established theory examining what drives and what hampers norm diffusion processes. The final section will show how existing approaches and concepts have been celebrated and critiqued but have eventually been found to remain inadequate in understanding the heterogeneity of actual outcomes of norm translation processes on the ground.

2.1. The norm diffusion debate: Development, approaches and gaps

The debate on norm diffusion started to gain momentum in the 1990s as a result of three developments: the end of the Cold War period, the rise of the human rights agenda and the shift in IR research from mainly rationalist to constructivist approaches (Zimmermann 2017; Risse 2017).[8] Social constructivism is the meta-theoretical foundation on which the concepts of norms and norm diffusion are based. This was in line with the prominence of the

[8] See Checkel's elaborations on "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory" from 1998.

constructivist approach in other social sciences, where the study of norms, interdependence and diffusion had already been studied for a long time, especially in sociology.[9]

Today, norms are commonly accepted as influential determinants of political behavior. Norm diffusion has become a central field of research and debate which continues to grow and develop.

Along with various pieces of relevant scholarship, the literature review has revealed three recent overviews on the norm diffusion topic, which provide a comprehensive picture of the current state of debate and are the fundament of this chapter. These are Gilardi's overview in the 2013 'Handbook of International Relations' (Carlsnaes et al. 2013), Risse's 'Domestic Politics and Norm Diffusion in International Relations' (Risse 2017), and Zimmermann's recent work on the translation of children's rights (among others) in Guatemala (Zimmermann 2017), which has been a key example for this study. Another review of norm research in the German language was provided by Rosert in 2012.

2.1.1. Introducing norm diffusion research and the norm socialization approach

This sub-chapter will introduce norm diffusion research in four sections. It will start off by providing definitions of key terms and explaining the link of norm diffusion research with the boom of research on transnational civil society and NGOs. In this context, it will show how the first wave of norm diffusion research was shaped by a so-called norm socialization approach.

2.1.1.1. Defining 'norms' and 'diffusion'

To define 'norms', both Zimmermann and Rosert follow the definition of Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein (1996, p. 54). Under this definition, norms are understood as "collective expectations about proper behavior for a given identity". Rosert points out that this definition has become the common standard in constructivist literature.

In one of Sikkink's prominent studies, "Restructuring World Politics – Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms" (Khagram et al. 2002, p. 14), international norms are defined as "severely powerful institutions as they determine the expectations or standards of

[9] For a detailed account see Gilardi 2013.

appropriate behavior accepted by states and intergovernmental organizations that can be applied to states, intergovernmental organizations, and/or non-state actors of various kinds."

Diffusion is defined as the process in which ideas or norms spread within or across national or cultural borders as a consequence of specific pattern of interdependence (Gilardi 2013, p. 2).

It is commonly agreed that the rise of globalization has led to increasing social and political interaction and interdependence of state and civil society actors beyond national borders. This also indicates the interdependence of the two concepts, norm diffusion and transnational civil society, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.1.2. 'Civil society', 'NGOs' and their 'transnationalization'

As pointed out in the previous section, norm diffusion is understood as a consequence of interdependence (Gilardi 2013, p. 2). Today's globalized and restructured system of world politics has been characterized by a growing interdependence of state and civil society actors. Rosert (2012) points out that the first wave of norm diffusion research arose in the context of two developments. Firstly, the general boom of research on 'civil society' and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as its main protagonist in the 1990s. Secondly, and in line with this boom, the ground-breaking study by Keck and Sikkink (1998), which emphasized the rise and role of transnational advocacy networks in the renewed system of world politics.

These networks often act as so-called "norm entrepreneurs" and have been pushing the institutionalization and diffusion of international norms, of which human rights laws are a classic example (Keck and Sikkink 1998, p. 37; Rittberger et al. 2010). Therefore, the study of norms and their diffusion can hardly be separated from the ever-growing phenomenon of a 'transnational' or a 'global' civil society and its dynamics, and is closely interlinked with the study of transnational activism (Keck and Sikkink 1998, pp. 34–37).

To provide a basic definition of the buzzword 'civil society', it is useful to refer to a widely agreed-upon definition by Ottaway and Carothers (2000, p. 9), who describe civil society as "an intermediate associational realm between state and family populated by organizations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of the society to protect or extend their interests or values".

This definition also highlights that civil society actors are usually organized as NGOs, which are commonly regarded as the main protagonists of civil society. The concepts of 'civil society' and 'NGOs' have been assessed by multiple scholars and have taken on various meanings in different contexts. Definitions of NGOs are manifold and the scientific debate on an adequate definition is ongoing. The broadest definition comprises all organizations that are not-for-profit and are non-governmental (Wuyts et al. 1992, p. 122; Fisher 1998, p. 5).

In line with the rise of globalization, a 'global public sphere' has emerged, where all the various civil society actors communicate and interact (Kaldor 2003, p. 8).[10] In line with this, the scope of civil society networks has expanded significantly beyond national and cultural borders. This has brought a global character to the concept of civil society, which has led to the transposition of the traditional concept into the new concept of a 'transnational' or 'global' civil society.

'Transnational civil society' is generally understood as all non-governmental and non-profit collective action beyond nation states. In other words, this includes anything from the collaboration of civil society actors in two countries to globalized networks of multinational civil society actors and international NGOs (INGOs). In her 'neoliberal version' of defining the phenomenon of a 'global civil society', Kaldor (2003, p. 9) refers to:

> A non-profit, voluntary third sector – that not only restrains state power but also actually provides a substitute for many of the functions in the field of welfare which the state can no longer afford to perform. (…) In the absence of a global state an army of NGOs perform the functions necessary to smooth the path of economic globalization. (…) Funding for democracy building and human rights NGOs is somehow supposed to help establish a rule of law and respect for human rights.

Within this context, NGOs were moved into the center of an emerging 'alternative' development discourse and became the main facilitators of development projects. A strong civil society was promoted as a counterpart to the state and the market (see for example Betz

[10] Tarrow highlights that the process of globalization brought about particular developments which facilitated transnational activism, such as "rapid electronic communication, cheaper international travel, diffusion of the English language, and the spread of the "script" of modernity" Tarrow 2005, p. 5). Modern information and communication technology (ICT) has to be seen as one of the key factors fueling cross-border communication and the exchange of information, which are at the heart of transnational activism. At the same time, international communication technology enhanced access to increasingly 'globalized' media channels. The powerful role of the media for the spread of information as well as the shaping of discourses is beyond dispute (see Kaldor 2003, pp. 104-106).

and Hein 2006, p. 8). Ever since then, the idea of NGOs as advocates of underprivileged groups has enjoyed a grand image and far-reaching support. Copious resources have since been channeled through NGOs, which are believed to have significant advantages over state implementing agencies in carrying out modern development approaches (Wuyts et al. 1992, p. 134; Betz and Hein 2006, pp. 16-20). Critical views in this regard will be pointed out in section 2.1.2.2.

The following section will explain how developments in the sphere of civil society have brought about the establishment of 'transnational advocacy networks' as 'norm entrepreneurs'.

2.1.1.3. 'Transnational advocacy networks' as 'norm entrepreneurs'

Sunstein (1996) defines a norm entrepreneur as 'anyone interested in changing a norm'. In line with the rise of a transnational civil society and the institutionalization of human rights norms, transnational advocacy networks emerged as powerful norm entrepreneurs and norm leaders. They have since been ascribed a crucial role in norm diffusion processes. Finnemore and Sikking (1998, p. 286) remark that norms "do not appear out of thin air; they are actively built by agents having strong notions about appropriate or desirable behavior in their community". These networks either promote their issue of concern in accordance to established norms and values, or they act as norm entrepreneurs, attempting to transform the existing norms and values according to their principles. Kaldor (2003) and Keck and Sikkink (1998) refer to transnational activists appearing as advocates of particular value-driven interests (Kaldor 2003, p. 95) in value-laden debates (Keck and Sikkink 1998, p. 9).[11]

Keck and Sikkink's model of a so-called **'boomerang effect'** (1998) and Risse, Ropp and Sikkink's **'spiral model of human rights'** (1999) show how domestic and transnational social movements can work together to pressure states to adopt or comply with a certain norm. In these models, "domestic groups reach out to international allies to bring pressure on its government to change its domestic practices" (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p. 36). With reference to the prominent studies of Manuel Castells regarding the pivotal role of networks in the contemporary era, Kaldor likens these 'transnational advocacy networks' to a 'two-way street' between groups and individuals who are directly affected by the issue of concern

[11] See also Khagram 2002, pp. 11-17 and Tarrow 2005, p. 61.

and so-called ‘northern solidaristic outsiders’ (Kaldor 2003, p. 95). Through the information and testimony provided by representatives of the affected group, the solidaristic group gains legitimacy to act on their behalf (Keck and Sikking, 1998, p. 19). As part of the globalization process, these network campaigns have increasingly challenged traditional notions of state sovereignty (Keck and Sikking, 1998, p. 36). The ‘spiral model’ is a five-phase model where several ‘boomerangs’ are used to create pressure ‘from above’ and ‘from below’.

The **norm life cycle** (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, p. 19) is the third classic model which developed in this context. It describes the three stages of norm diffusion as ‘norm emergence’, ‘norm cascade’ and ‘norm internalization’. At the stage of ‘norm emergence’, norm entrepreneurs promote new rules of appropriate behavior. At the stage of ‘norm cascade’, a significant number of potential adopters have been persuaded to take up the norm and it comes to a ‘cascade’ or a tipping point where conformity with the norm becomes more legitimate than non-conformity – appropriate behavior has thus been redefined (see also ‘emulation’ below). At the final third stage of ‘norm internalization’, norms become so deeply accepted that they are taken for granted.[12]

These three classic norm diffusion models mark the first wave of norm diffusion scholarship in the IR discipline, continuing to date to be prominent and influential in this field. They were developed by a first generation of scholars of the so-called ‘norm socialization’ approach, which will be introduced in the following section.

2.1.1.4. The ‘norm socialization’ approach: Logic and critique

As pointed out above, the norm socialization approach has been regarded as the first stream of norm diffusion research. Within norm socialization research, Zimmermann (2017) has identified two generations. A first generation assessed how international norms, such as human rights norms, spread across several countries and thus “socialized states into international communities” (Zimmermann 2017, p. 4). A second generation of norm socialization scholars has then focused on “the socialization of states into democracy and the rule of law in the context of the European Union” (Zimmermann 2016, p. 100).[13]

[12] For a critique of this concept in German see Rosert 2012, p. 610.
[13] See also Schimmelfennig et al. 2006; Magen and Morlino 2009.

This second generation has also provided a more detailed account of the available norm diffusion strategies, which were commonly used by transnational networks: coercion through conditionality and persuasion and/or blaming and shaming (Magen et al. 2009; Risse et al. 2013). At the same time, this generation started identifying the potential local constraints to diffusion (Checkel 1999; Cortell and Davis 2000). These began to be assessed in line with the concept of 'local filters'. The filters and strategies established by these scholars will be elaborated on below.

Overall, Zimmermann (2017) concludes that at this stage of norm socialization research, the debate on norm diffusion has focused on a uni-directional norm socializing process from the international to the local level. The common idea here is that external actors, typically transnational advocacy networks, promoted norms which local norm adopters then ideally internalized as 'the right or normal thing to do' (Finnemore and Sikking 1998, p. 905). This ideal can be driven by the abovementioned strategies and hindered by obstacles and conditions 'filtering' it on the domestic level. "The norm socialization model of norm diffusion is one of linear steps towards an endpoint at which the norm in question is internalized or habitualized" (Zimmermann 2017, p. 25). One classic theorization in this regard is Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) four-step process of norm adoption, starting with rhetorical adoption as a first step, legal adoption as the second, implementation as the third, and internalization as the fourth and final step.[14]

As norm diffusion research developed, the critical aspects of norm socialization research and its classic models were discovered:

> "The 'preoccupation' with internalization inevitably casts local contestation in a negative light (…) and assigns a passive, reactive role to the targets of socialization (…) Deviations can only be prescribed as deviations from a 'correct' interpretation of standards – which in most cases means existing international rules and conventions" (Zimmermann 2017, p. 37; see also Acharya 2004, p. 242).

While the second generation has added an advanced understanding of domestic factors to the debate, they did not yet recognize the far higher complexity inherent in norm diffusion processes, which has only started to be recognized very recently. Norms have been assessed as if they were stable and uncontested in the broader domestic and international publics (see

[14] Zimmermann (2017) points out that similar models were developed by Risse et al. (1999), Schimmelfennig et al. (2006), and Magen and Morolino (2009).

also Risse 2017, p. 14). This has begun to change in line with the new approach of norm localization research, which will be introduced in the next sub-chapter.

2.1.1.5. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has introduced the genesis of norm diffusion research and the norm socialization approach. After an elaboration on the main terms, concepts and actors in the norm diffusion context, it was explained how norm socialization research was focused primarily on the influence of transnational actors on the diffusion of norms. This is also particularly evident in the three classic norm diffusion models; namely, the 'norm life-cycle' (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998), the 'boomerang mechanisms' (Keck and Sikkink 1998) and the 'spiral model of human rights' (Risse et al. 1999) which were introduced in this section.

2.1.2. Dynamics among diverse actors and the norm localization approach

The first three sections of this sub-chapter will show how the diverse types of actors prevalent in transnational civil society, as well as the dynamics and interdependencies between them, shape processes of norm diffusion. The fourth section will elaborate on the rise of the so-called norm localization approach which developed within this context and as a response to the norm socialization approach which was introduced above. The concluding remarks will briefly sum up the key points established in this analysis.

2.1.2.1. Diversity of actors, frames and interests in the transnational sphere

Within the sphere of transnational civil society, a vast diversity of actors engage, interact and collaborate in a complex system of funding dynamics, adaptation and learning, based on each actor's interests, beliefs and needs. As pointed out above, notions of a unified civil society are thus often superficial and misleading.

Boesenecker and Vinjamuri (2011, p. 348) highlight that "civil society is best characterized by its differentiation, functionally and ideologically" and by how actors differ in their beliefs, values, interests, networks, and organizational capacities. They provide a detailed account of the diversity and multifaceted nature of civil society actors in the context of norm diffusion. For example, they can be secular or faith-based, local, regionally or internationally networked, and in agreement or conflict with the norms and values promoted by leading

international actors in their field: "They sometimes reject international standards as ill-suited to local contexts and unlikely to achieve the intended outcomes. (…) Others may act independently, without an awareness of or concern for other civil society groups" (ibid: 348). Consequently, civil society has been found to be a potential creator of both cross-cutting, unified and secular networks supporting the same ideas, values or causes on the one hand, and diversity, pluralism, fragmentism and conflict on the other.

Burchardt (2013, p. 35) also stresses the complexity deriving from the very different institutional 'logics' and 'domains' of diverse actors. Similarly, Ebrahim (2003, p. 113) refers to 'perceptual frames and world views' which "are the basic infrastructure through which situations are organized, defined and given meaning. These frames can constrain learning by structuring or guiding how (and what) problems are perceived, what sort of information is collected and how that information is analyzed and interpreted."[15]

The key point is that actors can be committed to the same cause but driven by conflicting interests, beliefs and concepts of appropriate action (Boesenecker and Vinjamuri 2011, p. 349). In this regard, the sphere of transnational civil society has also cultivated fragmented and overlapping efforts by myriads of actors, who partly work in inefficient parallel structures and engage in controversial struggles over norms, resources and power.[16]

As with commercial organizations, NGOs have increasingly started to develop official value catalogues and vision and mission statements, which one could describe as visible elements of an organization's underlying values, ideology and 'culture'. These visible statements can be seen as a strategy to achieve two outcomes. Firstly, NGOs seek to create a common internal identity to ensure smooth interactions between heterogeneous groups of staff. Secondly, they shape their profile for external representation, typically in order to appeal to certain publics and attract funds or other support. This may oblige them to adapt their values to leading discourses. However, different publics may follow different discourses. In this regard, the expression of certain values and world views can divide or bind together different groups of NGOs.

[15] Ebrahim (2003, p. 50) further points out that the norms, ideas and rules guiding the initial development of an organization have a long-lasting impact on future developments within that organization. In institutional theory, this phenomenon is referred to as path dependency (Hall and Taylor 1996, p. 9).

[16] This situation relates to so-called 'regime complexes' (Raustalia and Victor 2004) which have received much attention in IR lately (see also Leon 2015).

A classic example in this regard are faith-based organizations (FBOs). FBOs are motivated by a religious ideology and base their programs and approaches on religious values. The donors of FBOs usually consist to some extent of religious institutions, e.g. churches. Due to the spread of Christian faith and values worldwide, Christianity has the potential to produce a sense of common identity between the various development stakeholders which disguises other cultural, material or social differences (Frantz and Martens 2006, pp. 179, 193 ff.).

2.1.2.2. NGOs: Types, cooperation and critique

NGOs are typically distinguished by their type of work, their resources and their location. They can either be advocacy or service orientated or combine both approaches. The activities of advocacy orientated NGOs can either be directed towards governance objectives, such as democratization, human rights, corruption or the rule of law, or directed towards activism for a particular cause or particular marginalized target groups. Service-orientated NGOs can be divided into NGOs which cater for the benefits of their members and those set up for public benefit (see e.g. Hanisch 2004, p. 22; Wuyts et al. 1992, p. 122).

NGOs are also commonly split into international, local and intermediary NGOs (see e.g. Watkins et al. 2012; Healy and Link 2011; Hein et al. 2007). Each type has particular characteristics that determine its role in global civil society (and governance) networks and its access to different power resources. Ideal notions of international development cooperation or human rights activism presume that these three types work in close cooperation, while each type contributes to the concerned objectives from a different angle.

International NGOs

- Typically based in the Global North, resource-strong, holding and dispensing funds.

Although international NGOs are based in highly developed industrial countries, they engage in the initiation, coordination and funding of trans-national or international welfare or development projects. As their regional position allows them to access various funding channels for their projects, they hold and dispense funds and resources. They usually work in cooperation with local NGOs, which are the main implementers of the projects, and contribute more or less substantial funds towards their functioning. Some international

NGOs also establish their own local 'branches' in developing countries, which implement projects on site and are provided with sufficient funds to enable their operation. This structure relieves the implementing NGO from the need to fundraise.

The regional position of international NGOs further allows them to access professional global networks where international norms and discourses are shaped and promoted. These networks can be used to gather, conduct or even contribute expert information and knowledge, which can be transferred to the implementing NGOs. Some of them are mainly involved in advocacy work and aim to influence and shape the norms in their field according to their values and interest. (Scholte 2011, p. 34; Keck and Sikkink 1998)

Local NGOs

- Typically based in the Global South, service-providing/implementing, often dependent on, and thus aiming for, external funding

Local NGOs are based in developing countries and are the main implementers of the projects on site. They are meant to be insiders in the local social and cultural systems and in close contact with the target group concerned. If this is the case, they have easy access to 'local expertise and knowledge', which is seen as an invaluable power resource in modern concepts of development cooperation. In these terms, they can again be divided into 'community based' and 'externally initiated' local NGOs.

Community-based local NGOs have grown out of actions within the local community (so-called 'grassroots' organizations). They may have been completely community-based initially but have grown and adjusted in line with NGO dynamics (see section 2.2.2.3). On the other hand, the 'externally initiated' local NGOs - which were initiated by foreign or local actors – are not insiders in the social and cultural systems of the target group.

However, many local NGOs are not attached to branches of international or national NGOs and, in order to implement their projects, need to raise their funds from different local or international sources. Their regional position in a developing country usually provides rather limited access to funding channels, yet this depends on the socio-economic situation of the particular society. In some countries, such as South Africa, the prevalence of a small but extremely well-off fraction of society allows many NGOs to raise sufficient funds from local

sources. On the other hand, most local NGOs aim to access funding from more lucrative international funding channels or from national NGOs which have access to them.

National NGOs or 'intermediary' NGOs

- Typically national and acting as brokers

National NGOs are also based in developing countries and serve as 'umbrella', 'consultant' or 'advocacy' organizations for local NGOs. Often referred to as 'intermediary' organizations, they serve as brokers between the local implementing NGO (and the target population) and the international consulting and funding NGOs. These brokers are expected to be experts in facing 'both directions' and to be able to perform as interpreters between the systems of the local population and the bureaucratic system of external donors. The aim is to enable cooperation and prevent fragmentation. As a result, they are often highly professionalized and engage in professional global networks. National NGOs may also establish local implementing 'branches' in the different provinces of their country, which they provide with the funds they have raised from local or international sources.

Fluctuation, for-profits, butterflies, and individuals

Watkins et al. (2012, p. 291) highlight the challenges in keeping track of and mapping NGOs and other related actors in the development field, as these fluctuate quickly. With regard to other related actors, they explain that the field "sometimes includes for-profit corporations, government agencies, and hybrid organizations such as public-private partnerships". Furthermore, they point to the prevalence of what they refer to as 'butterflies': "Small-scale charities and foundations" that are "largely outside of official systems, but very visible to local organizations and people on the ground". These are, for example, church groups, youth groups and volunteers. While such butterflies can be seen critically if they disregard certain good practice standards, Watkins et al. view these organizations positively as they perceive them as striving for small and attainable goals.

The prevalence of these small scale actors has been fueled by the rise of transnational civil society and its new fundraising trends, such as 'crowdsourcing' and personal engagement in

the form of cross-border 'volunteerism'.[17] Tarrow (2005, p. 60) also refers to a 'global justice movement' to describe the growing readiness for cross-border solidarity with people whose human rights are compromised.

NGO critique

Civil society and NGOs have been celebrated as much as they have been criticized. Common concerns relate to remaining top-down approaches driven by Western agendas (Burchardt 2013, p. 38), a weakening of state accountability and creation of dependency (Watkins et al. 2012) and a lack of transparency, participation, and legitimacy (see e.g. Healy and Link 2011, p. 312; Betz and Hein 2006). In their studies of NGOs as organizations, Watkins et al. conclude that NGOs "confront a profound contradiction between the global visions of transformation that animate them and the complex, obdurate material and social realities they encounter on the ground" (Watkins et al. 2012, p. 286).

Many commentators (see e.g. the studies of Marchetti 2017; Betz and Hein 2006; Hanisch 2004; Reimann 2005) challenge the general assumption that NGOs are in a position to advocate for the interests of underprivileged groups in developing countries effectively. At the same time, they question whether the enormous amounts of public funds invested in NGOs are justified, considering the effectiveness of their work. Some commentators also question the integrity of many NGOs and doubt that their work is of any benefit to the target groups concerned.

There is no lack of evidence of corruption, mismanagement of funds and brief-case NGOs in the aid arena. Local NGOs have been accused of failing to distribute the development aid granted to those who genuinely need it. Instead, it may be hijacked by well-established elites. Such incidents lead critical observers to see NGOs as perpetuating existing systems of neopatrimonialism in poor communities. In this regard, some authors - for example Chabal and Daloz (1999, p. 22) - generally assume that the proliferation of NGOs in developing countries "is rather the reflection of a successful adaptation to the conditions laid down by

[17] The topic of volunteering in children's home will be taken up again in the next chapter. Overall, many types of NGOs are frequently staffed with young and enthusiastic people, who are dedicated to making a difference on a voluntary basis. Yet volunteerism can also be a critical topic, as these staff members are often amateurs with less skills who tend to lose their enthusiasm over time (Wuyts et al. 1992, p. 134; Chabal and Daloz 1999, p. 22-24).

foreign donors on the part of local political actors who seek this way to gain access to new resources" (See also Watkins and Swidler 2013).

In their study of 'development NGOs as organizations', Watkins et al. (2012, p. 286) highlight that "NGOs and their donors are organizations, and much of what is distinctive about them as organizations derives from the special uncertainties they face (…) due to the environments in which they operate, the goals they pursue, and the social and material technologies they employ". They conclude that 'altruism from afar' is characterized by the uncertainties deriving from the fact that agendas and progress reports are transported via long aid chains of different NGOs, which each have their own interests. Such 'principal-agent' problems are exacerbated by geographic, social, and cultural differences, which eventually make the actual implementation of agendas on the ground largely uncontrollable. Consequently, donors have to handle concerns about the trustworthiness of the actors whom they entrust with their funds and the implementation of their missions.

2.1.2.3. Trading resources: The power of funds and legitimacy

The context introduced in the previous sections indicates the trade of the resources, 'funds' and 'legitimacy', between the different types of NGOs. On the one hand, the general power of funds creates an obvious key dynamic among NGOs. Those NGOs depending on external funding adapt to the interests and conditions of those dispensing funds. Various scholars have studied the interdependencies between donors and NGOs and generally agree that the influence of donors is fundamental (Burchardt 2013; Watkins et al. 2012; Ebrahim 2003).[18]

Donors have direct and indirect key impacts on the structure, decision-making and adopted approaches of the NGOs that they fund (Berkovitch and Gordon 2008, p. 884). However, donor organizations are also institutions "and as such they both influence and are influenced by their environment" (ibid 2008, p. 891), which results in different norms and ideas being transported to local service-providers, depending on the background of the donor.

On the other hand, donor NGOs also have needs. As stressed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983, p. 150), "organizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy, for social and economic fitness." Donor NGOs depend on the association with the successes of local, service-providing NGOs in order to be legitimate

[18] For a summary of studies, see also Berkovitch and Gordon (2008, p. 883).

(Ebrahim 2003). To demonstrate their legitimacy, donor NGOs need the successes and results of their local partner NGOs to be displayed – preferably within a short turnaround time. This gives local NGOs an "incentive to make bold claims about what their programs can achieve" (Watkins et al. 2012, p. 297).

However, unreliable partners ultimately threaten the legitimacy on which donor NGOs depend. Realities and concerns regarding unreliable and/or unethical partners create an unsettling sense of uncertainty to the idea of 'altruism from afar' (see previous section).

In the light of the above, donors typically strive to control their partners with rigid rules on staff and overhead funding, short-term project funding, a focus on observable outcomes, such as buildings, food, or school equipment, and high demands in terms of reporting. NGOs dependent on funds have to deal with donors who often have fickle ideas (in line with changing fashions in their field), may make heavy reporting demands and/or show a preference for funding less needed line items while also dealing with the insecurities and other limitations of short-term contracts.[19]

A common tactic that NGOs use to control these risks is diversification: firstly, diversification in terms of finding multiple donors instead of depending on a single donor. The price for this is that the task of meeting donors' expectations becomes even more demanding as these become multiple and different. This can take up so much organizational capacity that the

[19] The issue of legitimacy as well as measuring and displaying results in the NGO arena is a widely debated topic. Different NGO types have different goals and apply different techniques in their effort to reach them. Such techniques are more or less measurable. For example, what Watkins et al. (2012, p. 301) point out to be most used by development NGOs and termed the 'talking technology' - typically framed in the form of trainings, workshops, meetings, and conferences - is typically measured in numbers of activities and participants reached. Counting to demonstrate successes works for all NGO types involved, but "there is little ability, and little incentive, to verify the link between things counted and outcomes that matter". Typical regular reports to donors contain these numbers in combination with testimonials and success stories and are accentuated with actual visits by donors. While this is very popular, critics argue that such reports by so-called beneficiaries can hardly be unbiased (ibid. 302). Approaches to measurement are also often questioned. E.g. Watkins et al. (2012, p. 303) maintain that - in reality - sophisticated evaluation techniques are rarely used, feasible, or unbiased. Evaluations are even assumed to "require collective creativity, as it is in no organization's interests to discover failure" (…) and legitimacy may be based "more on a belief in value-driven organizations than on actual monitoring and assessment of their accomplishments" (ibid. 301, Ebrahim 2003, p. 813. This is in line with the concept put forward by the literature on world society (Meyer et al. 1997), which was also pointed out in the section on the topic of 'decoupling'. Meyer et al. argue that the legitimacy of NGOs does not actually derive from their attainment of goals – in fact they even argue that this is not expected. Instead, it derives from reflecting global policy agendas and world cultural models (ibid. 294).

focus on being sensitive to the actual target group may fall off the radar. In this regard, many scholars agree that NGOs are more accountable to their donors than to their beneficiaries. The second kind of diversification occurs in terms of programs and approaches in order to be able to change course quickly in line with donor fashions (Watkins et al. 2012, p. 300). The popular 'technology of talk' is also adjustable to new donor fashions. Mannell 2014, p. 4) summarizes further tactics as "using policy to appeal to donors, merging (the fashioned issues) with better resourced programs, and redirecting funding allocations".

The co-dependency between donor NGOs and local service provider NGOs (and intermediary NGOs in between) can drive meaningful and progressive processes of learning – from top to bottom as well as from bottom to top (Ebrahim 2003, p. 1 ff.). Yet it may also lead to less productive opportunism on both sides which impedes learning. In this case, the approaches promoted by donors are either not compliant or contrary to good practice standards, or the attempts of local NGOs to implement good practice standards are disingenuous. Indeed, a vicious circle may arise if local NGOs adapt to preferences or conditions of donors which do not reflect good practice standards in that particular field. For example, it may be popular among some funders to support NGOs which portray themselves as helping people who are "poor, helpless and have problems which they cannot solve without external support" (Crewe and Harrison 1998, pp. 191-192). Although this is contradictory to modern ideas of empowerment, the local NGO may – in return for generous funding - promote a desirable image of the donors, who enables their work on this 'worthy cause'.

2.1.2.4. The norm localization approach: Logic and critique

Norm localization research came about when a new stream of scholars started challenging the idea of norms as stable and unambiguous (Van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007, p. 221), with their diffusion as linear processes resulting from asymmetric interaction of transnational actors (Zimmermann 2017, p. 39). They have also criticized the one-dimensional focus on the role of norm promoters and their strategies. Instead, they have begun to focus on the local level and the manner in which norms were received, interpreted and modified by the domestic target actors (Acharya 2004; Merry 2006; Zwingel 2012). The phenomena of norm translation, localization and contestation (see also Wiener 2014) have since received growing attention.

Broadly defined, translation describes local reactions to a new norm in a new context and has a long tradition in sociological studies. In the IR field, localization research was mainly determined by Acharya (2004), who has focused on localization as the strategic agency of local actors in linking international norms to local normative ideas and needs through a process of adaptation and modification. Scholarship in this area typically emphasizes the discrepancies between the ideas promoted by global regimes and the ideas, realities and models of local actors on which the former are typically imposed.

As these may depend upon or have an interest in the approval of their actions by global regimes, norm localization research has found that local actors may typically handle this situation by 'translating' the promoted norms in a way which aims to work both ways. "Brokers and organizations may also, however, respond creatively to unrealistic conditionality in order to make the project work in specific local circumstances" (Meyer et al. 1997, p. 295; see also Mannell 2014 and Zwingel 2012). One classic example in this regard, which falls under the topic at hand in this dissertation, is the conceptualization of 'orphaned and vulnerable children' (OVC, see Chapter 3), which was established in the aftermath of the HIV/Aids epidemic (see e.g. Watkins et al. 2012; Reynolds 2014).

Furthermore, the appropriateness of what is perceived as a legitimate global norms in particular local settings became the subject of heated discussion. Scholars have shifted the focus to the heterogeneity and non-linearity of norm adoption (and sometimes promotion), the political and societal conflict and negotiations accompanying it, and the more 'messy' outcomes somewhere between rejection and full adoption (see e.g. Zwingel 2012; Jetschke and Liese 2013; Börzel and Risse 2013). They have also called for the acceptance of norm diffusion outcomes which deviated from 'the correct way' as promoted by transnational networks but were regarded as 'locally legitimate'.

In the context of the above, some scholars give localization a normative value. They perceive localization and translation as a positive process as they make norms locally 'authentic', 'legitimate' and sustainable. Merry (2006, p. 1) argues that in order to take on meaning, norms have to be "remade in the vernacular".

However, Zimmermann emphasizes that "translation processes are inevitably shaped by power and interest" and, depending on the nature of these factors, accounts of both can be identified: cases where they lead to positive outcomes, such as 'fairer and more accountable politics,' and cases where the contrary is true. Localization should therefore not be

romanticized. It would require a set of normative standards to determine whether specific translations are "good" or "bad" (Zimmermann 2016, pp. 50-51).

At the same time, outcomes of translation are also often contradictory and contested within local spaces. In the light of this tension, scholars have raised the question who the intended target of internalization should be. A norm can become stipulated as 'the right or normal thing to do' on the collective level of the state, but on a political and societal level such homogeneity is unrealistic and potentially undemocratic. It has been highlighted that norms are hardly stable and agreed on by a broader public; instead, any norm will be negotiated and contested in political discussions by different actors and groups of a society. Norms are thus constantly changing and adjusting as they are under a constant process of interpretation and contestation (see also Hurrell and MacDonald 2013).

While the localization approach has added a whole new dimension to norm diffusion research, it is still perceived as broad and in need of further specification and development. This approach has also been critiqued as one-sided because it privileges domestic factors. However, the domestic factors are then often used to determine the way a norm is adopted, which thus eventually resembles the logic of socialization research (Zimmermann 2016, p. 105; Risse 2017, p. 14). [20]

[20] For a detailed critique see Zimmermann 2017, p. 44.

2.1.2.5. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has introduced the ‘norm localization’ approach which has arisen as a counter stream to the ‘norm socialization’ approach which was discussed in the prior sub-chapter. Norm localization research has turned the focus to the reception, modification and contestation of diffusing norms at the local level. To set the context for the complex and multi-dimensional dynamics characterizing localization, the sub-chapter started off by highlighting the diversity of actors within the sphere of transnational civil society.

Furthermore, critiques of civil society and NGOs have been highlighted. These typically relate to common funding dynamics in the NGO context. For example, there is a typical trade of funds and legitimacy. While NGOs dependent on external funding adapt to their (potential) donors, donor NGOs depend on the association with the successes of service-providing NGOs in order to be legitimate. Consequently, donor NGOs typically use funding conditionality to influence and control their partners, while funding-dependent NGOs may adjust, translate, and localize the conditions in a way which is workable for them.

2.2. What shapes outcomes on the ground? The established concepts

After providing a general overview of the developments and approaches of norm diffusion research, this second part of the chapter looks in more detail at the established concepts on the factors and dynamics which shape norm diffusion outcomes on the ground.

As pointed out in 2.1.1, norm socialization literature commonly looks at the outcomes of norm diffusion as a result of the strategies used to promote them and the domestic conditions 'filtering' them.[21] The common theory is that the effectiveness of the norm promotion strategies employed by norm entrepreneurs depends on two factors: The state of local filters and the norm entrepreneur's ability to work around any obstacles in the context of these filters. Norm localization scholarship added the strategic agency of local actors in translating new norms into a local context.

Another commonly used approach to examining what drives norm diffusion as a consequence of interdependence is the angle of mechanisms.[22]

In the following sub-chapter, the commonly highlighted filters, mechanisms, and strategies will be briefly introduced.

2.2.1. Two key concepts: Local filters and norm diffusion mechanisms

This sub-chapter will introduce the concepts of local filters as well as norm diffusion mechanisms. With certain exceptions, these are the typical drivers and obstacles of norm diffusion which can be classified as determined by action or reaction at the local level.

2.2.1.1. Political opportunity structure and veto players

The dimension of the political opportunity structure is typically regarded as a primary filter (Zimmermann 2016, p. 100). This concept refers to the opportunities and threats characterizing the societal and political environment in a given local context. Globalization has brought about major shifts in national and international political opportunity structures, which have impacted severely on the opportunities for transnational (as well as local) activism. Scholars concerned with the effectiveness of transnational activism commonly

[21] For an overview see e.g. Zimmermann 2016, p. 100.
[22] For an overview see e.g. Gilardi 2013, p. 9.

draw from Tarrow's description of the concept (1996, pp. 41-61) as "consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national – signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements".

Keck and Sikkink (1998, p. 7) point out that two dimensions define the domestic and the international environment that can both provide and shut down possibilities for social mobilization. These are conditions such as access to political institutions like legislatures, bureaucracies and courts, and dynamic changes in formal and informal political power relations over time. Similarly, Zimmermann (2016, p. 100) summarizes the conditions favoring local norm adoption as "a degree of societal openness; and absence of blocking factors such as strong veto players; favorable decision making structures and state-society relations; and control of the policy making process by state actors" (see also Risse 2017, pp. 266-267; Schimmelfennig 2002, pp. 14-15).

The potential blocking power of local veto players and oppositional gatekeepers is an inherent factor in the concept of political opportunity structure. This refers to any local actors with an interest in not changing the existing norms and significant power resources to hamper the adoption of new norms. Besides political actors, these might also be religious institutions, such as the church.

Another significant opportunity factor seems to be the social and material vulnerability of a state as highlighted by Risse et al. (2013, pp. 17-21). This vulnerability makes the state more open to adjust to the framing, conditionality and persuasion techniques of transnational advocacy actors. For example, small developing countries dependent on aid flows and trade benefits are likely to have a heightened interest in pleasing and belonging to the international community.

2.2.1.2. Norm resonance and preferential fit

The diffusion of a norm is commonly assumed to be dependent on the way it 'resonates' with existing norms and cultural concepts. This filter is therefore in line with the idea of a 'cultural match' or a 'normative fit' as defined by Checkel (1999, p. 97) as "a situation where the prescriptions embodied in an international norm are convergent with domestic norms, as reflected in discourse, the legal system (constitutions, judicial codes, laws) and bureaucratic agencies (organizational ethos and administrative procedures)".

If a norm is considered as potentially helpful in terms of other existing interests or desires, it can be a 'preferential fit' and strongly supported. A classic example would be cost/saving considerations or ambitions to win votes. However, Risse et al. (2013) highlight that resonance has not always been a determinant of norm diffusion. There have been cases where norms did not fit with local concepts and were nonetheless adopted.

2.2.1.3. Mechanisms: Coercion, competition, learning and emulation

Mechanisms are defined as "a systematic set of statements that provide a plausible account of how [two variables] are linked" (Hedstrom and Swedberg 1998, p. 7). Gilardi (2013, p. 9) highlights the extensive theorization on diffusion mechanisms by multiple scholars and summarizes that these mechanisms are commonly grouped in four categories: coercion, competition, learning and emulation (Dobbin et al. 2007).

The topic of ***coercion*** will be introduced in more detail in section 2.2.2.2. However, it will be mentioned here as it falls into the group of common mechanisms. This is besides the argument that the hierarchical dynamic of coercion does not, in principle, fit into the idea of diffusion as a result of horizontal interdependence (Gilardi 2013, p. 3). However, it is also noted that most of the literature includes the coercion mechanism as an integral part of norm diffusion theory. Gilardi (2013, p. 13) defines coercion as "the imposition of a policy by powerful international organizations or countries".

Competition means that "countries influence one another because they try to attract economic resources" (Gilardi 2013, p. 13).

In other words, competition is the process whereby actors react to the behavior of other actors in order to have an advantage over them in attracting or retaining limited resources. Norm diffusion scholarship has shown that competition can contribute to an increase of 'high domestic social and regulatory standards' (Gilardi 2013, p. 15. See also, for example, Greenhill et al. 2009, on labor rights). However, this effect has also been shown to often be a matter of decoupling; that is, the formal adoption of laws does not necessarily imply their actual implementation.

Learning means that "the experience of other countries can supply useful information on the likely consequences of a policy" (Gilardi 2013, p. 13).

Gilardi (2013, p. 21) explains that learning is a complex phenomenon with many facets and depends on the actor's preferences and ideologies. Classic examples would be to use information on whether the introduction of a certain policy has led to the winning or losing of votes, or whether it was able to reduce fiscal costs significantly.

The concept of learning also classically distinguishes between 'simple' and 'complex' learning. The latter implies the adoption of new beliefs and goals instead of a mere changing of the means (see e.g. Ziv 2013).

Emulation means that the normative and socially constructed characteristics of policies matter more than their objective consequences. This means that the normative and socially constructed 'appropriateness' of a matter provides it with legitimacy, whether or not the actual consequences of its implementation are favorable (Gilardi 2013).

Emulation is an 'indirect' diffusion mechanism and is commonly seen as being closely connected to the stage of 'norm cascade' in Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) 'norm life cycle' (see above).

2.2.1.4. Concluding remarks

Norm diffusion scholarship has identified multiple factors which shape norm diffusion outcomes at the local level. The main local filters, such as the political opportunity structure, veto players, norm resonance and preferential fit, determine the chances of potential adoption of a new norm. The classic types of norm diffusion mechanism, which fall into the categories of competition, learning and emulation, are further key drivers. Coercion has a special role due to its hierarchical character; while it can be used domestically, it is more commonly associated with transnational norm-entrepreneurs.

2.2.2. Transnational norm promotion strategies

The previous sub-chapter focused on drivers and obstacles of norm diffusion which shape outcomes through actions and reactions at the local level. This sub-chapter will elaborate on norm promotion strategies, which are typically applied by transnational actors. After a brief introduction of the framing, naming and shaming techniques, the topic of coercion and conditionality will be readdressed.

2.2.2.1. 'Framing', 'naming' and 'shaming'

Norm socialization research typically points to norm entrepreneurs' strategic efforts to 'frame' a norm in a way that it resonates in a specific local context. The method of framing is a classic norm socialization strategy to work around obstacles at the domestic level. By framing norms in such a way that they 'resonate' within a certain local context and with existing domestic normative ideas, domestic obstacles can potentially be overcome (Risse 2002, p. 267).

Scholars commonly refer to a definition of framing by McAdam et al. (1996) as "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, p. 3; Khagram et al. 2002, p. 12; Tarrow 2005, p. 23). 'Frames' are seen as "schemata of interpretation" (Tarrow 2005, p. 61) or "strategic social constructions" (Klandermans 1992, p. 204) that "define issues at stake and the appropriate strategies for action" (Khagram et al. 2002, p. 12). Thus, the concept of framing refers to the way in which an issue is interpreted and packaged in order to make it comprehensible and relevant to target audiences in a particular social and political context (Keck and Sikkink 1998, p. 3). Framing is commonly regarded as a difficult process, as it implies a battle with powerful ruling parties, elites and media influences over contested norms and values related to the issue at stake (Tarrow 2005, p. 62). The success of framing depends on many contextual factors.

Effective framing requires the ability of activists to convert an issue into a short and clear story that make sense of a situation for an audience, even if it is far away (Keck and Sikkink Keck and Sikkink 1998, p.16). Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) stress the effectiveness of high degrees of precision and issues provoking public outrage. For example, issues will raise strong emotions if they involve bodily harm to individuals who are perceived as vulnerable or innocent. If the issue can be assigned to the intentional action of identifiable actors, it can

be framed more effectively. This also implies that advocacy issues depend on the degree to which they are amenable to solution.

Conversely, issues which are structurally entrenched in most societies, such as poverty, inequality, or patriarchy, are unlikely to attract attention unless they are reframed in a more acute context. An issue needs to be "perceived as an acute problem and there must be an easy solution available to tackle that problem" (see Keck and Sikkink, 1998, pp. 2-3, 8 and Zimmermann 2017, p. 34)

2.2.2.2. Conditionality and persuasion

The topic of coercion was already pointed out as one of the typical norm diffusion mechanisms. This section further elaborates on coercion and persuasion as norm promotion strategies. Coercion and persuasion refer to the strategies, which use incentives and sanctions to either pressure or persuade target actors to conform in line with general cost/benefit considerations. These may be material, political or social (see also Rosert 2012, p. 611). All of these strategies require the possession of adequate power resources and are typically used by resource-strong international organizations or countries. Conditionality is the most common form of coercion and typically relates to funding or other incentives or benefits. The funding of the Bretton Woods organizations tied to neoliberal economic reform, as well as EU integration politics, are classic examples in this regard. (Gilardi 2013, p. 13)

In terms of access to funding, the influence of transnational donors and funding dynamics in driving global norms to local contexts has been pointed out and studied by various scholars (see e.g. Burchardt 2013; Watkins et al. 2012; Berkovitch and Gordon 2008; Ebrahim 2003). The access to funds can be tied to the transfer of knowledge by 'experts' and/or the adoption of 'modern' approaches and standards. For example, in the field of development cooperation, the integration of modern concepts such as Participation, Empowerment or Gender, have become widespread standards.

In terms of the context of EU membership, many of the studies by 'second-generation' norm socialization scholars (see above) found that conditionality has proven to be the most powerful strategy to push norm adoption (Zimmermann 2017, p. 34).[23] Others question the

[23] See also Schimmelfennig et al. 2006 with respect to the special case of EU enlargement.

power of conditionality because it may result in law adoption, but say little about actual implementation (Zimmermann 2017, p. 34; Magen and Morolino 2009).

Another example of coercion and persuasion strategies would be the use of praising and shaming techniques, which cause political and/or social pressure. These strategies are typically used by civil society actors. Civil society actors are usually perceived as relatively weak actors in global politics because they typically hold considerably less financial and other power resources than states or international governmental organizations. Nonetheless, they have used discursive tactics and strategies to gain leverage over much more powerful target actors. For example, Bartsch and Kohlmorgen (2007) introduce the concept of 'discursive power' which can be used to frame and influence discourses and norms, which define appropriate strategies for action and programmatic approaches. All types of NGOs are hence prone to adapt to these discourses out of a desire to maintain a good reputation and image, which may also determine their access to funds or their conditions for dispensing funds.

2.2.2.3. Indirect conditionality

The power of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) is another discursive but indirect form of conditionality. Organizations adapt to the institutional conditions and structures of their environments, which often leads to a growing homogeneity among actors within the same field. In line with this and the concept of diffusion, Burchardt (2013, p. 37) argues that "the rise of civil society (was) the preeminent political construct shaping the discourses, institutions and practices through which relationships and interactions between Northern donors and African recipients would be structured".

Donors promote a discourse of certain formalized and professionalized templates and models of development practice which is adopted by the local actors who become involved in - or drawn into - the institutional webs, networks and resource flows of development and humanitarian aid (ibid.). Efforts to adapt are commonly driven by the aim to qualify for funding and thus comply with the "highly standardized procedures of application, project management and reporting" as well as "the rhetoric and buzzwords of secular development discourses" in order to appeal to the agendas of possible donors (ibid: 41; Watkins et al. 2012, p. 293; Ebrahim 2003, p. 39; Martens 2006, p. 373). The spread of modern concepts

such as participation, gender and sustainability are common examples of the latter and each of these has also been questioned in critical debates on development aid.

This adaptation is assumed to be essential for an NGO to gain recognition and support of more established NGOs (Martens 2006, pp. 373 ff.). It relates to the identified drive for external presentation but adds the dimension of the manner of activity and interaction to the dimension of programmatic content. Bureaucratization implies the establishment of clearly-defined job positions and hierarchies. In terms of the above, Martens (2006, p. 375) points out that "professionalization (…) has two meanings: on one hand, it refers to the making of a profession out of a previously voluntary position and, on the other hand, it implies that staff are recruited on the basis of educational qualifications" rather than being selected for their ideological commitment to the cause of the NGO.

Depending on the angle of perspective, these processes of 'professionalization' can be seen as a strengthening and a weakening of NGOs. Research findings suggest that professionalization may prove to be a hindrance for a NGO to live up to the expectations it was originally called for; namely, being close to the 'local' population and thus being able to ensure a more participatory, decentralized development process (Martens 2006, pp. 373 ff.; Ebrahim 2003, p. 49). Martens (2006, p. 374) cites that institutionalization often implies that "social actors (…) (change) their goals from working for a 'good cause' to preserving themselves".

2.2.2.4. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has focused on established norm promotion strategies. These are typically applied by transnational advocacy networks or other norm entrepreneurs to drive local actors towards adopting the promoted norm. The strategies include framing, naming and shaming, as well as direct and indirect coercion and persuasion. In this context, discursive power can become a substantial resource.

However, the eventual success of the strategies depends on many factors. One critical point is that norm entrepreneurs may achieve the adoption of a norm into law, but this may mean little when it comes to the level of implementation. In this regard, the concept of 'decoupling' has become prominent. This will be discussed in the following sub-chapter.

2.2.3. Research gaps: Understanding outcomes at the local level

As the debate on norm diffusion has progressed, scholars have called for a shift of focus to the remaining gaps in understanding the multi-dimensional dynamics and realities inherent in and shaping norm diffusion outcomes. These will be elaborated on in this sub-chapter.
Regarding the overall state of norm diffusion research, Gilardi (2013) concludes that extensive empirical evidence has been gathered to prove the hypothesis that norms do, in fact, diffuse. Domestic policy decisions and local practices are often influenced by the ideas, norms, policies and practices prevalent in other countries or promoted by international regimes (Dobbin et al. 2007). Beyond this, various scholars have studied the causes of norm diffusion and the strategies to promote them, but findings on this level are becoming less clear.

Moving on to the outcomes and thus 'effectiveness' of norm diffusion at the local level, the findings have been regarded as 'underspecified', underdeveloped and lagging empirical evidence and in-depth assessments (Gilardi 2013, pp. 28-29 ; Zimmermann 2017, pp. 33-38; Risse 2017, p. 14). This sub-chapter will explore these remaining research gaps on norm diffusion outcomes. It will start off with the developments in understanding norm diffusion outcomes and elaborate on recent approaches to their further assessment.

2.2.3.1. Evolving concepts on outcomes: 'Partial compliance' and 'Decoupling'

As indicated in line with introducing the norm socialization approach, norm diffusion outcomes were classically regarded as degrees of adoption on a linear scale between rejection/resistance and full adoption/compliance. Over time, scholars became increasingly interested in studying and understanding the possible outcomes of norm diffusion between these poles (Risse et al. 2013; Magen and Morolino 2009, p. 39). The concepts of 'localization' and 'translation' were discussed in the previous sub-chapter. Furthermore, newer scholarship has introduced concepts such as 'partial compliance' (Noutcheva 2009) or 'incomplete internalization' (Goodman and Jinks 2008) of norms.

Another concept which has become highly prominent in norm diffusion research in recent years is referred to as 'decoupling'. This concept builds on the work of Meyer et al. (1997) and their 'world polity theory'. This theory highlights that the rhetorical adoption of norms is a societal dynamic which is separate from the actual attainment of goals on the

implementation level.[24] Accordingly, in norm diffusion research, decoupling refers to cases which show significant disparities between adopted policy and actual practice on the ground (Schmitz and Sikkink 2013, p. 836).

Typically, decoupling was found to be due to capacity problems rather than actual resistance. In developing countries in particular, states have adopted certain norms to gain legitimacy, resources, or merely to 'fit in', but their capacity to implement these norms has been far from what was needed to implement them effectively (Börzel and Risse 2013; Drori 2003). To overcome decoupling, Börzel and Risse (2013, p. 83) suggest capacity building and strengthening of state institutions and/or the domestic and/or transnational NGO sector as a main strategy, along with the use of conditionality and transnational campaigning.

Magen and Morolino (2009) point out that compliance as a result of conditionality may actually promote fake compliance and 'decoupling'. Zimmermann agrees with this proposition and questions the power of conditionality, highlighting that actual implementation requires a level of commitment and capacity which is beyond what conditionality can achieve. However, she contends that research in this regard is scarce, especially beyond EU borders (Zimmermann 2017, p. 34).

2.2.3.2. Three remaining gaps and shortfalls: Understanding the details

While newer theory recognizes more ambiguous outcomes, such as the localization or the 'decoupling' of adopted norms and actual practice, three gaps are highlighted in most recent publications:

Firstly, scholars have identified a lack of analytical differentiation between the various different subtypes of norm translation outcomes at the level of the target locality. (Risse 2017, Zimmermann 2017, Gilardi 2013). To address this, Zimmermann (2017) has proposed analyzing norm translation processes by differentiating translation into discourse, law, and implementation.

Usually, norm diffusion studies have focused on the level of the state and the adoption of policies, which only implies an assessment of a norm's 'translation into law'. However, a

[24] They argue that reflecting global policy agendas and world cultural models through rhetorical adoption gains the actors legitimacy – the actual attainment in terms of these of these goals on the ground is not important in this equation (Meyer et al. 1997, p. 294).

detailed understanding of the 'translation into implementation' level requires a more detailed assessment. Zimmermann understands this level as the translation of (global) standards into policies, the creation of institutions and the enforcement of rules.

Secondly, and related to the first point, scholars have emphasized the continued lack of qualitative, in-depth, empirical insights on actual norm translation outcomes. For example, Gilardi (2013, pp. 28-29) points out that there has been a lot of theorization in the field of norm diffusion but lagging empirical measurement. He calls for a better integration of qualitative and quantitative data and assessments beyond "standard dependent variables such as democracy scores, policy levels and adoptions".

Risse (2017, p. 14) agrees and adds a focus on causes:

> We still know little about processes of international norm diffusion and their transformation in domestic practices. (...) Translation studies tend to be rather underspecified with regard to the scope conditions of norm adoption and transformation. Which diffusion mechanisms lead to which outcomes? Is it all a question of domestic and international power and/or of setting the right incentives for instrumentally rational actors? What role do socialization, persuasion, and communicative action play? Do regime type and degrees of (limited) statehood matter, and in what way? To what extent do diffusion processes vary with regard to issue-areas (e.g. human rights, environment, security, economy, etc.)? The journey continues.

Thirdly, and building further on the previous points, Zimmermann (2017, p. 36) suggests that particular attention should be paid to micro-level processes and the reactions of socialization targets on the ground.

> One general observation that can be made in relation to this research on scope conditions is that more attention needs to be paid to attendant micro-processes and that there is too great a focus on unidirectional causal arrows from socialiser to socialisee (...). In general, the targets do not 'talk back'. All the conditions mentioned are clearly of importance. However, their effect on the ground, the reaction they elicit from targets (...), these issues remain empirically underexplored.

2.2.3.3. Interaction between the global and the local: Towards 'norm appropriation'

In the context of the above section, another central point of Zimmermann's work is to highlight the lack of recognition of interactive processes between actors at the global and the local level. She emphasizes the limitations of all existing approaches when it comes to understanding the key role of such processes in shaping norm diffusion outcomes. Proposing a concept of 'norm appropriation', she argues that successful norm diffusion is and should be the result of an interactive process in which local actors and norm promoters contest the best possible solutions in a 'Habermasian-style' communication approach (Zimmermann

2017, p. 33). Ideally, this leads to appropriate outcomes and genuine buy-in at the local level. It also integrates the highly interactive element of norm translation which involves various transnational and domestic actor groups that "contest, interpret, and translate norms" (Zimmermann 2017, p. 30; see also Zwingel 2012, p. 116). Zimmermann (2016, p. 111) further argues that this approach provides a solution to the linearity problem inherent to norm socialization approaches.

> This approach also overcomes the linearity problem of norm socialization approaches. First, it expects full rejection and full adoption to be the exception and not the rule. In addition, different subtypes of translation cannot and should not be ranked in the logic of more or less diffusion. Rather, they often present different, new, and perhaps even creative deviations.

2.2.3.4. Concluding remarks

Traditional scholarship on the 'effectiveness' of norm diffusion processes at the local level has produced both, classic and newer concepts of potential outcomes. While classic theory mainly distinguishes compliance and rejection, newer theory recognizes more ambiguous outcomes such as decoupling or localization. However, scholars still find these concepts to be limited in capturing the complexity of possible norm diffusion and translation outcomes.

In summary, three main gaps were emphasized: 1) A lacking analytical differentiation of different subtypes of norm translation outcomes. 2) A lack in understanding micro-level processes and the reactions of socialization targets on the ground. 3) A continued lack of qualitative, in-depth, empirical insights into the processes which shape norm translation outcomes, especially beyond European Union borders. This includes a critical gap in recognizing the role of interactive processes between the global and the local sphere.

This study offers a contribution within the context of these three research gaps.

2.3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter introduced norm diffusion theory as the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. It has presented the 'state of the art' based on a review of the norm diffusion literature and has concluded by clarifying how this study fits in with recent efforts to better understand two questions: 1) What are the actual outcomes of norm translation processes at the implementation level of the target locality? 2) What shapes these outcomes on the ground? These questions will also be introduced as central research questions in the presentation of the research design (Chapter 4).

This chapter has also defined the theoretical framework for the further exploration of these questions in the case study which follows. The theoretical framework is based on the three main explanations offered by norm diffusion theory to explain the diffusion of norms and the shaping of outcomes on the ground: 1) transnational influences, such as norm promotion by advocacy networks and other civil society dynamics; 2) domestic filters, such as powers and inefficiencies of the state, political and cultural norm resonance and veto players; and 3) further norm diffusion mechanisms, such as competition, learning and emulation.

In general, the recent work and reviews of Gilardi (2013), Zimmermann (2017), Risse (2017) and Rosert (2012) were highlighted as key pieces of literature for understanding the development of the norm diffusion debate to date. The emergence of norm diffusion research in the IR discipline was located in relation to three developments: 1) The turn towards a constructivist approach, 2) a restructured system of world politics and the rise of a transnational civil society and NGOs, 3) the boom of research on transnational civil society and NGOs.

The discussion here has also underlined how the study of norms and their diffusion is closely interlinked with the rise of transnational civil society, its actor types and their interdependence, interaction, funding dynamics and characteristics. The first sub-chapter described how the classic approach of 'norm socialization research' developed in this context was ignited by Keck and Sikkink's (1998) ground-breaking study on transnational advocacy networks and their emergence as potentially powerful norm entrepreneurs and norm leaders. These networks are usually in ethical accordance with modern ideas of human rights or the values of democracy.

Over time, norm socialization scholarship has developed the classic norm diffusion models and established the understanding of norm diffusion strategies, mechanisms and 'local filters' which inform the theoretical framework of this study. In this classic approach, 'effectiveness' is understood as the extent to which so-called 'correct' global norms are eventually 'internalized' locally, in spite of the potential existence of what is commonly referred to as 'local filters'. These are the factors that determine what drives and what hampers the diffusion of a norm in a specific local context. Common conceptualizations include 'political opportunity structures', 'veto players', 'norm resonance', and 'preferential fit'.

However, norm entrepreneurs can counter obstacles at the local level with norm promotion strategies, such as framing, coercion or persuasion to get the process back on track. Direct and indirect funding conditionality plays a main role in this regard. In this context, the second sub-chapter provided a section on the diversity and multi-faceted nature of civil society action in the context of norm diffusion (Boesenecker and Vinjamuri 2011). The diverse actors, which can partly be distinguished as common types, are shaped by diverse perceptual frames and world views (Ebrahim 2003) and engage, interact and collaborate in a complex system of funding dynamics, adaptation and learning based on each actor's interests, beliefs and needs. It was demonstrated how all of these factors impact upon the ways in which norms are eventually contested, promoted, received and translated.

This set the frame for the introduction of the more recent 'norm localization' approach, which started to critique the classic 'norm socialization' logic and its idea of a unidirectional and unambiguous norm socializing process from the global to the local level (see Zimmermann 2017). Instead, it turned the focus to the contestation, translation, and localization of norms at the local level (see e.g. Acharya 2004; Wiener 2014; Zwingel 2012; Jetschke and Liese 2013; Boerzel and Risse 2009). This approach has highlighted the multi-dimensional nature of norm adaptation processes which is far more 'messy', complex and contested than it is linear. This applies in the same way to norm promotion processes.

Scholars have thus put the legitimacy of global norms into question and started making a case that norms should be 'locally legitimate' (Merry 2006). While the localization approach advanced norm diffusion research in fundamental ways, it has also been critiqued as being too broad and one-sided in privileging domestic factors (see e.g. Risse 2017).

A new approach of ‘norm appropriation’ has been advanced most recently by Zimmermann (2017) and aims to shift the focus away from the either global or local dominance. Instead, it is argued that legitimate and realistic processes of norm translation derive from negotiation processes in an interactive sphere between ‘the global’ and ‘the local’.

As the debate on norm diffusion progresses, the immense complexity and multi-faceted nature inherent in norm diffusion processes is increasingly being recognized. In this context, the third sub-chapter focused on the remaining challenges and gaps in norm diffusion research. Scholars emphasize that neither norm socialization nor norm localization has been adequate in capturing the heterogeneity and non-linearity of norm translation outcomes on the ground. To address this, Zimmermann (2017) has proposed to analyze norm translation processes by differentiating translation into discourse, law and implementation.

While newer theory recognizes more ambiguous outcomes, such as the ‘localization’, or the ‘decoupling’ of adopted norms and actual practice, there is still very little empirical exploration and qualitative insight paying particular attention to micro-level processes and the reactions of socialization targets at the implementation level.

The following two chapters will lay out how this dissertation is designed to contribute to the remaining gaps in understanding norm translation outcomes as identified in the literature. Chapter 3 will set the context by introducing the specific norm at hand in this study and what this example tells us about norm diffusion processes and outcomes. Thereafter, Chapter 4 will introduce the overall research design. The chapters have been arranged in this particular order because the context and insights presented in Chapter 3 are essential to understanding the development of the research design.

3. The ‘Deinstitutionalization’ example

This chapter will introduce the ‘deinstitutionalization movement’ as a specific case example of an international norm diffusion process. The three aims of the elaborations in this chapter can be summarized as follows: 1) To explore the multiple facets of norm diffusion outcomes based on an empirical instance’ which is exemplary in demonstrating the immense complexity and multi-dimensional nature inherent in norm diffusion realities. 2) To assess which further insights this widely understudied example can contribute in order that these can be considered in the establishment of hypotheses in the following chapter. 3) To introduce the very topic from which the case study performed in this dissertation stems. In Chapter 4 this will be conceptualized as ‘the global dimension’ of the three-dimensional case analysis.[25] The global dimension will set the contextual frame for the further analysis of ‘the national dimension’ (Chapter 5) as well as the subsequent empirical-analytical, micro-level assessment on ‘the local dimension’ of Cape Town’s children’s homes sector (Chapter 6/7).

The chapter will be split in two parts. The first part will provide a general introduction of the subject at hand: The internationally promoted ‘deinstitutionalization’ (DI) of alternative care services for children. Put simply, this means that the use of children’s homes - which was traditionally regarded as a norm – began to be seen as an inappropriate and least favorable care option for children of which the use should be minimized. An overview of the common terminology and concepts in the field will be followed by a summary of relevant historical developments in the context of children’s homes, the child welfare sector and the DI topic.

Building on the first part of the chapter, the second part will reflect upon the DI movement in the light of the introduced norm diffusion theory as introduced in Chapter 2. It will be presented how the work of a growing transnational advocacy network for children’s rights has generated a global DI movement that clearly reflects the logic and concepts of the norm socialization approach. Thereafter, this part will elaborate on the multiple and controversial findings regarding the successes and challenges of DI promotion and diffusion. These include a variety of co-existing and competing norms, interests and dynamics on the transnational and the local level. Furthermore, the findings reveal various critical aspects in

[25] Section 4.3.1.1 points out the literature review and interviews/background talks on which this analysis is based.

terms of global DI promotion which - interestingly fitting with the above - clearly reflect the logic and concepts of the norm localization approach.

Overall, the chapter demonstrates that this case example fits in quite precisely with the theoretical concepts of norm diffusion. Beyond that it shows that outcomes on the implementation level can be multi-faceted and ambivalent.

3.1. A brief context introduction: The field of 'alternative care' for children

The 'alternative care' of children is an established field in the international children's rights sector around UNICEF and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). It refers to the care provision for children who are not – or cannot remain (often for their own safety) - under the custody of their parents or other primary caregivers and are therefore in need of special protection and alternative care arrangements. While extended family and foster care have also been established options, children's homes have been the dominant concept in many world regions for a long time. This is also based on the circumstance that children's homes were traditionally mainly a faith-based welfare endeavor.

Welfare provision for children, particularly the orphaned and vulnerable, was a common approach on the part of Christian missionary workers, who provided schools, nurseries, orphanages and medical care to children in the Global South. Indeed, cross-border activism in the child welfare sector may even be found to date back to the very roots of what is now regarded a global civil society (Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 8).

However, over the course of the 20st century a substantial amount of research, evidence and experience was gathered which showed the major risks and pitfalls of so-called child 'institutionalization'. Chapter 4 will include a section elaborating upon this question in some detail. It is also important to note that the DI movement in the child welfare field falls into a broader change of normative discourse in terms of all groups who were traditionally placed in institutions.[26] In line with new principles of normalization and integration, family and

[26] For example, this includes the aged of people with physical or mental disabilities. See e.g. Townsend 1962; Goffman 1968. For an overview see (Babington 2015). Goffman (1968, p. 16) coined the term "'total' institutions to describe places, such as orphanages, prisons and monasteries, that were largely or completely sequestered from the outside world and were inherently inward-looking and isolating for inmates and workers alike".

community settings in combination with support services have become the ideal notion of caring for all of these groups (Chenoweth 2000, p. 82; Dear and Wolch 1987, p. 14).

In the following sub-section, the key terms, concepts and historical developments in the field will be introduced. Overall, the term 'alternative care' has become the most established term in the children's rights sector around UNICEF and the UNCRC. This is also related to the endorsement of the field-specific ***'UN Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children'*** (UN Guidelines) in 2009, in line with the 20st anniversary of the UNCRC.

These UN Guidelines were a breakthrough in the field as they provide international standards for the protection of children in need of alternative care, which were regarded as long overdue. At the same time, the principles stipulated in the UN Guidelines provide a basic agreement of the diverse actors in the international child protection sector when it comes to the long-standing debate on the role of children's homes.[27] They stipulate:

> While recognizing that residential care facilities and family-based care complement each other in meeting the needs of children, where large residential care facilities (institutions) remain, alternatives should be developed in the context of an overall deinstitutionalization strategy, with precise goals and objectives, which will allow for their progressive elimination. To this end, States should establish care standards to ensure the quality and conditions that are conducive to the child's development (…). Decisions regarding the establishment of, or permission to establish, new residential care facilities, whether public or private, should take full account of this deinstitutionalization objective and strategy. (UN Guidelines 2010, p. 5)

However, the debate on how to interpret and implement DI is ongoing and will be discussed in this chapter.[28] Recent literature reviews on the topic were provided by Dozier et al. (2012) and Babington (2015).[29]

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[27] They stipulate the 'necessity' and the 'suitability' principle, which CELCIS summarizes as: Children must never be placed in alternative care unnecessarily (necessity), and where out-of-home care must be provided it should be appropriate to each child's specific needs, circumstances and best interests (suitability). When considering different options, 'family and community-based' care should be prioritized, but residential homes – provided they meet certain standards - are seen as a complementary response for children whose needs are best served by this form of care (Cantwell et al. 2013, p. 14).

[28] The field-specific literature typically highlights a dearth of reliable data, research and literature on children's homes, especially in the Global South (see e.g. Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 424; Frimpong-Manso 2014). While the phenomenon has been studied to a certain extent in the Global North since the last century, systematic research and literature on the same topic in the Global South has often been noted to be scarce and sketchy. Most of the existing academic and grey literature derives from the fields of social work, childhood development, psychology and medicine and also discusses the risks of residential care (Babington 2015, p. 22.)

[29] Further balanced overviews of the topic are provided by Williamson and Greenberg (2010), Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2014); Cantwell et al. (2013).

3.1.1. Key terminology and concepts

This section will briefly introduce the key terms in the context of the case example at hand. It will show that there are several established terms and concepts regarding the phenomenon of children's homes and the group of children for whom these homes cater.

3.1.1.1. 'Children's homes' and 'residential/institutional care'

Considering different audiences, this dissertation mainly uses the more colloquial term ***'children's homes'*** (sometimes abbreviated as 'homes') to refer to what academics and experts in the field commonly refer to as ***'residential care'*** and ***'institutional care'***. 'Children's homes' also used to be the official term in South Africa to refer to residential facilities for children, defined as: "Any residence or home maintained for the reception, protection, care[30] and bringing-up of more than six children apart from their parents, but does not include any industries or reform school" (South African Child Care Act 1983 1.1).

The term ***residential care*** is most common in the field-specific literature. Many scholars have followed the definition provided by David Tolfree. In his work 'Roofs and Roots - The Care of Separated Children in the Developing World' (1995), he defines residential care as

[30] All types of literature concerned with children's homes make use of the term 'care' and different forms of or approaches to 'care'. The South African Child Care Act of 1993 provides a comprehensive definition of the term. 'Care', "in relation to a child, includes, where appropriate- within available means, providing the child with- a) a suitable place to live; living conditions that are conducive to the child's health, well-being and development; and the necessary financial support; b) safeguarding and promoting the well-being of the child c) protecting the child from maltreatment, abuse, neglect, degradation, discrimination, exploitation and any other physical, emotional or moral harm or hazards; d) respecting, protecting, promoting and securing the fulfilment of, and guarding against any infringement of, the child's rights set out in the Bill of Rights and the principles set out in Chapter 2 of this Act; e) guiding, directing and securing the child's education and upbringing, including religious and cultural education and upbringing, in a manner appropriate to the child's age, maturity and stage of development; guiding, advising and assisting the child in decisions to be taken by the child in a manner appropriate to the child's age, maturity and stage of development f) guiding the behavior of the child in a humane manner g) maintaining a sound relationship with the child; h) accommodating any special needs that the child may have; and
i) generally, ensuring that the best interests of the child is the paramount concern in all matters affecting the child; Furthermore, the term 'care-giver', "means any person other than a parent or guardian, who factually cares for a child and includes- a foster parent; a person who cares for a child with the implied or express consent of a parent or guardian of the child; a person who cares for a child whilst the child is in temporary safe care; the person at the head of a child and youth care center where a child has been placed; the person at the head of a shelter; a child and youth care worker who cares for a child who is without appropriate family care in the community; and the child at the head of a child-headed household."

“group living arrangements for children in which care is provided by remunerated adults who would not be regarded as traditional carers within the wider society". Similarly, another common definition, provided by Dunn et al. (2007, p. 1), and defines residential care as “organized and deliberate structure to the living arrangements for children and describes a professional relationship between the adults and the children rather than one that is parental”.

While these definitions focus on the internal structural features of residential care, Desmond and Gow’s (2002, p. 451) description of residential care in South Africa highlights another important aspect. In their typology of six different ‘approaches to care’ they describe residential care as “care for children who are abandoned, abused, and have no family that can care for them. In some cases the children are even placed in these homes by court order”. Hence, they “provide housing that is often outside the child’s community of origin”

The terms residential and institutional care are most common and will also be used in specific contexts in this study. These terms have often been used interchangeably, although in the context of DI, institutional care has connoted a more ‘negative’ meaning. While there is no common definition of “institutional care” (Costa 2016, p. 43), the term ‘institutionalization’ refers especially to this notion of ‘institutional’ care as determined by an ‘institutional culture’. This implies a disproportionate focus on institutional functioning vs. children’s individual psychological needs, along with the isolation of children from the broader community and neglect of the participation principle. It is often assumed that the larger a residential setting is, the higher is also the risk of an institutional culture (See e.g. Cantwell et al. 2013, p. 34).

Dozier et al. (2012, p. 4) adds a recognition of the vast diversity of care settings before highlighting the common features, which are of concern in the field:

> There are often large differences from one institution to another, from one unit to another within an institution, and even variability in the care individual children receive within the same grouping. Nonetheless, there are certain modal features of institutional care that have characterized these settings across countries and continents. These include generally high child to caregiver ratios; caregivers with low wages and little education or training who work rotating shifts; regimented and non-individualized care; and a lack of psychological investment in the children. (…).

3.1.1.2. Children in children's homes

The common estimation is that around 8 million children live in children's homes worldwide (Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 423). Furthermore, experts assume that app. 80% of these children have at least one parent or other traceable relatives alive (Better Care Network and UNICEF 2015; Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 13).

To describe the population group of children who may live in children's homes, the terms ***'children without parental care'*** and ***'children in need of care'*** have been common. 'Children without parental care' are defined by UNICEF and International Social Service (2004) as: "All children not living with their parents, for whatever reason and in whatever circumstances". The reasons for children being without parental care are multiple and complex. The following table provides a brief overview of the factors commonly cited, which can be divided into the two groups indicated therein:

<table>
<tr><th>Unintentional and/or uninitiated loss or separation</th><th>Intentional and/or initiated relinquishment, abandonment or maltreatment</th></tr>
<tr><td>The death of one or both parents. In the context of HIV/Aids orphan hood has regained increasing attention.</td><td>Relinquishment or abandonment by parents, for economic, social or other reasons (e.g. disability of the child, illness or incapacity, family breakdown and substance abuse)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unintentional separation from parents who cannot be immediately traced, usually in the context of armed conflicts and natural disaster (In this context, children may arrive in a country as a "separated child" seeking asylum or immigration. Another reason may be that they became a victim of trafficking)</td><td>Voluntary placement by parents. Sometimes parents assume better living conditions for their children in other care settings.
(This reasoning may also be caused by a child's need for medical treatment and other specialized care which parents cannot provide)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Temporary or permanent incapacity of the parents (imprisonment, illness ...)</td><td rowspan="2">Administrative decision (by a welfare or protection body) or a court ruling that removal from parental care is in the child's best interest (place of safety) (e.g. because of abuse or neglect of child, alcohol abuse)</td></tr>
<tr><td>A child's own initiative to leave home</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1: The reasons for children in need of care[31]

[31] Sources: UNICEF and International Social Service 2004, p. 3; Dunn et al. 2007, p. 1.

Many studies also point out ‘poverty’ to be the core of the dilemma (see e.g. Williamson and Greenberg 2010; Dozier et al. 2012; LUMOS 2014). The phenomenon of poverty interrelates with a variety of social, psychological and economic problems, which affect the ability of families to raise their children. The impacts of urbanization, migration, HIV/Aids and armed conflict further stimulate these problems, “Social protection systems to support families facing these problems are failing and the result is that many children grow up outside the family” (Dunn et al. 2007, p. 1).

Generally, the possible outcomes for children in need of alternative care include “family reunification, extended family care or guardianship within the extended family or community, institutional care (orphanages and group homes of varying sizes), domestic foster care, domestic adoption, international adoption, or a more ad hoc and chaotic option, such as living on the streets” (Dillon 2008, p. 2). Thus, the placement of children in children’s homes is only one option in a so-called ‘continuum of care for children’.

There is a common claim that the traditional alternative care mechanisms in many parts of the Global South are family-based. This also applies particularly to the African region. Research confirms that most children will be cared for by close relatives or within their extended family or community and only a small proportion ends up in children’s homes (Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 21).

Considering this, ‘children without parental care’ need to be distinguished from ‘children in need of care’ as the former may more or less appropriately be cared for by relatives or family related guardians other than their own parents. On the contrary, ***‘children in need of care’*** are in a situation in which there is no available care option in the internal system of the extended family. Thus, a care setting needs to be provided or arranged by external actors.

3.1.1.3. Orphans, orphanages and ‘orphaned and vulnerable children’

The terms ‘***orphans’*** and ***‘orphanages’*** have a very long tradition. The UNCRC defines an ‘orphan’ as “a child under the age of 18 who has lost one or both parents”. Yet, in modern academic literature, the suitability of these terms has been questioned for two main reasons. Firstly, that ‘orphan-hood’ is a common misconception. A significant proportion of the children in children’s homes are not orphans whose parents have died, but those requiring care for various other reasons as pointed out above (Dozier et al. 2012, p. 16; Powell 2004, p. 5; Dunn et al. 2007, p. 16, Meintjes et al. 2007, p. II).

The term ***'social orphans'*** provides a more comprehensive picture, as for example defined by Dillon (2008, p. 20): "Children who, for a wide variety of reasons, are not being cared for by parents who, though alive, are unable or unwilling to care for them". However, in the light of a second reason, the use of this term is also questionable. The second reason is that the term 'orphan' has been pointed out to cause problems of stimulating 'othering' and discrimination. In this context, Dozier et al. (2012, p. 16) point out that the Wilton Park Conference Report (2009) suggests "that the use of the term 'orphan' be dropped in favour of more descriptive language, e.g. child who has one parent, or child who has lost both parents".

The concerns pointed out here pose a particular dilemma in a faith-based context, as religious values commonly prescribe the care of 'orphans' and make so-perceived 'orphanages' a popular target of support. Within this context, to advocate for a change in terminology is very challenging in the light of the long establishment and tradition of the concept. In line with this issue, the terms are also still occasionally used in the literature reviewed.

In the context of the socio-economic consequences of the HIV/Aids epidemic for children, the term ***'orphaned and vulnerable children' (OVC)*** has become very established in the literature. The term commonly refers to children who have lost their parents to HIV/Aids and children affected by HIV/Aids in other ways.[32] At the same time, the term is often used to connote all children "who are judged to be vulnerable and at risk, including children affected by poverty, conflict and HIV/AIDS" (see also Reynolds 2014).

A publication of the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa turned to the problem of defining OVC and explains that the term is rather a 'theoretical construct' with "no implicit definition or clear statement of inclusion and exclusion" (Skinner 2004, p. 1). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the topic of OVC has been used as a case example of the translation concept (see e.g. Watkins and Swidler 2013; Reynolds 2014). In this context, it shows that the immense international attention paid to the HIV/Aids issue sometimes seems to outshine the fact that the term also includes children who are orphaned and/or are vulnerable due to causes other than HIV/Aids.

[32] The spread of the HIV/Aids epidemic has been a growing global concern in the last decades. The epidemic has serious social and economic implications and its continuing spread was recognized as a serious threat to the realization of global development objectives (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center 2006, p. 8). Skinner (2004, p. 1) estimated the number of children who have lost one or both parents to Aids to double from 11 to 22 million within 10 years.

3.1.1.4. ‘Deinstitutionalization’

As Williamson and Greenberg (2010, p. 5) summarize

> There is now an abundance of global evidence demonstrating serious developmental problems associated with placement in residential care. For the last half century, child development specialists have recognized that residential institutions consistently fail to meet children’s developmental needs for attachment, acculturation and social integration.

Yet children have often been placed in high numbers for wrong reasons (see also Dozier et al. 2012 or Cantwell et al. 2013). In this context, the term ‘deinstitutionalization’ has become very established in the recent movement to avoid and minimize the use of residential forms of alternative care. The acronym ‘DI’ is also widely used by experts in the field. Three precise definitions can be found in recent literature. The first two are provided by two leading INGOs in this field. Firstly, the organization ‘Hope and Homes’ states (Costa 2016, p. 23):

> Deinstitutionalization is the complex and multi-faceted process of moving away from obsolete care systems that rely on institutional care for children towards modern systems based on services to prevent family breakdown and a range of family and community-based alternatives.
>
> Deinstitutionalization introduces an innovative, rights-based approach leading to a radical shift in the culture of services – from a one-size-fits-all solution (institutional care) to holistic programs based on the individual needs and best interest of each child and family.

DI refers to ‘a set of actions that include at least’:

> • Preventing the separation of children from their families, through the development of community-based health, education and social services that are fully accessible to all children and their families;
> • Ensuring that every child currently in an institution is supported to move to a placement appropriate for them: their own family where possible, or a substitute family or family-like environment in their community;
> • Transferring resources from institutions to community-based services, to ensure financial sustainability (...)
> • Changing attitudes and practices of a broad range of stakeholders – politicians, donors, professionals, parents, children and society at large. (LUMOS 2017, p. 12)

Similarly, in the academic literature, Mulheir et al. (2007, p. 36) have defined DI as:

> The process of moving away from a child care system based on large institutions towards a range of integrated family-based and community-based services’ by seeking to prevent unnecessary admissions and stays in institutions, developing alternative community child care, strengthening services to children and families, and arranging long-term placements in surrogate families for children who are unable to live with their parents.

To sum up: the aim is to keep the children within families and communities through so-called 'family and community-based support programs'.[33] Different concepts have been developed to provide such care, which include the new concept of 'child-friendly spaces' (see e.g. World Vision International 2015) and a focus on 'early intervention' programs, which aim to prevent child abandonment and the loss of parents (Williamson 2004, p. 13; Dunn et al. 2007, pp. 13-14, UNICEF 2006, p. 28).

However, there are also commonly pointed out exceptions to the rule. This means that there are specific groups of children for which residential care is often regarded as an appropriate option.[34]

Costa (2016, p. 42) also describes the role of DI as 'an entry point for broader reform':

> Efforts to de-institutionalise the care system are also likely to drive focus and resources towards community development. It is widely recognised that families affected by poverty are more vulnerable to being separated. Child protection systems based on institutions deal with the symptoms of family separation by placing children in institutions, but have no impact on the causes and effects of poverty in a household. Institutional care is also a driver of inter-generational transmission of poverty.
>
> Across the world, the long-term consequences of institutionalisation on millions of children lead to poor education and health outcomes and social exclusion, which in turn affect children's ability to earn an income when they become adults.

[33] Williamson (2004, p. 12) defines Family and Community-based care as followed: "Children are cared for by responsible adults within their own communities and within a family or family-like setting. Community leaders or organizations take responsibility for children and oversee their care and well-being in all aspects (legal, psychosocial, educational, material needs, etc.)". In general, most scholars seem to agree with Powell (1994). Williamson (2004, p. 14) states that: "There is no substitute for care of the child within his/her family of origin. Programs to keep children with the community, surrounded by leaders and peers they know and love, are ultimately less costly, both in terms of finance and the emotional cost to the child. In many instances, admission to placement could be avoided by targeting vulnerable families and providing financial assistance, such as school fees, to parents or relatives."

[34] For example, Tolfree (1995, p. 7) points out "children demobilised from armed forces in providing training and support for teenage mothers, or for enabling children who have experienced a breakdown in a foster home to recover psychologically before a further family placement. Furthermore In some situations of conflict and displacement (as in Rwanda following the genocide), the sheer numbers of unaccompanied children were perceived as an unavoidable reason for the introduction of interim care centres" (UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare, Lesotho 2006, p. 21).

3.1.1.5. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has provided an overview of key terms and concepts in the field. It was explained that this study uses the more colloquial and general term ‘children’s homes’ to refer to what professionals in the field commonly call ‘residential care’. However, the introduced terms ‘residential care’, ‘institutional care’ or ‘institutions’, as well as the abbreviation ‘homes’ are also used at certain points throughout the study.

The various terms used to describe children who are placed in alternative care also demonstrate the diversity of circumstances and situations in which these children find themselves. These contradict the colloquially common term ‘orphans’. The highlighted concerns in this regard demonstrate one of the main divisions in the field. Traditional and often faith-based ideas of ‘orphan care’ conflict with modern children’s rights-based approaches which use and requests more inclusive and descriptive and thus less stigmatizing terminology. While traditional concepts of ‘orphan care’ and ‘orphanages’ are deeply entrenched in societies, the UN Guidelines from 2010 stipulate the ‘necessity’ and the ‘suitability’ principle.

In summary, this approach reflects a moderate version of the DI movement and means that modern discourse in the field promotes the development and expansion of so called ‘family and community-based alternatives’. Children’s homes should generally be considered as a last resort for particular groups of children.

3.1.2. Key developments in the context of children's homes and the DI movement

The phenomenon of institutions caring for children who cannot stay with their parents dates back to the Middle Ages (see e.g. Dozier et al. 2012).[35] Concerns about this form of care are also as old as its existence.[36] Dozier et al. (2012, pp. 2-4) maintain that a trend of expanding numbers of homes and children placed in them started during the 1800s. Religious organizations and charities used them in response to the challenges caused by urbanization, war and epidemics.

Around the same time, philanthropic circles initiated first movements against institutional child care. The devastating living conditions in these 'facilities' as well as the 'mercantilist' exploitation of the children living in them started to be criticized. In response to these movements, traditional family-based alternatives, such as foster care and adoption, began to replace 'institutional orphan care'. While these proved to imply their own problems, it shows that the debate whether institutional or foster care is the more appropriate solution has roots in these times. The following sections will introduce some key developments in the context of children's homes and the DI movement.

3.1.2.1. Changing normative approaches and the UNCRC

Dunn et al. (2007) point out that historical philosophical considerations have been contrary to today's priorities of 'the child's best interest' as stipulated in the UNCRC (see below). Historically, childcare institutions were meant to serve the needs of society and the common good. 'Institutions' were used to "provide religious or secular education to poor orphaned children, or as a means of controlling difficult or deviant behavior that the state wished to remove from society" (ibid: 15). This was perceived to serve "the good of the collective, to relieve burdensome childcare problems and to facilitate full employment" (ibid). This kind

[35] The German Encyclopedia, "Brockhaus (1974)" reports orphan care as one of the oldest wings of welfare. Prior to the 20th century traditional children's institutions became subject of several reforms but remained the common form of alternative child care. In 1949, the Austrian, Hermann Gmeiner, initiated the concept of children's villages, which aim to provide family resembling care in an organizational framework. This concept gained immense popularity over a long period time but has also become subject of critique in line with the DI movement. For German originals, see Brockhaus Enzyklopädie, 1974, Band 19: 800 Term: ‚Waisenfürsorge' and Band 23: 499, Term ‚Waisenhaus', and Brockhaus ‚Die Enzyklopädie in 24 Bänden', (2001), Band 9: 636, Term: ‚Heimerziehung'

[36] A famous historical piece in this regard is Charles Dicken's 'Oliver Twist'.

of approach has partly remained common in socialist or former socialist countries, where children were cared for by state institutions (Dozier et al. 2012, pp. 2-4).

During the first half of the 20th Century, a new philosophy gained popularity in Europe, the US and most of the countries of Latin America: 'Institutional care' started to be perceived as a "protection mechanism", which served to "rescue children from the moral corruption of their families, poverty and delinquency" (UNICEF 2003, p. VIII).

Until today, there are individuals and organizations who defend the advantages of residential care. Browne (2009, p. 15) describes this as follows:

> The belief that if children are removed from undesirable influences in their homes or environment, given training, and subjected to strict discipline, they will somehow turn into 'model citizens'. Others believe that removal from poverty to higher standards of living in a children's home will bring lasting benefits to the child and society.

In the second half of the 1960s, there was a fundamental change of common perceptions. A UNICEF publication stated:

> The freedoms, rights and guarantees to which children should be entitled (...) as well as demands for human development policies respecting the autonomy and capabilities of families (...) began to stimulate the doubt that the use of residential educational and care centers for children (...) constituted a form of social exclusion, and at times of deprivation of freedom, which failed to comply with any legal guarantees. (UNICEF 2003, p. VIII)

These developments constituted what UNICEF termed "the beginning of the end of institutional child care in the Western world" and the increasing focus on the development of family and community based alternatives (UNICEF 2003, p. 13).[37] Ongoing significant developments in terms of the perceptions and definitions of children's rights and their integration into international law structures led to the ground-breaking adoption and ratification of the UNCRC in 1989.[38]

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[37] See Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 11; Dozier et al. 2012, p. 4; Dunn et al. 2007, p. 1.

[38] The UNCRC is the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history. It lays down the civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of children. It changed the international understanding of the child as in need of protection to an understanding of the child as a rights holder (Holzscheiter 2010, pp. 103–110). The UNCRC is frequently described as the instrument that represented a revolution in international children's rights – "the instrument that showed children as subjects of rights, as autonomous beings, as more than the possessions of their parents and of their cultures or nations" (Dillon 2008, p. 190)**.**
Its implementation is monitored by the Committee on the Rights of the Child. National governments that ratify it commit themselves to protecting and ensuring children's rights and agree to hold themselves accountable for this commitment before the international community.

The international children's rights movement, which led up to the UNCRC in 1989 and the 'African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child' (ACRWC) in 1990 is a prominent example of successful transnational activism in terms of human rights norms.

The UNCRC prioritized the 'best interest of the child' as the fundamental principal of all official and legal provisions affecting the child (Article 3). This approach became the new determinant of any decisions made with regards to a child's care and provided an overall framework in which problems and child rights concerns can be raised. In line with this, the UNCRC has also become the foundation of the international critique of and advocacy against residential care settings.

However, to determine what is in the best interest of a child remains a complex and difficult task, especially in the light of the various children's rights which need to be balanced, such as for example the 'right to family care', the 'right to safety and protection' and the 'right to develop their full potential'.

3.1.2.2. Contradictory developments in the Global South: The Aids-orphan crisis

As the second half of the twentieth century progressed, DI became the common paradigm in countries of the Global North. The literature often suggests that all forms of traditional institutional care settings for children have been abandoned in 'the Western world' today. Yet, this "enlightened approach has been slow to find acceptance in much of the developing world where old-style institutions remain a common care option." (Powell 2004, p. 8; see also LUMOS 2017, p. 5; Chiwaula et al. 2014, p. 35). There is also a common argument that while Western Europe and North America have moved away from institutions, they continue to support them in the global South. This is particularly controversial in those regions where the institutional model is regarded as an 'import' from the West by missionaries and colonialists, while traditional local norms are instead family-based.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the topic has become particularly urgent when the alarming and tragic reality of the so-called 'AIDS-orphan crisis' hit the region. A new wave of civil society support of children's homes led to a renewed 'mushrooming of institutions' in countries,

which "were successfully on the path towards providing non-institutional care for more and more of their children" (Powell 2004, p. 8).[39]

Since its beginning in the 1980s the orphan crisis had gained immense international attention. The repercussions of a globally campaigned urgent need for orphan care[40] (and orphan care being widely perceived as a worthy cause, as pointed out above) within a highly active transnational civil society caused highly controversial developments in the field. Multiple new actors, typically church-based, entered the child welfare sector in a desire to help. Although well-meaning, they focused on assisting the affected children by funding and facilitating what seemed to be the logical solution: children's homes. [41]

Powell (2004, p. 1) provides a concise summary of these developments:

> The unfolding tragedy of Africa's orphan crisis received wide publicity in the West and created a groundswell of individuals and organizations wishing to provide assistance. Although most of the resultant support was channelled through international donor agencies, small NGOs, faith-based organizations and individual philanthropists also made significant contributions. Initially, these interventions were a spontaneous, knee jerk response to what was being portrayed as an emergency and in keeping with traditional perceptions of orphan care, they focused on the construction of orphanages. (...) The approach adopted by international agencies and governments of affected countries was to strongly discourage the construction of orphanages and direct their efforts at reinforcing the traditional family system and improving capacity of local communities to provide care. Despite these widely accepted policies (...) and longstanding evidence of the damaging effects of institutional care on children's psychological and social development, significant numbers of children worldwide continue to be placed in residential care. In Africa, well intentioned individuals and organizations continue to construct orphanages to house children orphaned by the AIDS pandemic. [42]

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[39] See Williamson and Greenberg (2010, pp. 9, 11); UNICEF and International Social Service 2004, p. 3; Meintjes et al. 2007, p.10.)

[40] In the words of Richter and Norman (2010): "Globally circulated, the poignant spectre of "AIDS orphans" and "children left behind" portrays children as abandoned, innately vulnerable and in need of care. Such images, presented by the international media, NGOs and now tourism operators, conjure up a desire among those primarily in the Western world to take direct action in the care of such children."

[41] See e.g. Kang'ethe 2015; SOS et al. 2014; Williamson and Greenberg 2010; Abdulla 2007.

[42] Dozier et al. (2012) make an important note in this regard: "A report made by the United Nations Human Rights body (…) argued that when the idea of institutional care for children was initially developed, it had good intentions as it encompassed humanitarian efforts targeted at establishing orphanages and child care homes as a way of ensuring their survival. The United Nations Human Rights body (2013) further noted that the initial approach to childcare and safety that led to institutionalization placed emphasis on scientific rationalism rather than on concrete and empirical findings of the needs of OVC. The drive towards establishing institutional care was, thus, more substantiated on the ability and capacity of public welfare organizations to provide efficient services to children under one roof as compared to when they were dispersed."

3.1.2.3. Naming, shaming and conditionality in the case of Romania

Another pivotal development in the field relates back to the traditional normative approaches towards the role of children's homes in a society as pointed out above. Dozier et al. (2012, p. 2) point out that "the communist ideology not only destigmatized institutional rearing but in some cases encouraged it". After the break-down of the communist regime, the state of child institutionalization in the former East Bloc has become a public scandal. One of the worst 'named and shamed' cases was Romania after UN forces found masses of children dumped in huge state institutions under the worst of circumstances in the 1990s. The Romanian-style orphanage has since become a common horror scenario in DI discourse, although it has by now become a celebrated example of reform in line with the DI movement (LUMOS 2017, pp. 18-19).

Studies on the former East Bloc stress the role of political and public pressure in line with EU integration plans being that several countries became interested in their integration into the EU[43]. Jacoby et al. (2009) maintain that the Rumanian government ignored its obligations to the UNCRC to a great extent until the political and public pressure increased in line with general human rights topics in the light of EU integration plans. At the same time, fast EU integration became increasingly more attractive to the new domestic elites and the adoption of DI measures has become a way to demonstrate compliance with EU child protection standards as part of general human rights obligations.

In the context of these developments in Eastern Europe, the number of powerful INGOs strongly advocating for DI has increased even further. This includes INGOs such as Hope and Homes for Children, LUMOS and EUROCHILD which have joined the field, backed by significant funds.

[43] See for example Babington (2015) who cites Tobis (2000); Lataianu (2003); and Ivanova and Bogdanov (2013).

3.1.2.4. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has started off by outlining differing normative approaches to the role of children's homes within a society. Traditionally, children's homes were regarded as a means for social control or as a rescue mechanism from adverse circumstances or traditional faith-based welfare. In line with the rise of the DI movement, children's homes have come to be regarded as a form of social exclusion, the deprivation of children's rights, and disrespect for the autonomy, capability and psychological bonds of families. These differing approaches are often still at the core of conflicting norms in the field today.

Two further sections have described two pivotal developments in the DI context in Sub-Saharan Africa and the former East bloc. Overall, it may be concluded that a combination of developments led the DI-focused INGOs in the field to adopt the clear-cut advocacy message that children's homes are an unacceptable care solution for children. These are 1) The general pitfalls of residential care, 2) A renewed perpetuation of children's homes in the Global South in line with the Aids Orphan crisis, 3) The horror scenarios of the 'Rumanian-style orphanage' and profit-driven child recruitment and exploitation. This will be further explored in the following second part of this chapter.

3.2. Reflecting the global DI movement in the light of norm diffusion theory

To start off, it should be noted that the child welfare field in general demonstrates many of the introduced aspects of transnational civil society and international norm diffusion. First of all, the growth of the international child welfare sector, which is dominated by highly professionalized, internationally-established and powerful INGOs (mostly from the Global North)[44], clearly reflects the developments described in Kaldor‘s version of a global civil society (see 2.1.1.2). The international children’s rights movement which led up to the UNCRC in 1989 has developed in this context.

In fact, this is a prominent example of successful transnational activism in terms of human rights norms which diffused across the globe. The shift away from shared norms in line with Christian principles, but towards a human rights approach can also count as a typical development in the context of international norm diffusion. Today‘s international child welfare organizations base their work on the principles of international children‘s rights as defined by the UNCRC.

When INGOs started a strict DI campaign in the early years of the new millennium this was headed by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. In the context of the developments pointed out in the previous sub-chapters, they started calling for international standards and guidelines for the protection of the affected children from the violation of their child rights (Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 10). These standards were eventually achieved in the UN Guidelines and when they were endorsed at the 20st anniversary of the UNCRC in 2009, an official statement highlighted the diversity of actors who play a role in their implementation:

> The UN Resolution (64/142) welcomes the Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children as ‘a set of orientations to help to inform policy and practice’ and puts the onus on governments for implementation. However, it also recognizes the role of a range of actors and stakeholders in making this happen. These actors are decision-makers, care providers and care beneficiaries at all levels of the process from government ministries and officials that have delegated powers as competent authorities, through to non-state organizations such as donors, international organizations, NGOs, the private sector and civil society. These include the care providers that have direct contact with the beneficiaries of alternative care provision and the beneficiaries themselves – communities, families and children.

However, the co-existing and competing norms and interests which drive the activities and approaches of the diverse actors in the field have been identified as constituting a particularly

[44] Such as the International Save the Children Alliance, USAID‘s Displaced Children and Orphans Fund, SOS Children Villages International, Care, Plan International and many others.

critical and complex aspect. As funding dynamics play a key role in the diffusion of norms, they are considered as a determining factor in steering towards the desired outcomes:

> The issue of resource allocation is fundamental in determining compliance with the 'necessity and suitability' principles contained in the Guidelines. Funding models need to be designed to minimise recourse to formal alternative care (such as children's homes) (…) but at the same time need to be adequate to ensure the psycho-emotional and physical well-being of children who do require such care. (Cantwell et al. 2013, p. 104)

Children's homes – especially in the Global South - are an interesting hybrid in terms of their dependency on external funding. While states which ratified the UNCRC have a legal obligation to provide adequate funding for suitable alternative care services, in reality, the actual state subsidies for children's homes are usually insufficient and they still depend on fundraising to cover substantial gaps.[45] Thus, many different donors are involved in their financing. As Csáky (2009, p. 4) summarizes, children's homes are usually "financed and run by both government and private providers, including local and international NGOs, faith-based organizations, private businesses and concerned individuals".

Consequently, children's homes are active participants in the transnational civil society in which they fundraise and network. Thus, they become drawn into the web of transnational funding dynamics, such as the typical trade of funds and legitimacy and the contest of co-existing and competing norms and interests. The following sub-chapters will explore this further and explain how the logics of the norm socialization, as well as the norm localization approach, are evident in the development of the DI movement and the debate thereof.

3.2.1. Co-existing and competing norms and interests: Children's homes and transnational civil society

As its terminological and historical developments indicate, the field of alternative care is characterized by its long and complex history. This history has resulted in a multitude of co-existing and competing norms and traditions which have been dominant at different times in different regions. On the one hand, DI has become the common paradigm in the international children's rights field. On the other hand, there is a parallel sphere of local and international

[45] Jamieson (2014) highlights the controversies and challenges in this regard in the South African case. While the South African legal framework is very advanced in protecting children's rights, state support is not adequate to meet the norms and standards of the local Children's Act. See also e.g. LUMOS (2017); Csáky (2009); Meintjes et al. (2007); Powell et al. (2006).

philanthropic and faith-based welfare, corporate social investment, and volunteering, where traditional ideas of orphan care continue to make children's homes a popular target of financial and other support.

Within this sphere there seems to be little awareness of the debates over DI and the UN Guidelines. In line with misguided ideas about the children's situation and care options, children's homes are still regarded as a particularly worthy cause.[46] This has been evident, for example, in the groundswell of transnational support by philanthropic and faith-based actors in response to a global media campaign advertising the plight of 'Aids-orphans'. In line with traditional ideas of orphan care, such support manifested in a renewed perpetuation of children's homes in the affected countries.

This situation can count as a prototype example of the readiness for action by 'northern solidaristic outsiders' in a global civil society (Kaldor 2003, p. 95). The notion of large groups of vulnerable children losing their parents as a consequence of an uncontrollable disease has attracted global attention and solidarity. Such responses were further fueled in line with the development of modern trends, such as social media, 'crowd sourcing', and cross-border 'volunteerism'.

The popularity of supporting children's homes has even become an issue of concern as it may be misused for financial profit. The documentary 'The orphan myth: Keeping Families Together' (2016)[47] states that: "orphanages have become an international multi-million dollar business", Richter and Norman (2010) talk about 'Aids-Orphan-Tourism'[48], and Abdulla (2007, p. 63) observed projects "using children as a 'draw-card' to raise funds".

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[46] See e.g. LUMOS 2017; Better Care Network and UNICEF 2015; Williamson and Greenberg 2010; Csáky 2009, Tobis 2000.

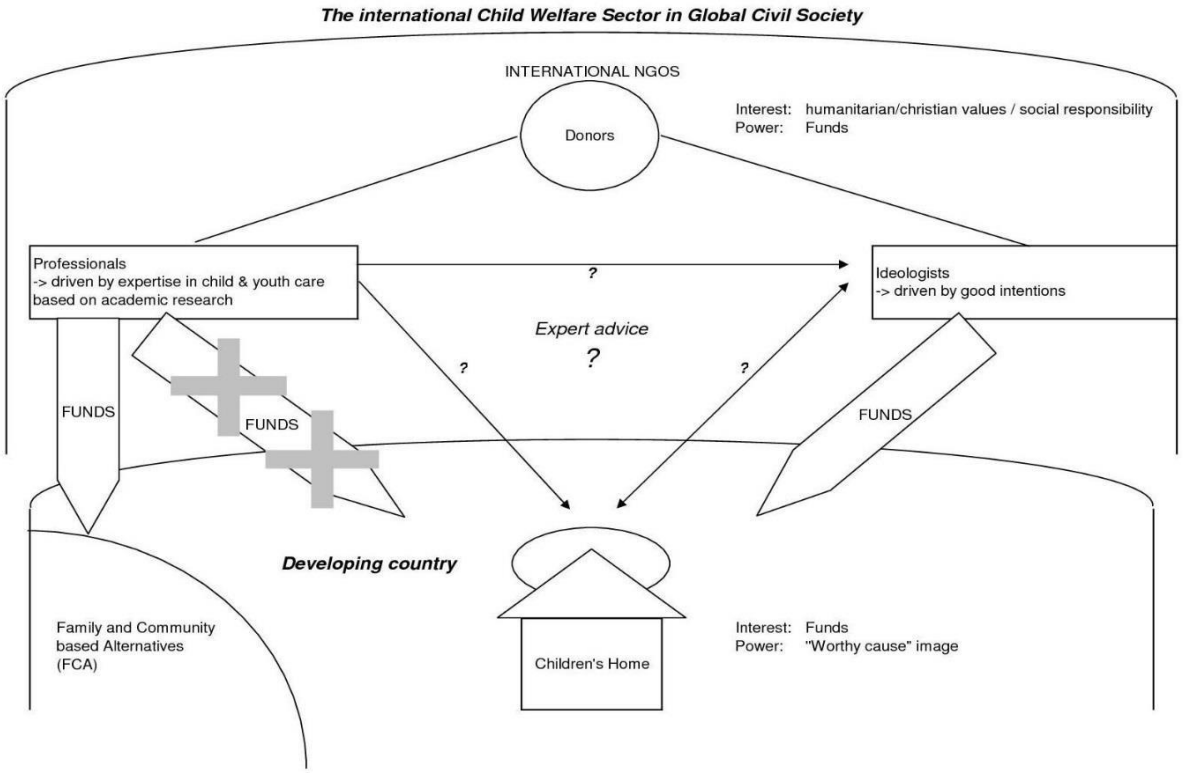
[47] www.worldwithoutorphans.org/video/videos/the-orphan-myth-keeping-families-together

[48] The phenomenon of international volunteerism, again fueled by growing transnational civil society activity, was harshly addressed by Richter and Norman's (2010) groundbreaking article "Aids Orphan Tourism – A threat to young children in residential care" in 2010. Creating potential for financial or material gain on different dimensions, this growing phenomenon of international volunteers assisting for a short time-period as care givers, was found to create a high-risk situation for children, as the implied short-term attachments "may worsen known impacts of institutional care". Since, volunteer tourism became a common subject of critique. Tour operators and volunteer agencies were accused to "exploit misguided international sympathies to make profits from the conditions in which vulnerable young children are placed" (Richter and Norman 2010, p. 226). Overall, the concern about this reality is that the opportunity to secure funds – whether legitimate or not – undermines the interest of stakeholders to critically reflect and evaluate the benefits as well as the substantial risks of international volunteer involvement for the children.

Overall, the concern is that the upkeep of residential care is encouraged for the wrong reasons, to provide for "Westerners' naively romantic ideas of doing good" (Birrel 2010)) and the potential for financial gains based on these ideas

Overall, the situation led to a critical debate on the role of foreign donors in the proliferation of children's homes in spite of the DI movement (LUMOS 2017, p. 45; UNICEF and International Social Service 2004, p. 8; Powell 2004, p. 12, 18). On the one hand, donors were accused of operating in line with "their own preconceived and firmly held ideas of what is required" (Powell 2004, p. 12), instead of seeking expert advice to ensure an informed approach. On the other hand, it was emphasized that "donors and charitable foundations inexperienced in childcare are being asked to assist with the increasing problem of parentless children but are given no guidance on practice and policy" (Dunn et al. 2007, p. 5, see also Williamson 2004, p. 16, Powell 2004, p. 18).

Henceforth, the level of appropriate attempts to transfer expert advice has to be questioned on both sides. The following graphic has been designed to illustrate this dilemma of the split sector. It also highlights the question in how far expert advice travels between the different donor types and children's homes:



Graphic 1: The international Child Welfare Sector in Global Civil Society (own design)

The following three sub-sections will briefly elaborate on the three dominant dynamics which co-exist and compete with the DI norm.

3.2.1.1. Faith based norms of orphan care: A parallel world

The role of traditional norms of orphan care in a faith-based context has already been indicated in the terminology above. Children's rights NGOs often assume a direct link between the use of the term 'orphanages' and the common misconception of the children's orphan status. This fuels the support of children's homes in line with faith-based values which often prescribe the care of orphans. While there is growing awareness and awareness-raising among FBOs[49], a persistent discourse in many faith-based contexts still perpetuates these terms and ideas. The Faith to Action Initiative (2018, p. 1) describes this in the context of orphanage volunteerism:

> Currently, more than two million Christians from North America travel on international short-term mission (STM) trips each year and they are passionate to make a positive difference in the world. Many of them are traveling to visit or volunteer in children's residential care centers, often referred to as orphanages and children's homes. These volunteers are motivated by a desire to respond to the unique needs of orphans and vulnerable children. The call of Christians to respond to the needs of these children is biblically based, and Scripture clearly indicates the duty of the church to defend the cause of vulnerable children. While good intentions underlie the increasing trend of STM trips to residential care centers, significant concerns go along with sending short-term missionaries or volunteers to residential care centers.

Overall, the substantial, generous and well-meaning support of FBOs can discourage children's homes from shifting their efforts towards family and community-based alternatives. FBOs have therefore sometimes been seen particularly critical in the upkeep of children's homes in many parts of the world (see e.g. Powell et al. 2006, EveryChild 2009, Tolfree 1995, UNICEF 2011).

[49] One example is the publication ‚From Faith to Action - A Resource for Faith-Based Groups and Donors Seeking to Help Children and Families Affected by HIV/AIDS' by the Firelight Foundation (Olson et al. 2006). Supported by 32 further INGOs of the child welfare sector, this guide acknowledges the immense engagement and dedication of FBOs and offers comprehensive information on how to best channel these efforts in the best interest of the children.

3.2.1.2. Trading funds and legitimacy: Children's homes fit donor needs

Next to the widely spread image of children's homes constituting a worthy cause, INGOs have identified another factor driving their support: the concept of children's homes meets donor interests. They offer a precise and presentable form of social investment, which seems to provide genuine support to the most needy and vulnerable children (see e.g. Dozier et al. 2012, p. 16; Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 12; LUMOS 2017, p. 24).
Csáky (2009, p. 11) explains this in the following words:

> It provides a neat administrative structure through which funds can be dispersed and accounted for – in essence, somewhere to send a cheque. Care institutions provide a tangible output in exchange for donor support and are, therefore, appealing to donors wishing to help as well as to recipients obliged to report on the use of funds. Conversely, family-based care is seen as more complex and difficult to communicate. Institutions are also popular with governments, donors and organizations keen to show 'results'. (…) A brightly-painted orphanage filled with children can often leave a more positive impression with a Western donor than the image of a child in a local foster family living in humble surroundings in sub-Saharan Africa.

Dozier et al. (2012, p. 16) agree and add another dynamic in this regard:

> Institutions are maintained partly because donors, the great majority of whom are not from the communities or even the countries where these facilities are located, underwrite the institutional model (…). Indeed, the experience of visiting institutions is likely to be powerful for many donors because institutionalized children, often displaying signs of indiscriminately sociability, make visitors feel valued and needed.

Overall, this scenario demonstrates how the typical trade of funds and legitimacy between donors and implementing NGOs can drive or impede an adaptation to modern norms.

3.2.1.3. Children's home operators as veto players

In the light of the popularity of the cause, the operators and staff of children's homes are often suspected to be resistant to DI-related changes in the light of their own employment and financial agendas (Dozier et al. 2012, p. 16; LUMOS 2017, p. 32, Better Care Network and UNICEF 2015, p. 61; Costa 2016, p. 31, Tobis 2000). As pointed out in Chapter 2, social organizations are likely to enter into a dynamic of self-preservation (Martens 2006, p. 374). Dunn et al. (2007, p. 15) observe this with a particular reference to children's homes:

> Once such establishments are in place, backed by policy, laws and frameworks for the delivery of services, they prove difficult to change and to adapt to new functions in accordance with growing insight into what is best for children.

Csáky (2009, p. 12) provides a comprehensive summary of common concerns in this regard:

> Children have become commodities within a growing industry. Care institutions and the structures that support them provide employment to a large number of caregivers and other staff, who rely on this model of care for their own livelihoods. They provide a vital fundraising model for many small and large NGOs and faith-based organizations, which are dependent on donations for organizational survival. A reduction in the use of institutional care, or the transformation of institutions to community or family-based care options, could be seen as jeopardising funds. As a result, it is sometimes staff and partners within the care industry itself who are opposed to change. Furthermore, unscrupulous institutions are known to recruit children in order to profit from international adoption and child trafficking. This trend is exacerbated by the fact that many public and private care providers receive funding on the basis of the numbers of resident children in their care. They are, therefore, keen to maintain high headcounts.[50]

Some scholars have observed that NGOs running children's homes try to take advantage of the generous funding available for this cause. This factor has been particularly associated with non-registered children's homes of which some might even "operate to serve commercial interests associated with child trafficking and unregulated inter-country adoption" (LUMOS 2017, p. 46).[51]

It is interesting to note that it is common for children's home operators to be viewed critically. Any justified perspectives or potential efforts and good intentions do not seem to be noted. Only Williamson and Greenberg (2010, p. 14) point out that certain homes may start community approaches in the light of their own capacity challenges. Others note that children's home staff should be retrained and homes transitioned to other functions which support the community (see e.g. LUMOS 2017, p. 21).

[50] Governmental funding arrangements are often noted to be counter-productive to DI related change. For example, the amount of funding is often based on the number of children in care and can thus encourage the admission of children. Furthermore, the budgets for institutions and community support are often completely separated and inflexible (Costa 2016, p. 31).

[51] See also UNICEF and International Social Service (2004, p. 8); UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare, Lesotho (2006, p. 36).

3.2.1.4. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has examined the parallels of the DI movement to various typical characteristics of transnational civil society as pointed out in Chapter 2. Firstly, there is the typical interaction and interdependency of diverse international, intermediary and local actor types. These range from powerful INGOs and other transnationally active philanthropic or faith-based welfare groups, to multiple larger and smaller local actors. Secondly, there is a high degree of fragmentism and contests over norms, funds and legitimacy (see e.g. Fuchs 2007).

It may hence be concluded that the main challenge of DI promotion is the existence of a multitude of competing norms which stem from the long history of the topic. Norms and realities do co-exist, partly in contest and partly in parallel worlds. Within this context then, faith-based actors aiming to conserve traditional norms of 'orphan care' or those who operate children's homes are seen as common veto players. They are assumed either to be linked to faith-based networks or have their own financial, job-preservation or personal agendas.

Overall, the funding of children's homes is in many ways a controversial topic. On the one hand, NGO's running children's homes are themselves mostly active participants in the common trade of funds and legitimacy among transnational civil society actors. While they typically depend on external funds, the concept of children's homes suits donor needs because it offers a precise and presentable form of social investment.

3.2.2. A norm socialization logic: DI promotion, filters and veto players

A norm socialization logic is immediately evident in the developments and debates in terms of the DI movement. A group of powerful INGOs act as norm entrepreneurs to transform existing norms and values according to their principled beliefs based on a human-rights agenda. In this case they invoke the UNCRC or the recent UN Guidelines to transform the widespread idea that children's homes are an appropriate care solution for children. The general aim is a uni-directional process of driving a 'correct' global norm to local spaces.

In terms of the concept of framing as pointed out in Chapter 2, it can be observed that commonly used framing strategies are applied in the DI case. While the rights violation of extremely vulnerable children obviously provokes public outrage, blame can be assigned to everyone supporting children's homes. At the same time, the perpetuation of children's homes is an acute problem and their closure is a simple solution. The ultimate goal has been portrayed as 'ending' or 'eliminating' the institutionalization of children.

In line with the rise of the DI movement, scholarship on the topic also grew considerably. Babington (2015, p. 31) summarizes that the number of (I)NGO-funded publications - sometimes co-authored with academics – is particularly high and mainly concerned with three topics[52]: 1) The adverse impacts of child 'institutionalization', 2) the prevention and alternatives of institutional child care or the improvement thereof, and 3) the urgency of and the ways to go about DI.

Furthermore, the literature typically includes recommendation and guidance to policymakers and other service providers on how to go about making DI a reality. Specific instances of progress towards DI are hence pointed out as success stories.

As pointed out in the previous sub-chapter, there have been many critical voices regarding the role of international funding for children's homes (Dozier et al. 2012, p. 16; Better Care Network and UNICEF 2015, p. 61; LUMOS 2017). In this context, INGOs started making an effort to stimulate processes of learning among the donors in the field. The aim has been to convince and convert donors, faith-based actors and the general public to adopt new norms and values in supporting the care provision for children in need of alternative care (see e.g. LUMOS 2017; Firelight Foundation, Olson et al. 2006; Costa 2016, Csáky 2009). In line with this approach, strong calls are made not to invest in institutions and conditionality in

[52] For examples see Chiwaula et al. 2014; LUMOS 2014, Costa 2016; Csáky 2009.

terms of funding is strongly encouraged (LUMOS 2017, p. 24). For example, Dozier et al. (2012, p. 16) emphasize that "an education effort should target helping donors and volunteers develop a sophisticated understanding of institutional care and its effects, and of the availability and importance of community options for at-risk children." Costa (2016, p. 41)[53] adds a certain tone of 'shaming' in this regard:

> It is quite common for private individuals to send donations to orphanages overseas, mostly with the hope of offering children a better future. Unfortunately, these well-intended but misguided interventions have contributed to perpetuate institutional care in much of the world. Not only has this reinforced an obsolete and abusive system, it has also diverted precious resources that could have been used for strengthening families and communities. Crucially, private and public funds should stop funding institutions and be re-directed towards programs that truly support children and their families.

Most recently, in 2017, a US-based advocacy network won substantial funds to support the transnational DI campaign further.[54]

3.2.2.1. DI outcomes: Between diffusion and persistence

In terms of outcomes of DI diffusion, different trends co-exist. In the first place, scholars highlight that children's homes continue to flourish in line with the factors pointed out in the previous sections (Dozier et al. 2012, p. 15; LUMOS 2017, p. 45; Browne 2009; Csáky 2009; Wilton Park Conference 2009).

In a detailed overview of the state of children's homes in different world regions by Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2014, p. 423), two observations stand out. While they conclude that institutional care remains common across all continents[55] they also confirm that the DI norm is in fact diffusing. In the midst of the institutional normality in many countries, DI trends are becoming progressively more established. These include the development of family-based alternatives as well as qualitative improvements to residential settings (ibid: 424, see also Powell 2004, p. 20). Changing donor approaches have also been evident (Powell 2004, p. 8).

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53 See also LUMOS 2017, p. 24.

54 For details see https://www.macfound.org/press/semifinalist-profile/catholic-relief-services/

55 They elaborates that "Currently, institutional care for young children is common in Eastern Europe, Asia, Central and South America, Africa, and the Middle East (…). Although there are relatively few orphanages in Western Europe, institutions nonetheless exist in Portugal, France, and Belgium, among other countries (...)."

However, the processes are frequently described as slow and hampered by multiple obstacles. These can be regarded as local filters and include various political, social, cultural and economic factors. In some countries, there are specific cultural and social factors which are converse to the DI process. For example, the idea of foster care is not in line with cultural norms of some world regions, such as Japan (Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 423).

In other countries, the developments fall in line with the concept of decoupling as pointed out in Chapter 2. In their study of the implementation of the UN Guidelines in eight African countries (Benin, Gambia, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia and Zimbabwe), Chiwaula et al. (2014) highlight profound inconsistencies and a serious "implementation gap" of "policy at national, regional and local levels". They define this gap as "the difference between what solutions have been adopted in legal documents and their actual implementation in practice". Overall, they conclude that this "emerged as a common theme and is a responsibility of all actors in the alternative care system" (ibid., p. 96).

On the other hand, Babington (2015) stresses a fundamental gap in research aiming to understand how and why DI policy developed and in how far they are really implemented on the ground.[56] He argues that this is surprising considering the recent international attention and the urgency of INGO advocacy on the matter. Novella (2008, p. 312) highlights in this regard that "deinstitutionalization accounts failed to give adequate attention to broader social attitudes and values that underpinned the shift away from institutions and toward 'community care' solutions." This can clearly be related to the role of shifting norms.

[56] Babington (2015, p. 29) also points out general methodological concerns in terms of the studies he has reviewed as they don't consider other factors that could have played a role and provide a lack of evidence for their claims. The existing assessments of DI processes and reasoning are partly inconsistent and leave many questions open.

3.2.2.2. Governments: Local constraints, decoupling and controversial incentives

As pointed out above, the onus for implementing the UN Guidelines is on domestic governments. Yet, authors commonly observe challenges and decoupling as pointed out in the previous section. Chiwaula et al. (2014, pp. 35-36) summarize the main obstacles as a lack of capacity and resource provision (financial and human) and a lack of good governance, leadership, and planning.[57] A lack of political will to address these issues is considered as an overall key issue and frequently pointed out in the DI advocacy literature (Csáky 2009; Better Care Network and UNICEF 2015).

Csáky (2009, p. 11) notes that children's homes can "provide a safety valve for governments that are unable - or unwilling - to tackle the complex social and economic factors which drive children into care". However, this statement also demonstrates that the reasons for the upkeep of institutions are multiple and complex. The socio-economic issues and dynamics leading up to vast numbers of children in need of such care are not easy to solve. In this regard, LUMOS (2017, p. 33) adds that "decision-makers may find it difficult to envision a system without residential institutions" and "developing alternative care systems can sometimes seem too long-term and complex" (ibid: 24; see also Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 12). Yet, the reality of fragile or corrupt governments and little political interest in this field magnify the challenge.

However, other dynamics have driven the adoption of DI policies. Firstly, the developments in the former East Bloc have confirmed the general power of conditionality in this regard. The opening in the political opportunity structure after changes to the political environment in line with a domestic political shift was also evident (see also Jacoby et al. 2009).

Furthermore, Babington (2015) points out that there is a body of literature on the DI movement in the Global North which stresses another key driving factor behind government-driven DI reform: Costs.[58] Besides a growing regard for children's rights and the adverse impacts of child institutionalization, policy-makers have realized that financial and welfare support of vulnerable parents and foster carers was significantly more cost effective than keeping up institutions. In fact, the majority of the studies maintain that, in reality, cost considerations have been much more powerful in driving decisions than concerns about

[57] See also Williamson and Greenberg (2010, p. 12); Frimpong-Manso (2014, pp. 403-407); Tobis (2000).

[58] Babington (2015) cites Jones (1993); Estes and Harrington (1981); Hudson (1991).

children's rights. This has been identified ever since the start of the paradigm shift in the US in the 1950s.

Many also highlight in this context that there was a common lack of adequate funding for after care and community support once the institutions were closed. This confirmed that children's rights concerns were rather secondary. In the light of this, some have argued that the reasons driving DI determine "the success or failure of the on the ground implementation of deinstitutionalization policies" (Babington 2015, p. 36).[59] This relates to Zimmermann's point that the actual implementation of a norm requires a substantial level of resource allocation and commitment. Otherwise, there may be policy shifts but a reality of decoupling. In line with Risse et al. (2013, pp. 17-21), the study of Chiwaula et al. (2014) has demonstrated how this particularly applies to materially vulnerable countries.

A further finding in this regard are the recent controversial successes of DI reform, which are discussed in the background talks of professionals in the field. In some cases, a stringent advocacy approach in combination with substantial funding tied to DI-focused sector reforms has been successful in persuading countries to adopt new policies and measures to push DI. However, this has also led to rising concerns regarding the impact of this radical norm change on actual child protection realities on the ground.

There are cases where the shift was translated as pushing children out of children's homes into family-based settings, without any solid infrastructure of supporting and supervising these placements. In some cases, insiders report that children's homes were shut down to comply and "now no-one knows where the kids are" (INT 17). Such reports point to the risks implied in financial incentives and will be further discussed in the next sub-chapter which focuses on the debates in the field and their relation to the norm localization approach.

[59] See also UNICEF and International Social Service (2004, p. 6) for the problems occurring from overburdened foster care systems in the industrialized countries.

3.2.2.3. Concluding remarks

By the later stages of the twentieth century, DI had become a central advocacy issue in the growing international child welfare sector. Moreover, the advocacy campaign continued to gain momentum and force as the developments in many world regions remained contradictory to the promoted norm change. The continuous development of the DI movement has led to a growing body of academic and grey literature on the topic, which had been notably limited before. This literature is widely united in an urgent call for DI. Overall, it was demonstrated how the DI movement reflects the logic and characteristics of the norm socialization approach.

Thereafter, the co-existing trends in terms of the state of DI diffusion were described. While DI advocates are commonly concerned about the remaining dominance of children's homes in the Global South, a trend of DI diffusion has also been noted (Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 423). However, scholars frequently highlight a lack of political will as the key cause of what they consider to be the slowness of some countries to adopt DI policies. This is typically evident in the absence of efforts to put focus and resources into the matter, then exacerbated by a general lack of human and financial resources, low priority of the topic on political agendas, or generally weak or bad governance.

In the light of these problems, Williamson and Greenberg (2010, pp. 12-13) conclude the following:

> In some cases, leaders emerge in government or civil society with the vision, energy and political savvy to effect change. However, transforming national child welfare systems takes years to achieve and requires political will, professional capacity, funding and changes in community attitudes and expectations.

On the other hand, there is one powerful driving factor of DI on the political level: the cost saving argument. Typically resonating with political agendas and fiscal constraints, this can count as a prototype preferential fit which goes beyond children's rights concerns. This also demonstrates the risk implied in financial incentives. They can lead to an unreasonable or 'fake' translation of the DI norm, which does little to improve the situation of the target group. This also shows in the cases of some countries which have been persuaded to adopt DI policy by substantial funding tied to DI-focused sector reforms.

3.2.3. A norm localization logic: Discrepancies between discourses and realities

INGOs calling for a stringent 'closure' of children's homes have not remained without criticism. While their advocacy efforts are certainly invaluable stepping stones in creating awareness of the profound risks associated with children's homes, they have been accused of the commonly criticized features of highly professionalized NGOS: The loss of sensitivity towards the complex reality of the concerned target groups on the ground (see for example Cantwell et al. 2013, p. 121; for the overall topic Martens 2006, pp. 373ff).

Some commentators have pointed out the discrepancies between ambitious international standards and leading discourses and the complex and diverse reality of residential care settings (Islam and Fulcher 2016, p. IX; Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 14; Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014; Dozier et al. 2012, p. 4; see also Dunn et al. 2007, p. 3; Powell 2004, p. 17; UNICEF 2006, p. 35).

The following analysis shows that the critique stemming from this network resembles the common arguments of the norm localization approach. The uni-directional and unambiguous norm socialization approach in terms of a 'correct' DI norm has been increasingly criticized. One recent stream of research argues that the universal call for DI reform neglects the local socio-economic conditions, cultural values and generally differing perspectives in different countries. The next three sections will elaborate upon this question.

3.2.3.1. Abstract concepts vs. realities of children's homes on the ground

DI-focused INGOs envision ideal child care systems in which institutions present no option of alternative care. The promotion of family and community-based care is supposed to go hand-in-hand with the closure of institutions, entailing that anything prolonging or complicating this process should be avoided. This approach includes attempts to improve the quality of care in residential settings and the running of two parallel systems beyond a short-term transition period. Both are regarded as inefficient investments in the light of the overall goal. Furthermore, there is a concern that the financial burden of double running costs may hamper the process and the desired local ownership of the reform. (Costa 2016, pp. 27, 31, 41; LUMOS 2017, p. 4)

For example, Costa (2016, p. 27) depicts an ideal scenario:

> In parallel with prevention efforts, an articulated strategy should be put in place to progressively eliminate institutions as a care option. Specialist expertise is required to transition all children out of institutional care and close institutions in a manner which safeguards each individual child, ensures the efficient use and transfer of resources, and results in sustainable high-quality care services. Whatever the care setting, the highest quality standards should be guaranteed to fulfil children's rights and meet their needs. For most children, all forms of alternative family care will be a temporary measure either while support is provided to enable them to return to their own family or while a more permanent solution such as domestic adoption is found.

However, reality is often different. There is a common lack of supervision and support of family-based placements, but they may still be pushed in order to comply with DI principles. Thus, the handling of the transition period is a topic of concern and debate. While many emphasize the implied costs, some highlight the risks implied in rushing the process (for both see Costa 2016, p. 31, Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 7, Dozier et al. 2012, p. 17, Tobis 2000). If children's homes are closed faster than safe and sustainable family-based alternatives can be granted, then children can easily be exposed to renewed trauma (Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 423). LUMOS (2017, p. 19) alerts:

> In some cases, moving children without preparation has resulted in severe trauma and even death. In others, unprepared placements have resulted in family breakdown and re-institutionalisation" In this context, they point out that "the effectiveness of an alternative care system is contingent upon decisions being made for the right children, at the right time. Ensuring that alternative care options are used appropriately requires a well-trained social welfare workforce, clear guidelines for admissions, strong legislation and policies to guide implementation and oversight to ensure adherence.

Yet such strong and effective welfare systems rarely exist and are hard to achieve in the light of multiple socio-economic and political challenges in many countries. 'Reality on the ground' often means that alarming caseloads of children needing care and the utmost urgency of their needs meet substantial shortages of social workers and limited options of possible placements. This will be pointed out further for the case of South Africa. Children's homes are often the only readily accessible solution (Powell 2004, p. VI) where, as a consequence, the feasibility of providing sufficient family- and community-based alternatives remains questionable.[60]

[60] In this context it should also be considered that the HIV/Aids epidemic does not only leave CWPC, but also with decreasing options of traditional care alternatives within the extended family and community (UNICEF 2006, p. 1).

Considering the overall situation, it can often hold true that social work professionals use children's homes as a quicker and 'safer' option because they lack alternatives and fear 'professional accountability' (Costa 2016, p. 31). After all, the decision making in this regard remains an immensely complex issue. While children need to be kept safe, inappropriate and counterproductive 'attitudes and mentalities' of social work staff need to be avoided.

3.2.3.2. Oppositional perspectives on DI in the child protection field

In the context of the above, the norms and approaches relating to children's homes have also been subject to heated debates within the child protection field itself. While most actors in the field agree with the 'necessity' and the 'suitability' principles stipulated in the UN Guidelines and the higher sustainability of family-based alternatives, the approach to DI is a common subject of debate. As pointed out, some consider residential care strictly as a 'last-resort' for a very small and specific group of children.

Besides that, they believe in a hardline approach and a clear advocacy message with no room for exceptions or grey areas; that is, all institutions must be closed down. Others do not agree with this very strong advocacy approach. Although agreeing with a general last resort approach, they consider certain high-quality residential settings a vital part in the continuum of care for children. Here, three arguments are commonly raised:

1) It is the quality of care that counts in the vast diversity of settings on the ground.[61]
2) There are advantages and disadvantages to each form of care. What counts is to find the best possible solution for the particular situation of a concerned child.[62]
3) Alternative care in extended families and foster care also has its own risks (see above).

A further group of scholars and practitioners opposes the last resort approach, instead viewing children's homes as a preferable and valuable option, if administered in the right way, at the right time, to the right child. For example, Anglin (2004, p. 141) argues that "for many young people (…) good residential care is not a last resort, but rather a preferred and

[61] See Meintjes et al. (2007) for diversity of settings. While there is also a terminological differentiation between institutional and residential care as pointed out in the terminology (see e.g. Cantwell et al. 2013, p. 33/34), there are certainly different opinions on the topic. For example, a very strict approach is taken by LUMOS (see e.g. Costa 2016); and Save the Children (see e.g. Dunn 2007 and Csaky 2009) and a softer approach by Islam and Fulcher (2016); Embleton et al. (2014); Cantwell et al. 2013), and Williamson and Greenberg (2010).

[62] Chiwaula et al. 2014; Embleton et al. 2014; Seithe 2010, p. 149; Rücker 2011, p. 29.

positive choice when their developmental challenges indicate the need for it". With reference to a heatedly debated study by Whetten et al. (2009), Dozier et al. (2012, p. 2) conclude that "although by no means a dominant view, there are still those (…) who have presented evidence that institutional rearing may be less harmful - or no more harmful - than other approaches".[63]

In the light of the above, the aim of shifting away all resources from residential settings and aiming to move every child into family-based care may be questionable. Instead, some would argue that it is necessary to ensure that those homes which do exist are supported and resourced to be able to provide this kind of intense and expensive high-quality service for those children who can best be served in this way.

Another recent stream of research has started to highlight further shortfalls of the currently dominating DI discourse. They argue that the stringent focus on the negative narratives based on research and conclusions from countries in the Global North is also one-sided (Islam and Fulcher 2016, Garcia Quiroga 2014, Embleton et al. 2014). While obviously condemning any maltreatment of children, they highlight that circumstances and views on residential care differ in different local settings. Islam and Fulcher (2016, p. 329) point to far more positive voices from the Global South and conclude that:

> We cannot afford to believe that we know what is right in respect of how best to provide care, education and supervision for children and young people in any culture" (ibid. xi). "Those who advocate wide-spread de-institutionalization may need to rethink the speed and motives from which they act, and whether they are, in fact, acting in the best interests of these children.

For example, Kang'ethe et al. (2015, pp. 123-124) make a point of highlighting specific benefits of well-organized and well-funded residential care next to the commonly agreed on pitfalls. These include educational attainment and the acquiring of life skills and employment skills as well as positive psychological impacts and socialization benefits from being part of

[63] There is also a division among professionals when it comes to determining whether to take preventative or a permanency approach (Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 424). "In summary, across the world, there seems to be a tension between two different visions of public policies regarding out-of-home care. On the one hand, is a "preventive" vision that is more family oriented and, on the other hand, a "permanency" vision aiming to provide stability for children beyond the family (…). It has been argued that these two visions have been alternating in public policies throughout history (…)."

a group, as well as supervised and mentored by well esteemed and professional social workers.

Overall, Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2014, pp. 422-424) conclude that research conducted mainly in big orphanages in Romania and Russia generated a 'de-institutionalization movement' that has had an impact in other countries with, perhaps very different characteristics, resulting in difficulties in the implementation of measures due to cultural, social and economic reasons.

Embleton et al. (2014) take away the focus from the 'either-or' considerations and stress that a 'both-and' approach is far more suitable in view of the immense numbers of children in need of support and services. They conclude the following:

> Our findings demonstrate that there are many models of care for orphaned and separated children and that each plays a valuable and important role in the response to the orphan crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. This is supported by what others have found in Malawi and South Africa. Households require significantly increased support to adequately care for children and ensure children's rights are being upheld. CBO's (community-based organizations) and religious institutions have the potential to assist families struggling to provide care to orphans. CCI's (child care institutions) and CBO's are important care models and both could expand their community-based support programs to support children and families in need. All of these models play a key role in response to the orphan crisis. While it is ideal that children remain in family-based care, CCI's are needed as a last resort in the hierarchy of care and act as a safety net protecting the most vulnerable from falling into self-care on the streets. While the number of orphans continues to increase in sub-Saharan Africa, there is a need to take a 'both-and' approach rather than an 'either-or' one to care for and support the immense number of orphaned and separated children in need of care on the continent (ibid. p. 15).

3.2.3.3. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter explored how certain debates on DI within the child protection field reflect responses to the norm socialization logic of the DI movement, which are in line with the critical counter-argumentation against the norm localization approach. Overall, it shows that 'DI' is a complex process and should not be summed up as 'closing institutions'. Children's homes are a controversial topic in which many different perspectives need to be considered. In this regard, DI-focused INGOs have been accused of losing touch with the complex and diverse realities of children's homes on the ground.

Three points are commonly advanced here. Firstly, the serious risks implied in a hardline and rushed approach to DI, especially if pushed by financial incentives. Secondly, the pitfalls of family-based alternatives if there is no solid infrastructure of supporting and supervising

these placements. Thirdly, a strict DI approach neglecting the remaining significant value of high-quality therapeutic residential care for some children.

Within this context, a group of scholars and practitioners oppose the DI paradigm and see certain high-quality institutions as one of various valuable options for the alternative care of children. They challenge the advocacy message that residential care is generally unfavourable and unsustainable compared to family-based alternatives and that there should be no further investments into residential care or the improvement thereof. They argue that the latter may violate children's rights on different but not less considerable levels (LUMOS 2017, Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014, p. 423, Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 91, Dunn et al. 2007, p. 3).

In the words of Williamson and Greenberg (2010, p. 15), "any type of alternative care can be harmful if implemented poorly, whether it is an institution or family-based care". Many agree now that what counts is the deinstitutionalization of alternative care systems instead of merely closing institutions. However, to realize this on the ground is extremely challenging.

Another new stream of scholarship points to the differing perspectives and diverse realities of children's homes in different local contexts. They point to far more positive narratives, findings, and perspectives on children's homes from the Global South. Eventually, some scholars in the field started making a case for mobilizing and embracing both, suitable residential care and family and community-based care to support the immense numbers of children who are found to be in need of solid solutions for their care and protection.

3.3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has introduced the example of the DI movement in two parts. The first part has presented the field-specific context, terminology, and historical developments. The second part has elaborated on the topic of DI promotion and its outcomes in the light of norm diffusion theory. The following stands out:

In line with the changing norms and value systems which characterized the 20th century, the child welfare field has seen a lot of change and development in the norms relating to the protection of children. In combination with the growing influence of transnational civil society and NGOs, a progressively strengthened and diverse child welfare sector has successfully pushed through the ground-breaking adoption of the UNCRC.

In the context of the UNCRC and the rise of modern research and theory on child development, the damaging effects of 'child institutionalization' has begun to gain political and scientific attention. Over the course of the 20th century, this resulted in a substantial change of best practice norms in the field of 'alternative care'. Governmental actors, UNICEF and leading INGOs started advocating its 'de-institutionalization' (Babington 2015).

The DI movement continued to gain momentum and force as the developments in many world regions remained contradictory to the promoted norm change. A growing global advocacy network has become united in an urgent and universal call for DI. It can be argued that a norm socialization logic is immediately evident. Leading INGOs in the field have been acting as norm entrepreneurs striving to transform existing norms and values in line with human rights concerns. They invoke the principles of the UNCRC - which includes a child's right to family care - and since 2009 the UN Guidelines, to transform the far-spread idea that children's homes are an appropriate care solution for children (see e.g. Dozier et al. 2012; LUMOS 2014).

However, children's homes remain a common care option in many parts of the world, especially in the Global South. The existing literature in this regard has found multiple political, economic, social and cultural factors impeding both policy change towards DI and the actual implementation of it. Most commonly highlighted are a lack of political will, resources and information, as well as an absence of sound governance (Chiwaula et al. 2014). Cases of decoupling are often prevalent. Furthermore, those who support and run children's

homes are commonly identified as veto players – whether intentional or unintentional (see e.g. Tobis 2000, Dozier et al. 2012).

In conclusion, it can be said that the co-existence of competing norms and interests remains the bottom-line of conflicts in the field up until today. This is particularly evident in the contrasting perceptions (ideas/norms) of the role of children's homes within a society. Children's homes were, overall, traditionally a principally faith-based welfare endeavour and associated with a classic link to religious values which prescribe the care of orphans – commonly in so-called 'orphanages'. In and beyond this context, the idea that children's homes are a suitable means for satisfying a benevolent desire to 'save' orphans or mistreated children from the adversity of their circumstances remains far-spread and creates a conflict between traditional norms of orphan care and modern DI norms (see e.g. Williamson and Greenberg 2010, Dozier et al. 2012).

This topic was moved into the center of the debate when the tragic reality of the so-called Aids-orphan crisis hit sub-Saharan Africa and Asian countries. A globally campaigned urgent need for orphan care has led to a groundswell of transnational support for children's homes in the affected countries. While the sense of global solidarity has been immensely appreciated, it demonstrated one of the fundamental dilemmas in terms of DI advocacy: In a parallel sphere of local and international philanthropic and faith-based welfare, corporate social investment, and volunteering, children's homes are still particularly regarded as a 'worthy cause'. Besides these benevolent desires, this reality has also been attributed to the fact that the concept of children's homes typically meets the needs of donors. Overall, the popularity of supporting children's homes has even become an issue of concern as various cases of profit-driven upkeep and misuse of the concept have been observed (see e.g. LUMOS 2017 and UNICEF and ISS 2004).

On the other hand, children's homes have traditionally also been regarded as a means of 'controlling' the societal problem posed by children who are uncared for and/or have difficult behavior pattern. The latter has been noted to be common in socialist regimes (Dozier et al. 2012, p. 4), which was evident in the example of Romania where the state of child institutionalization became a public scandal after the break-down of the socialist regime. The 'Romanian-style orphanage' has thus become a particular horror scenario in DI discourse.

Where successful DI reforms have taken place, these often relate back to norm promotion strategies in line with a norm socialization logic. In the case of Eastern European countries, reforms have been pushed in line with the conditions for EU integration (see e.g. Tobis 2000). In other cases, countries have been persuaded to adopt DI policy by substantial funding tied to DI-focused sector reforms.

However, such strict DI reforms in response to financial incentives have also led to rising concerns about the impact of this radical norm change on actual child protection realities on the ground. There have been cases where the shift has translated into pushing children out of children's homes into family-based settings, without any solid infrastructure of supporting and supervising these placements. These observations have given rise to an increasingly critical perspective on the DI movement which resembles the common arguments of the norm localization approach.

One recent stream of research argues that the universal call for DI reform neglects the local socio-economic conditions, cultural values and varying perspectives in different countries (Islam and Fulcher 2016; Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis 2014; Embleton et al. 2014). On the one hand, scholars point to the often-severe discrepancies between ambitious international standards and discourses and the complex and diverse realities on the ground. In this context, unrealistic expectations and a black-and-white thinking promote decoupling and polarization in the field.

On the other hand, the dogmatic attitude of the concerned INGOs and their idea of a uni-directional norm diffusion process in terms of a 'correct' DI norm is increasingly being criticized. Some scholars call for a recognition of differing local perspectives in different world regions. For example, they contrast the common negative narratives on children's homes based on research and conclusions from countries in the Global North with far more positive narratives, findings and perspectives from the Global South. Eventually, various scholars in the field started making a case for a 'both-and' instead of an 'either-or' approach, which can be related to Zimmermann's concept of appropriation and will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

So what does the DI example tell us about norm diffusion outcomes? Overall, it shows that outcomes on the implementation level can be multi-facetted, shaped by competing norms and interests, and featuring ambivalence, complexity and controversy which can stem from

all levels of the process. In the light of these conclusions, it can be argued that the path to norm cascade and emulation seems congested.

In the following chapter, these findings will be combined with those of the generic literature review in Chapter 2 and two hypotheses will be established on this basis.

4. Research design and methodology: A multi-dimensional case study

This chapter will introduce the overall research design and the detailed methodological approach which will be applied in the subsequent case study. The chapter begins by locating and formulating the research questions and hypotheses in line with the conclusions drawn in the previous chapters. Thereafter, it will specify and explain the research design and process which were selected both to explore these research questions and to evaluate and refine the established hypotheses.

First off, a case study approach was chosen as a research design which, in the light of the aims and questions of the study, is specifically based on an empirical-analytical interest and a focus on the micro-level. The specific pre-defined micro-level local setting of Cape Town's children's home sector will be analyzed with the aim to discover further insights on what outcomes of norm diffusion processes can look like on the ground and what shapes them.

The selection and characteristics of the case study approach will be pointed out in the first part of this chapter. This first part will be followed by an explanation of the selection and the characteristics of the specific case under study, which will be located in an overview of an overall process of modern case study research as defined by Rohlfing (2012). The second part of the chapter will outline the details of the methodological reasoning and empirical measurement on which this research is based.

4.1. Formulating research questions and hypotheses

In the light of the identified research gaps to which this study aims to contribute, the main research question was formulated as:

Which empirical-analytical insights can be gathered on the ground to further differentiate the outcomes of norm diffusion processes and what shapes them - beyond the established factors, such as transnational influences, domestic filters and diffusion mechanisms?

'The established factors' refers to those established in the norm diffusion literature (see 2.2). For the further analysis, this main research question was split in two sub-questions:

SQ 1: What are the actual outcomes of norm translation processes at the implementation level of the target locality?

SQ 2: What shapes these outcomes on the ground?

Pertaining to each of these two sub-questions, one hypothesis was formulated. These were based on the conclusions drawn from the review of the norm diffusion literature and further developed according to the aspects outlined in the introduced DI example. As mentioned in the introduction, the hypotheses are used to define the overall assumptions guiding this study. At the same time, they serve to structure the research in line with the research process for theory-centred case studies as defined by Rohlfing (2012, p. 11, see 4.2.2). He also discusses the use of case studies for testing hypotheses, which is common but disputed (ibid.). (See also evaluation of the overall research approach, p. 218.)

4.1.1. Establishing Hypotheses 1

The first hypothesis for this research was established in terms of SQ 1: What are the actual outcomes of norm translation processes at the implementation level of the target locality?

Drawing from the findings of the literature review, the currently established theory states that the outcomes of norm diffusion processes on the ground are typically either stages between compliance and resistance, or phenomena like decoupling or localization. However, the assumption is that there are many more sub-types of norm diffusion/translation outcomes. This was, for example, highlighted and addressed by Zimmermann (2016), who points out various possible options in line with her model of distinguishing translation into discourse, law, and implementation.

In addition, the DI example demonstrates the potential diversity of co-existing and competing norms, ideas, interests and realities on the ground which are also reflected in the actual outcomes. As demonstrated in the successes and challenges of DI diffusion, this diversity is likely to include potentially ambivalent outcomes. For instance, some countries were persuaded to adopt DI reform and thus comply with the promoted norm, although the manner of implementation makes the outcomes contradictory in terms of the overall goal: To improve the situation of the concerned target group.

Following on here, the first research guiding assumption was formulated as:

H1: A micro-level empirical assessment on the level of implementation and practice is most likely to reveal a diversity of co-existing translation outcomes. These will include ambivalent sub-types of compliance and resistance beyond the concepts of decoupling or localization.

4.1.2. Establishing Hypotheses 2

The second hypothesis was established in terms of SQ 2: What shapes these outcomes on the ground? Again, the findings of the literature review provide straight forward assumptions pertaining to the established theory as pointed out above: Norm diffusion outcomes are shaped by a combination of three types of factors; namely, domestic filters, norm diffusion mechanisms and transnational promotion strategies.

The emphasis on the combined impact of different factors has also been pointed out by Rohlfing (2012, p. 7) who highlights the general move away from assumptions of mono-causation in social science theory. He states as an example that:

> Instead of arguing that only power or norms or structure or agency or a single institution matters for a given outcome, it is now widely acknowledged that structure and agency matter (…), that actor behavior is shaped by material interests and norms and beliefs (…) and that multiple institutions jointly structure the opportunities that are available to actors (ibid.)

Overall, the diversity and potential ambivalence of outcomes on the implementation level - as demonstrated in the DI example and established in H1 – also drives the assumptions in terms of SQ 2. In the light of the emphasized lack of empirical saturation on the topic at hand, the in-depth empirical-analytical case assessment is most likely to reveal further factors and complexities that shape norm diffusion outcomes on the ground, which will again reflect the widely established complexity of the social world and civil society realities. For instance, the DI example demonstrates that ambivalent norm diffusion outcomes on the ground can also be shaped by adverse effects deriving from two potential scenarios:

1) International norm entrepreneurs promote abstract concepts and ideals which mis-frame or disregard the real-life challenges and complexities of improving the situation of the target group on the ground.

2) Transnational civil society action and support regarding the same benevolent goal can be driven by a variety of co-existing and contradictory normative ideas of appropriate outcomes and respective measures.

In the light of these multi-dimensional factors, the second hypothesis was formulated as:

H2: The determinants of outcomes of norm diffusion processes become progressively more complex and multi-dimensional the closer the observations become. Transnational promotion strategies and domestic filters may themselves be shaped by ambivalence and thus cause ambivalent outcomes on the ground.

The approach and process which was applied in order to test these hypotheses will be pointed out in the following two sub-chapters.

4.2. The case study design

In a frequently cited definition by Yin (2003, p. 13), a case study is understood as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." The following will show how this applies to the case at hand. The first sub-chapter will discuss the selection and reasoning of the case study approach both in comparison and relation to other common approaches. Thereafter, the second sub-chapter will outline the selection of the specific case and real-life phenomenon under study.

4.2.1. Selection, rationale, and positioning of the study

Different research designs and their advantages and disadvantages have been reviewed in Sprinz and Wolinsky-Nahmias' 'Models, Numbers & Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations' (2004) as well as Yin's (2003) approach to selecting research strategies by matching them with a set of criteria. The latter is illustrated in the following table:

Strategy	Form of Research Question	Requires Control of Behavioral Events?	Focuses on Contemporary Events?
Experiment	how, why?	Yes	Yes
Survey	who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes
Archival analysis	who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes/No
History	how, why?	No	No
Case study	how, why?	No	Yes

Table 2: Relevant Situations for Different Research Strategies

SOURCE: COSMOS Corporation. Based on Yin 2003, p. 5

According to this approach, three criteria are relevant in the selection of a research design. First of all, the form of the research question needs to be established. On first sight, the research questions pointed out for this study provide a clear answer: They ask the question ***'What?'***" Yin (2003, p. 7) points out that

> 'What' questions may either be exploratory (in which case any of the strategies could be used) or about prevalence (in which surveys or the analysis of archival records would be favoured)?

Regarding the other two criteria, it can be established that there is no need to control the outcomes and the focus is on contemporary events. In total, this situation points to a case study design as well as a survey design or even an archival analysis.

However, the following section will explain why the case study design is certainly the most suitable strategy for this study:

First of all, Yin (2003, p. 2) states that "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena (…) and to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events". This is also the aim of this study. In striving to contribute to understanding norm diffusion outcomes and the reactions of socialization targets at the micro-level on the ground, a case study approach has many advantages. It is classically understood as the most useful method for holistic, in-depth investigation and a detailed understanding of the viewpoint of and the dynamics between the involved participants. (Yin 2003; Feagin et al. 1991; Stake 1995)

Secondly, there is a particular unit of analysis that is well-known and accessible to the researcher and providing an interesting case example for the intended analysis. In this regard, classic scholarship emphasizes that in case study methodology cases are selected with the aim of maximizing what can be learned from a particular unit of analysis within the framework and scope of a study. This is opposed to being drawn as a sample from a larger group and applies to both, single and multiple case studies. Triangulation is the typical method used to increase internal validity and to capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon. (Yin 2003; Feagin et al. 1991; Stake 1995)

In this context, it is worth noting that this study will eventually be about both prevalence and exploration while asking both the survey questions **'who? what? where? how many? how much? questions'** and the classic case study questions **'how? and why?**' However, all the questions will pertain to the same unit of analysis. This will be further specified below.

Lastly, the **what?** questions could also be reformulated as the typical case study questions **'how?'** and **'why?'**: ***'What are the actual outcomes of norm translation processes at the implementation level of the target locality?'*** could be rephrased as 'How are internationally promoted norms translated into practice at the target locality?' and 'What shapes these outcomes on the ground?' rephrased as 'Why do these outcomes occur?'. However, the **'what'** questions will be maintained as they provide a better fit with the structure, theory, hypotheses and eventual analysis of this study.

Overall, it is also important to note that the question type in focus can also vary depending on the type of the case study. Case studies are often distinguished in three types: Explanatory (focused on ***how?*** and ***why?*** questions), exploratory (focused on ***what?*** or ***who?*** questions), and descriptive (focused on ***what happened?***). (Yin 2003, p. 1)

4.2.1.1. Strengths, limitations and philosophical foundations

Scholars usually agree that all available research strategies have their strengths and limitations. Yin (2003, p. 8) stresses that – besides the advantages of case studies pointed out above - "the case study's unique strengths is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, arti-facts, interviews, and observations".

The commonly highlighted problem with case studies is their lack of external validity when it comes to generalizing the findings. However, Yin points to the difference between analytic generalization and statistical generalization in that regard. In analytic generalization, the empirical findings of the case study are compared with a template deriving from a previously developed theory. This applies to single and multiple case studies. Single cases are typically used to confirm or challenge a theory, or to document a unique or extreme case (Yin 2003, p. 32). In other cases, a strategy of multiple case studies has been recommended (Yin 2003; Rohlfing 2012). Sprinz and Wolinsky-Nahmias (2004, p. 64) put this in context with another approach as they elaborate that:

> Comparative case methods (…) combine the benefits of the case study with the analytical leverage that comes from comparison. J.S. Mill's method of difference proceeds 'by comparing instances in which the phenomenon does occur with instances in other respects similar in which it does not'" (…) Some applications begin with a hypothesis linking a cause C with an effect E. Two or more cases are selected to illustrate a difference in C. If the observed cases differed in C and differed as expected in the supposed effect E but were similar in all other relevant respects, then by elimination one could infer that the reason for the E difference must have been the difference in C.

The analysis of a causal effect as described in this quote is the prominent approach in experimental designs, which are usually based on quantitative research approaches. The commonly highlighted problem with such analyses is that they are unable to provide insights on the ***'how'*** and ***'why?'*** question (see e.g. Rohlfing 2012, p. 3 or Stake 1995)

In the light of this shortfall, recent approaches aim to combine analyses of causal effect with those of causal mechanisms, which can only be performed simultaneously by using an explanatory case study method as elaborated on by Rohlfing (2012, p. 3). In fact, Rohlfing's integrative approach represents a new generation of case study research, which will be further explored in the next sub-section. He provides a new framework for conducting case studies that are theory-centered, explanatory and focused on causal regularities and relationships, and aims to move away from the segmentation in the field when it comes to 'small-n' vs. 'large-n' reasoning (Rohlfing 2012, p. 4). In terms of the latter, he highlights that case study research can draw from different philosophical groundings and that a reflection on this is important as the strategy does not preclude it. There is a variety of equally viable ways to conduct case studies (ibid.).

Rohlfing (2012, p. 1) points out that underlying philosophies in the social sciences differ in terms of their assumptions on whether or not regularities in social and political phenomena do exist and in how far they are observable within the immensely complex social world in which they occur.[64] However, he clarifies that case studies are based on the ontological premise that "at least some empirical relationships are regular (…) and that one can learn something about these relationships via systematic small-n research" (Rohlfing 2012, p.1).

However, Maggeti (2013, p. 577) emphasizes that "the analysis of regular causal relations is not the unique goal of case study research – the exploration of diversity, heterogeneity, variability, peculiarity and deviance are at least equally important in case-oriented research." In this regard, this study agrees strongly with Maggetti's point and regards regularity and diversity as equally interesting.

Furthermore, this research is generally based on the underlying philosophy that – whether or not there are (observable) causal regularities - social and political phenomena are always dependent on the multiple contextual factors and dynamics in the immensely complex social world in which they occur. This is mostly in line with the concept of 'causal mechanisms'.

[64] He exemplifies neo-positivism, critical realism and constructivism.

Following this approach, the study of a particular case within its specific context seems most useful. The question to be explored becomes: What happened in this particular case? Why did E (effect) occur in this case? How did C (the cause) take place in this case?

This approach does not claim replicability for another case but provides a detailed understanding of the causes of an effect in one particular case. Building on the detailed understanding of one case, new hypotheses for further research can be established and the case study can aim to contribute to the advancement of theory.

Rohlfing (2012, p. 2) explains that case studies with the latter aim are referred to as 'theory-centered' as opposed to 'case-centered' case studies. However, these goals are not contradictory, as drawing general inferences does not oppose the value of gaining a detailed understanding of the particular case at hand.

4.2.1.2. A new era of case study research

Case study research has become progressively more popular and sophisticated over recent decades. Maggeti (2013, p. 576) summarizes that:

> Case studies have always been widely used in the social sciences. However, in spite of the popularity of this approach, the methods for case study research have been traditionally disesteemed (by mainstream methodologists) or simply neglected (by many empirical researchers) for a long time. Then, since about a decade, a number of scholars made a considerable effort to develop new concepts and tools that greatly increased the analytical leverage of case study research (…). These contributions reinforced the legitimacy of this approach by showing its distinctive contribution to theory development and to empirical research. New opportunities and new perspectives are now made available to social scientists. As a result, case study research is becoming much richer and more elaborate.

Of course, the body of literature on case study research is generally extensive and has many prominent scholars. Some are visible in this quote. Rohlfing's contribution (2012) - which has already been pointed out above – is considered as one of the key pieces of literature on modern case study methodology.[65] Although this dissertation follows a rather classic and straight-forward approach of case study research which hardly fits with Rohlfing's specific and advanced four-dimensional framework, the further conceptualization of the research design in this study will partly draw from his overall concept and elaborations.

[65] See Maggeti (2013). Rohlfing also provides a detailed overview of the debate (2012, p. 3 ff.).

For example, two points play a particular role in this study. The first is the definition of the research goal. Rohlfing defines the three possible goals of theory-centered case study research as either 'building', 'testing', or 'modifying' hypotheses. He goes on to point out how the further research process depends on the formulated goal. In this context, Rohlfing provides an overview of the different steps of the different research processes, which will be used to illustrate and discuss the overall research process for this study (next sub-chapter).

The second point is what Rohlfing refers to as the level of analysis. 'Cross-case' and 'within-case' analysis are commonly distinguished: "In general, the cross case level is the level on which a causal effect is theorised and examined, while the within-case level is concerned with causal mechanisms and causal processes" (Rohlfing 2012, p. 4).

This study would count as a 'within-case' analysis. In this context, it is noted that the method of process tracing with a focus on causal mechanisms has become a growing paradigm in case study research and also particularly popular in the study of norm diffusion (ibid; see also e.g. Checkel (in Klotz and Prakash 2008). This will be considered in the analysis in terms of the second sub-question: 'What shapes outcomes on the ground?'

4.2.1.3. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter discussed the selection of the case study approach amongst a variety of common research strategies. In a theory-centered, explanatory case study approach, the multi-faceted real-life example of DI diffusion creates a specific context for the analysis in this dissertation. This overall nature of the research approach demonstrates the blurred boundaries between phenomenon and context as pointed out in Yin's definition of case studies above. After drawing attention to the typical strengths and limitations, the sub-chapter highlighted the achievements of a new generation of case study research. For example, Rohlfing (2012) works towards integrating the different strengths of more quantitative cause-effect approaches and more qualitative explanations of the 'how and why question', i.e. by using the lens of process tracing and causal mechanisms. This will be further referred to below.

4.2.2. Research steps: Overview and case selection

This sub-chapter starts off by providing an overview of the research steps applied in this study. This overview builds on Rohlfing's approach as pointed out in the previous sub-chapter and is illustrated in the following table. Rohlfing (2012, p. 11) sets out a framework for defining three different research processes depending on the formulated research goal:

Building hypothesis	Testing hypothesis	Modifying hypothesis
Formulating concepts	Formulating concepts	Formulating concepts
↓	↓	↓
	Formulating hypotheses	Choosing hypothesis for modification
	↓	↓
Selecting cases	Selecting cases	Selecting cases
↓	↓	↓
Exploratory empirical analysis	Confirmatory empirical analysis	Exploratory empirical analysis
↓	↓	↓
Formulating hypothesis	Evaluating hypothesis	Refining hypothesis

Table 3: The research process for three theory-centered research goals (Rohlfing 2012, p.11)

While it may be concluded that this study is mainly in line with the 'testing' goal and process, this cannot be taken as clear-cut in view of the differing research contributions. In fact, the three final aims do all apply to this study:

1) To evaluate the formulated hypotheses, 2) to possibly refine them, as well as 3) to potentially formulate new hypotheses based on new empirical findings. However, in consideration that the research steps do not differ significantly, this is not perceived as a problem in this study. Instead, the overview is regarded as a much appreciated and helpful framework to illustrate and define the research design in all its steps.[66]

[66] For a discussion of the use of case studies for testing hypotheses see Rohlfing (2012, pp. 10-11).

The following sections will describe the selection of the case and discuss its overall characteristics, where the availability of a baseline is a defining feature. Thereafter, the next sub-chapter will continue with the further description of the empirical analysis in all its steps.

4.2.2.1. Case selection: A norm diffusion case with a baseline from 2009

The case example studied in this dissertation is the diffusion of the transnationally promoted DI paradigm in the specific case of Cape Town's children's home sector. This case offers a unique opportunity for diachronic comparison as well as a special familiarity with the setting, which is based on the background of the researcher. The data collected in line with a previous study on the same topic in 2009 will serve as a baseline. The case was thus selected with the aim to leverage what can be learned from this particular unit of analysis.

At this stage, the case will briefly be defined in relation to Rohlfing's general definition of a case as "a bounded empirical phenomenon that is an instance of a population of similar empirical phenomena" (Rohlfing, 2012: 24). He states that the general principle underlying "a bounded empirical phenomenon" is "that a given set of boundaries should fully circumscribe the case" and that "an instance of a population of similar empirical phenomena" refers to "the inherent meaning of a case as being a case of something of which there are more empirical instances that together form the population of interests" [67] (Rohlfing, 2012: 24).

The case under study in this dissertation - Cape Town's children's home sector - is clearly bounded. It is understood as a particular institutional field/microcosm which consists of several sub-units – children's homes - which are officially defined and registered by local authorities.

At the time of the baseline study in 2009, South Africa's regulatory framework for residential care was stipulated in the South African Child Care Act of 1983. Children's homes were defined as one of six types of institutions in the category of 'residential care':

> Any residence or home maintained for the reception, protection, care and bringing-up of more than six children apart from their parents, but does not include any school of industries or reform school.

[67] Regarding the second criteria as pointed out by Rohlfing, it can be concluded that this case is an instance of a population and could be defined as any children's home sector in any comparable city – either worldwide or confined to the Global South.

An official list of all registered children's homes in the Western Cape stated that 30 of these homes were located in Cape Town.[68] Only 23 of the homes on the list were found to be up and running. As one home was not cooperative in taking part in the survey, 22 homes could be included in the sample.[69] This sample was comprised of 96% of the target population and thus implied high representativeness along with a clearly defined and manageable group for analysis.[70]

4.2.2.2. The baseline: DI diffusion in Cape Town's children's home sector in 2009

At the time of the baseline study in 2009, the norm of concern was already reflected in the existing South African welfare policies for children. It was part of a broader developmental approach to social welfare which was adopted in line with the highly progressive constitution which characterized the country's turn to democracy in 1994. However, post-democracy child welfare policies have also been noted to be fragmented and failing to provide a clear and comprehensive overview over service responses (Streak 2005). A dearth of official and reliable data have also been highlighted (Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 11; Hall et al. 2017, p. 28).

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[68] The online service is provided by "Cape Gateway – easy access to government information and services", available at http://www.capegateway.gov.za/. The list is still available at http://www.capegateway.gov.za/other/2004/2/childrens_homes.pdf.

[69] In spite of the one case, everyone was generally very helpful and seemed rather open to be visited and interviewed for the purpose of the research. An appointment for an interview was scheduled at each home, either with the director or the leading social worker. In a few cases these individuals were not available for the interview themselves but allocated another member of the managing staff to represent them. 21 of the homes were visited and the questionnaires were filled in together with the respondent at the home. This method was preferred as it allowed for systematic observation of certain criteria. The director of one home preferred to fill in the questionnaire herself and was reluctant to schedule an appointment for a visit. However, the questionnaire she sent back was filled in very thoroughly and provided the necessary information to be included in the sample.
The final sum of the empirically collected and documented data of this research comprised of 24 filled in questionnaires (one for each home in the sample). The collected data included both, quantitative data and qualitative data. The quantitative data came from the standardized questions in the questionnaire and the categories for systematic observation. The qualitative data arose from the open questions in the questionnaire as well as from further information given or 'stories' told by respondents, and further observations made by the researcher. The qualitative data was analyzed, the relevant information extracted and, if necessary, coded during the cause of the field study. Finally, all of the collected data was entered into different Excel spread sheets for systematically evaluation. The questionnaire and the spread sheets are provided as attachments.

[70] Plus one non-registered and one differently-registered example were interviewed in line with the previous study.

Overall, the findings on the background and establishment of the 23 registered children's homes in Cape Town demonstrated a strong culture and tradition of children's homes in this locality. While a considerable number of homes did make an effort to provide rather modern models of care, more than half of the homes were still the opposite of what the DI norm change was trying to achieve: Classic dormitory style settings housing 30 – 100 children. Many of these homes were the remaining parts of traditional children's 'institutions', which had been established multiple decades (some even centuries) ago in central areas of Cape Town. Only one of the homes had been established in the new century and one in the year which brought the end of apartheid, 1994. All the other homes were older.

Furthermore, with only two exceptions, all homes were explicitly stated to have been founded by a church or church related individuals. The majority was still run in a faith-related context. About 75% of the homes were run by local NGOs and the remaining 25% were branches of bigger – mostly international – NGOs. Only two of the local NGOs engaged in the kind of programs which were strongly promoted by the new DI norm: family and community-based programs and early intervention efforts. On the contrary, the bigger national or international NGOs had all started to run such programs. In this context, a general trend towards the establishment of these programs was pointed out by several respondents.

Even one of the international NGOs, which has a long tradition in focusing particularly on the provision of children's villages, started running a reunification program as well as an extensive externally focused family strengthening program. They stated that this was a response to critique from the local authorities and the leading local umbrella NGO. In line with the adopted local policy, these actors were generally remarked to be pushing the sector towards reunification work and early intervention programs. In this context, many homes stressed their focus on getting children back into the community and stated to have established their own reunification programs and to employ their own reunification workers.

However, they highlighted two dilemmas. Firstly, the negative impacts of the overburdened social work system, which was not doing a proper job to support individual children (e.g. inadequate reviews on all levels), thus complicating the reunification work of the homes in many ways. Secondly, the severe difficulties arising in the work with families and their socio-economic and psycho-social problems. In this context, some respondents stressed that children's homes need to serve as a 'safe haven' from where children can be stabilized, and families can be worked with. They explained that this process must not be rushed so

reunification can last. Furthermore, several respondents in charge of older children pointed out that most of the kids in their care are coming from failed foster care arrangements.

Overall, all but one respondent agreed with the statement that "children's homes need to exist, but they should only be a last resort to care for children" and that "international money should be redirected to family and community-based settings". However, 75% of the respondent agreed – mostly strongly - with the statement that "international actors promoting deinstitutionalization do not understand the reality in our country" and that "children's homes are not an ideal place for children, but right now they are the only realistic option".

4.2.2.3. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter has discussed the research process applied in this study based on Rohlfing's overview of goals and respective steps. The discussion has pointed out where and the extent to which the formulation of goals, concepts and hypotheses have taken place. This set the context for the next fundamental step - the selection of the case/cases. The selected case - Cape Town's children's home sector - is a clear-cut and bounded institutional micro-cosmos based on official local definitions and registrations.

In all, there are three main reasons for the selection of this case: 1) A unique opportunity for diachronic comparison based on the data available from a previous study, 2) a special familiarity with the setting (and the field) based on the background of the researcher, 3) the generally interesting context for norm diffusion in Cape Town and South Africa in general which will be pointed out in Chapter 5. The last section provided a summarized picture of the baseline against which the developments in the sector were measured. The way in which this empirical measurement took place will be pointed out in the next part of this chapter.

4.3. The empirical analysis

The empirical analysis of this research is based on an approach of working from the general to the specific. Thus, three different dimensions of the given case will be assessed. An analysis of the global dimension sets the context for the assessment of the national dimension. Both of these dimensions provide the overall contextual frame for the final empirical investigation on the local dimension.

The following sub-chapter will further introduce this approach and describe the sources of data collection on each of these dimensions. Thereafter, the subsequent sub-chapter will focus particularly on the methods and procedures of data collection on the local dimension, which is the key dimension on which the contribution of this study is based. In order to explain how the indicators for the diachronic comparison were deducted, the final sub-chapter provides a field-specific theoretical framework which outlines the common concerns and findings that inform the DI movement.

4.3.1. Data collection: Dimensions and sources

This sub-chapter will introduce the three dimensions under analysis in this study: the global, the national and the local dimension. The different sources and methods of data collection will be pointed out for each of these dimensions.

4.3.1.1. The global dimension

The global dimension refers to the development and diffusion of the general norm example, the DI norm, on the global level and was introduced in Chapter 3. The example served well to demonstrate the immense complexity and multi-dimensionality inherent in norm diffusion processes and realities. The findings contributed to the establishment of the two hypotheses.

The assessment on this dimension was mostly based on a review of the field-specific academic and grey literature, and then complemented with data collected in two expert interviews with highly established and connected individuals in the global field. Both interviewees were part of leadership clusters of transnational organizations/networks based in global metropolises (such as London, New York, and Washington DC) and acting as norm entrepreneurs in terms of the DI norm. Both interviews were based on a confidentiality

agreement.[71] The aim was to find out which experiences, challenges/incentives and realities shape the approaches and opinions of these leaders. They were asked how they perceive the state of the field, the DI trend and their role in it, as well as how they interpret the findings on perspectives, realities and challenges deriving from the local dimension.

Further information was gathered from observations and background talks at two major topic-specific international conferences, which both took place in Europe (Geneva and Vienna) in 2016. Interestingly, some simple but profound differences which were observed on three dimensions already made a clear point regarding the general fragmentation and the co-existing and competing norms in the field. These were the terminology used, the topics selected for presentation and the group of actors assembled (with hardly any overlap).

4.3.1.2. The national dimension

The national dimension refers to the development and diffusion of the norm example in South Africa. Changes in terms of the translation of the DI norm into law could easily be identified in a review of the legal documents and the field-specific local and international literature. The analysis focused on updates of policies, legal terminology, categories and registration requirements, with changes regarding specific requirements and standards for the running of children's homes (e.g. relating to staff training, staff ratios etc.).

Besides the local academic literature and legal documents, this review has included various volumes of a long-standing field-specific local journal published by the leading national umbrella body, the NACCW, entitled 'Child and Youth Care Work'. This journal has been a tool to share news, developments, reports, reflections and other messages among experts and practitioners in the field since a time before South Africa's change to democracy in 1994. It has thus turned out to be a source of long-term documentation regarding the developments of normative discourse and trends in the sector. It has also provided some solid information in terms of the development of a growing rift between leading NGOs and the responsible government departments in the field.

[71] The interviews were recorded, transcribed and the relevant points used to supplement the overall set of findings. For an overview of the guiding questions see Attachment 3.3. The same applied to the interviews on the national dimension (see next page). Here, an overview of the guiding questions is provided as Attachment 3.2.

In addition, the document review was again complemented by two expert interviews with leading individuals in the national field (see footnote 71). These were based on confidentiality agreements. Both interviewees were long-term established directors in the national field who were highly involved and experienced in the development of the national sector as well as both international collaboration and local practice.

The initial plan was to also interview representatives of the responsible government department and an academic institution. However, when it came to the stage of the study where these interviews were planned, the empirical material deriving from the various prior research steps and data sources seemed more than sufficient. Further interviews with individuals from the considered groups were not expected to reveal any additional insights which would change the overall picture that emerged from the already collected data. Therefore, it was decided to rather focus on the overall development of the dissertation.

4.3.1.3. The local dimension

The local dimension refers to the translation of the DI norm into actual practice in the specified case example of Cape Town's children's home sector. After the pre-dominantly literature-based analysis on the previous two dimensions, the assessment on this dimension was based on the data collected in a micro-level, empirical-analytical fact-finding exercise and Grounded- Theory style interviews. This will be detailed in the next sub-chapter. As pointed out above, a set of data from 2009 has provided a baseline against which the developments in the sector can be measured.

As in 2009, the currently operating registered children's homes in Cape Town were identified via an official list of the Department of Social Development (the responsible government department, hereafter 'DSD').[72] However, the review of the legal framework on the national dimension have revealed a significant change in the categories and terminology pertaining to the registration of children's homes. Since the updates to the South African Children's Act from April 2010, the organizations which were previously registered as 'children's homes' were now registered in the new and more inclusive category termed 'Child and Youth Care Centers' (CYCCs). This development will be further assessed and evaluated in Chapter 5.

[72] The list is available at https://www.westerncape.gov.za/directories/facilities/917.

At this stage, the crucial point is that the more inclusive category resulted in a considerably higher number of units. Compared to the 23 children's homes which were registered (and operating) in 2009, a total of 41 organizations are listed as CYCCs in the same area today.

In the light of this and another lesson learned from the previous study, the target group for this round of data collection has thus been redefined. In the 2009 study, it included all non-profit organizations (NPOs) which ran registered children's homes that were located in Cape Town. Overall, the same applied in this new round of data collection, but the decision was made to exclude those children's homes which specialize in catering to a distinguished group of children.[73] It can be concluded that there are currently 24 NPOs which fall into this target group. The 41 CYCCs are run by 36 NPOs (some NPOs run more than one) and 15 cater to distinguished groups of children. The following table provides an overview of numerical updates and shows that there is an overlap of 19 NPOs, which were assessed in both studies. Six additional homes were added and five withdrawn as they cater to distinguished groups.

Children's homes / CYCCs	**2009**	**2017**
Officially listed	30	41
Total of NPOs running these homes	28	36
Found as up and running	23	36
Catering to distinguished groups	4	15
Subject of analysis	22	21
Additional examples (not/differently registered homes)	2	4
Units analyzed	24	25
Overlap (part of both samples)	19	19
Lost/new units of analysis	5 (lost)	6 (new)

Table 4: Diachronic analysis – The numbers (own design)

[73] This includes children with special needs, children in secure care (in conflict with the law), street children, and unaccompanied minors. While these groups are obviously highly important, it is beyond the scope of this research to consider the special contexts of these groups. That the specific contexts of these groups need extra consideration was also an outcome of the 2009 study.

The research steps and methods applied on the local dimension will be outlined in the following sub-chapter.

4.3.2. Overview of methods and procedures on the local dimension

The analysis of the local dimension has taken place in two steps, each of which has explored one of the two different sub-questions by using two different methods. The following provides an overview of these methods as well as the rationale in terms of answering each question.

4.3.2.1. Empirical-analytical fact finding in a diachronic comparison

The first step aimed to explore the first sub-question and the validity of the respective hypothesis as established above: ***SQ 1: What are the actual outcomes of norm diffusion processes at the implementation level of the target locality?***

- ***H1: A micro-level empirical assessment on the level of implementation and practice is most likely to reveal a diversity of co-existing diffusion outcomes. This will include ambivalent sub-types of compliance and resistance beyond the concepts of decoupling or localization.***

The assessment regarding this step was based on a method of empirical-analytical fact-finding in relation to the baseline from 2009 (see above). The DI related adjustments or non-adjustments which have since taken place at the implementation level of Cape Town's children's home sector can then be taken as the outcomes of the DI diffusion process. These will be measured by using a specific set of indicators which will be pointed out below.

While the method of comparison and fact finding will reveal concrete developments in terms of the norm's translation into implementation and practice, it is less likely to indicate the assumed ambivalences. These will eventually be identified in a combination of the findings from both research steps.

The diachronic and cross-sectional assessment compared the state of the selected homes in terms of the manifestation of empirically observable indicators in 2009 and 2017. The indicators were carefully developed to reflect typical adjustments to the standards promoted by the DI movement. These will be elaborated upon in sub-chapter 4.3.3.

Compared to the 2009 study, the set of indicators was redefined in a way that allowed for the collection of a comparable set of data without the need to conduct renewed interviews at each of the children's homes. Instead, the indicators could be observed in a systematic analysis of publicly available information on websites and documents. As pointed out in Chapter 2, NGOs now commonly present their values, missions and activities on official websites and brochures. This serves a desire for external identity and external representation and appeal.

A preliminary assessment of website availability revealed that all but two of the targeted NPOs had their own websites. For those two organizations that did not have direct websites other sources of information could provide similar insights.[74] However, in terms of two other homes some limitations were recognized at a later stage of the study, which will be pointed out below. The following table provides an overview of the questions and categories for observation.

	Categories / Indicators	***Possible characteristics***
1.	***General points***	
	Registration	*Still-newly-differently registered or unregistered / closures*
	Background	*Long tradition / faith-based / grass-root /local / foreign*
	Location	*City/ average suburb / wealthy suburb/ township*
	Pure CH or bigger NGO	*Pure CH, part of bigger NGO*
	Funding model	*Diversified (international/mixed/local), own specific model*
2.	***Program approach***	
	Family programs?	*Already in 2009 / New programs / None*
	Number of children?	*#*
	Under 3-year-olds?	*Yes/ no*
	Care structure?	*Dormitory units / small house / village / community-cottages*
	Community relation?	*Integrated / standing out / mixed*

(continued on following page)

[74] One of them was described on a related charity website, which was counted as a sufficient source of relevant information. The other one was only described in very general terms on related charity websites. However, the problem was solved as this NPO became part of the sample for interviewing.

3.	***Self-presentation?***	
	Website?	*Yes/no + extensive or limited info (and annual reports)*
	Apparent DI awareness?	*Yes/ sort of/ no-own little cosmos/ not apparent*
	Emphasis of DI principles	*Efforts family reunification / gatekeeping - last resort*
	Stories of change	*A story or stance relating to DI principles*
4.	***Significant change?***	*Semi/ no/ yes*

Table 5: Table of indicators (own design)

As in the 2009 study, all the data was entered in an Excel spread sheet. This allowed for a systematic analysis and evaluation of the conducted data. The respective graphics will then be presented in Chapter 6. Further, the most relevant information from the reviewed websites was saved in an additional document.

4.3.2.2. Grounded-theory-style interviews with leading practitioners

After the more factual overview deriving from Step I, the aim of the second step was to assess which factors and circumstances have driven the leaders of the different children's homes to agree with, adjust to or resist the DI principle. A 'Grounded-Theory-style'[75] method has hence been applied in a process-tracing-inspired [76] assessment. Considering the highly heterogeneous field, the interviewees were then selected with the aim to gain deep insights into a variety of different examples in terms of settings, contexts, and outcomes.[77]

Eventually, 15 formal interviews were conducted with leading staff (see below). The nature of the interviews differed depending on the context and the availability, interest and knowledge of the respondent approached. While some of them were very aware of - or even

[75] The Grounded Theory Method was developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s and has gained immense popularity as a social science research method over time (for a detailed overview see e.g. 'The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory' by Bryant and Charmaz 2011). A classic definition by Cathy Charmaz (1995, p. 28) describes the method as follows: "You start with individual cases, incidents or experiences and develop progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesize, to explain and to understand your data and to identify patterned relationships within it. You begin with an area to study. Then, you build your theoretical analysis on what you discover is relevant in the actual worlds that you study within this area."

[76] The Oxford Research Encyclopedias (Oxford University Press) describe process tracing as a "method for tracing causal mechanisms using detailed, within-case empirical analysis of how a causal process plays out in an actual case (…) and can be used for case studies that aim to gain a greater understanding of the causal dynamics that produced the outcome."

[77] This will be elaborated on in more detail in Chapter 6 and 7.

involved in - wider local, national or international advocacy work, others were solely influenced by their micro-level local context.

This 'Grounded-Theory-style' approach has guided the way in which the interviews were conducted. Open questions regarding the respondent's general approach, challenges, background and motivations served as a basic frame and brought up several key themes. As the interviews progressed, the DI topic and related issues were brought in to assess the respondent's awareness of, reactions to and perspectives on the topic.

Overall, the interviews were guided by the following four key questions:

- What drives the respondents? (Background, experiences, challenges, incentives)
- How do they perceive the development of the local sector? (changes)
- Are they aware of the deinstitutionalization movement and, if yes, what do they think about it and how do they see the way forward (and their role in it)?
- How do they perceive different driving factors for change and how have these affected them/their programs? (Particular focus on international and donor influence)

A set of guiding questions per category were formulated to guide the conduction of the interviews. These are provided as Attachment 3.1.

In general, the approached individuals were open and interested in supporting the study. Some respondents were known and familiar to the researcher from her previous work in the field. In eleven of the cases it was possible to conduct extensive and in-depth interviews with the official directors of the homes. Three of these decided to also include another leading staff member in the interview, either simultaneously or subsequently.

In three other cases, the respondents were not the directors of the organization but other leading staff members who were most involved with the residential programs. In one case, the planned interview did not turn out to be possible but a brief substitute interview with a long-term part-time staff member was conducted telephonically. As this conversation provided some interesting points regarding an interesting case, it was still considered. However, in contrast to all the other interviews, this one could not be recorded and transcribed. Instead, a record of notes was kept.

In one case the director seemed to be reluctant. After agreeing to be interviewed in an introductory conversation, the scheduled appointment was cancelled on last minute notice.

Eventually, the relevant sections of 15 recorded interviews were transcribed. The data was analyzed and evaluated in accordance with respective coding systems. The overall approach and objective was hence a theory-driven assessment of facts and themes. The re-occurrence of topics was regarded as a sign of relevance in the given context. Further, some individual statements provided new insights. Overall, those points that were not mentioned in the norm diffusion literature were of particular interest.

4.3.2.3. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter pointed out the three dimensions which were empirically analyzed in an approach of working from the general global dimension of the given DI example to the specific local dimension of the Cape Town case. In summary, it can be said that three types of data have been collected: An initial document review in terms of all dimensions of the case example was combined with the collection of survey-style data and the conduction of interviews. Besides the interviews on the local dimension, which is the heart of the empirical analysis, some supplementary expert interviews with leading individuals in the field were also conducted on the other two dimensions.

The empirical assessment on the local dimension took place in two steps. This was introduced in some detail. The exact numbers and types of sub-units included in the institutional micro-cosmos of Cape Town's children's home sector were defined. In the first step of the analysis, the developments at the individual homes and in the overall sector were assessed in a fact-finding diachronic comparison. The second step focused on the 'how and why' questions. In a Grounded-Theory-style and Process-Tracing-inspired approach, the leaders of 15 children's homes were interviewed. In line with the overall research questions, the aim was to gain a greater understanding of what produced the given outcomes, actions and reactions in terms of the promoted DI norm in each of these micro-level cases.

4.3.3. Deducting indicators based on the risks associated with children's homes

This sub-chapter will provide a comprehensive picture of the concerns, reasoning and recommendations that underlie the DI paradigm. The detailed explanation of field-specific issues in the following sections is based on two reasons. Firstly, the introduced factors are the foundation for the development of indicators which will be used to measure the adjustment and changes in terms of the DI norm. The indicators will be deduced in the last section. Secondly, the study aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the DI case and the discussion thereof which may particularly interest case-centered readers. Thus, this section constitutes a further addition to the introduction of the DI topic in Chapter 3.

It has been established that a majority of scholars point to various studies showing the multiple and profound risks and hazards of residential care. This sub-chapter will hence elaborate on the two different dimensions from which these points derive. On the one hand, the risks to the social and psychological development of children which compromise a child's basic human rights. On the other hand, the destructive mechanisms child in societies and communities.

In the following section, Table 1 and Table 2 provide overviews of the commonly agreed on hazards on each of these two dimensions. After each table, the different factors will be briefly introduced. Finally, an attempt is made to combine the complex interplay of the factors on both dimensions and to draw a comprehensive picture of 'The vicious circle of child care in children's homes' in a graphical overview.

4.3.3.1. Critical mechanisms harming the individual child in residential care

As pointed out in Chapter 3, most children's homes are run by NGOs, which usually engage in processes of professionalization, bureaucratization and institutionalization in order to master the various managerial processes necessary to guarantee their 'institutional functioning'. As a result, the responsible NGOs have been found to focus primarily on the needs of the organization, such as resource mobilization, administrative, management, and domestic needs, as well as the obvious physical needs of the children. A common lack of resources and/or dependency on donor attention to attract and/or maintain access to resources directs the focus towards the attractive presentation of the institution to donors.

The reality present here leads to the neglect of the children's individual needs and creates an 'unnatural' environment for children as its priorities and processes differ from common family settings which are integrated into the community. The children are rather passive objects of management processes than active individual participants of a family home. At the same time, routinized schedules and administrative regulations repress the children's development of growing self-determination and freedom. According to the reviewed literature, the unnatural/institutionalized environment has been found to have negative impacts on the situation of the children on two main sub-dimensions: social security and personal security (Tolfree 2003; Powell et al. 2006; UNICEF and Department of Social Welfare, Lesotho 2006; Dunn et al. 2007)

The following table provides and overview of these factors, which will be briefly explained below. In addition, there is an increased risk of institutional abuse.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">The emotional and psychological concerns
Critical mechanisms harming the individual child in residential care</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">'Unnatural', institutionalized environment with focus on institutional functioning and management processes rather than children's needs</td><td rowspan="2">Increased risk of inadequate physical conditions and institutional abuse

➢ Harsh/rigid discipline and/or physical and sexual abuse and/or exploitation (in extreme circumstances trafficking of children)
➢ Inadequate hygiene and health care, nutrition
➢ Lack of education</td></tr>
<tr><td>Social security:
Exclusion/isolation from family ties and every day society
➢ Marginalizes a child from its cultural background and identity
➢ Lacking transfer of critical life skills and preparation to cope in life and society
➢ Experiences of 'otherness'/ stigma/discrimination</td><td>Personal security:
Failure to meet a child's psychological and developmental needs
➢ Lack of individual attention/affection/stimulation/ attachment/secure, long-term relationships
➢ Overburdened or/and unaware/unqualified care givers fail to respond to children's special needs
➢ Lack of help to cope with trauma of loss, abandonment, and/or abuse
➢ "Institutional processes" repress the children's self-determination and freedom</td></tr>
</table>

>>> These mechanisms threaten a child's normal developmental processes and frequently cause the following results:

- Emotional and psychological disturbance
- Developmental delays
- Learning disabilities
- Problems of personal identity
- Lacking sense of belonging and value
- Cultural identity and competence
- Difficulty to reintegrate into society
- Predisposition towards anti-social behavior

Table 6: The emotional and psychological concerns (own design, MA thesis)

Social security: Exclusion/isolation from family ties and everyday society

Institutionalized structures and processes create barriers to the maintenance of family ties and the development of social networks in the community. UNICEF (2003, p. VII) calls 'institutionalization' of children the "most widely used mechanism of social exclusion". Children grow up in 'unnatural' structures in exclusion and isolation from everyday society. As these obstacles hinder the natural development of social skills, cultural identity and competence, children develop lacking knowledge of culture codes and correct conduct and behavior and are unprepared or unable to cope in life and society once they leave the home.

Personal security: Failure to meet a child's emotional and psychological needs

The literature concerned with residential care commonly refers to the work of John Bowlby[78] to highlight the significance of individual attention, affection, stimulation and opportunities for attachment and secure long-term relationships with adults and primary caregivers for the positive development of a child.[79] At the same time, lacking resources and training often leave caregivers overburdened or/and unaware and unqualified to respond to the children's psychological needs in an appropriate and effective manner.

[78] See e.g. Bowlby's classic work of psychology 'Attachment and Loss' (1969)

[79] Medical research explains the distortions caused by children not receiving the care and love they require. (Shames, www.bcadoption.com, based on Perry 1999. See also https://developingchild.harvard.edu/science/key-concepts/ and Powell (2004, p.VI): "Children in dormitory style institutions scored significantly higher than those in family-based units...The youth reported concerns about their future after leaving the institution as the thing that worried them the most". Evidence for psychological disturbance of children in residential care can easily be observed in most residential care settings. Indiscriminate affection, clinging, self-stimulation, such as rocking, head banging, and withdrawal, and bedwetting are common indicators. The literature refers to these indicators as 'signs of institutionalization' (see for example Powell 2004, p. VII).

The literature indicates that the reality of psychological and emotional care provision for children in residential care often fails to grasp the particularly vulnerable psychological stage of children entering residential care. Over and above a child's basic psychological needs, these children require careful individual attention and help to cope with traumatic experiences of loss, abandonment and/or abuse.

'Institutional abuse'

Research findings lead to the conclusion that the placement in residential settings puts children at an increased risk of further severe child rights violations, such as inadequate hygiene and health care, inadequate nutrition, harsh/rigid discipline, overcrowding and/or a lack of privacy, a lack of education, risks of physical and sexual abuse and/or exploitation (in extreme circumstances trafficking of children) (Browne 2009, p. 3; UNICEF and International Social Service 2004, p. 8)

A note on high quality homes

The ambivalence of well-resourced and high quality residential programs is another controversial topic in this field. While there certainly is a need for high-quality homes which can really work effectively and therapeutically with the children, these care circumstances can also create new dilemmas. The kids come in at the low end, where effective services are scarce and are provided with high-quality services as well as encounters with privileged people.

This situation can offer them significant benefits but distances them from where they come from, which then creates a paradox world for the children and even more complicated issues of belonging and identity. For instance, by becoming part of a more privileged part of society, they are now confronted with issues of severe inequality, such as 'being the poor one' and having had less from the start (materially/emotionally/role models), as well as the mind-sets of more privileged people, such as pity (through volunteers, school fellows/parents). At the same time, children get 'pampered' in an artificial world, which may not sufficiently strengthen their resilience/independence and prepare them for life 'out there', especially considering that they may (have to) go back into the rough community circumstances they are likely to come from. (This point has also been highlighted in Petersen 2018.)

4.3.3.2. Critical mechanisms between children's homes and society

Besides the concerns regarding the wellbeing of children, children's homes have been found to stimulate destructive mechanisms in societies. An overview of these mechanisms is provided in the following table. Thereafter, the different dimensions will briefly be remarked.

The magnet effect: Funds

As pointed out in Chapter 3, children's homes are commonly perceived as a 'worthy cause' in the general public. Hence, they have been found to have a magnet effect on funds and donations by 'well-intentioned' local and international NGOs, churches, corporates and individuals.

The cost/benefit value of children homes

Another point which was already highlighted in Chapter 3 is that residential care is disproportionately costly compared to family-based alternatives (Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 7). UNICEF (2004, p. 36) states that residential forms of care are from 5 to 20 times more expensive than foster care by unrelated care givers. The high costs allow only for the care of limited numbers of children. In the context of the increasing numbers of orphaned and vulnerable children in line with the HIV/Aids crisis, this has been regarded as neither affordable nor sustainable and can therefore not be a viable investment (UNICEF 2006, p. 35).

The magnet effect: Children

The "very existence of residential facilities can act as a stimulus to relinquishment and abandonment" (UNICEF and International Social Service 2004, p. 5). The availability of children's homes can be perceived as a 'coping mechanism' in poor communities (Williamson and Greenberg 2010, p. 8). They may be used as relief systems from lacking resources and child care responsibilities. Furthermore, parents may assume better access to resources such as food, shelter, and education for their children. Scholars refer to this phenomenon as a 'magnet effect' on children, which encourages unnecessary placements (Dunn et al. 2007, p. 12; Williamson 2004, p. 13).

Long term impacts on human capital in societies

The dilemmas implied in child care in children's homes are not only of major concern from a children's rights perspective. The reality of large populations of children growing up in residential care is likely to have devastating social and economic long-term impacts, which mean a serious hazard to the positive development of a society.

These impacts will particularly afflict those societies that already struggle with multiple and complex social and economic challenges, such as the society of post-apartheid South Africa, especially in line with the HIV/Aids crisis, academics and professionals are very aware of the connection between the masses of children growing up without family care and the devastating impacts of this reality on the social and economic future of the affected societies. Yet the specific effects of vast numbers of children growing up in residential care do not seem to be a particular matter of attention.

For example, LUMOS (2017, pp. 51–52) highlights:

> There are also several long-term benefits to society of investing in children compared with investments made later in life. (…) Effective support to families and children helps increase the likelihood that children will develop into healthy and productive members of society later on in life. This is vital in order to meet national and international development, humanitarian, and human rights targets. Since many of the children in, or at risk of being in, institutions belong to the most marginalised and vulnerable groups in society, addressing their needs is a priority in order to achieve equity. Investing in institutionalised children, or those at risk of being institutionalised, also reduces the long-term financial burden on state and civil society resources, since fewer children will be dependent on social or economic support in adulthood or engage in crime and other behaviours that have a negative impact on public spending.

The following table provides and overview of these factors on the societal dimension:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">The societal dimension:
Critical mechanisms between children’s homes and societies</td></tr>
<tr><td>Long-term impacts on human capital/ resources in societies

The reality of large populations of children growing up in institutional care is likely to have devastating social and economic long-term impacts on the positive development of a society.</td><td>The ‘magnet effect’: children

Availability of residential care facilities encourages placement of children as relief from lacking resources (and child care responsibility) in poverty-stricken communities.</td><td>The ‘magnet effect’: funds

Children’s homes are commonly perceived as a ‘worthy cause’ in societies. Hence, they attract funds and donations by ‘well-intentioned’ local or international organizations or businesses/ corporates.</td><td>The cost/benefit value of residential care

Residential care is disproportionately costly in comparison to more appropriate ‘family and community based alternatives’.

In spite of the extremely high costs of residential care it does not deliver desirable outcomes, but rather implies profound harm and risks to the development of the children in its care.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Results:
These impacts will particularly afflict those societies, which struggle already with multiple and complex socio-economic challenges, such as the society of post-apartheid South Africa.</td><td>Results:
Parents assume better access to resources and education for their children in residential care.

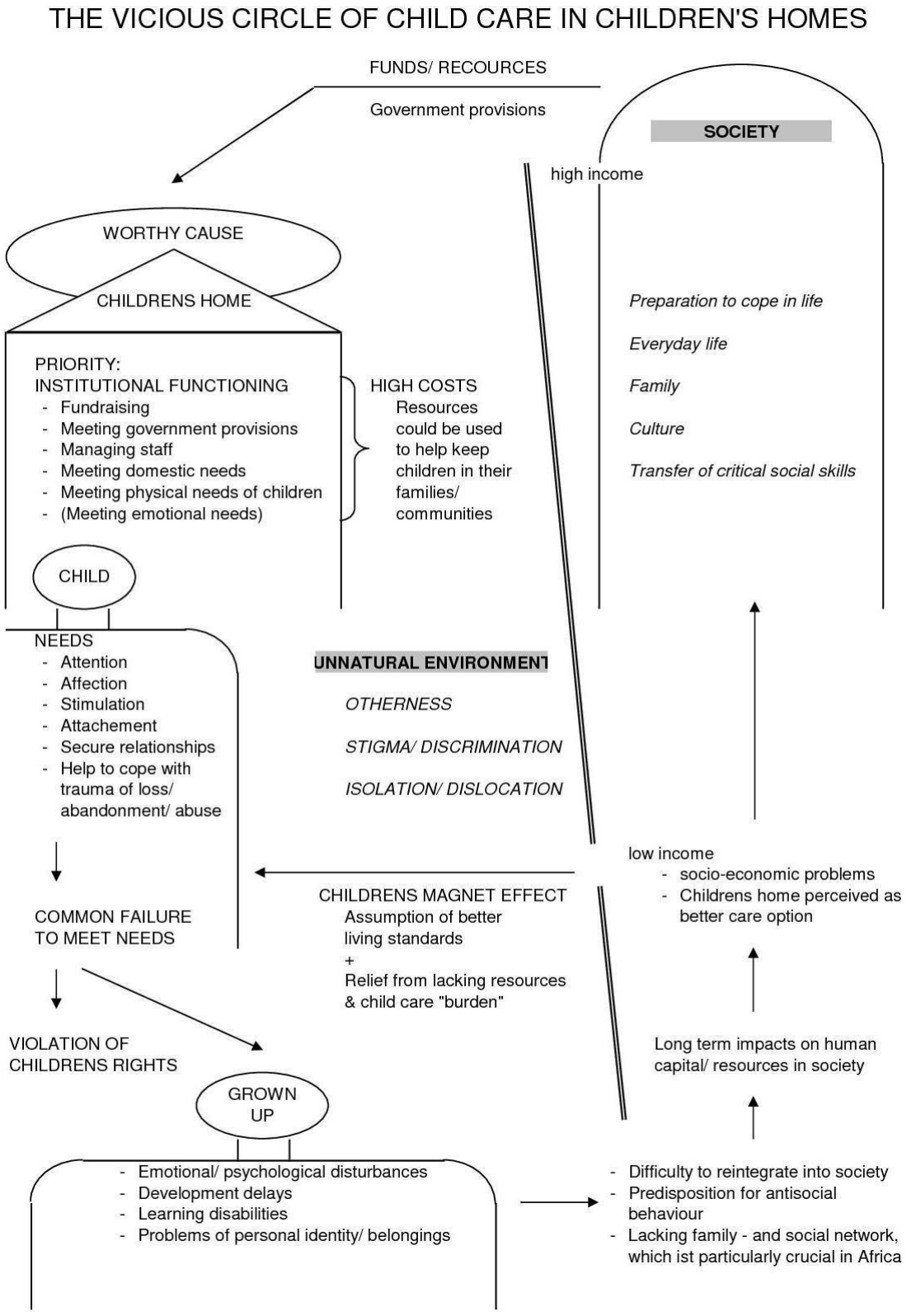
Children are violated in their right to family care although they could be with their families.</td><td colspan="2">Results:
Residential care absorbs substantial funds which should better be directed towards more appropriate alternatives.

The high costs of residential care allow only for the care of limited numbers of children. Considering the increasing numbers of CWPC this cannot be a viable investment.</td></tr>
</table>

Table 7: The societal dimension (own design, MA thesis)

4.3.3.3. A vicious circle: Concluding graphical overview

The following aims to illustrate the complex findings of this chapter in a graphical overview.



Graphic 2: The vicious circle of child care in children's homes (own design, MA thesis)

4.3.3.4. From concerns to standards, from standards to indicator

The preceding sections of this chapter have provided a detailed overview of the common concerns associated with children's homes. In the light of these concerns, international advocacy organizations have been making an effort to provide guidance to policymakers and other service providers on the best ways to go about DI. The UN Guidelines have been ground-breaking in that regard and stipulated the 'necessity' and the 'suitability' principle.

Based on these principles and the review of the DI-related literature as introduced above, certain standards have been agreed on to which children's homes are advised to aspire. These are intended to counter the vicious circle of child care in children's homes and can be summarized as follows:

Standards for preserving families and avoiding residential care (necessity)

- Shift of focus and funds towards the development and facilitation of family and community support programs.
- Emphasis of strict admission criteria and gatekeeping to avoid unnecessary placements and separations of children.
- Maximization of efforts for family reunification or moving children back into alternative family settings such as foster care.

Standards for creating the best possible circumstances in residential settings (suitability)

- Creation of a 'family/household like' environment, which offers opportunities for attachment and maximizes the children's integration into the community.
- Optimization of the caregiver's ability to meet the children's emotional and psychological needs and to support the individual development of each child.
- Strong support structures for the restoration and maintenance of the child's contact/relationship to his/her parents and/or other relatives or attachment figures.

Based on these standards, three categories for observation have been established. Each category has a couple of indicators and possible characteristics which will be listed and briefly explained in the following. The indicators were used to measure the efforts and adjustments of the children's homes under study to comply with these standards. One additional aim was to identify types and observe changes.

CATEGORY 1: NGO type

In this first category the indicators are self-explanatory. The NGOs running children's homes can be distinguished along five main characteristics: their registration status, background, location, size (whether they are a pure children's home or bigger NGO running several programs) and funding model.

CATEGORY 2: Program approach

In this second category, the following five points were identified as easily observable indicators demonstrating the NGOs overall approach to providing alternative child care:

- ***The development of family and community programs***

As established above, the DI paradigm calls for a shift of focus and funds towards the development/facilitation of family and community support programs. It can therefore be observed in how far the NGOs running children's homes have been making an effort to develop such programs. It will be observed whether there are new, added or changed programs and whether these aim to reduce the use of residential care and instead promote preservation and early intervention measures, or foster care support. Another possible characteristic is that such programs were already in place in 2009.

- ***Family/household units in cottages vs. dormitory style settings***

Existing residential programs are commonly divided into traditional 'dormitory style' settings [80] and those settings attempting to replicate a neighborhood/household atmosphere by creating small family units which live together in small cottages. This approach allows for less institutionalized atmospheres and practices of care as well as for better opportunities for attachment. One additional concept is the so-called 'children's villages' [81], which have become a popular setting for family cottages.

[80] Powell (2004, p. 9) defines 'dormitory-style institutions' as "conventional institutions in which children are housed in dormitories and share communal dining and living areas, with staff undertaking a variety of domestic, administrative and care giving roles. Dormitories are usually segregated by age and sex. This model deprives children of the experience of normal family life and has been associated with a poor level of psychosocial care and support"

[81] These villages consist of a group of self-contained houses placed in a landscaped setting. A family is established in each house with a village manager overseeing the whole complex. Some of the larger 'villages' incorporate other amenities such as clinics, preschools and primary schools (Powell 2004, p. 9).

- ***Number of children per setting***

The institutional character of children's home and the opportunities for attachment depend on the number of children in its care. The assumption is that the atmosphere becomes progressively more institutional the more children and staff members need to be managed.

- ***Age of children***

Another key variable is the age of the children. Powell (2004) points out that research evidence highlights that the experience of institutional care is most psychologically damaging for children under the age of 5 or 6 years (see also e.g. Dozier et al. 2012, p. 15).

- ***Community relation***

Children's homes are often located in areas which are far from the communities the children come from. This makes efforts to maintain relationships and work towards reunification far more difficult. On the other hand, children's homes which are located in impoverished communities but providing a standard of living far above the average has stimulated the stigmatization, discrimination, and 'othering' of the children living in them.

In both cases, children can develop a sense of 'looking down' on their families and communities in which they are likely to return. Furthermore, the community integration of children tends to be reciprocal with the community integration of their caregivers. Therefore, it is preferable that the children's homes fit in with the surrounding neighborhood and that a considerable number of children and caregivers are from the same community.

A note on observing the ability of caregivers:

It is important to note that it will not be possible to develop reliable indicators for the crucial factor of optimizing the ability of caregivers to meet the children's emotional and psychological needs and to support the individual development of each child. The matter of staff training efforts in this regard will be addressed in Chapter 5. At the level of individual homes the availability and ability of caregivers depends on several factors and a lack thereof is commonly justified with funding challenges. This will be addresses in Chapter 7.

CAREGORY 3: Self –presentation

The third category focused on the NGO's self-presentation in terms of both the general provision of information and the observation of DI related points. There are four indicators, which can best be formulated as questions:

- Does a website exist? Is there an effort to provide and present information?
- Are there indications of DI awareness or non-awareness?
- Is there an emphasis of DI related principles on the website?

In some cases, it may just not be feasible for some organizations to develop additional programs. Therefore, this indicator measures whether the NGO makes a particular point of emphasizing their efforts in terms of one of the following DI related principles:

- Maintaining the children's contact to their families or other attachment figures
- Working towards family reunification (RU)
- Strong gatekeeping and a 'last resort' approach

Lastly, it will be observed whether there are any stances or stories relating to DI principles.

4.3.3.5. Concluding remarks

In order to provide a comprehensive picture of the case at hand, this subchapter has included a field-specific excursus on the adverse impacts of child 'institutionalization' and the common recommendations for easing or improving them. The concerns relate to both the emotional and psychological risks for the individual child, as well as highly critical mechanism between children's homes and societies. The section then concludes with a graphical illustration of 'The vicious circle of child care in children's homes' as it is typically presented in DI literature.

Building on the concerns and recommended standards pointed out in this sub-chapter, the indicators for assessing the developments in Cape Town's children's home sector have also been defined. Three categories for observation were established: NGO-type, program-approach and self-presentation. In each category, a number of at least five indicators of changes, developments or approaches have been defined.

4.4. Limitations of the study

There are some factors which need to be considered as potential limitations of this study.

First of all, as already indicated in the respective sections, it was not always possible to conduct the interviews as intended. Altogether, in each round of interviews (2009 and 2017) there were two cases in which the desired interviewees were not available or reluctant to take part in the study. As these were interesting cases in the context of the research, this is slightly limiting. However, the overall sum of data collected, and interviewee types involved seems sufficient to provide a solid empirical picture of the case under study.

Furthermore, it is interesting to reflect in how far the characteristics and background of the interviewer influenced the interviews. For example, it was particularly observed in the 2009 study that a female, German student with an enthusiastic attitude about child protection can easily be perceived as a potential source of new funds. Thus, in some cases there were indications that some respondents were rather interested in 'marketing' their projects than to provide the most informative answers in terms of research. However, in most cases the respondents seemed very professional and sincere.

In several cases, the location of the home did not make it recommendable for the interviewer to travel alone. Thus, she was accompanied by a local Xosa speaking individual whose presence contributed to minimizing cultural barriers.

In terms of the 2017 round of interviews, it is particularly important to reflect on the potential influence the researcher's previous involvement in the field may have had on the interview outcomes. Having worked in the management clusters of two different children's homes herself for several years, some respondents were rather well known to the researcher. Therefore, a more collegial and casual tone developed in some interviews. In this context, respondents often felt free to add certain stories or notes which were responded to by the researcher but were at times not necessarily relevant in terms of the study.

However, the researcher used and maintained this partly conversational and collegial manner – which also occurred in the interviews with unfamiliar respondents - as this seemed to create the most natural, comfortable and open atmosphere to address more sensitive topics. While a strong attempt was made to come across completely neutral and not to influence the answers of the respondents in any way, risks in that regard can obviously not be excluded.

The same considerations apply to the general potential role conflict between being a previous practitioner in the field and being an unbiased researcher in this study. For example, it may be questioned whether this study has a certain 'NGO bias' in which the perspective of local NGO leaders has been privileged over that of, for example, governmental (or international) actors. However, the critical comments made in terms of the latter were usually verified in official literature. Furthermore, it is only NGOs which deliver services at the level of implementation and practice. Thus, being that this perspective is the main interest of this study, its special consideration should not warp the findings.

Lastly, some further limitations at the level of data gathering need to be noted. For example, the availability of information on the homes' websites did sometimes differ significantly. While this is understood as a characteristic of real-life diversity, it may also lead to inaccurate conclusions if changes in values and approaches are not communicated on the NGO's website.

Overall, it may be concluded that a substantial amount of information was gathered from a diverse group of leaders. The small imperfections at the level of data collection, which have become evident in hindsight, are considered as a natural by-product of studying real-life empirical phenomena.

4.5. Chapter conclusion

This chapter started off by formulating the key foundations of this study: The research questions, the respective hypotheses and the overall research design. As the questions and hypotheses are clearly pointed out in several sections of this study, they will not be repeated in this chapter conclusion.

The first part of the chapter introduced the case study approach as the selected research strategy of this dissertation. It can be concluded that this approach is the most useful for gaining a holistic and meaningful understanding of the complex social phenomenon under study - norm diffusion outcomes at the micro level on the ground. With reference to the strengths and limitations of case study research in general, the chapter presented the rationale behind the case selection for this study - the case of DI diffusion on the ground of Cape Town's children's home sector. As has been pointed out, the availability of a baseline is a defining feature which maximizes what can be learned from this case example.

A summarized description of the baseline provided a picture of the state of the sector in 2009. In the same year, the field-specific UN guidelines were endorsed at the international level and one year later, in 2010, the new South African Children's Act came into effect. The highly progressive new legal framework for children propelled South Africa to the forefront of championing children's rights in the Southern African region. It has also placed a renewed emphasis on DI related principles.

The aim of this study – taking place eight years later - is to assess how the sector has since developed. The question is, in how far the norm's translation into implementation has progressed and what has driven or hampered these developments since 2009. How this has been measured was explained in the second part of the chapter. The following can be concluded: The empirical analysis includes an assessment of DI diffusion on three dimensions, namely a global, a national and a local dimension. The global dimension has already been explored in Chapter 3. The assessments on the global and the national dimensions provide the contextual frame for the mainly empirical investigation at the local level of Cape Town's children's home sector.

On each dimension, data has been collected from different sources: A review of the available academic and grey literature, interviews with selected experts and field observations have taken place throughout. However, the most comprehensive and thorough empirical analysis

took place at the local level. In order to conduct a diachronic and cross-sectional comparison after a time period of eight years, the group of children's homes under review and the set of indicators had to be revised in the light of relevant updates on the national dimension. Furthermore, some differing priorities with respect to the new round of data collection as well as some lessons learned during the previous time were considered. This led to the following outcome: a clearly defined target group of 25 children's homes was compared with the 24 children's homes which had been assessed in 2009. Nineteen homes were part of both studies. Six homes were newly added, five were withdrawn from the comparison in line with the redefinition of the target group (see section 4.3.1.3).

The indicators on which this comparison was based were carefully developed in a field-specific review of DI concerns and recommendations. This process was discussed in some detail in the final sub-chapter as this may particularly interest case-centered readers.

In the second step, a 'Grounded-Theory-style' method was applied in a process-tracing-inspired assessment which aimed to find out what caused leading local practitioners to change or not change their approach. Here, 15 particularly interesting children's homes were selected (based on the findings of the first step) and assessed in in-depth interviews with leading staff. Considering the highly heterogeneous field, contexts and settings, another central aim of the selection was to include interesting representatives of the various types of homes.

5. The national dimension: Deinstitutionalization in South Africa

This chapter will introduce the findings of the given case study on the national dimension. Overall, South Africa can be noted to be a controversial case. This seems to apply to the context of DI adoption as much as to other areas of human rights diffusion.

The chapter will be split in two parts. The first part will start off with presenting the South African context in terms of both, its celebrated political transformation and achievements on the one hand, and its drastic social realities and clearly visible state of decoupling on the other. For example, the country is commonly perceived as a champion of children's rights in the Southern African region (Jamieson 2014; Abdulla 2007, Family For Every Child 2012). The highly progressive legislation, as well as local efforts, concepts and 'buzzwords', are clearly in line with what is internationally perceived as modern standards and best practice. However, various serious implementation challenges are a well-known and openly criticised everyday reality (see e.g. Jamieson 2014, Patel and Hochfeld 2013, Schmid and Patel 2016). This chapter will show how these challenges are also particularly evident in the children's home sector.[82]

The second part of the chapter will provide an overall account of the factors which are likely to shape DI outcomes across the whole South African nation. Overall, the prevalence and impact of the factors implied in the two established hypotheses are clearly confirmed. There are various co-existing and competing norms as well as ambivalent and controversial local governance approaches and international influences.

5.1. The development of child welfare policy and reality in South Africa

South Africa's globally celebrated political transformation in the mid-1990s has created a prototype conducive political opportunity structure for international norm diffusion. Not only did all legislation have to be rewritten and renewed, but in the light of South Africa's

[82] To give a brief overview of some key local literature, a thorough and recent review of the legal and rights situation of children in South Africa is provided by Proudlock (2014). Within this book, Jamieson (2014) contributes a chapter on children's homes and the implementation challenges in that regard, entitled 'Children's rights to appropriate alternative care when removed from the family environment: A review of South Africa's child and youth care centres'. Another key piece of local literature in the field is the study 'Home truth: The phenomenon of residential care for children in a time of AIDS' by Meintjes et al. (2007). Both studies are in line with the work of the University of Cape Town's Children's Institute. Further key studies are Abdulla 2007, Patel and Hochfeld 2013, Schmid and Patel 2016.

past, the values of a free and fair democracy, a progressive constitution and a human rights culture were also desired by everybody involved. At the same time, there was a drive to be accepted by the international community after years of isolation.

Within this context, the emerging policies for child protection were aligned with international best practice principles and the UNCRC. South Africa ratified the UNCRC in 1995 as well as the 'African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child' (ACRWC) in 1997.[83] As Schmid and Patel (2016, p. 250) note:

> The adoption by South Africa of the UNCRC and then ACRWC, plus the acknowledgement of children's rights in the South African Constitution, provided the new South Africa with credibility and legitimacy post-apartheid and facilitated South Africa's inclusion into the international arena.[84]

Long-established leaders in the South African child protection field recall the first year of democracy with passion and nostalgia and everyone working together 'to finally make things right'. One interviewee states that "in the first democratic years in South Africa it was like being in Utopia. There was a sense that anything could happen. We could really make things come right in this country, we could really realise children's rights" (INT 18).

In the long-standing local Child & Youth Care Journal published by the NACCW (hereafter 'NACCW' or 'NACCW Journal'), an article from 1994 (NACCW Vol. 12/1 p. 8) expresses the same kind of hope:

> We are now living in history-making times. Since 1990, with the release of such leaders as Mr Mandela the unbanning of political organizations, the willingness of the majority of role players to negotiate a peaceful settlement and the repealing of all discriminatory legislation, we have been filled with hope for the future, and with the ideal that many of the causes of the street child phenomenon will be addressed.

[83] See e.g. Schmid and Patel 2016; Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 11.

[84] See also Kang'ethe and Makuyana 2015. In terms of the motives to ratify the UNCRC, similar conclusions were drawn in the cases of other countries with a desire for international acceptance at critical junctures in their histories and, such as e.g. Guatemala (Zimmermann 2017) or Indonesia (Babington 2015, p. 244). Yet, in both of these cases, the adoption into domestic law and implementation was a highly contested endeavor. However, another article in the NACCW Journal highlights the meaningfulness and positive effects of the UNCRC in spite of the seemingly utopic standards. It provides a solid ground for pushing countries towards progress in the child protection arena. "It would be a mistake to dismiss the Convention as hollow words because some countries have endorsed it as a hope for their future standards rather than as measures which they can realistically implement right now" (NACCW 1994 Vol 12/1 p. 3)

In this overall context, government actors and NGOs worked in close collaboration to improve the child protection system in the initial post-apartheid years. An inter-ministerial committee on 'the transformation of the child and youth care system' was set up, which was focused on improving the sector in accordance with modern international standards and ideas. This included DI-related principles, investigations into children's institutions and the development of minimum standards for their operation (Meintjes et al. 2007).[85]

However, in the light of the general social implications of what the Apartheid regime and the struggle against it left behind, challenges were certainly expected. The following two sub-chapters will discuss how South African child welfare reality has been characterized by a mix of immense achievements and drastic problems. The second sub-chapter will show how different traditional and cultural ideas and mind maps have shaped the norms in the field of alternative care until today.

5.1.1. Post-Apartheid welfare efforts: Between progress and decoupling

In the area of social welfare overall, South Africa has adopted the internationally advocated 'developmental approach' into policy in the early years of democracy. This approach is focused on the empowerment of families and communities and prevention measures instead of treatment and remediation.[86] It may be noted that DI principles fall into the realm of this approach. The shift towards the developmental paradigm did also mark the beginning of a long process of post-Apartheid child welfare reform and the emerging contemplation of a complete redrafting of the Child Care Act No 74 from 1983 (Patel and Hochfeld 2013). South Africa's new Children's Act No 38 of 2005, effective from April 2010, is perceived as highly progressive and generally focused on DI principles in line with the broader developmental approach.

However, Patel and Hochfeld (2013, p. 700) point out that the journey of over-hauling an entire welfare system is slow, iterative and fragmented. At the same time, the overall welfare challenges have been tremendous. One determining factor in this regard has been the lack of opposition and thus accountability in a 'party dominant system' (Friedman 1999). The 'narrative of the liberation struggle' has long legitimized the power of the dominating

[85] See e.g. NACCW 1996 Vol 14/11 p. 5 and NACCW 2000 Vol 18/11 p. 2
[86] For a discussion see Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 693; see also Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 11.

African National Congress (ANC) in spite of concerns and dissatisfactions with many aspects of the party's performance (Doorenspleet and Nijzink 2013, p. 21).

The following sections will briefly introduce the overall welfare situation in South Africa. A word on the general situation of families and children in the country will then be followed by a brief discussion of welfare successes and challenges and the macro-level welfare measure of 'cash transfers'.

5.1.1.1. The situation of families (and children) in post-Apartheid South Africa

Apartheid left behind a legacy which continues to characterize South African society in many ways. In the context of immense inequality, widespread poverty and drastic socio-economic problems, the realities of substance abuse, domestic and sexual violence, criminalization, gang culture and the impact of this on families are extremely harsh.

On top of this, the drastically growing demands in the context of the HIV/Aids epidemic have posed an additional challenge. The scale of the OVC crisis in South Africa has been growing constantly since the 1980s. There are limited financial and human resources to address this crisis. Overall, Abdulla (2007, p. 68) finds that "socio-economic difficulties are frequently co-morbid and work cumulatively in many ways".[87]

Kang'ethe and Makuyana 2015, p. 123) point to a UNICEF report on South Africa (2010) which concludes that "the path travelled by South African children to adulthood is fraught with serious challenges". They further stress that this is obviously even more true for children without adequate family care. In order to address the situation, South Africa has successfully adopted a comprehensive and progressive legislative and policy framework that serves the interests of children.

The overall challenge of poverty has been addressed through a system of social grants which will be discussed below. Official reports highlight some significant progress in the areas of housing, infrastructure, health care, education, and participation.[88]

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[87] See also Kingston Children and Young People's Trust 2009-2012.

[88] For a general overview of South Africa's demographics and situational analyses relating to children see Hall's and Sambu's report in the 'South African Child Gauge' from 2016 (published by the South African Children's Institute) as well as the 'Situation analysis of children in South Africa' from 2009. The latter was commissioned by the Office of the national Rights of the Child, conducted by the Children's Institute and funded by UNICEF.

However, structural, social and economic challenges continue to determine the realities of families and thus the care and rights situation of children in the country (Abdulla 2007, p. 6; Patel and Hochfeld 2013, pp. 692-693). Within the broader national context, progress and challenges differ significantly according to province, region and income group.

5.1.1.2. Ambition and reality of the developmental approach

The welfare model of the apartheid era "was fashioned on Western European institutional policies for Whites and a residual system for Blacks. Not only was the apartheid service delivery model inequitable, it was inappropriate and unsustainable and relied mainly on the residual model with a focus on micro social work interventions and residential care" (Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 691). Overall, there was a strong treatment focus instead of a focus on community development with preventative and developmental interventions. This resulted in an exacerbation of mass poverty, social problems and trauma (ibid).

The shift towards the developmental approach set out to change this situation. The so-called 'White Paper' of 1997 was the first official document to stipulate the new welfare legislation.

Schmid and Patel (2016, p. 249) summarize this shift in these words:

> In South Africa, the White Paper of 1997 provides the framework for an alternative to the discriminatory, remedial and individualistic orientation of apartheid welfare through the advancement of developmental social welfare. All welfare efforts, including those in the realm of child welfare, are expected to conform to the rights-oriented, generic, inter-sectoral, and socio-economic direction of developmental social welfare.

However, it is a well-known fact that the South African state still battles with serious problems in the area of welfare governance. Thus, while the post-apartheid policy and welfare vision has certainly been commendable, there is extensive documentation of the significant gaps, challenges and obstacles required to realize it (Jamieson 2014; Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 693).[89] In practice, there are severe problems in the areas of public service delivery. Developmental welfare efforts are plagued by underfunding and lacking capacity at different levels: "Public provision of basic and social services is constrained by administrative inefficiencies and the poor quality of services caused by institutional and

[89] Patel and Hochfeld (2013, p. 693) point to the following further studies to substantiate this statement: Gray 2010; Loffell 2008; Patel and Hochfeld 2008; Sewpaul and Hölscher 2004.

capacity problems including corruption, resulting in delivery failures that have fueled public discontent in recent years“ (Patel and Hochfeld 2013, pp. 692-693).

Overall, a typical case of decoupling (see Chapter 2) is clearly evident.

5.1.1.3. Cash transfers as macro-level welfare measures for children

In line with the UN Summit Declaration of Social Development of 1995, which stipulates the harmonizing of social and economic policies as one key element, South Africa has adopted ‘cash transfers’ as a macro-level welfare measure. This is “complemented by other public services such as primary education, public works, health care, housing, basic services, support for micro and small enterprises” (Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 692). Generally, this has been regarded as an effective and advanced approach to reducing chronic poverty (Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 692; see also Csáky 2009).

In the context of cash transfers to strengthen families, South Africa has established a general child support grant and a foster care grant. The Child Support Grant - a means-tested payment of R240 (US$26) per month - is allocated to all families in a certain low-income group.[90] Csáky (2009, p. 16) indicates estimates that 66% of children in South Africa (11.9 million) live in income poverty. The Foster Care Grant is almost three times the amount of the Child Support Grant and allocated to foster carers. This is based on a formal assessment and an official court order which finds a child to be in need of alternative care. The majority of foster carers are direct relatives, such as grandmothers or aunts (Csáky 2009, see also Dunn et al. 2007).

Csáky (2009, p. 16) highlights that, in combination with the further efforts to support families, this South African strategy is a good practice example in the context of DI. She points out that a UNICEF review concluded that these and other social protection schemes are a positive way of preventing unnecessary placements of children in children’s homes.[91] However, there are two main concerns. Firstly, the South African child protection system is overburdened and inefficient. Thus, the administration and monitoring of these grants is not time effective and services are often drastically lagging behind. The paperwork and administration diminish the time spend for other core tasks of child protection work (Family

[90] Further grants are allocated to families who care for children with special needs.
[91] For a discussion see e.g. Hall and Proudlock (2011) or Dunn et al. (2007).

For Every Child 2012, pp. 45, 131). Secondly, the foster care grant may provide an incentive for keeping children in foster care (ibid., pp. 5, 299).

5.1.1.4. Concluding remarks

In South Africa's young democracy, the framework for social welfare has changed from a treatment focus to a progressive social support system based on a modern developmental paradigm. Yet, as in many other countries, the reality of implementation on the ground is characterized by severe controversies, dilemmas and constraints. The situation of families in the light of the socio-economic heritage of apartheid times is also extremely harsh. It was explained how South Africa adopted a method of cash transfers to families in order to address the far-spread poverty and the vicious circles associated with it. This concept is based on the philosophy that social and economic development are closely interlinked (Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 692). While a certain level of progress is commonly noted, serious capacity and governance issues have resulted in a clear case of 'decoupling' of adopted policy and actual practice in all parts of the country.

5.1.2. Alternative care in South Africa: Co-existing and competing norms

Within the overall context introduced in the previous sub-chapter falls the particular field of alternative care. The Constitution of South Africa, section 28 of the Bill of Rights, states that "every child has the right to family care, parental care or to appropriate alternative care when removed from family care". Section 150 and 151 of the new Children's Act stipulate that only the Children's court holds the authority to find a child in need of care and/or protection and to decide upon any placements into alternative care. This emphasizes a focus on the 'necessity principle' of the UN Guidelines. Any decisions regarding a child's placement are guided by the principle of 'the child's best interest' and the process is advised by designated social workers (Kang'ethe and Makuyana 2015, p. 123).

The options for alternative care placements include foster care, the newly recognized form of 'cluster foster care'[92], and residential care in so-called 'child and youth care centers' (CYCCs). As already indicated in line with methodological considerations in Chapter 4, the terms and concepts for residential care were re-conceptualized and re-formulated in the new Children's Act from 2010. Since the five formerly distinguished types of residential care fall under the more inclusive category of CYCCs. These are defined as

> Facility(s) for the provision of residential care to more than six children outside the child's family environment in accordance with a residential care program or programs suited for children in the facility, but excludes a) a partial care facility, b) a drop-in center, c) a boarding school, d) a school hostel or other residential facility attached to a school, or e) any other establishment which is maintained for children ordered by a court to receive tuition or training" (Children's Amendment Bill s. 191 (1).

The Children's Act stipulates an advanced regulatory framework for all alternative care concepts.[93] This includes certain minimum standards for quality assurance, which speaks to the 'suitability principle' of the UN Guidelines.

All of the above shows that there is a strong legal and institutional framework for the translation of DI policy into implementation. However, in line with the discrepancies discussed in the previous sub-chapter, reality is determined by various challenges and obstacles. Beyond that, residential care has a particular role and tradition in the South African society. The approach to DI differs from the one of the DI movement. Nonetheless,

[92] See also section 5.1.2.4.

[93] The existence of which was noted to be striking as most other developing world governments had none (Tolfree 1995).

implications of the country's history and co-existing and competing normative ideas and subcultures continue to shape the field today. These will be outlined in the following sections.

5.1.2.1. A history of segregation and social control

Interestingly, the topic of child institutionalization was particularly high on the agenda in the years of South Africa's transformation to democracy. This was because thousands of 'non-white' children and youths had been placed in prisons or detention centers by the Apartheid regime, often in the context of 'the struggle'. At the same time, South Africa had generally been characterized by a strong residential care culture, and the use of institutions as a means for social control. The conditions in these institutions became a major concern. In the context of the UNCRC, this situation had to be addressed with utmost urgency, leading to a first wave of significant DI efforts which was focused on detention centers and particularly large institutions. One interviewee makes the following statement in this regard:

> The focus on institutions at that stage was around trying to intervene to actually realise a child rights focus in the work that was being done in institutions – and realising we came from a society which controlled everybody, recalcitrant children were very much controlled – so we had very little morally Dickensian approaches. We then focused very much on quality assurance, evaluations of the facilities and so on in the hopes to then bring about change and transformation. (INT 18)

Skelton (2006) points out that residential care in South Africa 'straddles' two systems. As indicated above, the South African legislation used to refer to children's homes as being one of five types of 'institutions' in the category of 'residential care' (Child Care Act of 1983, s.1.1). Together with 'places of care', 'places of safety, and 'shelters', they formed the system dealing with children in need of care. Skelton notes that the other three types are usually understood as more short-term 'emergency' care settings for children than children's homes. On the other hand, the remaining fifth type, termed 'reform schools', referred to another system which "deals with children accused and convicted of crime as falls into" (Skelton 2006, p. 4; Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 2).

The racist policies of the former apartheid regime have also influenced the building styles of different residential care facilities for children. For example, progressive village-style children's homes were only allowed for white children (INT 17).

5.1.2.2. A culture of traditional children's homes

South Africa has generally been characterized by a strong residential care culture and tradition, and the use of institutions as a means for social control as pointed out above. A high number of large traditional children's institutions existed – or have existed - throughout the country (Chapter 6 elaborates on this in the Cape Town context). An interviewee stated: "Basically we had kind of one approach to child protection and that was we put children in children's homes" (INT 18). Consequently, the changed approach of the new legislation called for a main change of norms and thinking in the field.

This shows that certain past 'mental maps/models' (Patel and Hochfeld 2013) are deeply entrenched in the South African social work system which often continues to hamper the translation of the new developmental norms into practice. Patel and Hochfeld (2013, p. 697) conclude that while the focus has changed towards providing community-based services to some extent, social workers are often still trapped in a remedial paradigm. Some point out that the use of foster care has increased drastically, but there is still a consensus that 'case work, statutory interventions and residential care remain the dominant methods of service delivery'. Thus, social work continues along previous norms and pattern.

In this context, the legal system keeps putting vast numbers of children into children's homes (registered as well as unregistered ones, see section 5.1.2.3). They are often still perceived as easier and safer than community placements, so confirming the concerns expressed in the DI literature, as highlighted in Chapter 3.

Interestingly, some local literature does come to another conclusion speaking to the critical voices of the DI movement which was associated with a norm localization approach. Kang'ethe and Makuyana (2015, p. 123) see institutional care as a potentially positive solution.

> Regrettably, children from disadvantaged families lack access to various life enhancing services like health, education and shelter because of their backgrounds. Such situations have prompted the South African government and non-profit organizations to seek a lasting solution for such children whose family environments do not permit them to reach their maximum potential (UNICEF South Africa 2010). Institutional care has thus been identified as a cost-effective means to meeting the needs of such children.

5.1.2.3. A culture of striving for quality care and NACCW leadership

In the context of children's homes being the traditional norm of alternative care provision in South Africa, another dimension comes into play which is particularly interesting in the context of DI-related debates. In a certain network of South African NGOs, there has been a strong sense of care, focus and expertise with regard to providing high quality and therapeutic services for children in children's homes. The national umbrella body for the field is the so-called 'National Association of Child and Youth Care Workers' (NACCW).

The NACCW is a long-standing leader of a local network of strong, progressive and quality-focused child protection NGOs. The implications of its role as the South African representative at FICE (International Federation of Educative Communities) will be further discussed in a later sub-chapter. At this stage, the interesting point is that the remarkable story of the NACCW and its significant role and achievements in the local sector continue to create yet another normative sphere that competes with strict DI ideas.

The NACCW was established as a non-racial child welfare organization in 1975 when everything else was racialized. The vision and determination of this organization has certainly shaped the development of norms in many parts of the South African children's home sector to a large extent. Its founder and long-term director, Brian Gannon, was regarded as a leader of change towards a focus on high-quality and therapeutic approach to residential care in South Africa. His approach was also mentioned in a quote of a previous chairman of the Jewish Welfare Committee as cited by (Belling 2011, p. 104). The statement refers to a first wave of norm change and developments in the children's home sector of Cape Town in the early 1980s:

> Most of the homes were still custodial but a number of them were experimenting with a therapeutic approach and some had very dynamic directors, like Brian Gannon at St. Johns in Vredehoek. He was probably the leader in South Africa of this residential approach in therapeutic childcare. Oranjia was among the first and I think because of its resources and because of the ability of the Committee to accept the changes, we eventually became the leader. Then they had started the National Association of Childcare Workers that was intended to ensure that all the care workers in all the homes were brought into the concept of a therapeutic way of management. We were part of the process that was going on within the whole community.

In the early years of South Africa's democracy, the subsequent director became an advisor to the minister of Social Development. In an overall process, entitled 'the transformation of the child and youth care system', an inter-ministerial committee was set up, which started

working on the updates to the South African Child Care Act. NACCW leaders were continuously involved in pushing for transformation of policy and legislation as well as practice in institutions.

This overall context plays a significant role in terms of the fact that the South African Children's Act does not clearly stipulate residential care as 'a last resort'. This has been noted by the international community. For example, Family For Every Child (2012) summarizes that South Africa has "one of the most child-friendly and progressive constitutions in sub Saharan Africa" (ibid., p. 90) but "there does not appear to be a clear statement of priority to extended family care over institutional care" (ibid., p. 283).

The current director, Merle Allsopp, has been with the NACCW since 1994, the year of South Africa's change to democracy. In an interview she takes a clear stance. As this statement is very meaningful in the context of the study, it will be quoted in full length:

> The Children's Act does not see institutionalisation as a last resort, to its credit as far as I am concerned. Because I think, what the DI movement is losing is the value of good residential, therapeutic care and I feel very sad actually about what is being lost as a result of that. I think that the baby is being thrown out with the bath water.
>
> There is no question that children shouldn't be raised in institutions – however, we all have experience of how institutions can be helpful for young people – at the right time, in the right manner, and for the right child. Our Children's Act sees institutions in that way – that's not to say that we are using them in that way but that's the idea.
>
> So South Africa has understood the concept – that we don't raise children in institutions. We know that we should focus on the prevention and early intervention level and keeping them out of institutions – so there were several initiatives. It is also exactly what we have been trying to do with Isibindi (see next section) – creating alternative community-based systems - and obviously it works. There is enough evidence that it works and it is indigenous, its home-grown and its way cheaper than residential care. But that does not mean that we should not have residential care, we should just have good residential care that carefully works with every individual child that needs it.
>
> But when we talk DI it's almost as if we are talking black and white – as if we have institutions or we don't – and that instead of this being one end in a very complex service that needs to be delivered in the most careful way for the most vulnerable children. We should start to actually make this intense, expensive part of the child protective system more accessible to more children, so the right children can start to use it, but in order to do that we also need to change some mind-sets. We need to make people understand why children behave a certain way and to interact with them compassionately not punitively, so to actually make everyone understand what the work of children's homes really is: To create therapeutic environments - but that is very hard if it is not part of a broader philosophy.
>
> (However) it is very hard to run residential care facilities and to keep your morale up and keep your staff happy when there is so little support. So when I look back there was really a strong network of people who really believed in residential care and in doing it well and an emphasis on that and a lot of people that were in it very much for philanthropic reasons – so that changed. There is somehow less interest in society now.

Allsopp's argumentation builds on decades of practical and advocacy experience in the South African field. Her statement also touches on the various aspects discussed in Chapter 3. Overall, the multiple facets addressed in this quote do again confirm the multi-dimensional nature of translating norms into practice. In the context of this research this stance counts as a case of what will eventually be termed 'justified resistance'.

5.1.2.4. A culture of community-based models

Allsopp's quote re-emphasizes what has been pointed out by other commentators which were introduced in Chapter 3. The basic argument is that instead of an 'either-or' approach to residential care, a 'both-and' approach is much more suitable to address the challenges and realities of the vast numbers of children in need of care. Accordingly, the NACCW has also been focusing on developing community-based models of care and support. The so- called 'Isibindi' model - a home-grown and indigenous community based early intervention system - creates safe spaces for children within communities and works with families at their homes. The model has been regarded as a local and international best practice model.[94] This does also fall in line with the overall best practice trend of creating so-called 'child-friendly-spaces' (see e.g. World Vision International 2015). This concept has received growing attention and focus in the international children's rights field in recent years.

At the same time, family and community-based care models are also another co-existing normative and cultural ideal and wide-spread reality in the South African society. The extended family and community are often regarded as the heart of African culture and tradition (Powell 2002, p. 3) and the primary social safety net (Williamson 2004, p. 21).[95] 'It takes a village to raise a child' is an old African proverb. In the South African society this concept is also associated with the idea of 'Ubuntu'[96]. In this context, there have also b e e n

[94] See http://www.naccw.org.za/isibindi

[95] Some authors point out the particular vulnerability of individuals with lacking cultural competence and family networks in African countries (Powell 2002, p. 3). Individuals, who are not connected to a family network and show lacking cultural knowledge and competence may experience mistrust, 'otherness', stigma, and discrimination in their communities

[96] The concept of Ubuntu is often stated in the South African context. Ifejika (2006) explains: "Ubuntu has its roots in humanist African philosophy, where the idea of community is one of the building blocks of society. Ubuntu is that nebulous concept of common humanity, oneness: humanity, you and me both."

cases where the residential care model has been condemned as a Western import in line with colonialism (see Chapter 3 or section 5.2.2).

On top of this, it is important to note that the consequences of the HIV/Aids epidemic impacted on the way alternative care provision was envisioned. When South African leaders were suddenly faced with the challenge of finding solutions for drastic numbers of orphans, it became obvious that institutionalization was not affordable. An article in the NACCW-Journal (1994 Vol 12/2 p. 13) summarized:

> Merle Allsopp then outlined the implications of orphanhood for the field of child and youth care. It was pointed out that the cost of maintaining half a million children in children's homes would cost the state an astronomical R390 million per month. This of course excluded capital building costs. Long term residential care was thus an unaffordable and undesirable solution to the impending crisis. Instead residential care organizations could contribute to supporting children within families and communities by offering short term goal-directed care.

The article also mentions that this was also an outcome of consultation with and learning from neighboring countries.

The newly established category of ‘cluster foster care’ is a controversial case in the category of community-based models. Its official recognition in the new Children’s Act could lead to the assumption that this could be a local translation of the DI principle. However, further investigation shows that this model has a long tradition in South African communities.[97] The benefits of this model are also debated in the sector. There are certainly again serious controversies and challenges when it comes to the implementation level and some maintain that, in reality, these setups are often not different from children’s home settings (INT 18).

[97] For a discussion see e.g. Du Toit et al. 2016.

5.1.2.5. Concluding remarks

There are many angles from which one can look at the existing norms relating to children's homes in South Africa. On the one hand, there has been a highly dominant residential care culture in the country, which includes the prevalence of many traditional children's homes as well as the placement of children and youth in so-called reform schools, detention centers and prisons in the context of 'the struggle'. The apartheid regime has used this measure in an attempt to maintain social control. After the countries change to democracy, this situation became a matter of urgent attention and moved the topic of residential care into the center of social welfare debates.

Since then, modern DI principles have been adopted into policy and discourse – and to some extent into implementation. In many cases, child protection staff are still trapped in the previously dominant approaches and pattern which have favored the placement of children in residential care. At the same time, it has been highlighted that South Africa's child protection legislation does not give a clear preference to family and community-based option for children who have been found in need of care. This is in line with a stance that high-quality children's homes are one valuable care option in certain cases.

Yet, in spite of these positions, policy as well as leading practitioners are clearly focused on promoting and implementing community-based solutions which is also a cultural fit in the South African and a broader African context. This reality was also reemphasized when the drastically increased numbers of OVCs as a consequence of HIV/Aids called for a turn to the most far-reaching and sustainable solutions. All of these considerations demonstrate the co-existence of various factors which have been shaping the normative space around the topic of children's homes in South Africa.

5.2. What shapes outcomes at the national level?

The social and political landscape of South Africa is characterized by many controversial realities. The previous section demonstrated the prevalence of co-exiting and competing norms in the field of alternative care which compete with the emulation of the DI norm. Next, regarding the prevalence of competing norms, there are further complex dynamics between government welfare and local as well as transnational civil society. South Africa has generally been characterized by a strong and active local civil society which generally battles against a severe lack of efficiency, follow-through, and accountability of welfare governance in South Africa. This reality has led to an enormous pressure on micro-level welfare services, which are mainly delivered by state subsidized/partnered NGO services. Many NGOs try to pick up what government doesn't deliver (Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 693).

However, the weakening of governance has been concurrent with a weakening of civil society. This was a result of little economic growth and a gradual erosion of overseas funds from about 2008 in line with the world economic crisis. On top of this, there has been a general shift of focus away from South Africa in the field of development cooperation. Since then, the voice of civil society has weakened, and service-providing NGOs struggle immensely. A country-wide NGO crisis continues to be discussed in the media to date. Next to declining funding opportunities, this has also been related to the topic of misconduct and consequent mistrust in long aid chains, which has been discussed in Chapter 2 (see e.g. SANGOnet 2014).

On the other hand, South Africa's high international popularity keeps making the local NGO/welfare sector a center of transnational civil society attention and activity. This transformation was further driven by the country's hosting of the soccer World Cup 2010. Meintjes (2007, p. 54) has highlighted how local NGOs profit from the support of international donors, corporates, and eager volunteers, especially in the vibrant city of Cape Town.

The following sub-chapter will elaborate on the complicated relationship between government and civil society in the alternative care field and show how the rising conflicts and controversies led to significant translation challenges of the desired child protection norms. Overall, the powers and inefficiencies of the state fall into the category of what has been introduced as domestic filters in Chapter 2. The second sub-chapter will look at the

prevalence and effect of international or transnational norm promotion on the adoption and translation of DI measures in the South African context.

5.2.1. Domestic filters: Governance controversies and translation challenges

In South Africa's political framework, the alternative care of children falls under the responsibility of the Department of Social Development (DSD). As pointed out above, the first years of apartheid are remembered as a 'festival' of the new government and NGOs working together. In fact, one interviewee pointed out that many government officials were the previous colleagues of NGO staff themselves, also particularly at the DSD (INT 18).

Overall, NGO leadership in the field of alternative care was strong, progressive and outspoken. The NACCW and the South African Children's Institute played a significant role (see above). However, it did not take long for conflicts over financing decisions and follow-through on policies to arise. Since then, there has been a growing hostility between government departments and NGOs in the child protection field (INT 19). The following sections will discuss the key developments and concerns in this regard.

5.2.1.1. Following through: Rising conflicts between government and NGOs

The NACCW Journal's annual reviews from the early years of democracy note that the transformation of the sector was taking very long, but the emphasis has been on the fact that progress was indeed taking place. Conflicts have started to arise over the fact that children's homes were required to reform in spite of a fundamental lack of financial assistance to do so (NACCW 2000 Vol. 18/11, p. 2). Government actors were accused of not living up to their responsibilities and promises in providing for children in need of care.

An NACCW review of the matter from 1996 looks at both sides involved and highlights the dilemma:

> On the one hand, service providers are crying foul as the state is seen to be reneging on its responsibility for children it has found to be in need of care – and on the other, provincial governments are themselves court in the musical chairs game of allocating limited and decreasing budgets to ever growing needs (NACCW 1996, Vol 14/11 p. 5).

In 1999, the inaction of a newly appointed DSD minister has caused further frustration in terms of a government that failed to deliver essential services for children in need. In her editorial year review from 2000, Allsopp expressed her disappointment in the following words: "What has happened? Everything was in place and we expected that the Minister would 'just do it'. Instead however it appears we at implementation level are witnessing government retracing its steps at the expense of those whom we serve." (NACCW 2000, Vol. 18/11, p. 2).

This situation indicates a clear discrepancy between the translation of child protection measures into law and discourse on the one hand and translation into implementation on the other.

In her editorial year review 2001 (NACCW Vol 19/11), Allsopp recalls the frustration which stayed "from the lack of follow-through and implementation of policy at national level". However, she provides an encouraging statement on the work and successes which are taking place at the implementation level in spite of that:

> The principles and approaches embodied in the "Policy recommendations of 1996" are being taken to practice level notwithstanding an absence of leadership in this regard from the national DSD. Transformation is happening CYCW by CYCW, program by program and province by province. The commitment to transformation now exists at service delivery level and is being owned by the people who are responsible for implementing services like never before. (NACCW 2001 Vol 19/11, p. 2)

The divide and hostility continued to grow during the process of finalizing the children's bill in 2003. The DSD was perceived as stamping on sound proposals for improvements of the system to save costs and to shrug off their responsibility for children. The poor relationship between the children's home sector and the DSD even appeared in the media.

In her review of the year 2003 (NACCW 2003 Vol 23/11), Allsopp looks at the then-current and ground-breaking success of another civil society leader, the 'Treatment Action Campaign', for inspiration and assurance that eventual change is possible. In this context, she makes a profound and touching statement:

> It is by standing together and by holding the tension of complexity that we will be able to build an accountable profession. It is through taking on challenges, through working with out differences, through holding the tension of seemingly irreconcilable developments that the field will find what Carl Jung called the 'conjunctio'; the place where a new and previously unimagined way forward appears. (NACCW 2003 Vol 23/11, p. 4)

It is encouraging to see that, about ten years later, an article in the context of the NACCW's 40st anniversary does report on some major achievements which have yet taken place in the sector over the decade. The highlights are the immense progress in terms of the professionalization of the sector, the ongoing expansion of staff training, and the success and nation-wide rollout of the Isibindi program. In 2016, the Professional Board for Child and Youth Care (PBCYC) was inaugurated and seven thousand staff members started the process of applying for registration. At the anniversary celebrations, the NACCW received a lot of international recognition and it was highlighted that the DSD minister was present a whole day (NACCW 2015 Vol 33/1 p. 2).

5.2.1.2. Funding issues and controversies

While some wealthy societies may carry their child care services in line with extensive welfare systems, very few children's homes in sub-Saharan Africa are managed solely by the government. As pointed out in Chapter 3, children's homes are typically run by NGOs, which may receive some state support but still depend on fundraising to cover substantial gaps. This also applies to South Africa. Registered children's homes – now CYCCs – are entitled to apply for a government subsidy which is calculated based on the number of children for which the home caters services. South Africa has hence introduced a new policy to shift away from per capita funding to the more modern approach of program-based funding, but the difference has not become obvious in practice yet.

Meintjes (2007, p. 52) and Meiring (2005, p. 82) found out that this funding is often the core source of regular financial support, but the vast majority of children's homes depend on additional fundraising in order to make ends meet. The authorization to fundraise requires the registration with the DSD as 'non-profit organizations'. Hence, all the children's homes in South Africa are a kind of NGO, often faith based or with faith-based roots (Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 12; Meiring 2005, p. 82).

Jamieson (2014) highlights the controversies and challenges arising from the fact that state support is not adequate to meet the advanced norms and standards of the local Children's Act.[98] Meintjes et al. (2007, p. 56) summarize:

[98] See also e.g. LUMOS 2017; Csáky 2009; Meintjes et al. 2007; Powell 2006 on the topic.

> The contradictory funding approaches of different parts of the State convey mixed messages to those in the residential care sector and contribute to the confusion amongst those running both registered and unregistered facilities. In practice, funding channels are unclear, erratically or unsystematically applied, and often in conflict with policy. Rather than systematically supporting sustainable positive interventions, they fuel the development of disparate, sometimes unfavourable models of care (…). It could be argued therefore that the way in which children's homes financing is currently conceptualised risks favouring the success of those initiatives which are less community based, less embedded in neighbourhood, and possibly larger than desirable.

While this refers particularly to those children's homes which are unregistered, to a certain extent it also applies to registered children's homes which still depend on fundraising.

In terms of DI efforts, one interviewee remarked:

> I think that in South Africa we have a number of forces that have come to find a home in the notion of DI – one is just the really practical sense of institutions being expensive and so government has latched on to the idea because they don't want to pay for it – and that for me is a bastardisation of the concept – because we should be deinstitutionalising because we are creating other services – but if we just look at the number of institutions that existed in 1994 and the numbers that exist now, and the dwindling of residential care beds – you can see that it is actually more of a practical monetary issue rather than an adherence to a principle – and certainly in the Western Cape that is the case. (INT 19)

5.2.1.3. Registration issues and unregistered homes

Children's homes can be distinguished by their legal status. There are those homes officially registered with government bodies and those which are not registered and may even be unknown to the authorities. In terms of South Africa, Desmond et al. (2002, p. 451) describe registered homes as "traditional children's homes, reform schools and places of safety (...) (which) are legal, formal institutions that function with government support and supervision. Residential care facilities tend to be large and staffed by many different care givers." On the other hand, unregistered residential care settings "are not registered and are therefore not under the supervision of the DSD". Hence, there are significant controversies surrounding the issue of registered and unregistered children's homes which are particularly highlighted by Jamieson (2014) and Meintjes et al. (2007).

In the interviews conducted with children's home leaders in 2009, several respondents were aware of the efforts of smaller international NGOs to establish new children's homes. These actors had often contacted them in order to get information. Yet the interviewees who told about these incidences also stated that their efforts were blocked and redirected by government. This can be seen as a successful DI measure, but one that creates a dilemma

being that the reality of children in need of care calls for abrupt responses. In the light of the experienced need, international and local actors have been setting up children's homes nonetheless.

While the popularity of funding and supporting children's homes lies in its very character and cannot be converted overnight, the controversial result is that NGOs establish homes, which have difficulty obtaining government support but are yet extensively used by official social workers to place children in need of care. In the end, the current structures indirectly promote the establishment of unregistered homes which are then independent from authorities and seen with suspicion.[99]

At the same time, there is the reality that several unregistered settings were typically established by local ladies who were reportedly moved by the plight of children in their communities and decided to help. As a result, they gradually took more and more children into their care. These homes are often based in the midst of poverty-stricken suburbs and their lack of substantial resources as well as professionalization is easily visible.

The appeal of these kind of homes to transnational donors can potentially be very strong as they fit in well with the idea of grass-root efforts 'owned by' the local community, which has been a funding trend in the international welfare community. From the perspective of DI standards, there are certain advantages in this situation. As these homes are typically headed by strong-minded, warm-hearted and very integrated individuals of the community, they exhaust the same coping mechanisms as their neighbors to make ends meet for themselves and the children in their care. Thus, the children are not taken out of their environment, cared for by socially and culturally familiar role models, and so stay integrated in their community. Furthermore, the living standards of these homes do not differ from surrounding households.

While government actors deny a need for children's homes, the reality is that social workers put many children in the care of unregistered homes. In this regard, the motives for denying the registration of new homes can also be based on cost-related interests. Abdulla (2007, p. 62) explains:

> Registration creates expectations of funding. Registration will depend on availability of grant funding. Availability of funds in turn depends on the budget allocated to the Department of Social Welfare and Population Development. Even if a home has undertaken a needs assessment there may insufficient funds to provide grants in the current or even next financial year. Hence begins a long and often frustrating journey to registration. This study has found

[99] See also UNICEF and International Social Service 2004.

> that unregistered institutions seek registration as children's homes not for the sole purpose of securing welfare grant, but also to give them legitimacy in their pursuit of funds from international donors.

A statement of one interviewee in Cape Town does also precisely confirm the controversy, conflict and challenges which frequently arise in this context:

> They said they're not going to re-register us. And the communication was, there are too many child and youth care centers. Now, what I then discovered was, in the new Children's Act government is required to financially support child and youth care centers, and because - this is now our interpretation - they didn't want that financial burden, they much rather say to smaller organizations like us: no, we're not reregistering you. Then I said, well, what are we supposed to do? We still have the Department of Social Development on a weekly basis wanting to put children with us. You're telling us there's no need? We know the reality here in the region, there's a huge need. We can't even fill the need! (INT 7)

5.2.1.4. Concluding remarks

South African Children's Act demands the allocation of appropriate resource for vulnerable children (Schmid and Patel 2016, p. 249). As the new democracy developed, South Africa's child protection field became characterized by a growing divide and hostility between the governmental and the NGO-based child protection sector around the NACCW. Conflicts were mainly around funding decisions, service delivery and follow through and the manner of cooperation. In 2010, the new Children's Act was adopted after a lengthy process of collaboration, contestation and conflict between governmental actors and a network of strong local child protection NGOs. Today, the NACCW has also been known for its leading role in keeping a progressive spirit alive in the national field.

Children's homes in South Africa - if registered with the responsible state department, the DSD - receive a government subsidy. One major concern is that the government-subsidies for children's homes are far from covering the costs of implementing the standards stipulated in the Children's Act (see e.g. Jamieson 2014). Instead, children's homes are run by non-profit organizations (NPOs) and cover the (substantial) gaps by fundraising in the local and global charity and welfare market of our modern global/transnational civil society – of which the internationally popular city of Cape Town is a particular hub. The significant controversies surrounding unregistered children's homes, which are fully donor funded and beyond state supervision, is hence another major concern. Both topics show that the promoted discourse differs profoundly from the realities on the ground.

5.2.2. International influences: DI promotion and transnational civil society

This sub-chapter focuses on the factors which have been shaping the development of child welfare in South Africa through influences from the broader international context. It starts with the NACCW's strong integration in the global FICE network. For example, an article written in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the NACCW in 2015 highlighted that various international connections were 'an essential ingredient' to the organization's growth. This includes, for instance, 'Canadian writing and expertise', partnerships with neighboring countries, and the support and partnership of particular European NGOs, UNICEF, USAID, and the UNHCR (NACCW 2015 Vol 33/1 p. 2).[100] This will be elaborated on in the following section.

Thereafter, the next section will discuss a particular incident of direct DI promotion by one of the leading norm entrepreneurs in the international field. The last two sections will look at the discussion of more general international dynamics, such as what has been called 'professional imperialism' and 'volunteer tourism'. These topics will be assessed in terms of their general influence on the diffusion and translation of the DI norm in South Africa.

Overall, it was an interesting finding that the interviewees at the national level do not see any links between the developments regarding DI in South Africa and the broader international movement which developed in the context of the scandals in Rumania. Instead, the local context and political dynamics are generally perceived as far more dominant. For example, one respondent states the following in response to a direct question on this topic:

> ***Interviewer*:** Do you see an influence from the international movement – also in line with the 'Rumania horror stories' – do you think that is also reflecting here or do you think that has nothing to do with each other?
>
> ***Interviewee*:** I don't think so – so (it was) in the early 90s when that was all happening in Rumania. So in the mid-90s, almost immediately after the new government took over, we closed down some of the really big institutions, like one in Worchester that had 600 children so by the end of the 90s that had closed down or reduced very significantly. There was an understanding in government that that is not good for children - but also these institutions came from 'Afrikanerdom' (refers to the previous oppressors) – so they came from national government social control issues – so most of those facilities were not beloved straight away by the new government, so I would say it came more from that than from that (international) issue.

[100] These refer to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC).

In this overall context, it is also interesting to note some comments which have addressed the issue of international influences in this field in some neighboring countries. For example, a commentator at the 'Meeting on African Children without Family Care' in Windhoek 2002 affronts: [101]

> Institutions are a cultural import from the USA and Europe, where this model has been abandoned. Why is it still being exported? The reason may be that it serves the needs of donors. If you don't understand and trust the community, it is much better to put the children in a box where it's easier for you to keep track of them. (UNICEF ESAR Nairobi 2002, p. 10)

5.2.2.1. The impact of transnational networks: DI, FICE and the NACCW

An observation on the part of the general child protection field at the two main field-specific international conferences[102] reveals that the sector has become divided in two fragments, which also use different terms. The term 'alternative care' is dominant in a network around UNICEF and powerful INGOs in which most actors have adopted a strict DI approach. As pointed out in Chapter 3, the dominating frame in this segment is that the persistence of children's homes is caused by misinformed or ill-intentioned support.

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[101] Another very interesting story, which offended local child care professionals, is the ambivalent case of SOS children's villages in Zimbabwe as pointed out by Powell (2002). Being a foreign, non-government organization, well-resourced and with the best intentions SOS "imported its own concept of orphan care to Zimbabwe over the last 15yrs by the construction of three Children's Villages. The SOS program has provided facilities of a high standard for a small fraction of Zimbabwe's orphan population". In line with common DI reasoning, local child care professionals criticized the investment into this very costly approach to caring for a very limited number of children. They argued that the resources should better be invested in family and community-based alternatives, which can provide better care for more children on less cost. Powell (ibid.) states: "If all of the funds for this program were sourced from overseas donors, Zimbabweans working in this field might simply write it off as yet another tragically misdirected initiative by a foreign NGO. However, as a recent newspaper report disclosed, this is no longer the case. The report stated that, because of increasing commitments in Eastern Europe, SOS Headquarters have significantly reduced their support for the Zimbabwean program and expected the deficit to be made up by contributions from Zimbabwean sources. The article concluded with a strong appeal for donations from local NGOs, businesses and individuals to ensure the continued viability of SOS operations in this country. In those struggling to develop community-based programs, which seek to encompass all children in difficult circumstances, and which rely on scarce local resources, this report engendered a sense of outrage. It showed that SOS had a complete lack of understanding of the situation on the ground and had made the unwarranted assumption that Zimbabwean support for their program was unquestioned".

[102] See section 4.3.1.1

On the other hand, a critical or much more moderate approach is dominant in a more practitioner-prone network around the international umbrella body, FICE (International Federation of Educative Communities). Within this network, another classic term from the field of Pedagogy is used: Child and Youth Care.

As the elaborations in previous chapters indicated, the stance of South Africa's children's home sector is mainly located in the FICE network. The NACCW is the South African representative at FICE. In the context of the international boycott against apartheid, it had not been accepted as part of FICE up until 1993. However, they always had a lot of connections with academic networks overseas from which they did pull and find information about the developing expertise in the field. When they finally became a part of the organization this was highly appreciated. An article in an NACCW Journal from 1994 stated:

> The NACCW has become part of FICE, which is a UNESCO and UNICEF affiliate. This will enable NACCW member organizations such as The Homestead to have links with the United Nations, while giving the residential child care profession of South Africa a voice in the international field and an advocacy task on behalf of South Africa's children and youth at risk. (NACCW 1994 Vol 12/1, p. 8)

In fact, since the end of apartheid, the NACCW became a particularly active and respected member in the FICE network. As pointed out in the previous sub-chapter, the network has been receiving much attention for exemplary progress in transforming the child and youth care system.[103] One sign of recognition was also that the international FICE conference, which takes place every three years, was held in Stellenbosch/Cape Town in 2010.[104]

At the 2016 conference in Vienna, the Isibindi model had just been replicated by partners in the Lebanon (see NACCW 2016 Vol 34/3).

5.2.2.2. Direct DI promotion in South Africa

The interview findings of this study indicated that one particular UK based INGO had started focusing on promoting DI in South Africa. This INGO had started off working in the DI context of Romania and has since assumed a powerful role in the field.

[103] See e.g. NACCW 2004 Vol 22/11, p. 3 or NACCW 2015 Vol 33/1, p. 2

[104] This conference was also attended by the researcher who had just started working at a local children's home in 2009 (After completion of MA thesis)

According to some interview respondents, they had approached the Western Cape DSD with an offer of substantial funds for DI-focused transition processes in the children's home sector. Yet the local authorities in Cape Town were reluctant to partner with them. Instead, the Gauteng province was open to the idea and recently started collaborating with them. While they did not get involved directly in Cape Town, they have established positive relationships with some leading practitioners. One respondent stated:

> They've started a pilot now in Joburg. (…) It was going to be here in Cape Town but they also had to work where the political forces were the most keen to partner, so they've moved up to Joburg, they're starting the process there, but the idea is that through these various pilot projects, people and the government will see that deinstitutionalization is actually a positive thing and it can be done and that we will not keep throwing budget in institutionalized models basically. (INT 8)

The reluctance of the Western Cape DSD is surprising in the light of their general focus on cost saving measures and keeping children in their families. According to the INGOs report, the approached government officials blocked their offer in a manner of 'refusal' or 'ridicule' and claimed that the national Children's Act was efficient enough in governing child protection issues. Overall, this was interpreted as using the progressive legislation to "mask a failure to deliver" (Foghill 2016).

While little solid evidence could be gathered on this matter, the findings suggest three underlying points. Firstly, a general hostility of the government towards local and international NGO's and their ambitions which may also be related to concerns regarding a North-South power dynamic. Secondly, a generally inflexible, entitled and dubious attitude. Thirdly, a generally unfavorable 'people dynamic' on the part of the staff concerned.

In terms of the third point, one interviewee at the national NGO level was concerned about an irregular pattern of collaboration and some confusing engagements (INT 19).

A further observation was that the NACCW – as the main civil society leader in the field - was only approached at a much later stage in the INGOs' engagement with the country. It could be argued that this contradicts the proclaimed strategy to build the capacity of the national civil society and the workforce on the ground, which is also the explicit focus of the NACCW (Costa 2016, pp. 36-42).

However, in terms of their efforts in the Gauteng province, the INGO reports some great successes on their website (Foghill 2016). All of this demonstrates how the norm promotion of INGOs can be characterized by ambivalence and controversy.

5.2.2.3. Indirect norm promotion: Professional imperialism and international funding

In the context of international DI promotion, the overall issue of indirect norm promotion through a kind of professional imperialism was also raised in interviews and literature. As one interviewee stated:

> I find the concept of norm diffusion is a very interesting idea and I think one also has to look at it very carefully also asking is it norm diffusion or is it also a kind of almost imperialization or an imposition of norms. (INT 19)

Schmid and Patel (2016) discuss this as an issue of 'professional imperialism'. They highlight that globalization has created the field of international social work in which transnational networks diffuse ideas through the wide reach of international agencies (ibid. p. 247). Yet these are typically unidirectional from the Global North to the Global South. However, she also points out that the discussion about the interaction of global norms and context-specific approaches is well-established. There is some optimism that voices from the South are increasingly being heard and that the concept of 'glocalization' has been promising (ibid.).

However, there are two main concerns. One is that social work education is expected to fulfil universal norms, but that does not prepare students for local reality in South Africa. Instead, a brain drain is encouraged. Schmid and Patel (2016, p. 248) point out that international influences and 'Anglophone constructions of child protection' are strongly reflected in the local child welfare discourse. For example, they state:

> While the child rights-based approach is a positive one, more attention needs to be given to country specific contexts in the application of universal norms. The manner and extent to which the child rights discourse is translated into national child welfare programs requires further examination (Schmid and Patel 2016, p. 252).

In this context, they also point out that the mechanism of international exchange and power dynamics is primarily funding, which they see as "an issue not identified in the literature" (Schmid and Patel 2016, p. 252). This results in trends being driven by international donor ideas instead of local needs (ibid. 251). Local actors conform with international agendas to gain credibility and funding. However, they also highlight the positive sides. For example, they state that some donors specifically support local priorities and international partnerships are generally valued for information exchange and support of programs.

5.2.2.4. International popularity and volunteerism

The phenomenon of international volunteerism in children's homes is a heatedly debated topic.[105] Richter and Norman (2010) call the phenomenon 'Aids Orphan Tourism' which they have highlighted as a growing trend in the generally growing industry of 'voluntourism'. Volunteerism in South African children's homes is certainly very common and popular. A Google search of the term 'volunteer at South African orphanages' delivers over 2 million hits. Meintjes et al. (2007, p. 54) point out that "although staff (…) identified that managing volunteers can be challenging for a range of reasons, they recognized them as an invaluable source of financial and other resources both while in situ as well as after they had returned to their home countries." Next to the adverse emotional and psychological effects on children (Richter and Norman 2010), the concern at this level is that the hosting of volunteers at the actual children's home is often used to secure regular funds for the running of the project. This results in a desperate need to value and encourage the involvement of international volunteers because they are a source of funding. It can also encourage the upkeep of unnecessary and unsuitable care provision for children in children's homes.

In late 2011, 'voluntourism' expert David Clemmons (2011) published the article "Aids orphan tourism: A year later. Has anything changed?" He notes:

> The tweets continue to be posted to draw volunteers to orphanages across the world. Blog posts discuss a volunteer's experience at an orphanage and how meaningful it was. What continues to drive the interest in lieu of Dr. Richter and Ms. Norman's research? ln lieu of the response from social and traditional media around the world? ls the divide between academia and volunteers/"consumers" and practitioners so vast that the findings from research never make their way to influencing the decisions of would• be volunteers and/or practitioners?

On top of this, there are various economic and employment concerns.[106] One interviewee made an interesting statement in this regard:

> We've stopped the volunteering in the children's home. So, we only have short-term volunteering in the community work now. We've stopped it in 2007, we did it for a couple of reasons. We did it because of the issues of bonding and language and so on for the children and these detachment issues, and we did it because most of our volunteers at that time were coming from Holland and the States and so on and so, predominately white and most of our community staff were from the local community and because they weren't given, because we had competent people coming from overseas they would take up roles that were often in oversight of the local staff. Because they could do things that the local staff couldn't do. And

[105] The concerns thereof were referred to in Chapter 3 (see 3.2.1 and footnote 16).

[106] For an overview see http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/review/August-2010/aids-orphan-tourism

> that created another challenge within South Africa, which is that we don't develop local people because we get competent volunteers who are many times, you know, western and if you take a Dutch girl, forthright, you know, they will just, they will just do it and they will say it and they will, so they tend to push into spaces that an African person won't push into. And that created a racial and political challenge for us as well, to say, what are we doing? Are we perpetuating a model that's serving an international community, but not serving the local community? (INT 8)

5.2.2.5. Concluding remarks

Overall, it can be concluded that there are direct and indirect influences on the state of DI diffusion in South Africa. One leading DI-focused INGO has approached provincial governments in a direct attempt at financial persuasion. While this was refused in the Western Cape – although in line with a seemingly dubious attitude – the Gauteng province has embraced the offer. In response to this partnership, certain children's homes are now going through DI related transitions.

The INGO concerned has recently become one of the leading DI-focused norm entrepreneurs in the particularly resource-strong fragment of the international child protection field which follows a very strict DI idea. One co-existing and competing global association is the FICE network, which follows a more moderate approach to DI and is rather the home of those who defend children's homes in line with a norm localization logic. It was highlighted that South Africa's child protection approach and general association is strongly linked to the FICE network. As this network identifies with a stance of defending the value of children's homes - provided they are used in the right manner - this norm is likely to be re-affirmed and reinforced among and between the members of this network. The same applies to the network that promotes a strict DI stance.

On a much broader level, this dynamic is also taking place in the context of the emerging field of what is regarded as 'international social work'. Within this context, the fact that typical INGOs from the Global North promote and invest in the diffusion of 'their' norms has been referred to as 'professional imperialism'. A similar reference has been made to the global phenomenon of volunteer tourism, which has been associated with 'a modern form of colonialism'. Both of these factors have been found to have an indirect impact on the diffusion and translation of the DI norm, especially in the context of transnational funding dynamics.

5.3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings on the national dimension of the case study: The development, diffusion, and translation of the DI norm in South Africa. The first part of the chapter introduced the general legal developments after the country's globally celebrated change to democracy and – in that context - the adoption and translation of DI principles. It can be concluded that the latter is characterized by a mix of realities, which include aspects of all the outcomes discussed here: compliance, resistance, decoupling and localization.

In summary, four developments can be counted as local filters:

1) First of all, South Africa's strong and progressive institutional and policy framework and its resonance with cultural family and community norms and values create strong scope conditions for DI translation (see e.g. Jamieson 2014).
2) On the other hand, this framework is opposed by the previously dominant residential care culture which is still highly prevalent in the mindsets and decision making of designated bodies and individuals (see e.g. Patel and Hochfeld 2013).
3) A further counteractive factor is the political and social heritage of apartheid which led to a lack of opposition and thus accountability in a 'party dominant system' (see e.g. Friedmann 1999). This has been resulting in inefficient and controversial governance when it comes to tackling the drastic socio-economic challenges. Thus, the translation of DI principles into law and discourse means little in the face of the severe implementation challenges and controversies which characterize welfare governance in South Africa. A clear case of decoupling adopted policy and actual practice is often noted (see e.g. Patel and Hochfeld 2013, Schmid and Patel 2016). This is also commonly related to capacity and resource issues in an overburdened system.
4) In the context of the previous point, NGOs do their part in picking up the burden but struggle with their own limitations and financing issues (Schmid and Patel 2016). However, overall South Africa has certainly been characterized by a strong and active local civil society in this regard.

The last point also applies in particular to the children's home sector. The long-standing umbrella NGO, called the NACCW, is commonly regarded as a main leader in the national field. In spite of many conflicts with government actors regarding financing and follow-through, the NACCW has also celebrated major achievements in terms of the

professionalization of the field, training of staff and advancing community-based best-practice models. All of these are mainly localized approaches.

However, a gradual erosion of overseas funds over the past decade for various reasons is often associated with a weakening of South Africa's civil society. On the other hand, the country's high international popularity keeps making the local NGO and welfare sector a center of transnational civil society. This topic implies the import of multiple norms and leads over to the role of international/transnational influences. On this level, the following factors stand out:

South Africa's political transformation in the mid-1990s created a prototype conducive political opportunity structure for international norm diffusion (Zimmermann 2016). There was a strong desire to adopt a human rights approach and to become part of the international community after decades of human rights violation and diplomatic isolation. In this context, the emerging policies for child protection were aligned with international best practice principles and the UNCRC. The topic of residential care was even high on the agenda. Next to the extensive use of it in line with local traditions and the apartheid regime's attempts to maintain social control, this was due to the country's immense affectedness by the HIV epidemic. Sustainable solutions were urgently needed to respond to the rapidly growing demand for alternative care. Within this context, leaders in the field also tried to learn from neighboring countries facing similar challenges. This reality also contributed to a revival of traditional African family and community norms and values in the field.

In order to address the drastic socio-economic problems and inequalities inherited from apartheid times, South Africa adopted a 'developmental' approach to social welfare in the early years of democracy. This was compliant with international best practice norms. So was the new South African Children's Act which came into effect in 2010 and re-emphasized the focus on DI related principles, which had already been implied in the developmental approach.

However, the international DI community notes that this Children's Act – although highly progressive - does not clearly stipulate residential care as 'a last resort'. South African leaders in the field explain that this is based on a stance that general DI principles and efforts do not oppose the need for high-quality children's homes as one valuable option of alternative care. This stance is not in line with the DI movement and is counted as an aspect of local resistance. On the other hand, this approach is in line with the international FICE

network, to which the NACCW has become closely affiliated over recent decades. This practitioner-prone network is also critical of a strict DI approach and in support of keeping a ‘both-and’ instead of an ‘either-or’ approach as discussed in Chapter 3.

With regards to direct transnational DI promotion, it was found that one DI-focused INGO has approached public and NGO leaders in the field with an offer of substantial funds for the implementation of further DI transformation. While the Western Cape Province was reluctant to partner with them – reportedly in line with a dubious attitude of having everything under control - they started collaborating with the Gauteng province. However, leaders in the national field perceive the collaboration as inefficient and shaped by mismanagement and a seemingly unfavorable people dynamic.

Furthermore, on a more general note, local leaders are concerned about a standardized sense of professional imperialism, which is also discussed in the local social work literature (see e.g. Patel and Hochfeld 2013, Schmid and Patel 2016). This is perceived as particularly counter-productive when it comes to tackling local challenges.

Overall, it was concluded that the realities described on the national dimension confirm many aspects of the established hypotheses. Various co-existing and competing norms, realities and interests shape and influence the realities of DI translation in the South African context. At the same time, domestic governance and transnational norm entrepreneurship are themselves shaped by ambivalence and thus most likely to cause ambivalent outcomes on the ground. This will be discussed in the following two chapters which present the findings within the local dimension.

6. Outcomes at the local dimension: Diversity and no consistency

This chapter turns the focus to the local dimension of the given case study. The actual outcomes of DI diffusion and translation at the implementation level of Cape Town's children's home sector. A group of 25 children's homes was part of the analysis (see Chapter 4). This chapter will explore the question in how far these homes have adjusted to the DI norm since 2009. It will show that South Africa's diversity and fragmentation are also evident in Cape Town's children's home sector and lead to a variety of co-existing outcomes of norm diffusion and translation.

The chapter will be split in two parts. The first part will start off by introducing some key contextual points on the city of Cape Town which is both a global brand and a social hotspot. Thereafter follows a discussion of how four different types of children's homes were identified in the sector and in how far these different groups have adjusted or expanded their program approaches in line with DI principles. The second part will pick up on this and present further interesting developments and findings, such as shifts in the homes' registration status, care models, locations, community relations, funding approaches and financial situations. In terms of the last point, it will show that Cape Town's international popularity creates a diversity of small- and medium-scale funding opportunities for children's homes. Based on the overall picture of the sector and the various factors and developments, the last sub-chapter will provide an overview of the 15 children's homes at which the interviews were conducted.

6.1. Cape Town and it's children's home sector: Types and approaches

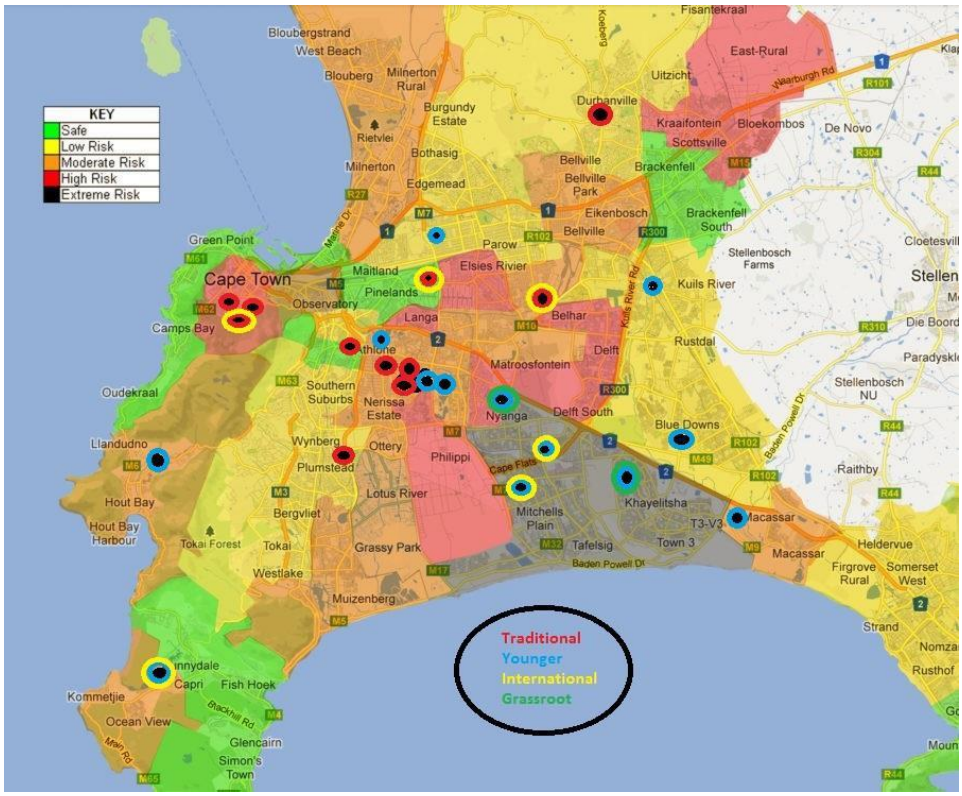
With a population of app. 4 million people, the city of Cape Town is South Africa's second-biggest metropole and the capital of the Western Cape Province.[107] Statistics and scholarship portray Cape Town as a divided (world) city which has been caught in a struggle between modern capitalist competition and glamour on the one hand, and the burden of poverty,

[107] The Western Cape is one of nine provinces in the country. It is often regarded as a special case in the broader South African context. The demographics differ from the overall South African averages, especially in Cape Town. The city has the highest population of 'Cape coloureds' (app. 40%), the second highest population of 'Whites' (app. 15%), and relatively low 'Black' population group (app. 38%). (See http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/cape-town- population/) It is in this context, that the province and the city have been governed by the opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, instead of the otherwise extremely dominant ANC.

violence and its racist past on the other. [108] For example, Samara (2011, p. 3) speaks of Cape Town as two cities of which "one is a well-connected global brand that attracts tourists and investments from all corners of the globe, the other an underdeveloped urban periphery that has more in common with expanding ghettos across the global South than with the glittering Euro-themed downtown just kilometers away".

After a period of economic growth in the early 2000ds, the city's economy was hit hard by the economic recession after 2008 and has only recovered moderately. As a result, the city's Gini coefficient increased from 0.57 in 2010 to 0.67 in 2011/12 (Morris 2014). While public service delivery is perceived as more satisfactory in Cape Town than in most other areas of the country, there are still major problems and frequent protest and unrest in this regard.[109]

The following map shows the division of the city along with the safety risk associated with its different areas.[110] In addition, the 25 children's homes under review in this study were located by the author (black spots, colors indicate type).



Graphic 3: Map of Cape Town based children's homes (see footnote 110, modified by author)

[108] See e.g. McDonald 2013; Samara 2011; Ritsema 2012, p. 344. For discussions of Cape Town's world city status see, for example, McDonald (2013).

[109] For detailed information on the city of Cape Town see e.g. the Western Cape Government's socio-economic profile (SEP) 2017 or the City of Cape Town's EPIC report 2017.

[110] The map is available at https://www.capetownsafety.com/cape-town-safety-map/.

This overall picture shows that children's homes are generally spread across the different areas of the city but concentrate at certain points. The color frames indicate the four distinguished types of children's homes, which will be introduced below. Red indicates traditional local homes and blue, younger local homes. Yellow marks the international types. In addition, the grassroot types are marked with a green circle.

A study from 2010 states that 9% of the child population in the Western Cape lives in residential care settings.[111] Yet less than 1% was reported to have lost both parents.

The following sub-chapter will introduce the four identified types of children's homes. Thereafter, the second sub-chapter will present in how far the program approaches of the four distinguished types of homes have or have not adjusted to the DI norm.

6.1.1. Identifying four types of children's homes in Cape Town

The analysis of Cape Town's children's home sector confirmed that all 25 homes under review were governed as NPOs. A faith-based background or ongoing association was also prevalent in almost all of the organizations. Both the 2009 and the 2017 study have clearly showed that the vast majority of children's homes in Cape Town have been established and run in a faith related context. In 2009, all but two of the 24 homes under review had explicitly been founded by a church or church-related individuals.

Only six respondents called the organization in charge of the home an NGO rather than an FBO. Many are still part of bigger faith-based bodies, of which several are Christian, and some are Muslim or Jewish organizations. Of the homes which were added in the 2017 study, all but two were, again, explicitly faith based.

Beyond that, it can certainly be concluded that the establishment of every children's home seems to have a rather unique story line. Two distinguishing factors stand out and allow for

[111] See CASE (2010, p. 23) as indicated by Jamieson (2014, p. 236). Jamieson also highlights that data on children in residential care in South Africa is commonly noted as scarce. In the 2009 study, the respondents of the 24 children's homes under review reported that a total number of 902 children were in their care. The total number of beds available in these homes was 1118. The empirical data gathered in this research confirmed that the majority of children in children's homes are not orphans. The estimations of respondents regarding how many of the children in their care still have living parents resulted in an average of 72 %. The estimations of those homes which focus particularly on children from HIV/Aids related contexts did not differ significantly. Only one of the three homes with an HIV/Aids focus stated that only 0%-25% of the children still had living parents due to the context of the epidemic.

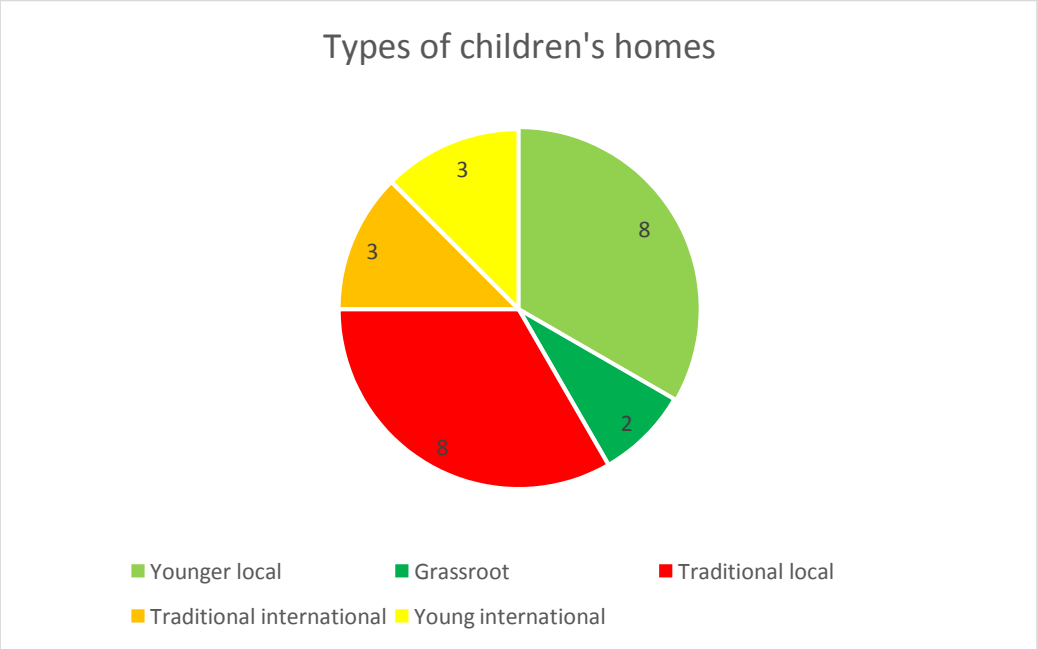
the establishment of four types of children's homes. The first main distinguishing factor is the time of establishment of the home. This ranged between the establishment of the eldest home in 1815 and the youngest in 2007. Within this long-time span, two groups can be identified.

One group of homes had been established a very long time ago between 1815 and 1929. Interestingly, this has included almost half of the homes. The other group was much younger. The oldest home in this group had been established in 1974 and the youngest in 2007. The second dividing factor was that the homes had either been initiated by local or international individuals or organizations. Only one quarter of the homes were internationally initiated.

In line with these two distinguishing factors, four types of children's homes were established:

- Traditional local children's homes
- Younger local children's homes (including so-called grassroot organizations)
- Traditional international children's homes
- Young international children's homes

The following graphic illustrates the distribution of the different types:



Graphic 4: Types of children's homes (own design)

In the following sections, each type of home will be briefly introduced.

6.1.1.1. Traditional local children's homes

One of the main groups of children's homes in Cape Town are traditional types. These are the remaining parts of previous large-scale, dormitory-style children's 'institutions' which the DI movement aims to eliminate. One third of the homes under review fall into this category. This illustrates that the strong South African residential care culture and tradition is rather dominant in Cape Town's child protection field.

In this typology, 'local' refers to all homes which were initiated in Cape Town or by South African organizations. About half of the eight homes fall under national faith-based welfare bodies. Typically based in or close by the city center, many of these homes are proud of their longstanding traditions and still benefit from long-established community support structures.

However, it is also striking that most of them had significantly reduced the numbers of children in their care decades ago. The two largest of these homes still house 80 – 140 children today. Another home states on its website that it used to be an institution housing 200 children but changed to a home for 40 in the 1970s. The smallest of these homes had changed towards a small-scale program of app. 12 children in the 1980s. When this home was visited for an interview, the researcher was presented with a book that had been published in 2011 in line with the home's 100th anniversary.

This book, entitled 'From Cape Jewish Orphanage To Oranjia Jewish Child And Youth Care Center – A Hundred Years Of Caring For Our Children" (Belling 2011), provides some interesting insights on the history of traditional local children's homes. It shows that they were closely linked to the religious identities, divisions and community structures which were particularly dominant in the 1900s (Belling, pp. 4-6). In this context, many of these homes were established to cater for 'white children' or 'children of European descent'.

Belling describes three developments which caused a drastic increase in the numbers of children placed in these homes:

1) The 'flu epidemic of 1918' in which many thousands of people died in the Cape region (Belling, p. 13).
2) The case of the 'Ukrainian pogrom orphans' during the Russian Civil War. Headed by a Ukraine born Cape Town philanthropist, the South African Jewish community organized a rescue mission for some of these children in the 1920s. Of the about 170 children who could eventually be taken to South Africa about a hundred came to Cape Town. (Belling, p. 17)

Later plans to rescue further children from Nazi Germany and Nazi occupied Europe could not be materialized (Belling, p. 49).
3) In 1940 the South Africa government arranged for thousands of children to be evacuated from war-torn Europe and shipped to South Africa in order to be save for the duration of the war or beyond (Belling, p. 51).

After World War II, there was an officially recognized trend that children admitted to homes which were still regarded as 'orphanages' were much rather from 'broken homes' than actual orphans (Belling, p. 64). In the 1960s the term 'children's home' started to replace the term orphanages – which was also formalized in a new Children's Act of that time (No. 33 of 1960). This Act also stipulated that children should only be admitted to residential care under the protection of the Act and no longer in private arrangements (Belling, p. 101).

It is interesting that this book reports a 'wind of change' in terms of an international DI trend diffusing from the UK and the Netherlands already from the 1970s. It was in this context that the numbers of children in residential care started to decrease drastically and cottage systems as well as more family and community focused and therapeutic programs started to be discussed (Belling, pp. 97-103). According to this report, family reunification started to be a trend in the 1980s. All of this shows that a norm change in the children's home sector started to diffuse to South Africa long before the adoption of a developmental approach.

6.1.1.2. Traditional international children's homes

Traditional international children's homes have been shaped by similar characteristics as the traditional local homes. However, they differ in their organizational structure and culture as they were initiated and are still part of big international organizations.

For the purpose of this study, three children's homes were counted as traditional international children's homes. In two cases this is a straightforward allocation. These two homes are local branches of international congregations: The Sisters of Nazareth and the Holy Cross Sisters. The branches were established in 1881 and 1918.

Nazareth House is also located in the upper city center, close to the Oranjia Jewish home, and mentioned in Belling's book which was introduced in the previous section. It is a large setting designated to children and elderly people, especially those who are disabled and/or terminally ill.

The other home was traditionally referred to as the Holy Cross Orphanage. This traditional home seems to have catered for 'children of color' for a much longer time than some other traditional homes. The respondent of the 2009 interview explained that they had been eager to establish family cottages when they moved to another area in the 1960s, but the Apartheid government only allowed the construction of dormitory style buildings for 'non-white' children.

The third children's home allocated to this type is the local branch of the INGO called SOS Children's Villages. While the SOS children's village in Cape Town was only opened in 1994, the year of democratic transition, the international mother NGO was established in Europe in the 1940s and is closely identified with its long tradition and establishment. In a background talk at one of the international conferences, an insider described the SOS Children's Villages as torn between its more traditionalist and more forward-thinking powers. The whole organization went through a process of DI-related change (see below). In the light of this context, this home fits better with the traditional international type than with the young international children's homes, which have been established more recently in response to the HIV crisis.

6.1.1.3. Younger local children's homes

With a total number of ten younger local children's homes, this is the biggest group in the Cape Town area. The eldest home in this group was established in 1974 and the youngest in 2003.

These homes were established by local individuals, churches or faith-based welfare bodies. For example, this includes the case of the US inspired 'Boys Town' concept as well as the homes of local Evangelical churches or the South African Muslim Women's League. Furthermore, this type includes so-called 'grassroot' organizations which developed from the midst of the community. In two cases a particularly caring and dedicated 'Mamma' started taking in destitute children in the immediate neighborhood of her Township community.

Some of these homes are generally more focused on their immediate communities, which is less the case in traditional homes.

6.1.1.4. Young international children's homes

The three homes of the type 'young international children's homes' all share a similar story. Namely, some well-connected individuals based in Western Europe have (or developed) a personal connection to Cape Town and mobilized European support structures in order to assist children orphaned by HIV/Aids directly (see OVC above). Only in one of the cases, the founding couple from Holland was first focused on providing care for street children before they shifted towards an HIV focus in line with their experiences.

The three homes were established between 1994 and 2007 and are generally smaller programs identifying with more modern ideas of family like settings. Furthermore, all of these homes were established in the midst of social hotspots, so-called Township communities. They started out with a particular specialization on providing health support and care for HIV affected children and developed as they gathered more experience.

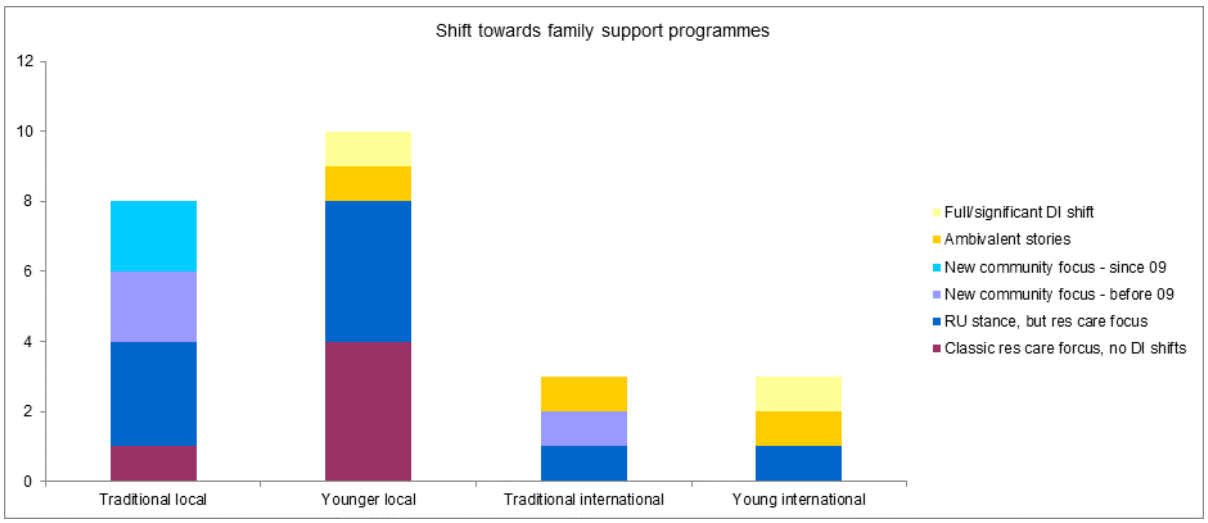
6.1.1.5. Concluding remarks

Based on the time and initiation of their establishment, Cape Town-based children's homes can be split in four broad types. The most dominant type are those homes which were locally initiated after 1974. They are called 'younger locals' and include typical grassroot cases. The domination of this type is interesting when considering that a comprehensive local report shows the existence of a DI-related paradigm shift starting to be diffused from Europe from the 1970s. According to this report, this was the time when the second most dominant type, 'traditional local children's homes' started to reduce the numbers in their care drastically. The eight traditional local homes were established many decades ago between 1815 and the time of World War II. They even have a history of providing a refuge for children from war-torn Europe. While some of these homes still resemble traditional children's institutions, others have long changed towards a modern small-scale approach. However, the strong residential care culture and tradition which is typical for South Africa is demonstrated in these homes.

One quarter of the 25 homes in Cape Town has been internationally initiated. One half of them is part of traditional international congregations or organizations, while the other half was initiated after 1994 by foreign individuals who wanted to provide support in response to the AIDS orphan crisis.

6.1.2. Adjustment to the DI norm since 2009: Shifts in program approaches

The analysis of shifts in DI-related program approaches have revealed mixed trends. The developments of the 24 children's homes which were up and running may be directly compared and are illustrated in the following graphic [112]:



Graphic 5: Shift towards family support program (own design)

The graphic shows six different types of DI outcomes in relation to the four different types of children's homes. Overall, there is a continuum from light to dark colors. Light represents modern DI developments and dark stands for traditional approaches. It can easily be observed that some significant change has taken place in the sector. The two yellow types mark significant DI-related changes. The light yellow demonstrates a full shift away from classic residential programs towards community-based programs. Orange marks those cases which combine elements of DI shifts with remaining traditional elements and are therefore termed 'ambivalent stories'. In contrast, the red color stands for a persisting focus on traditional residential care with no DI-related shifts or stances.

In addition, three intermediary types were identified which are marked with blue colors. The two light blue types indicate a newly developed or strengthened focus on providing community-based support programs in addition to a classic residential program. The brighter blue marks that this development has taken place since 2009, while the softer blue color shows a shift which took place even earlier. Dark blue indicates that the home takes an

[112] One home was deregistered and closed and could therefore not be considered.

explicit stance for the importance of family reunification but is generally still focused completely on providing residential care.

In the following sections the changes or non-changes will be elaborated on.

6.1.2.1. Significant DI related shifts

There are only two homes which went through a full DI transition and shifted significantly from providing residential care towards community-based care. One can count as a shining example from a DI perspective and is a young international type. The NGO states the following on its website:

> In March 2015 we made the decision to close down our institutional child and youth care center. As we come to the end of 20 years of providing formal residential child and youth care centers, we are grateful to have been able to share in many children's lives, bringing safety and stability, love and nurturing. Over the past 5 years (the organization) has been building an alternative solution for community-based family care for orphans and vulnerable children, thus replacing more traditional institutional care. We are grateful to the Department of Social Development for their partnership in both establishing the Child Care Center, as well as in helping us to make this transition to a more community-based, family-oriented model.[113]

The second example is a younger local type, which had been running a small-scale residential program caring for 15 children, as well as an extensive community-based support program (Isibindi) for a long time. In 2012, the organization added a further community- based program which serves youth with very challenging behavior. One of the central aims of this program has been to avoid complete family breakdown and the placement of children in residential care. In 2014, they took this approach one step further and closed down their classic residential program in order to replace it with a small and highly specialized residential treatment center for children with extremely challenging behavior. Providing specialized services to only eight children at a time and catering for a group of children for whom a particular need for such a program has been identified in line with DI principles.

[113] beautifulgatesouthafrica.org/family-strengthening.html

6.1.2.2. ‘Both-and’ emphasis

In all other cases of DI-related adjustments, the residential care programs have hardly been changed. The numbers and care models of these organizations have remained the same (see changes in care models). However, additional programs for family reunification and community support have been established. This is in line with a ‘both-and’ instead of an ‘either-or’ approach. For example, one traditional local home in this group states that “even though Residential Care is the core business of Leliebloem, we work intensively within these children’s communities and families to improve the circumstances from which they were removed.“ [114]

Another example are the introduced case of the SOS Children’s Villages (SOS) – a traditional international type. On the one hand, SOS explains clearly that their residential program differs from others as they aim to provide long term care and a family substitute instead of focusing on family reintegration. On the other hand, they have introduced a family strengthening program. They state the following on their website:

> We have recently added a new area of work – aimed at supporting children within their community of origin – and therefore preventing them from being abandoned. We operate a range of Family Strengthening Programs (FSP) – based on the principle of family development planning.[115]

Three further striking shifts of this kind have taken place since 2009. Among these, two traditional local children’s homes have added a completely new focus on family reunification and preservation to their programs. These two homes are related to the same trust and their shift has clearly taken place together. They explain:

> Marsh Memorial Homes has evolved to become a multi-cultural facility, catering for children whose homes are beset with financial difficulties, drug/alcohol problems or physical abuse, and who have suffered emotional trauma as a result. With the dangers of institutionalising children now widely recognised, Marsh has set itself up as more of a temporary safe haven - providing a refuge for children at risk, while at the same time addressing the issues at the source (in the homes the children come from), in order to facilitate the reuniting of children with their families.[116]

In a related article entitled ‘Marsh memorial homes at the forefront of a childcare revolution’, the home states:

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114 leliebloem.org.za/about-us
115 https://www.sossouthafrica.org.za/general-sos-faqs/
116 marshmemorial.org.za

> We're part of a new breed of childcare organizations which aim to provide children with holistic care, and our various youth development programs cater for their emotional, physical, spiritual and educational well-being. We are also extremely proud of having pioneered a Family Preservation model, whereby we assist families in addressing their problems at home. We firmly believe children can – and should – return to their homes and be reunited with their biological parents. Our aim is to make this a reality by making sure the parents are provided with the services and support they need and are empowered to change their lives. [117]

Similarly, the other organization states on its website that, "We believe that it is best for the child to return to his/her home of origin and not to become institutionalized – an approach that has gained widespread acceptance in the child care sector in recent times." [118] At the same time they add the following statement: "While we try to ensure the children in our care are able to live lives in which they are not dependent on institutions, we also make it clear that they can depend on us as a safe haven that they can return to at any time in the future – should the need arise." [119]

All of these quotes indicate a strong position that both residential care and community-based support structures are needed in Cape Town's communities. A strict DI approach is not envisioned.

6.1.2.3. Persistence

The biggest group of Cape Town's children's homes, forming a number of ten, are persistent in their general focus on providing residential care, which they see as a much needed save space for many children. While many also emphasize family reunification as their ultimate aim and sometimes engage in according efforts, this group of homes has not changed or expanded their program approach. Two of these homes are traditional and large-scale institutions providing care to over 100 children, which are completely inappropriate settings from a DI perspective. However, they make statements on their websites to justify their approach:

> South Africa is living in a situation without precedent. Never before in history have so many children been without parental supervision. On the one hand, the country has inherited a legacy of violence, extreme inequality and social dislocation from the former apartheid regime. Translating into high levels of domestic violence, substance and sexual abuse and neglect. In addition there are an estimated 3.7 million orphans, about half of whom have lost one or both parents to AIDS; and 150,000 children are believed to be living in child-headed households.

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117 http://www.ngopulse.org/article/marsh-memorial-homes-forefront-childcare-revolution
118 heatherdale.org.za/family-preservation
119 ibid.

> The South African reality is that millions of children are in need of support and care. One of the most pressing questions our country faces is how to provide a response that can be both loving and sufficiently large in scale. (…) If children are not placed in institutions such as the Durbanville Children's Home, the probability of them ending up on the streets where they are exposed to drug abuse, gang violence, poverty, crime, etc would be increased. These negative influences also increase the risk of potential criminal behaviour and continuing the cycle of learned behaviours in their adult lives, such as abuse and neglect, towards their own children. This is likely to have an impact on the social economic growth of our country.[120]

Furthermore, the other organization makes a point for the children's emotional wellbeing:

> Our beneficiaries, i.e. the children and youth in our care, have experienced and have been removed from situations of deprivation, constant abuse, domestic violence and substance abuse by their care givers which led to neglect, abandonment, rejection and isolation. Many have lived in fear stemming not only from the abuse and neglect but also from not knowing or having surety regarding their future wellbeing, nourishment, care and formation. All these situations have robbed them of life, of the freedom to be children and of feeling safe and secure in the knowledge that they would be care for and loved.[121]

In this context it seems important to note that interview respondents emphasize that foster care placements fail frequently and thus do not appear as a sustainable alternative from the perspective of these homes which eventually pick up the care of these children.

In addition to the group of homes which try to justify the need for residential care, there are at least five local homes which persist in their traditional program approach and do also not make any explanations in this regard. They have been continuing to provide the same classic residential care program as they did in 2009. Their websites do not show any indications of DI related principles, not even a stance for family reunification, which has become very common. Being that the three younger local homes in this group were also interviewed, it came out that they were not at all aware of the international DI movement. They have all seen themselves as providing a safe haven for destitute children in line with classic welfare ideas. One of them was a grassroot organization in the midst of a township community which had been unregistered for over 25 years. Interestingly, the other two homes in this category – a traditional and a younger local home – were not willing to be interviewed.

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120 http://www.durbanvillekinderhuis.org.za/pages/english/a-bit-about-us/about-us.php

121 www.facebook.com/120254998035771/posts/holy-cross-child-and-youth-care-centre-more- information-and-contact-detailswwwch/415617965132532/

6.1.2.4. Ambivalent cases

There are three special cases which have been referred to as ambivalent stories in the above table. These will briefly be introduced at this stage.

One case is a traditional international home, where the developments have been twofold. On the one hand, the home maintains a classic residential program but has recently sharpened its specialization further to care for children with severe disabilities and health issues. On the other hand, two previous staff members who held leading positions in this home have teamed up to start a new organization which provides community-based cluster foster care instead of residential care. On the new organization's website the following is stated:

> Our founders envisioned a future where orphaned and vulnerable children of South Africa would not have to grow up in institutional children's homes. They shared a belief that children should be able to grow up in their own communities, in small family homes, where they can feel safe, loved and secure.[122]

These co-existing developments may indicate that there were conflicting energies within the organization, including a drive to maintain a residential focus as well as a drive to move away from it.

Another case in this category is a young international home. At the time of the interview in 2009, it had just opened the first small residential home and was not yet registered. Today it is registered as a cluster foster care scheme. From the start, this organization offered its services in the midst of a highly critical social area and had a strong community focus. The children also come from the immediate community. Interestingly, however, this home still refers to itself as a residential care setting on its website:

> (The organization) offers comfortable residential care for children left abandoned and/or abused within our communities. Our communities are ravaged by the scourge of substance abuse, sexual abuse and domestic violence. Underlying most of our client's life stories, is the silent HIV/AIDS epidemic in our land. Our children are mere victims of our social environment and arrive at (the organization) traumatised by events within the family, as well as events which threaten their very physical existence.[123]

The third ambivalent case is a younger local grassroot home. An organization housing over 100 children in the midst of another township community and social hotspot of the city. This home is a target of transnational civil society donations and volunteering and a critical case

[122] https://homefromhome.org.za/who-we-are/
[123] elonwabeni.org

from a DI perspective. However, the home and the children in its care are strongly integrated into the community and part of a bigger community organization providing various more general and desperately needed services within the community. As stated in many of the other cases, a staff member of this home who was interviewed, then explained that reality in this community calls for a place of refuge for children. The provincial DSD has called the home to reduce the numbers of children in their care drastically but to find safe and sustainable alternatives is often very difficult (INT 6).

6.1.2.5. Concluding remarks

The observations regarding DI-related program adjustments taking place since 2009 show, first of all, that about half of the homes under review did not change their program approach. Many of these homes take a stance for the need of children's homes as a safe haven for children on their websites. Others do not make any explanatory statements regarding their approach.

Among the other half of children's homes DI related shifts have taken place in different ways. There are two cases of full DI transitions. Six cases maintain a 'both-and' approach. They keep running their residential program but have added a strong focus on providing family and community support programs. In some cases this program expansion had already taken place before 2009. The remaining three cases show a mix of different elements and demonstrate an adherence with certain DI principles as well as traditional approaches. Overall, it clearly shows that many homes take a particular stance for the importance of residential programs in the local context of Cape Town.

While it appears that each story of change is unique and special, it is striking that both examples of change and examples of persistence are prevalent among the representatives of each type of children's home. The only regularity is that none of the international homes maintains a completely traditional approach. Instead, a traditional residential approach is most common among the younger local type. Otherwise, outcomes differ significantly even among similar types of homes.

6.2. Identifying further interesting findings and cases for interviews

This second part of the chapter will present further findings regarding the developments of Cape Town's children's home sector. The first sub-chapter will start off by looking at further specific details and developments which play a role in the context of DI diffusion. The second sub-chapter will provide an overview of those homes which were selected for interviews in the context of overall developments and types.

6.2.1. Developments: What has changed – What stands out?

With a focus on what has changed and what stands out in the development of Cape Town's children's home sector since 2009, this sub-chapter starts off by looking at general registration changes, closures and the opening of new children's homes in the sector. The discussion here also relates to the way in which their funding models are organized. As the vibrant city of Cape Town has been a magnet of international interest and an extremely popular travel destination for many years, it is also a hub for transnational civil society engagement. It will be discussed how this reflects in the findings of this study. Meintjes et al. (2007, p. 54) make the following remark in this regard:

> Homes located in the Western Cape site, for example, benefited a great deal from being situated in an urban area populated by a wide variety of corporates willing to contribute to 'social responsibility' projects. In addition, with the Western Cape being a popular international travel destination, and a location eagerly frequented by large numbers of foreign volunteers, prominent homes in this site (and in particular those commonly identified – correctly or incorrectly – as addressing the needs of 'AIDS orphans') were able to secure much support in the form of donations, and volunteer labour.

A further focus of this sub-chapter will be the development of care models in the context of the DI trend, which refers to the manner in which the care of children is structured and organized. It also includes the location of the homes and their relation to and integration in their communities.

6.2.1.1. Changes in registration status and unregistered homes

In the 2009 study, 23 of 30 registered children's homes were found to be up and running. By 2017, 21 of these homes had been re-registered as CYCCs. Furthermore, one of the seven homes which were not operating in 2009 was reopened and also registered as a CYCC. The other six are no longer listed and seem to have closed.

A follow-up on the two homes which were no longer registered revealed that one was still operating as before and had not changed in any significant way. It's deregistration seemed to be due to struggles in terms of building requirements. The other home seems to have left no publicly traceable information regarding its closure.

In attempting to find information via an internet search, it was discovered that there was not a single entry even referring to the previous existence of the home. As this home had only been established in 2001 by a local church and at a very far end of the city, the leaders of other children's home did not have information either. It was assumed that internal challenges may have led to its disappearance.

On the other hand, two children's homes unregistered for almost two decades in 2009 were now registered as CYCCs. A third unregistered home – one of the two which were part of the 2009 group - has been operating even longer but is still not registered today. These cases fall into the category of grassroot homes which were set up by women in the local community. While they remain highly integrated, they struggle to meet the registration requirements as well as the expertise to push for their registration. The other example, which was part of the 2009 group, was an unregistered home which had been internationally initiated in response to the Aids orphan crisis. This home is now registered as a Cluster Foster Care scheme.

All further additions in the CYCC category seem to derive from the other previous categories. There have been no registrations of new children's homes. Four homes used to be so-called 'Secure Care Centers/Reform Schools'. The others used to be registered as 'Shelters' or 'Safe Houses'. While most of these focus on particular target groups of children, two examples of more general homes were included in the 2017 review and interviews were also conducted. One of these two homes was part of a local, faith-based welfare body which had established a few Safe Houses for very young children who were most likely to be adopted.

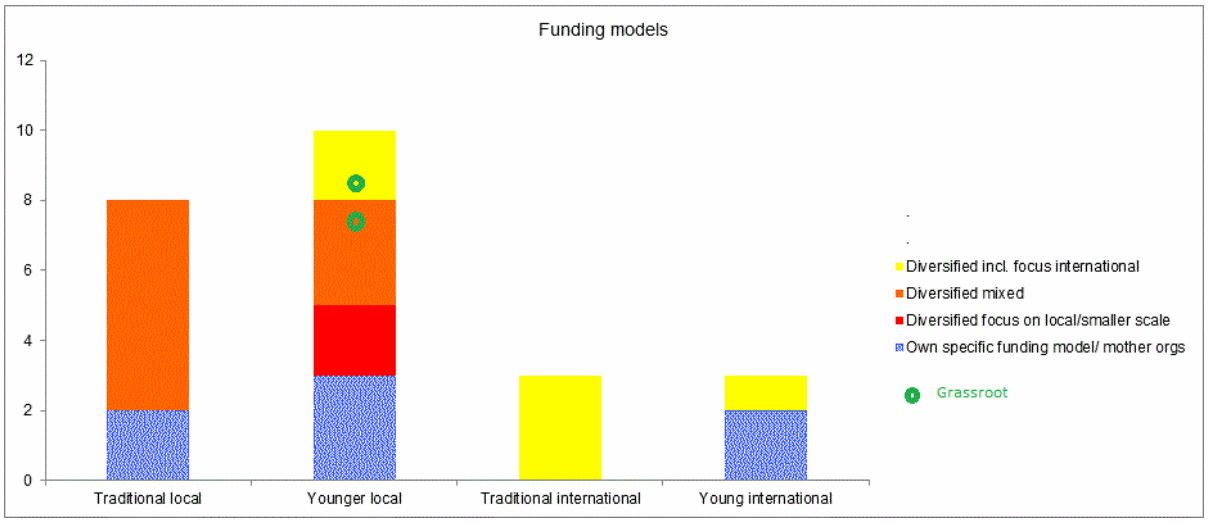
6.2.1.2. Funding models and financial situations

In the 2009 study, 21 of the 22 registered homes received government subsidies. They stated to be able to cover an average of 30% - 60% of their expenditure from these funds. All but four homes confirmed to be directly dependent on fundraising in order to fill the gap between government support and their expenditure (see also Jamieson 2014). The other four homes

did not engage or hardly engaged in any fundraising themselves; instead, this was done by their mother NGOs, other dedicated groups of local or European individuals. One home was also partly supported by own assets from a related trust; just over half of the homes received funds from international sources while the rest only indicated local sources.

This overall scenario has hardly changed since 2009. Still, all but one of the 21 registered CYCCs which were part of the 2017 study receive government subsidies. These subsidies are still completely insufficient to provide the kind of quality care standards stipulated in the Children's Act. All homes under review are dependent on fundraising efforts and have a more or less diversified approach to mobilizing local and transnational support.[124] However, some have very specific funding models or mother bodies which do their fundraising for them.

The following graphic provides an overview of the funding models of the 24 homes studied in the website review. The overview also considers the types of children's home. There are four broad models. Blue indicates that the organization is not/less dependent on direct fundraising as it has a specific funding model. Red, orange and yellow indicate a full dependency on fundraising which is done via various and diverse channels. Yellow indicates a broader scale with an international focus and red a smaller scale with a more local focus.



Graphic 6: Funding models (own design)

[124] See also Jamieson (2014) or Abdulla (2007) for funding controversies in South Africa and LUMOS (2017, pp. 90-91) for the funding diversity in children's home settings.

In spite of a more international focus of the internationally initiated homes, it shows again that different models are spread out across the different types of homes. One home, which combines elements of all the funding models, provides a statement on its website which demonstrates a typical situation:

> Currently, it costs us around R4000 per month to fully provide for and support a child. Although Heatherdale receives a state subsidy, this covers only a small percentage of our daily running costs. Additional funds to run the Home efficiently and effectively are therefore an absolute necessity.
>
> Fortunately, the William Marsh Will Trust provides us with a monthly cash injection. We also send out numerous letters of appeal to organizations and companies – some of which meet with favourable responses.
>
> We are extremely grateful to our regular donors who have supported us so loyally over the years – without their assistance, Heatherdale would not have been able to deliver the services to the community it has been (for the last 80 years!).
>
> Various organizations and individual members of the church and the surrounding community have also been a tremendous source of inspiration – both spiritually and materially. [125]

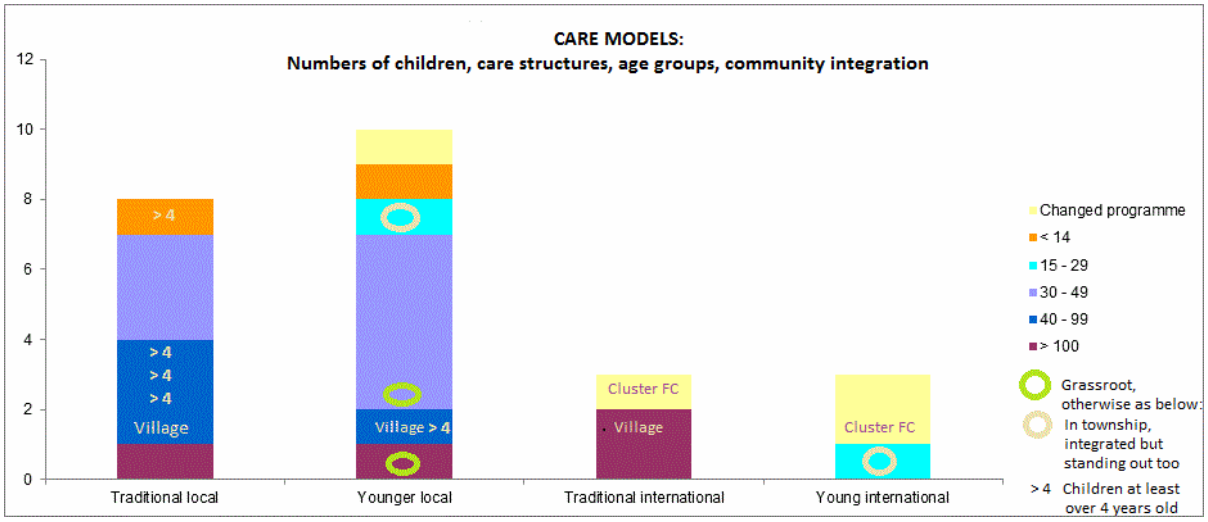
While other websites have more or less similar statements, the access to trust money is unique. Another unique case is, for example, a very popular cocktail bar called 'The Orphanage' on a street called 'Orphan Street' in the city center, which states on its website that it is a proud supporter of a traditional home and identifies with this history.[126]

All but two of the children's homes make use of the opportunities that Cape Town's international popularity offers for transnational fundraising. Unsurprisingly, all internationally initiated homes access international funding, which includes that some have own specific funding models, such as, for example, dedicated fundraising bodies/arrangements in Europe.

[125] heatherdale.org.za/why-we-need-support
[126] theorphanage.co.za/about/4582831780

6.2.1.3. Shifts in care models

The following graphic provides an overview of the care models by type of children's homes:



Graphic 7: Care models (own design)

The graphic shows that three homes are still large dormitory-style settings. Two of these do take a clear stance for family reunification and make according efforts but are not involved with community support programs. The younger local grassroot organization was counted as a special DI case. Three homes have established village style settings. The younger local and the traditional international are also involved in community-based programs. Overall, it is again striking that the models are spread quite evenly over the different types. There don't seem to be regularities. Only the young international types are generally more modern in their approach which is a characteristic of their type.

The analysis of shifts in care models revealed the following: The four homes in which changes did occur were those that had completely changed their program approaches. At the other homes, the number of available beds and the age groups of the children catered for did not change in any significant way. Internally, some homes tried out different group structures and staff routines. However, it seems that all of these have their advantages and disadvantages. For example, one interview respondent states that:

> We've done a lot of streamlining in the last 10 years. I think, if I can remember, far back I think one of the biggest changes that I can remember was how we've structured our children's units, according to developmental stages. So, when I started here 10 years ago, it was more sort of a structure where children of different ages were in one house. So, sort of, I think the idea was to give it sort of a family feel where you have siblings of different ages living in a family. It didn't work that well because of, children with different ages have different needs. And we thought that was very challenging to provide for all those needs in one house unit. (INT 13)

Some of the large homes also indicated their efforts to establish more homes in the communities, sometimes called satellite houses, in addition to their existing programs. These were typically intended for transition-to-independent-living programs for older youth which was soon to leave the home.[127] Another consideration and effort is stated by SOS:

> We are building our Villages more modestly, but still using a solid form of construction, in order to reach more children in need. They will also be more integrated into the community where they are located. This is in response to concerns that have sometime been aired about our children not being fully integrated into the community that they grow up in. We feel that the children are integrated, but as a further step to ensure this, the SOS houses will have their own fence - rather than having a perimeter fence around the SMI Village. From a practical point of view, the houses are constructed in the same style as those in the surrounding community – ensuring there is no differentiation, and further integration.[128]

6.2.1.4. Locations and community relations in a fragmented city

The above map has provided an overview of where the four types of children's homes have been located. It is striking that many local homes are situated in and around the Athlone/Wyneberg area. In the overall context of Cape Town's demographics, these areas can be considered as average suburbs. Three traditional homes – including one international - are still located in the city. In addition, some of the settings still resemble traditional European children's homes. However, many have moved from their previous sites in the city center to the suburbs. The other two traditional international homes are also more or less in the same area.

Five younger homes were based in poverty and crime-stricken suburbs, the so-called 'Townships'. This includes two of the young internationals and both of the homes which were described as 'grassroot' types. All the other homes are spread out over more or less average suburbs of the city, of which four would also be considered as affluent areas today (this includes the upper city center).

In most cases, especially in those homes which were not situated in township communities, the children were not originally from the surrounding areas of the homes. Another issue in terms of the location of a home is the living standard in relation to the surrounding community (see Chapter 4). Six of the seven homes based in the townships did not grow out of the community but had been externally initiated.

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127 durbanvillekinderhuis.org.za/about-us/the-road-ahead

128 sossouthafrica.org.za/general-sos-faqs/what-is-an-SMI-village

In three of these cases, the settings did clearly stick out in the communities and provided significantly higher living standards than common in their neighborhood. One of the respondents at these homes told the story of a mother who had visited the premises and was so impressed by what she saw that she asked if her child could live there rather than with her as she felt that 'this was the right place for her child'. This incidence confirms that inappropriate standards of children's homes in relation to the community may stimulate family separation, such as the so-called 'magnet effect' on children.

Among the homes in the City and the Wyneberg/Athlone area, as well as the few other locations, the settings did rather not stick out in relation to these average suburbs. In the light of the prevalent diversity and fragmentation of the society in terms of socio-economic conditions, as well as cultures speaking different languages (Xosa, Afrikaans, English), the location of a home can be very meaningful for the development of a child. For example, it was observed in many homes that the area determined the language which was predominantly spoken in the specific home.

In most cases, the children (had to) adapt to the dominant culture and language of the home in which they were placed. While this does not necessarily strike as a problem in the first place, it has major impacts in terms of family contact and reunification at a later stage. At one home, the story of a little boy was told, who was originally from an Afrikaans background. Against any modern standards of residential child care, this boy had been placed into a predominantly Xosa-speaking children's home, while his older brother was cared for in an Afrikaans speaking home. When the brothers met again after several years, they experienced major language barriers as they had not grown up with the same language.

6.2.1.5. Concluding remarks

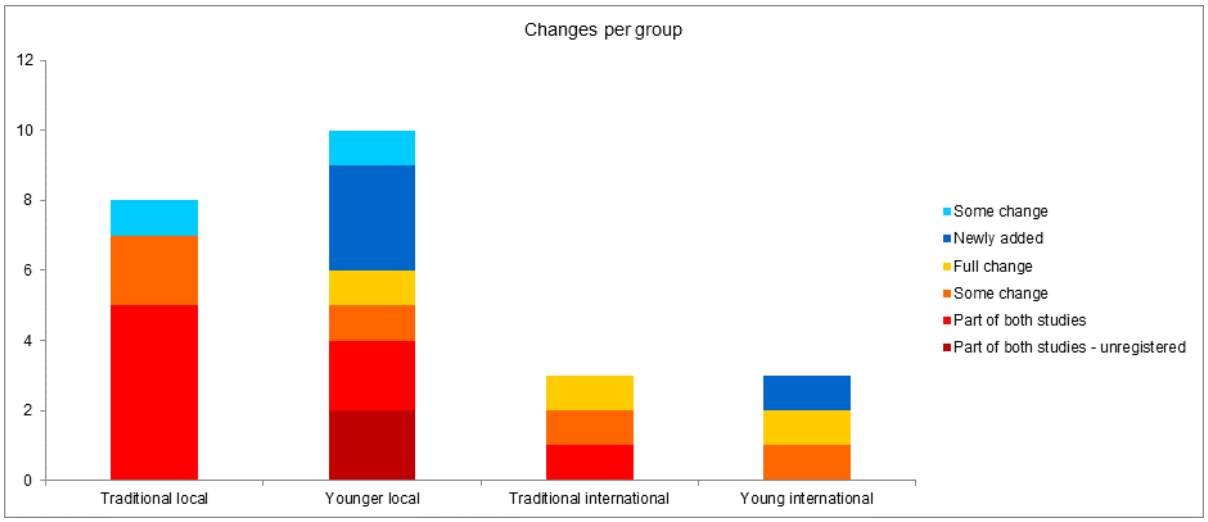
After the introduction of types and the development of program approaches in Cape Town's children's home sector, this sub-chapter has presented further relevant findings. What stands out is that many aspects regarding the overall situation of children's homes have not changed since 2009. First of all, there have hardly been any changes to the care models at the homes. They have either changed their program approach completely or they have added new programs, but the care models of existing residential programs do not seem to have changed in any significant way.

Besides that, a very small number of homes has either closed or been deregistered. There have been no registrations of new homes, but the issue of unregistered homes remains. One positive development in this regard is the registration of two long-standing unregistered homes of which one is particularly large. All homes remain dependent on fundraising and the models and sources of funding are as diverse as children's homes settings. A strong prevalence of transnational funding, support and volunteering is certainly striking and fits with Cape Town's overall international popularity and interest. However, local civil society and corporate funding and support is also far-spread. The multiple opportunities for small and medium-scale funding could imply that those convinced by running children's homes will always find a way to mobilize support for their program. This would lead to the conclusion that the power of international funding is limited in promoting DI-related norm change.

6.2.2. Overview of children's homes interviewed

This sub-chapter will present an overview of the children's homes where interviews have taken place. First of all, the following graphic distinguishes the group of homes under review in those homes which were part of the 2009, as well as the 2017 study (red-toned colors) and those which were newly added (blue-toned colors).

As one of the 19 homes which were part of both studies has closed, 18 are represented in the graphic. The lighter colors – orange and yellow – again indicate DI-related changes within this group. Dark red represents the two formerly unregistered homes which were part of both studies. In contrast, the six homes which were newly added to the group under review are represented by blue colors with light blue indicating DI-related change.



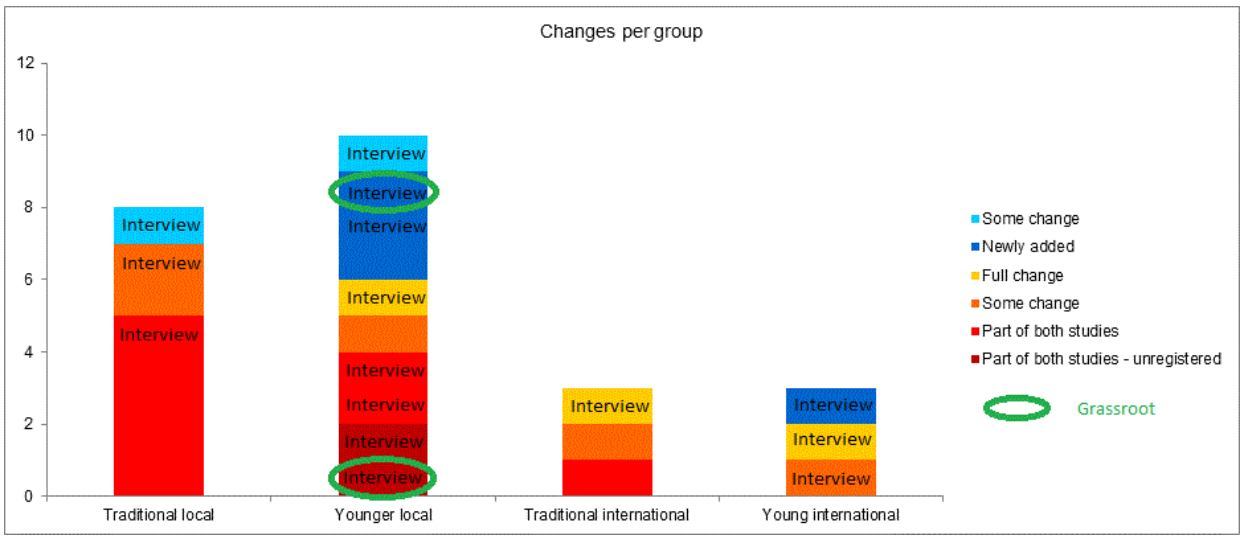
Graphic 8: Changes per group (own design).

NOTE: Red-toned cases were part of 2009 and 2017 vs. blue-toned were newly added in 2017.

Based on this overview, the following to graphics will show which homes were interviewed.

6.2.2.1. Interviews per type and program shift

This graphic shows the distribution of interviews per type and group (red group and blue group). It shows that 15 children's homes were interviewed. Among these, there are seven homes where changes have taken place and eight where no changes occurred. Besides that, cases of all types were interviewed. The detailed selection was eventually based on the assumptions of the researcher on which homes would provide the most interesting insights as well as the availability of leading staff for interviews.

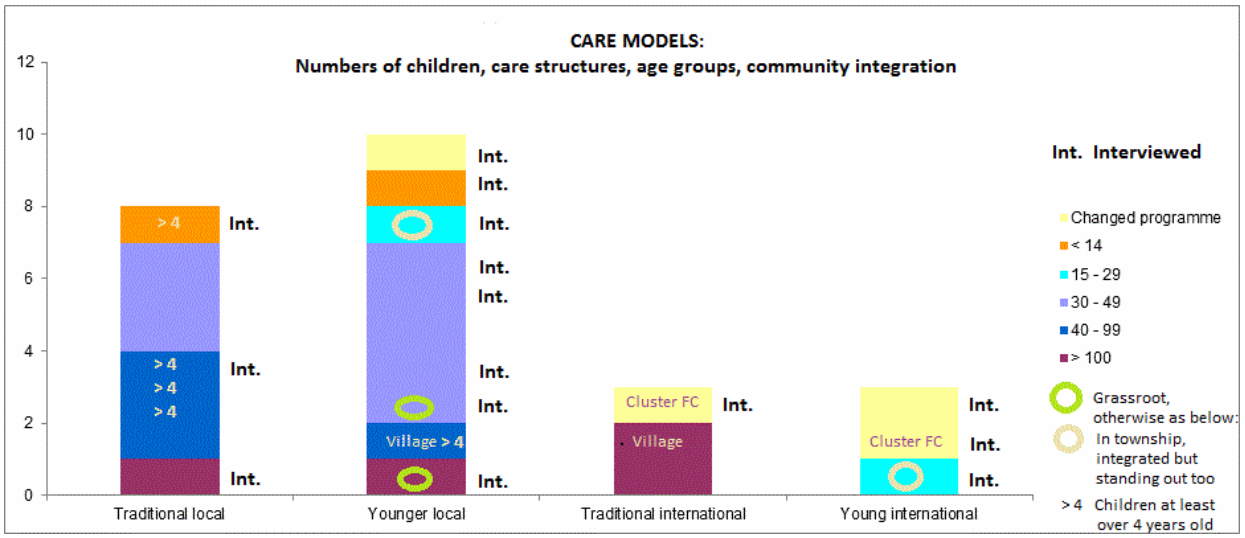


Graphic 9: Changes per group and interview selection (own design)

NOTE: Red-toned cases were part of 2009 and 2017 vs. blue-toned were newly added in 2017.

6.2.2.2. Interviews per type and care model

In addition to the graphic above, the following shows the distribution of interviews based on the graphic which was presented in 6.2.2.1. The graphic shows the different care models prevalent at the different homes. The light-yellow color again represents those homes where significant DI-related program changes have taken place.



Graphic 10: Care models and interview selection (own design)

6.2.2.3. Concluding remarks

The two graphics show that many different types of homes were interviewed. The selection included representatives of each of the four types. Furthermore, homes with different kinds of care models were interviewed and an almost equal number of those homes where DI-related changes had taken place and those homes which did not change.

6.3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented the empirical findings from the first research step at the local dimension. This step was focused on exploring the first research question by using a method of empirical-analytical fact finding and diachronic and cross-sectional comparison.

A first glance at the general developments since 2009 shows that about half of the children's homes in Cape Town do not seem to have changed their program approach in any significant way, while the other half has been through some kind of change. Looking closer and beyond this general observation, it shows that each case is a unique story and that there is hardly any ground for overall conclusions. Instead, the first hypothesis is clearly confirmed. The micro-level empirical assessment of DI diffusion and translation in Cape Town's children's home sector reveals a diversity of co-existing and sometimes ambivalent outcomes.

First of all, the sector is generally characterized by a vast diversity of settings.[129] The 25 children's homes under review differ significantly in terms of their size, setup, location, background and approach. An assessment of the main commonalities and differences of the homes revealed the following. While it is striking that the background of most homes is faith-related, four broad types can be distinguished. On the one hand, there are longstanding traditional children's homes which split into a local and an international type. On the other hand, there are younger locally grown homes. These include typical grassroots organizations, as well as those which are part of bigger local NGOs. The fourth type are homes which were initiated and funded by Western actors in response to the HIV/Aids crisis.

Interestingly, the younger local homes are the most dominant type (10 homes) but this is closely followed by traditional local homes (8 homes), confirming the strong local culture of residential care and a longstanding tradition of old-style children's institutions.

However, it is striking that there are hardly any regularities when it comes to the adoption of the DI norm. Instead, a variety of outcomes is found for every type; for example, some traditional homes have adopted DI related changes, others have not. Some have adjusted their programs decades ago, others very recently. Among the three homes of the fourth type,

[129] For the general South African field, this was already emphasized by Meintjes et al. (2007). See also Abdulla (2007) and Dozier et al. (2012).

one maintained a classic approach, one changed completely, and one has re-registered as a cluster foster care scheme but keeps resembling a residential program.[130]

In the overall sector, there are three stories of substantial DI-related changes and developments. One NGO closed its residential program completely and fully transitioned to focusing purely on family and community-based alternatives. Another NGO reduced its residential program to a very small and specialized 'treatment center' while significantly expanding its community-focused programs. In the last case, two long-term and leading staff members of a traditional home decided to leave the organization they worked for and instead established a community-based cluster foster care organization. While the first one of these three cases - a most exemplary transition from a DI perspective - was performed by a young international type of home, the other two are local homes including both, traditional and younger types.

Next to these full transitions, a quarter of the homes have added extensive family and community-based support programs to their repertoire. While a trend towards providing such programs was already present in 2009, their actual existence has at least doubled. However, all but two of these homes keep running their residential program in the same way as before. Many of these homes also take a clear stance on their website in which they explain why residential programs are urgently needed as a safe haven for children in Cape Town. It comes across quite clearly that the main reason driving children into residential care in this locality is not poverty, but drastic and harmful social circumstances. In this context, many homes seem convinced that a 'both-and' approach is the most appropriate measure.

In some cases, organizations care for 80 to 140 children in their residential programs. Yet they also focus on providing family strengthening and family reunification services and/or other critical community support. This outcome certainly represents an ambivalent sub-type of compliance and resistance in terms of the DI norm. On the one hand, DI measures are diffusing, on the other hand they are not. In fact, local actors adopt and reject the norm at the same time. While this does certainly not fall into the category of decoupling, the outcome

[130] Interestingly, an application of this lens to Abdullah's (2007: 68) findings on unregistered homes in South Africa also confirms the diversity, non-regularity and ambivalence of certain cases. He concluded that while the reality of unregistered homes is a concern, there are diverse types of homes, of which some "provide a conducive, safe environment for children, whereas others openly neglect children."

might be interpreted as a type of localized approach, but the traditional concept has not been modified and adjusted which would be the typical idea of localization.

With regard to the power of donors, another finding stands out. The majority of the children's homes under review engage in fundraising efforts which are highly diversified and directed at multiple small to medium-scale funding opportunities and crowdsourcing. These are often corporates (many local) and small trusts and foundations (local and international). Next to this, there is also a principal focus on fundraising events and crowdsourcing initiatives aimed at the local community, faith-based bodies, local and international individuals, schools, volunteers, etc. Some homes have one particular well-established funding concept (i.e. having their own fundraising association in Europe). Overall, the Cape Town environment seems to offer a variety of opportunities for securing funds. The extent to which these factors play a role in shaping DI adjustments will be discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter has concluded by presenting an overall picture of the distribution of homes where interviews have taken place. The two provided graphics demonstrate that a diverse group of homes were interviewed which included representatives of all types, care models and DI-related outcomes. The next chapter will present the outcomes of the interviews conducted.

7. So what shapes outcomes on the ground?

This chapter will present the findings from the second step of the analysis on the local dimension. The question has been what has shaped the outcomes on the ground in the particular case example of this study. In other words, the focus is on the factors and conditions which have been driving the different children's homes to adapt or not to adapt, partly-adapt, or to resist the promoted DI norm. Fifteen leaders of children's homes were interviewed with the aim to understand how these local practitioners perceive, evaluate and respond to the norm change and what has been driving the developments in the sector and at their organizations from their perspective.

The group of children's homes approached with a request for an interview has been presented above. In line with the diversity of settings in which the interviews took place, the types of leaders running the homes did also differ widely regarding their level of knowledge and reflection of topics as well as their self-perception and beliefs. This situation has also led to different kinds of interviews. For example, about one third of the respondents were very knowledgeable of the debates in the broader field and had a lot to say about the points of concern. In contrast, four respondents had still never heard of the DI movement and continue to operate in a parallel world of traditional welfare where the appropriateness of residential child care is not questioned.

Overall, the interviews confirmed that a norm change had indeed taken place since 2009. Several respondents experienced a major DI-focused trend in the overall sector. They perceived a strong shift towards reducing the numbers of children in children's homes and reported an explicit new focus on family preservation, child reunification, foster care, better gatekeeping and higher care standards within residential settings.

As indicated in the description of the baseline, this trend was already prevalent prior to the updates to the South African Children's Act. However, the new legal provisions were reported to have further fueled the shift. This became very evident in some interviews. For example, two respondents made the point that social workers used to have 'too much power' in the past. They explained that this resulted in unnecessary removals of children from their families when the situation did not match their own ideas of child rearing standards.

One of these respondents - who used to be a statutory social worker herself - explained that the approach to removing children had changed so drastically since the adoption of the New

Children's Act, that she would now only facilitate a child's removal if it was a 'life and death situation' and 'when there is no other avenue and all else has failed' (INT 5). This demonstrates an example where the new norm has clearly reached the practice level. However, it turned out that the respondents' strong stance was predominantly shaped by her own experiences in child protection practice. The following will show the impetus of this factor at the organizational level. Behind the overall stances for or against DI, there are often very personal experiences.

The chapter will again be split in two parts. The first part will present the interviewees' views on the DI movement and how they see the best way forward. This does already provide some profound insights into the reasoning behind change or resistance. The second part of the chapter will focus on the respondents' explanations of why certain developments have taken place and how they perceive local, international and donor influences in this regard.

7.1. Listening to children's home operators: Views on DI and the way forward

The views on DI differ. A few respondents take a clear stance for DI. This includes two respondents from the three homes which had implemented significant DI transformations. One of these respondents responds to the question why a DI trend has developed in the sector that, "It's common sense, I mean everybody should know that (children's homes are problematic) and it was just being enlightened when they had a new Children's Act. So it doesn't need a brain surgeon or a social worker to tell you that that child is brought better up in their own community" (INT 12). However, this respondent also explains that the persistence of children's homes is due to a lack of community-based alternatives.

The respondents who take a stance for DI did also confirm their observations of many commonly highlighted pitfalls of children's homes. This includes institutionalized environments, a lack of attachment/belonging, individual care and participation, cultural belonging and identity, and a severe lack of preparation for life in the community. One respondent does also stress the point that children's homes are not an African model:

> If you look at the model of institutionalization of children it is also not an African home-grown model, it's an imported model, it's a colonial model, it's a model from the West. Africa itself does not establish children's homes, Africa works on Ubuntu, it works on family relationships and clan relationships and village relationships. So, in terms of tapping into national energy and natural strengths from the local community, you're not going to solve that by providing a model that's provided by, within the paradigm of the West and funded by the West. So, we started to look at what is the real thing. (INT 8)

However, it was striking that two other stances on DI were far more common among the interviewees. On the one hand, many are in favor of the DI idea but claim that South Africa still has a long way to go before this becomes a realistic option. In the following, this stance will be introduced as the 'That's the ideal, but…' approach. On the other hand, and related to the former, many respondents defend the children's home concept as they feel that it is a much-needed model in the 'continuum of care' for children in South Africa. Both of these stances will be elaborated upon in the following sub-chapters.

7.1.1. 'That's the ideal, but…'

There is a group of highly experienced and well-informed leaders who, in spite of their full awareness of the known pitfalls of residential care, are convinced of the need for the services they provide because they think that they are doing the best that is possible under the given circumstances. They agree that DI is the ideal and the right aim and are already making significant efforts to improve their service delivery accordingly. However, they argue that - while the idea of DI is good – local reality is different. They see fundamental obstacles in the way of implementing DI in a safe and successful manner, which will be summarized in the following four points. The quotes from the interviews were carefully selected to present the described dilemmas in the practitioners' own words, as this provides the best insight into their perspectives. [131]

7.1.1.1. Particularly drastic community realities

The first major point of concern for the reality of South African child protection are the particularly drastic circumstances in many communities. In the context of the country's history and socio-economic situation, the impact of substance abuse, domestic and sexual violence, criminalization and gang culture on families is extremely harsh. Two of the respondents comment:

> I like the thinking (of DI), or the concept, but given where South Africa or the Western Cape is finding themselves and given our history, and also where we are in terms of the rest of the world, alright. I think there will always be, or for long, for still a long time there will always be a place to have children's homes. I don't think we are in a position to just now or within the next year or two or three just move away from it, because there's too much damage being done in the past and I mean we're now in our 21st year of democracy and not a lot has changed.

[131] Some of these findings have been highlighted and discussed in a similar way in Petersen 2018.

> Some things have changed for the better, but we still have work to do you know, and because of that, that is a massive influence for me on whether we can just move away. (INT 15)

> That will be the ideal, to actually go and work in the communities it's a totally different program then. Or it could just be an Isibindi program, Isibindi can work anywhere, then I will gladly take my staff and say to them: let's go and do prevention work. Let's start tomorrow. You need to have a backup though, and the backup would be your residential care program. (…) You cannot radically change that system. You cannot deinstitutionalize right now in Cape Town. (…) Our social ills is in a vicious cycle. So, my response to radical approaches to this, to deinstitutionalization is that it's not going to work for us in our current set up in South Africa and especially in the Western Cape. (…) If you look at the gang wars and all of that around us, the poverty levels. The best thing to happen for a child right now is to be out of those conditions. The reason why most children are being placed right now is because of the gang violence. (INT 14)

> I think in an ideal world absolutely. I don't think - we always say - I don't think any child should be brought up in a children's home. This is the last resort after foster care placements and all of those have broken down. We are the last resort as it should be, children shouldn't grow up in a children's home. But realistically, especially in our country, it's, I think we're still very far away from that point. (INT 13)

7.1.1.2. An overburdened and inefficient child protection system

The second point of severe concern is the inefficiency of the public child protection system. As pointed out in the baseline, the respondents already emphasized in 2009 that a lot of negative impact derived from the overburdened social work system; and this continued to be emphasized frequently. Overall, it seems that vast numbers of children at risk and in need of services meet an insufficient number of social workers. Given this situation, the social workers struggle to cope with handling their severe caseloads within this emotionally demanding, disturbing and burn-out prone job environment. Operating in constant crisis mode, they fail to deliver and keep the right morale which leads to inadequate and far too late intervention, as well as a high staff turnover, again resulting in poor case management, accountability and solutions. Consequently, the support and supervision urgently needed to provide safe family support and foster care is just not present, while family reunification and foster care placements fail frequently.

> I would say yes, by all means, stop this institutionalization. But before you can do that, make sure there's alternatives. Don't stop this before you've got alternatives. Because at the moment the children that comes to us, most of the children in the applications that we see, nobody wants them. That's the saddest part of it all, nobody wants them. And most of the children that comes to us, the majority, the vast majority, at least I would say 70% to 80% is foster placements breaking down. The majority (..) of applications (..) isn't from family of origin, it's from foster placements (…) so you can advocate one thing, but you must look at your system. (INT 13)

> Yes, it is a very expensive program, but what we need to do is then we need to say ok, so how can we minimize the unnecessary placement (…) That's not properly done and that's the reason why there's an influx of children into the children's homes because there's not enough staff necessarily equipped and who have the time to go and do that assessment, that's what we found. (INT 14)

> I think we definitely have already in the Western Cape started the process, (but) there is not currently, there's not enough good enough community-based programs that would prevent children from being institutionalized. I mean, for example our (name) program was one of the programs. That (is) one of our bigger aims to prevent children from being institutionalized. So, that's a good step into that direction, but because of our past there's children that has been too far or too deep already within the process and too much damage has been done so that child needs to be institutionalized. (…)
> For me there still needs to be a lot of work that needs to happen within our communities and therefore I would advocate obviously that yes, there needs to be a bigger focus on designing good best practice community programs so that we can help the process, but that's what first needs to happen. And once we have that we start to focus on, maybe after 10 years we can relook at it and could say ok, we're now in a position where we can really consider moving away from having children's homes. (INT 15)

7.1.1.3. A two-faced approach of the local authorities

The third point are some serious frustrations about the approach of the local authorities. On the one hand, they demand quality standards, pushing and promoting DI-related measures in line with the provisions of the Children's Act. On the other hand, there are many concerns in terms of their funding priorities and strategic approach (see also Meintjes et al. 2007, p. 56 and Jamieson 2014). For example, some respondents feel that the showcasing of new concepts and programs is mainly 'buzz wording', 'lip service' and 'window dressing'. (Terms in inverted commas are interview quotes.)

Instead of allocating efforts and funds towards creating a robust high-quality service system, local authorities are perceived to be 'pushing numbers' to achieve targets and to 'not care' about the actual situation of the children. Frustration in this regard was expressed in several interviews. The following quotations provide some examples:

> Even though it's this big buzzword 'family reunification'. But what does it actually mean? (…) There is not enough that goes into that. What does it actually mean? What must be set up, what must actually be done, who's actually doing it. (…) Government sugar-coats everything. (There is) so much funding in government and they're doing this project and that project and you want to like (say), let's see the project. It's all window dressing, it's not real whatsoever. A lot of lip service. Like in organizations or government, you can make it seem like as if things were so wonderful, as if things are happening, but actually nothing is happening. Whatsoever… And that's the system sometimes that we're dealing with. (INT 5)

> So there's, what government has done in deinstitutionalizing, is they forced us to move into a grey area and to operate in a grey area which we don't want to do. Government seems to introduce policies and legislation that is not working for civil society and for the organization. And yet, the children need to be taken care of. And yet they have this high standard, which I fully support, as a board we completely support it, we wouldn't want it any differently. (…) But the reality is, they are not contributing. They are not coming to the party as partners. (INT 7)

> ***Interviewee:*** At the moment, they're pushing numbers they're not interested in good quality services, they are interested in: did we meet our targets annually. This is what they tell you. We sit in meetings and they say: oh no, no, the province has a target to achieve, 2.500 kids have to be serviced in this financial year, did we meet our targets. (…) Then they send a quality assurance team and a line monitoring team. Now, these are two different teams of social workers who work for the Department who then has to come up and the line monitoring team is supposed to check whether or not we do have programs in place - listen to the irony of this. Then the quality assurance team has to come out and check whether we have the facility properly rigged in to accommodate children, alright. Without making substantial contributions to both of those! So at the moment if you're subsidizing the child in my care here in this program to the tune of 2.750 Rand per month, but it costs me 8.000 Rand on average per month, the gap is too big.
> ***Interviewer:*** Do you think they trust that you guys do well with fundraising so then it's going to be fine, or do you think they don't really care?
> ***Interviewee:*** They don't care, they don't. They know it's difficult to raise funds in this country. I say-- Care about the program, care about the services that we render, care about the numbers that you're pushing, because what the number pushing for us means is this, I must exit kids every year, irrespective of whether this child can go home, in other words whether the child's benefited from my service, and whether or not the circumstances at home have changed. They don't care about that. They don't even fund that portion of my service. It's not right. (INT 14)

7.1.1.4. A general child protection dilemma

Last but not least, the fourth point is the fact that child protection reality is generally characterized by multiple controversial key questions. For example, one respondent emphasizes a fundamental dilemma: How do we define success in the light of the various children's rights which need to be balanced? For example, considering the children's right to family care, their right to safety and protection, and their right to develop their full potential may not be combinable. What is success, if family reunification and access to nurturing opportunities to develop a full potential exclude one another (e.g. opportunities on an educational/social level, such as schools, support, environment, exposure)? (INT 6)

Of course, ideally, such services can and should be provided within the family environment but realistically that often becomes much more difficult as soon as the dynamics of destructive communities come into play. However, what most children want first and foremost is (a) mum and (a) dad, a family and normality. Does that mean that the main

priority should generally be to help them cope within the circumstances they come from? Will this ever bring about real change - as vicious circles are often carried from generation to generation?

Furthermore, how do we define success when it comes to balancing the individual interests of children with the interests of the group? The prototype example is the management of children with extremely challenging behavior and their impact on group dynamics and staff capacities. Handling unreliable parents and previous offenders, who are still attachment figures for the children, as well as looking at the root causes of problems, such as a lack of family planning, all serves to raise further key questions.

The ambivalence of well-resourced and high-quality residential programs is another controversial topic in this field. While there certainly is a need for high-quality homes which can really work effectively and therapeutically with the children, these care circumstances can also create new dilemmas. The kids come in at the low end, where effective services are scarce and are provided with high-quality services as well as encounters with privileged people. Although this can offer them significant benefits, it can also distance them from where they come from, which then creates a paradoxical situation for the children and raises even more complicated issues of belonging and identity. Here, by becoming part of a more privileged part of society, they are now confronted with issues of severe inequality, such as ‘being the poor one’ and having had less from the start (materially/emotionally/role models), as well as the mind-sets of more privileged people, such as pity (through volunteers, school fellows/parents). At the same time, children get ‘pampered’ in an artificial world, which may not sufficiently strengthen their resilience/independence and prepare them for life ‘out there’, especially in consideration that they may have to return into the rough community circumstances from which they likely come.

7.1.1.5. Concluding remarks

This study reveals a common stance of practitioners in Cape Town: South Africa still has a long way to go as the root causes and dilemmas obstructing DI need to be addressed before a reform becomes realistic. Respondents argue that due to the legacy of South Africa's history the reality of community problems is extremely harsh.

Hence, a great deal of work and investment is needed to ensure the children can be save in the community and this cannot be done radically. Instead, a step by step process is required, starting with lowering numbers through proper case investigations, gatekeeping, after-care work and building community support, esp. using critical contact points such as schools and clinics. Until sufficient services (community support, effective prevention and suitable care alternatives) are in place, children's homes should continue to be used.

Respondents often express concern and frustration in terms of a remaining lack of effective services by the responsible authorities to support this shift. While the trend and discourse in the sector can seem to be in line with modern DI ideas, a couple of respondents criticize the government's approach lack of strategic support and partnership.

Lastly, the practitioners on the ground struggle with the general child protection dilemmas and fundamental key questions which complicate this field of work all over the world. Many different priorities and rights need to be balanced, typically under constant pressure and resource deprivation and in the face of the daunting realities and challenges of working with traumatized children and families in dysfunctional communities.

7.1.2. Defending children's homes

Unsurprisingly, many children's home leaders make a point of defending the children's home model they offer. They argue that modern DI reasoning only looks at the negative aspects of this form of care, while the 'good news about institutions' are neglected. For example, one respondent feels strongly about the point that it does not matter how large a home is, as everything depends on the atmosphere and the care approach of the people. In his words:

> I've heard voices going up for it must be smaller places, you can't have places as big as this. (I say) it doesn't matter. It doesn't matter whether it's 200 or whether it's 10. I will still, I still know all their names. It's about the people working there, what they do, and their functioning as a unit. (INT 13)

In the following, some key arguments will be introduced briefly.

7.1.2.1. A 'home away from home'

Some respondents see their service as providing a home away from home which is operated 'like a normal household' where kids grow up with constant caregivers. They believe that this is a dedicated place where children can feel save and at home. One respondent explains that the children are free to go home over weekends and holidays or to spend this time with host parents. However, some of them do not want to go. She states:

> In some cases there's children that don't want to go home because of the environment and they don't want to go to other people because they know it's just for a certain period and then they have to go back. That's why we try and make this their home environment where they live in as homely as possible. (…) We try, and I try to say, this is a home away from home, we try not to look at it as a children's home. (INT 10)

In order to make an effort in providing constant attachment figures, it is a common approach that children's home implement a system where children have a particular 'key workers' with whom they create a particular bond. How well this works in practice does, of course, depend on many factors. Yet the dedication of one home was striking in this regard. The respondent pointed out that it is part of their carers' employment contracts that they have to be available for the children at all times – also off duty - just like a parent. (INT 3)

Some argue that even though children may become institutionalized, the provision of a safe haven is what counts and this experience has a positive effect on the child. One director of a large traditional children's home setting explains this in the following words:

> What we're focusing on is to get it to have a positive effect on a person when he leaves here to have, to have positive memories about the place. (…) Some of them, it's very sad for me when a young boy, we got a boy now of, he's 13, he came here in 2012, he's fully institutionalized. He tells me he doesn't want to go anywhere else, he just wants to be here, and that's because he feels safe here. He came from bad abuse, was chased away by his own family so yes, I mean, this is his place. He's my boy so, nobody can fault him. I'm not going to fault him. We must just make sure that we prepare him for there is, there is life after the children's home, but the children's home will always be part of your life, it's not, so I think it's how you deal with it that in the end makes the different. (INT 13)

His colleague (the head social worker) adds a further note:

> I know it's generally seen as a very negative thing about being institutionalized. But exactly what (my colleague) is saying is that what we have found is that children here do have a very strong sense of belonging here. And whether that's in an institution, whether that's in a house unit, whether it's towards a childcare worker that has been here for years and years, I don't think it's all negative because we have children when they leave they go and they find their feet, they go marry, they get jobs, but we have so many coming back and say this was their home and I think that alone, the fact that they can refer back to this as their home tells me it cannot be that bad in terms of being institutionalized. So, I think it has its advantages and its disadvantages. (INT 13)

These two respondents also challenge the verdict that concentrating traumatized children breeds more trauma. They argue that children can find belonging in these groups, particularly because they share such destructive experiences.

7.1.2.2. Further stances on potential advantages of the children's home model

Some emphasize that the professionalized structures inherent in the children's home model can provide safer and better services, particularly for small children. This includes the availability of a social worker, good practice policies and regulations and children's rights structures, such as miniature 'children's parliaments. However, these elements cannot be provided in foster care or low-quality homes.

Furthermore, there is usually a clear stance against placing young children who are assumed to be easily placed with families and are still extremely vulnerable to attachment trauma (see e.g. INT 8). Yet there is also another side. Some argue that it can be counter-productive to place children in other families 'without giving their own families a chance to rehabilitate' if and as chances of reunification are quite high (INT 1). In this regard, some respondents have observed that taking in small children for an interim period can provide invaluable support to parents who end up homeless and don't want to expose their children to particular circumstances. In some of these cases, a foster care placement could be unnecessary and much more confusing for the child.

With regards to the high costs of providing residential programs, some respondents argue that this investment is necessary to offer programs which can really be effective and end up making a true difference. For example, one respondent states:

> The truth of the matter is that it is an expensive service, but it needs to be an expensive service because the kind of program needs to speak to the quality of service that the child is receiving and the family is receiving. And there need to be adequate you know, programs available for these people, effective programs and quality programs available for families, so that they don't need to come back into the system. (INT 14)

7.1.2.3. Concluding remarks

The points which are brought up to defend the children's home model are often in line with the observations of Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2014). These scholars pointed out that outcomes and characteristics of children's homes in African countries can differ significantly from those observed in other world regions. The relationships between children and caregivers may be warm and stable, while the settings are highly integrated in the community.

The main argument supplied by those defending children's homes is that provided they are run with the right standards and intentions, these places can provide a feeling of safety and belonging for children who are not comfortable or not welcome anywhere else. While family-based options may be possible for the majority, there will always be a group of children for whom another solution must be found. Many children also come from failed foster care placements or are trying to transition from living on the streets.[132] Furthermore, some point out that some children do very well after growing up in a children's home.

[132] It was established that it would be beyond the scope of this study to look at the special circumstances of distinguished groups of children. The case of so-called 'street children' falls into this category. However, it was a very interesting finding that one director of a shelter for street children provides a dedicated section on the organization's website to explain their decision to stand by the residential concept in spite of the DI trend. Entitled 'Why residential care', the essence of the statement is this is the most suitable care concept for the concerned group of children for many reasons which have been learned through long-term on-the-ground experience. (See http://www.onsplek.org.za/?page_id=1112). Furthermore, the director of this organization had published an article entitled 'Development work is in – does that mean shelters are out?' in a NACCW from 2001 (NACCW 2001 Vol 19/11). In this article she also highlights that local reality is far away from the internationally proclaimed (and funded) ideas. She states: "It will take years to have even basic services like clean water in every community - never mind family preservation services in every community".

Overall, the arguments of the respondents show once again that there are advantages and disadvantages to the different forms of alternative care. The point is confirmed that while functional family alternatives are the ideal, children's homes can be an important alternative service. Eventually, it seems most likely that the experience of a child will depend on the attitude of the concerned staff in responding to the child's needs and the quality of the services provided – whatever the service may be.

7.2. Comments on influence factors: What does it take to change?

This second part of the chapter will present the interviewees' comments on the driving factors of change. The findings can then be distinguished in those factors which drive change from within and external factor. In the following section, the 'within' factors are regarded as those which relate to this inner-personal level as well as those which take place within an organization or within the local sector. This will be the focus of the first sub-chapter.

Thereafter, the second sub-chapter will present the findings regarding the external factors, which includes the role of international influences as well as funding dynamics in this context.

7.2.1. Internal and local factors

The previous part of this chapter has already demonstrated that the personal views and convictions of the respondents play a determining role in their approach and attitude towards change. The following sub-chapter will develop this argument and show that the way in which changes at an organization occurred has often been shaped by a combination of three factors. Firstly, the convictions the leaders hold based on their very personal observations and experiences in their work with children and families. Secondly, the opportunities available in the field and the way they manage to use them. Thirdly, their role and self-perception as a leader, which can be distinguished in two different types. These factors will be elaborated on in the following three points.

7.2.1.1. Experiences with children and families

One main respondent who takes a strong DI stance highlights that one of the key prerequisites for change is a shift in mind-sets towards 'thinking family' instead of 'thinking child' (INT 8). This shift needs to be accompanied by a new sense of 'believing in the community' and accepting that community-based work is just more difficult in certain ways. This respondent is concerned about a potentially misguided and arrogant attitude which he thinks may sometimes be prevalent in this regard. He explains:

> It's a different way of working and you have to also, you have to believe in your community. Some of the reasons I think people don't do it is because they don't think that poor people have resources or have the ability to care for their children, which is very sad. We think that well we're professionals or we're experts or we're wealthy or whatever and therefore we can

> care for these children better than if they were living in a shack with somebody who's not educated, right? (…) And therefore we don't try and we don't think about empowering parents, because we're focused on children. (…) You have to shift from saying I'm working with the child to saying I'm working with the parents in order to help the child.
>
> The classic (is), we want to help the child. And then over time you recognize, but helping the child doesn't solve the problem, we need to help the family. And then you need to help the community to help the family and so on. And so, once you are able to have that shift, then you can start to rearrange your programs to meet the actual outcome you're trying to get. (…) We need to have a family first type model that is like a fair-trade model. You know, it's organizations need to think family, not think child. And that's kind of where we see the issue. Look, having been running children's homes for twenty years, it's not like we know how to do it and we've also been part of the whole process, so we're not saying that everyone is wrong, we're just saying we need to start broadening our horizons as to how it works. (INT 8)

This respondent concludes that "it is a whole philosophical process of working yourself into a community-based model and some organizations are ready for it and some are not". (INT 8)

However, the findings from the different interviews also show that this shift of mindset has been much easier for some than for others, depending on their personal experiences and observations. Some children's home leaders want to believe in families and communities – but struggle in the light of some harsh experiences in this regard. For example, it turns out that in the case of the children's home which went through a full DI transition, the on-the-ground experiences of staff members were also encouraging in this shift. The children's determination to be reunified with their parents – in spite of the many comforts and vital services provided at the home - offered strong grounds to push for DI related measures. The respondent states

> The biggest challenge was that children would express to us that as much as we can set up an HIV clinic and we can do all these things and our children were in nice brick houses and receiving lots of food and lots of support and all that sort of thing, at the end of the day we were worried about their HIV or their health and they were not worried about the HIV, they wanted to know where is my mom and where is my dad. That's what they really want to know. So, you know that realization continued to dawn on us that actually institutionalizing children is not the right way, let's just not say that, let's say it's not the best way to be caring for children. (INT 8)

Other respondents also expressed their direct observations of the children's significantly improved well-being and behavior in community-based settings as a driving force of change. This applied to some more comprehensive transitions as well as to smaller program adjustments within the residential setting. One respondent states:

> We've seen it happening and that's why we've changed our program (…) (Otherwise) I am quite confident that the care that our children get, even though they are a large number, the programs we have in place address the needs of the children. (INT 9)

However, the flipside of the coin was expressed by a further respondent. This director states that she has always been a strong advocate of the community-based approach, but that this also implies facing harsh realities. Her statement provides another perspective and an insight into the challenges which some practitioners face when being expected to 'believe in the community':

> I started this work off believing children belong with their families and we've got to work hard and long with parents, walk the road with them, make it possible, pay for rehab, do whatever is necessary so that they can become strong and re-establish a family environment for the child to go back home. It's not easy. And particularly those using drugs: We don't have a success story. I'd love to tell you we have a success story, we have 96 children that have passed through since the inception, we have no success story when the child came in here because of drugs. (…) The child has gone back, we have one child that went, or no, we have two children that went back, they boy is now part of a gang. We have another two children that have been back, he got caught up between the mom and the mom's boyfriend with a knife. 11 years old, trying to defend his mom. Over Christmas time the mom was dry, alcohol abuse, dry for 4 months – beautiful. (We) sent the children home, the youngest was raped and was back by us in January again. The mom was so drunk, her baby was being raped right next to her and she wasn't aware of it. That's sending them home. So I've learned a very hard lesson. That we have all these theories but in reality, there's a lot here that is not accounted for. So, the people that say: Support the families so that it's possible to let them go back, I was one of those people. But it has not been. (INT 7)

While it should be noted that this home operates in the midst of one of the most critical hotspots in the city, this is again not a regularity. The stances of respondents from other homes in similar areas differ. Another important observation is that the organization of the respondent who described these harsh realities does still make a strong effort and is very engaged in working with families and within communities. However, she and others emphasize the immensely complex and deeply entrenched challenges in this regard.

7.2.1.2. Opportunities in the sector – and the agility to grab them

Another respondent from an organization which changed from a more general residential program to a much smaller and highly specialized unit pointed out that there was a combination of circumstances leading up to this change. First of all, the opportunity arose from a particular and urgent need in the sector to create access to a respective program. The organization happened to have the capacity and readiness to jump at this opportunity, and

developed and proposed a new model which seemed to create a win-win situation. At the same time, there was already an established and favorable relationship between the home's leadership and the responsible government officials who were in charge of the process. The organization had previously stretched to accommodate the officials' requests to take in children with very challenging needs when they could not find another solution. This put them in an advantageous position, and they won the tender.

Overall, the situation can be summed up as a match between an explicit and urgent need in the sector and an organization being agile enough to successfully develop and 'sell' a new concept as the most appropriate solution. Whether the newly established program has been able to deliver, the desired outcomes may be a different story. While the process of transition was driven by a desire to offer a much-needed high-quality service, it was also reported that the translation into practice was hampered by internal leadership and team challenges. There has also been some trial-and-error learning in the context of the organization's fast growth and change and the high expectations to deliver.

This case again demonstrates the complexity and ambivalence of norm diffusion outcomes. A home may change its approach in accordance with best practice standards, but the extent of the actual high-quality service provision will still depend on the individual capacities, values and day-to-day delivery of staff members and the absence of energy-draining team conflicts.

A further point in terms of opportunities in the sector is that some respondents report to think creatively about different opportunities for creating additional or more sustainable sources of income for their organizations, for example, through offering training or facilities.

7.2.1.3. The key role of leadership types: Visionaries, activists and managers

The two previous sections have demonstrated that two factors are of major significance. Firstly, what the leaders believe is the best way forward in the context of their experiences, which includes whether they believe that there are workable and realistic alternatives to children's homes in the light of the identified risks and dilemmas. Secondly, in how far a home has access to adequate resources, which includes the extent to which a home's leadership is agile enough to grab opportunities to mobilize them. One of the main respondents makes a profound statement and observation in this context, which is based on his long-term experience in the sector. He highlights that it is the type of leadership in charge

of a children's home which determines whether the home will adjust to the new DI paradigm or not. In response to the question why he thinks some homes have changed and some have not, he responds:

> It depends on the type of leadership, I think. (If) the board and the leadership were open to say: What are the trends that are happening, what are the challenges with the current model? Is it working? Is it not working? So you need courageous leadership to say, we're going to shift, we're going to go this way because we don't think this is working. Whereas when you have leadership that's coming in to manage something that's existing, in other words the vision and the mission is set, either by a different body or a higher hierarchical structure, or it's just, it's the visionaries are gone from that organization. And now you have managers. And that's often maybe the case in state-run organizations when in established institutions like church based or institution-based organizations have been around for many years oftentimes they have managers that are running with the existing program. And they tweak it here and there and so on, but they don't really have a phenomenal shift in what are we trying to achieve here. (INT 8).

Building on this respondents' insights and observations, two different leadership types can be distinguished. These two types can be referred to as a more 'visionary/activist' type and a 'manager' type. The self-perception of leaders in this regard will drive their approach and action towards change. The visionary/activist types will be driven by their own views and convictions on what is right. They will be ready to adjust the vision and mission of the organization if they come to believe that the existing program is not the best way to do it – even if this implies taking some substantial risks.

In contrast, manager-type leaders understand themselves to come in to manage something existing where the vision and mission is set and guarded by a higher hierarchical structure. There may also be a focus on preserving tradition. In this context, the leader strives to manage the existing program in the best possible way, but does not contemplate major shifts, unless encouraged from the top.

It is interesting that some comments do precisely confirm the differing self-perceptions in line with these types. The following quote reflects the visionary/activist type:

> We went ahead anyway and we lost a lot of funding and we lost a lot of people, but we thought that it was, ideologically, it was better for us to do that than to continue to perpetuate something that both, us and the Department knew was not the right model to continue with. (INT 8)

Another main respondent made a statement which clearly reflects the reasoning of the manager type. He states:

> My Motto is, (…) this is my brief, this is the cards that's been dealt for me and I must do for these children in my care the best I can do and we as a collective must do the best we can do for them. And if that's not what the government and the order of the day wants then they should change but as long as it is like this, I will do my best for these children. That's all I can do, it's for other people to question it. (INT 12)

While this may certainly be a broad and simplified typology, it provides an interesting observation, as many of the interviewees could be categorized in this way to a more or less extent. At the same time, some cannot be allocated. For example, this includes the group of four leaders who are completely unaware of the DI movement. While they certainly operate in their own little cosmos and do not seem to seek information on the developments in their field, it is striking that they also show some common characteristics.

Thus, they could be considered as a third type. For example, all of them are younger local types. Two of them struggle with general registration requirements and one has never been registered. Furthermore, the personal stories of these leaders are strongly intertwined with their work. All of them have been at the same home for 10-20 years and identify strongly with the mission of their organization.

7.2.1.4. Concluding remarks

This sub-chapter showed that the drive to change depends to a great extent on the way in which the principles of the new norm resonate with the personal experiences and observations of leading staff. This can drive or hinder a DI stance. Some respondents struggle between 'believing' in the community and not judging families – as a bottom line of social work - and a stance that the space of society these kids come from is just too 'hectic' in many cases. Some feel that they have learned the hard lesson that family reunification frequently does put children at more severe risk, especially if not supervised adequately.

While the direction of a leader's programmatic ambitions will be shaped by his or her convictions regarding the best way forward, the ability to push and implement change is another factor. Findings indicate that the actual realization of programmatic change depends on the availability of resources, the ability to grab opportunities to mobilize resources, and the type of leadership in charge of the organization.

Building on the observations of an experienced and informed respondent, a 'visionary/activist type' of leader was distinguished from a 'manager type' of leader in a

broad and simplified typology. While the former will be pushing and implementing change in line with their principled beliefs, the latter will do their best to run an established program and will not see it as their task to question the overall model. As always, both types can have advantages and disadvantages. While the former type can be more flexible and courageous in bringing about change, they may continue to swap and change in line with their dreams and ideas. Manager types may run less progressive programs, but the stability of the existing programs may allow for a better focus on ensuring a sound day to day implementation of services.

7.2.2. International influences and funding dynamics

It certainly stands out that the children's home which went through the most exemplary DI transition is the one that reported an influence of global networks. Here, the leader explains that these networks helped to 'jog their thinking' by providing the critical information they needed to ask the right questions (INT 8). In addition, this leader was the only respondent to speak about the case of the INGO which is currently acting as a norm entrepreneur in the country and readily explains in a well-informed manner how the DI movement started to develop in the context of the Rumanian case. While he explains that this happened within the particular circumstance of Rumania, he also agrees that the problem is the same in other countries. "We just complicit them", he states. "We are not actually recognizing the trauma that we're creating" (INT 8).

On the other hand, the previous sections have shown that many leaders reject the idea of a drastic DI shift in South Africa as some INGOs have aimed for. As one respondent states in this regard:

> I would want them (the INGOs) to come and do research here on what we're doing. And if they then say look, what you're doing is wrong because of ABC, absolutely I would be open to that. I wouldn't want them to just from an outside point of view have an assumption of what we do here and then say no, we want you to change. I would want them hands on here for quite a while, looking at what we're doing and then saying no, this is not right. And also in the community. Yes, they have to work with the community here. (INT 13)

In the light of norm diffusion theory, the following sections will elaborate on the role of donors and funding dynamics as a driving factor for change or continuity. At first, the interviewees' typical responses to the general topic of funding will be briefly outlined.

This section will be followed by the findings on some different approaches to dealing with the power of donors and one very particular dilemma which frequently comes up in this context.

7.2.2.1. Typical perceptions of funding dynamics

Funding is usually perceived to be one of the main challenges. This applies to rather well-resourced homes as well as to those that struggle to get by. Yet most of the children's homes keep finding ways to mobilize support and making ends meet to survive. Even the home which has been unregistered for decades and reports to go through periods of immense financial droughts has managed to survive for all this time.

Other comments confirm an obvious key point: the availability of resources determines whether NGO leaders are able to change, expand, or adjust their programs. Their access to resources may be due to strong funding structures, partners or strategies or it may sometimes be based on a stroke of good fortune. For example, one respondent tells the story of how their realization of a certain program suddenly became possible when one of their donors offered them a house which had initially been planned for something different that did not work out as planned. They were lucky that this just happened to fall into place and enabled the realization of a program which they reported to have been dreaming about for a decade (INT 13).

Another general observation is that respondents often perceive changes in the donor environment. They feel that there are less funds available and explain that they think this is due to factors such as the recession, increased living costs and a new trend among donors to fund ECD/education. These developments are rarely associated with an intentional international shift away from funding children's homes. Only very few respondents are aware that this trend may have influenced donors.

One statement provides an interesting account in this regard. The respondent speaks about the link of government approaches and funding dynamics. However, he does also not refer to international trends but to domestic policy developments. He highlights that the CSIshift away from children's homes towards education started in 1999 - in response to local DI efforts. He also points out some flaws in the process of implementing changes.

> **Interviewee:** In '99 someone dropped a bombshell to say we've got to start closing residential care facilities (…) No! State facilities need to privatize, that's the first thing they said, but they need to move away from residential care programs and pour their energies into the communities. (…) So, what they did, they just dropped the bombshell and CSI heard this and they left it because I mean, prior to that they used to pour money into children's homes and orphanages, enough money for us to survive. You know, right now that's not happening.
> **Interviewer:** What do you think changed in '99, why '99? Was it the international stuff or what do you think?
> **Interviewee:** No, it was, look, it was, South Africa was busy still writing their new welfare policies. (…) So, there was a lot of energies that went in there and there's some good ideas in the Children's Act but what the officials didn't keep trend with was that you cannot overnight do this. There's a process to anything, you need to lead up to, build up to, then you need to take stock of what went on and say: was that the right route to take or not? And you can clearly see that there's no work study that was done to actually investigate that. (INT 14)

7.2.2.2. Approaches to donor power

It is interesting that about one third of respondents stress that they frequently observe typical funding dynamics. They perceive a general trend that local NGOs adjust to donor wishes and ideas. Some of these comments also confirm the theory that donor dynamics continue to perpetuate the use of the children's home model, for example through per-child funding, or the financial benefits of welcoming international volunteers.

While some respondents highlight the critical aspects of donors trying to influence their work, one respondent points out a positive aspect. She argues that some donors have quite insightful approaches and reporting requirements which stimulate important thought processes and make them reflect their aims and strategies in a helpful way.

In this context, there are six cases of leaders who seem to feel proud and confident in their cause and feel that it would be difficult for donors to influence them. They have well-established funding structures and feel that they know how to work the fundraising scene. Some point out that they have learned to resist donor attempts to influence them over time. The following quote provides an interesting example of a staff member reflecting on the developments at their organization in this regard:

> Our manager has a very good say in terms of 'trust our system'. So, what we were doing a while ago maybe more so without realizing it, was trying to adapt to the funders, to adapt to the donors what they want. So, if you have somebody that's offering to do this, we go and look for something to fit into that puzzle whereas I think we've been able to move away from that we, we have a system and the donors and the funders are very, it's a huge part of what we do and what makes it possible. But it is about how that can fit in with our program rather than us trying to fit in with what the donors out there are offering. And I think that has helped with the strength and the stability of how we move forward. (…) We've had situations where I've told funders, regardless of whether you are going to fund us or not, we got to do it in any case. If we have to from our own reserves do this but we're going to do this because we believe in this

> is the right thing to do. So, you're welcome, come on board, come fund us, come share in this. So, I think that's important.
> We say this is what we've got, this is according to the children's needs, so this is what we do. You come you do this. And that works. And that, since we've done that, we almost haven't had problems. It has actually made a huge, I don't think we realized it, the significant shift that that has brought. Be focused, goal orientated, this is, and know where we're going, and everybody is welcome to join us but we're not going to join you in your vision. This is our vision and we know where we're going with it. (INT 13)

Three other respondents took the topic a step further and related it to the generally controversial power dynamics between North and South, rich and poor, donors and recipients. One respondent refers to a quote by Nelson Mandela in this context: "Changing the condition of poverty is not an act of charity but an act of justice".

Another respondent reflects on this in the following words:

> I have a problem, no, I can't say that I have a problem with donors prescribing, it is their money, but that's the problem with north-south relations (… and rich and poor) And it is a problem in the sense that they may not fully understand the needs of the organization, but I also feel that it is on the organization to not just accept. It is on the organization to say: we understand that this is what you are willing to fund, but this is our need and motivate. (…) And I haven't experienced a funder that won't (be open to that) if you motivate properly.
>
> And I think funders, I'm an activist, ok, so yes, I'm an activist for children, but I'm also an activist politically in understanding the relationship between north-south, rich and poor. And I'm very much aware of the donor-recipient relationship. And I'm saying, I've gotten to know the donors and these are often people with good hearts and their intentions are at the right place, but they're not always clued up with what is happening in your country. They think they know but it's your responsibility as a recipient, as the organization in South Africa, to educate them. And if we educate them you will find you are going to earn their respect. (INT 7)

7.2.2.3. Indirect influence through money allocations

The interview findings reveal one highly critical point in terms of indirect donor influence. It does frequently come up that donors want to fund 'stuff' and give in-kind donations instead of investing in the costs of staff or general running costs of the organization. They often have particular funding policies, which typically prohibit these so-called 'overheads'. Instead, the funding of buildings, food and school equipment are typically encouraged. The latter features seem to be of more direct benefit to the children as well as more easily controllable compared to the former, which always seem to imply a risk of misuse (see Chapter 2).

While such concerns may be understandable, this causes a dilemma because the less solid but far more expensive resources such as, most importantly, human resources, are the key to

quality care. The quality of care provided to children depends mainly on people and the values, motivation and knowledge driving their day-to-day delivery of services. The work of so-called 'child care workers' depends again immensely on the spirit of their team and their leadership, which are created by people as well as on their professional qualifications. Thus, funding for appropriate salaries, training and care is desperately needed. In the light of this, it could be argued that the described donor policies may be contra-productive. They may cause a feeling of financial insecurity and pressure, which may be at the core of issues such as double-funding and inflated budgets.[133] One respondent summarizes this dilemma as follows:

> Donors like to give stuff, right? They like to give stuff or build another house or another room or paint something, right, whereas actually what you need is qualified staff, you need people. And the ones that you have trained need to stay. You need to pay them, and donors don't want to pay salaries. (…) Donors want to pay for stuff that can be in brick and stone. But really whereas they're working in social transformation and social type work requires people. The majority of our work is people, it's not the stuff. In fact, when it is the stuff, that's probably where things are going wrong. So, I think that's maybe the biggest challenge and that's not just for children's homes, I think that's for non-profits in general. (INT 8)

The bottom-line is that donors sometimes do not provide the support that is needed. Children's home staff is often afraid to address this as they still depend on the donor's support.[134] For example, one respondent states:

> Sometimes, out of the goodness of their hearts, they bring things that we really have sufficient - the important thing is sometimes we really need finances instead of products. (…) This company for instance will say we're going to give you a donation of 10,000. Then they don't give you in cash, they rather give you a gift voucher to go and buy it. But you can't pay your staff with a gift voucher. (INT 4)

Again, it is the strong and confident leader types who emphasize that the reluctance to fund staff costs is an issue which has to be directly addressed. One of these respondent states:

> You need to be in charge of what you are doing and not put yourself in the servant position. If donors argue they want to fund the children and not the care workers, it just shows that they don't understand what this is all about. (INT 3)

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133 This agrees with a study of Ugandan NGOs as pointed out by Watkins et al., 2012: 301) which found that "unrealistic donor demands may be an obstacle to transparency".

134 Another example in this regard is the typical annual shower of Christmas presents for children in children's homes by well-meaning organizations and individuals. While any contribution is helpful and children do feel special to be blessed with presents, this can lead to situations where the opening of presents is more a showcasing to meet the needs of donors, while the resources could have been channeled into much more useful support for the children (for example therapeutic programs).

A further respondent tells the story of a particular conversation with a donor:

> He said, you do know that we don't fund salaries. I said yes, we do know. But you tell me, what I can do with 49 children with no staff. You say you make use of volunteers, but volunteers come and go, they do not have that responsibility as a paid staff member would have. So, I do understand your comment that you don't pay salaries, but then pay some of my expenses in terms of: I need electricity and water, I need food for the children. (…)
>
> I always said, it would be nice to have an ample story building, to have a nice paving, to have the nicest fridge, because you want to see what you paid with your money, but what's that going to benefit me if I do not have enough staff on duty, if I do not have people that feel motivated in their job because if they're overwhelmed because they have too many children in one group. So, at the end of the day you need to change their mind-set. (INT 9)

7.2.2.4. Concluding remarks

First of all, this sub-chapter showed that only one respondent reported the influence of international networks as a direct driving factor for change. At the same time, the influence of donors varies and depends. Some respondents make comments which confirm the general idea that funders have a strong influence on the work of NGOs. Some have observed that NGOs adjust to the ideas of donors to please them, even if the concept does not make sense. Some admit that this has also applied to them at certain times. Again, it comes out strongly that the way in which donors can potentially influence a home does depend on the type of leadership, although not in line with the previously distinguished types.

In this case, it is a certain confident leader type which makes an effort to take the lead and does not want to see themselves as influenced or in a 'beggar' position. Instead, they make comments which show that they advocate for support of their concepts and motivate for what they need. They also promote this approach as the only one which makes sense, yet they often perceive others to be adjusting to donors' ideas and sometimes relate this to general power dynamics between North and South and donors and recipients.

One particular dilemma stands out in this regard. The funding policies of donors often diminish the ability of children's homes to provide job security, fair salaries, appropriate training, supervision and leadership to the workforce on the ground. Yet, as established in Chapter 3, good people are the key resource in working with children in need. Instead, donors are eager to invest in material and thus more controllable items, such as buildings, food or clothing for the children.

7.3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter introduced the findings which derived from the interviews with 15 selected leaders of children's homes on the ground. In the light of the second research question, the chapter presented the factors and conditions which the interviewees have named or implied to have driven their approaches and actions.

First of all, it may be concluded that the impact of the theoretically established drivers and obstacles of norm diffusion were confirmed, although this has occurred to very different degrees. It has been strongly confirmed that there is a significant impact of local filters on the national dimension. Here, many respondents were concerned and frustrated about a reality of decoupling and discrepancies between the new norm's translation into law, discourse, and implementation (Zimmermann 2016). On the one hand, there is a strong translation of DI-related concepts into discourse. On the other hand, the rhetoric is often not backed up by actual support at the implementation level.

Many experience the concepts and 'support' of the responsible department as inconsistent, ineffective and insensitive to the 'real' struggles on the ground. Some children's homes make an effort to provide effective family support services but struggle to find the assistance of the government. Overall, children's homes struggle - sometimes severely - to match the high policy expectations with minimal finances and support.

On the other hand, this study finds less confirmation of transnational and funding influence on the approaches of children's homes than assumed. Only one respondent associated the development of his organization's approach with an influence of transnational networks, which he described to have 'jogged their thinking'. Interestingly, it was this case which went through a full DI transition. However, even in this case, the interview findings reveal that changes of programs and approaches were mostly driven by a combination of the leaders' personal convictions, attitudes, and capacities and the local context, challenges and opportunities.

In this context, it was confirmed that some children's home operators do act as intentional and unintentional veto players to DI diffusion as commonly highlighted in the DI literature (see Chapter 3). While some operators have still never heard of the DI trend, others are aware of it but are rejecting the new norm for a variety of reasons. While some of these reasons resemble those pointed out in the DI literature, one perspective remains widely unmentioned.

Children's home leaders often support the idea of DI and may even make their own efforts to improve gatekeeping, family reunification, and family strengthening. However, these leaders highlight that there are fundamental dilemmas in South African child protection reality which need to be addressed before DI can become a safe and feasible alternative.

The dilemmas start with the particularly drastic social circumstances in many South African communities which multiply the general challenges in realizing children's rights which are experienced across the globe. In combination with the overburdened and inefficient child protection system and the controversial government strategies which fail to address this, a vicious circle is created. In the light of these realities, local leaders perceive the ideas of international actors who promote a drastic DI shift as unrealistic and far removed from the struggles and realities on the ground.

In fact, it was one of the most interesting findings of this study that two leadership-related factors seem to be most relevant in shaping the eventual outcomes of DI diffusion and translation on the ground.

The first factor is the extent to which the DI norm resonates with the personal experiences of the leaders, which has often shaped their convictions in terms of one key point: whether they believe that there are workable and realistic alternatives to children's homes considering the severe dilemmas they experience in the field. Depending on this, some see obvious reasons to change their program approach, while others believe that there are no better alternatives to the model they offer. Some of the latter explicitly argue that they are doing the best possible under the given circumstances and that they have adjusted their program to serve the needs of the children in the best possible way.

The second factor determines in how far new ideas and concepts are translated into practice. While access to resources and relationships to those in charge of resources plays a main role in this regard, there is another dimension behind it: the extent to which the particular leaders are willing, able, and ready to push for change and to deal with the potential risks. One respondent argues that this depends on the type of leadership and distinguishes the approaches and self-perceptions of 'manager-type leaders' and 'visionary/activist-type leaders' in this regard. Interestingly, findings from other interviews did match this theory very well.

In terms of funding influence, it was striking that a direct influence of donors is far less apparent than assumed. It can be concluded that instead of a clear observation of funding power, many different processes/stories of donor-recipient dynamics seem to be going on at the same time. Again, outcomes seem to depend on the manner in which different leaders approach and handle the topic.

Some respondents have very reflected and developed opinions on donor/recipient relationships and power dynamics. They are confident in advocating for their cause and will neither extend their residential program nor agree with radical DI measures for the sake of pleasing donors. In fact, a few leaders generate funding quite successfully and are reluctant to partner with donors who do not support their vision. In other cases there were indications of a potential perpetuation of children's homes through funding dynamics. Overall, this shows that the role of funding is often mainly that its availability determines the options. It enables or disables the potential realization of what leaders take to be the best way forward.

At the same time, one finding in the sphere of indirect funding influence seems to be of main significance. Many respondents report that the problems derive from the fact that donors are typically reluctant to invest in staff/running costs and prefer to fund material resources. Consequently, many organizations struggle – sometimes desperately - to provide for their staff's fair salaries, appropriate training, sound leadership and essential staff care.

Yet, it is the availability, capacity and morale of people which determines the level of quality care a child receives – whether in children's homes or in community support programs. While the reasons for donors in this regard may also be understandable, this dilemma can turn out to be highly contra-productive in ensuring quality services on the ground. There are also indications that this can be a reason for insincerity in donor-recipient relationships. This may especially apply in the case of leader types who are less confident or driven in advocating for their cause.

The next and last chapter of this dissertation - the overall conclusion – will further reflect and evaluate these findings in the light of the established hypotheses and the overall outcomes of this study. In addition, it will highlight some possible venues for further/future research.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this empirical-analytical and micro-level case study was to contribute to some remaining gaps in understanding actual outcomes of and reactions to norm-diffusion processes at the implementation level of target localities. To this end, the study went beyond a typical one-shot assessment of a norms translation into policy and discourse at a national or regional level and put the main focus on micro-level realities and practitioner responses on the ground. It aimed at tracing the kinds of empirical-analytical insights that can only be gathered at this micro-level. The findings serve as an example to demonstrate what outcomes of norm diffusion processes can look like on the ground and what shapes them.

The overall research question for this study was formulated as:

Which empirical-analytical insights can be gathered on the ground to further differentiate the outcomes of norm diffusion processes and what shapes them - beyond the established factors, such as transnational influences, domestic filters and diffusion mechanisms?

The international DI movement was selected as an example which demonstrates the immense complexity and multi-dimensional nature of norm diffusion realities. The aim was to observe in how far the DI norm has actually reached the ground in the particular case of Cape Town's children's home sector. To understand this norm diffusion process in its full context, the case study worked from the general to the specific and included an assessment on three dimensions: a global, a national and a local dimension.

The predominantly literature-based analysis of the debate on the DI norm at the global level and its diffusion and translation in the case of South Africa set the contextual frame for the in-depth empirical analysis of the developments in the specific case of Cape Town's children's home sector. The selection of the specific case example was based on a special opportunity for maximizing what can be learned from this case due to the availability of a baseline and a special familiarity with the sector. Based on this, the development of the sector could be assessed through a diachronic comparison of indicators and the stances and responses to the DI norm explored in Grounded-Theory-guided interviews with leading practitioners.

Based on the conclusions drawn from the review of the norm diffusion literature and the aspects demonstrated in the DI example, two hypotheses were established for this study:

H1: A micro-level empirical assessment at the level of implementation and practice is most likely to reveal a diversity of co-existing translation outcomes. This will include ambivalent sub-types of compliance and resistance beyond the concepts of decoupling or localization.

H2: The determinants of outcomes of norm diffusion processes become progressively more complex and multi-dimensional the closer the observations become. Transnational promotion strategies and domestic filters may themselves be shaped by ambivalence and thus promote ambivalent outcomes on the ground.

In summary, it may be concluded that the first hypothesis was fully confirmed while the findings in terms of the second one were more varied. While the assumptions apply to some extent, they did not manifest in the assumed manner. Both hypotheses will be revised below.

For the further evaluation of the hypotheses in the light of the case specific findings, two concepts will be introduced to reflect the most striking observations on each dimension of the performed case analysis. In the light of the empirical-analytical insights gathered, this dissertation suggests adding these concepts to the theory when it comes to observing and understanding the translation of norms into implementation at the practice level on the ground:

'Translation diversity'

The competition of various norms and interests in contested normative spaces and the diversity of civil society actors on the ground has certainly been emphasized in the literature (e.g. Krasner 1999; Wiener 2014; Boesenecker and Vinjamuri 2011). However, IR theory does not yet seem to co-relate this reality with a diversity of co-existing norm translation outcomes on the ground. The micro-level empirical assessment performed at the level of implementation and practice reveals a state of 'translation diversity' which implies that one norm diffusion process may lead to a variety of co-existing translation outcomes.

The study showed that even in a precisely defined micro-level case and locality, cases of compliance, resistance and ignorance, as well as ambivalent subtypes and mixed forms, can exist next to each other. Overall, decisions on how and which norms are translated into practice were found to depend to a far greater extent on one factor: The individual convictions, attitudes and capabilities of the organization's leadership; in other words, the people in charge. This may particularly apply in contested normative environments where

diverse norms and interests co-exist and compete, but governance is inconsistent, inefficient and controversial.

'Translation soundness'

This refers to the observation that all outcomes - compliance, resistance, ignorance and mixed forms - can be justified or contradictory when it comes to protecting the best interest of the concerned target group on the ground. Taking a normative lens - in this case one of child protection – phenomena become apparent which have here been termed ***'justified resistance'*** or ***'contradictory compliance'***. Justified resistance implies that some local leaders may decide to resist an international norm based on an informed and moral-based judgement in the light of the realities they experience in their local contexts. Others may comply and adjust but yet not deliver in terms of the actual goal to safeguard children. This has been termed contradictory compliance. Eventually, the overall indications are that the quality of outcomes depends on the people in charge and the soundness of their decisions and service delivery.

These two types of ambivalent outcomes were evident on all dimensions of the conducted case study. At first, the review of successes and challenges of DI diffusion at the global level did reveal a case in point. Some countries were persuaded to adopt DI reform and thus complied with the promoted norm, but the manner of implementation made the outcomes contradictory in terms of the overall goal: to improve the situation of the concerned target group. This situation can count as contradictory compliance and also confirms the point that mechanisms of coercion and persuasion may encourage 'decoupling' and controversial outcomes (see e.g. Zimmermann's 2017, p. 34).

In terms of the DI debate, this reality re-emphasizes a point which is not new but remains crucial: the value of closing down institutions and placing the children back home or into foster care will always depend on the quality and efficiency of the alternative support structures and monitoring systems in place. Everybody agrees that the latter is a fundamental component of the DI process, but there are different stances on whether this can be done simultaneously or whether these structures need to be in place before homes can be closed. In the light of the findings of this study, it may be prudent to understand when valid DI principles need to be put on hold as long as decent enough children's homes are actually the most safe and functional option available to a child. Thus, the removal of resources from children's homes must be handled very carefully. Some argue that instead of taking

resources away, certain homes should be resourced and improved to provide high-quality residential services. (See also Petersen 2018)

In this regard, the South African example demonstrates a case of 'justified resistance' at the national dimension. While the overall legal framework and developmental approach count as highly progressive and in line with DI principles, residential care has not clearly been stipulated as 'a last resort'. South African leaders in the field draw on their own experience-based convictions to justify their stance that general DI principles and efforts do not oppose the need for high-quality children's homes as one valuable option of alternative care. They are convinced that a 'both-and' approach is the most suitable to protect the concerned target group in their specific local context. While it does certainly provide legitimacy to these local leaders that this approach is shared by partners in the international FICE network, Chapter 5 has shown that their own experience-based convictions were a main determinant. The chapter has also demonstrated that a variety of co-existing and competing norms, realities and interests play a role at the national dimension and shape and influence outcomes on the ground.

Most dominantly, a general case of decoupling was certainly confirmed for the broader South African context. While highly progressive policies were eagerly adopted into law after the country's globally celebrated transition to democracy, the extent of actual progress has been limited by complex socio-economic and political factors when it comes to the implementation level. Various structural obstacles hamper the realization of adopted welfare policy in South Africa (see. e.g. Patel and Hochfeld 2013, p. 693, Jamieson 2014, Meintjes et al. 2007, Abdullah 2007). Next to the drastic socio-economic challenges, a lack of political will and capacity are amongst the key obstacles. Besides that, governance issues and funding controversies are also highly problematic. While this applies to various aspects of social welfare, the field of child protection seems to be particularly affected by a remaining existence of competing norms. For example, the actual decision making of designated bodies and individuals is still widely shaped by a traditional use of residential care, although the overall welfare approach is supposed to be developmental. At the same time, the drastic community realities and the resulting caseloads and system overload make decisions 'in the best interest of the child' extremely complicated. Ultimately, the system keeps putting vast numbers of children into residential care.

This leads over to the findings on the local dimension in the light of the established hypotheses. In confirmation of H1 the following was revealed: While the institutional and policy framework as well as the dominant discourse seem to provide strong scope conditions for the implementation of the norm, the empirical findings demonstrate a remaining co-existence of differing norms. These are translated into practice in a vast diversity of settings which leads to a variety of co-existing translation outcomes and thus represents a clear case of translation diversity. The findings showed that about half of the children's homes demonstrated adjustments to the new norm while the other half did not change their approach. In addition, there were a few exemplary transitions towards DI.

Overall, this indicates that both is true at the same time: classic residential care is still a far spread norm and the new norm has also been diffusing. Looking closer, the findings further reveal that even among similar types of homes, the translation of DI principles can differ significantly. For example, some traditional homes are pushing for DI related measures, others do not. There don't seem to be any consistencies.

Each of the four identified types of homes have representatives of the different types of outcomes. Furthermore, quite a few cases do in fact demonstrate ambivalent sub-types of compliance and resistance beyond the concepts of decoupling or localization. The observation that DI measures are diffusing on the one hand but not on the other, not only applies to the overall sector but also to individual organizations. Many homes take a 'both-and' approach, and do both, adopting and resisting the norm at the same time. While they started adding a focus on DI measures to their program approach, they also keep running their traditional residential settings and take a stance that both is equally important. This does neither fit with the concept of decoupling nor with a typical idea of localization as the traditional concept has not been modified and adapted.

So why did some children's homes change and others not? Which factors have shaped the actual translation of outcomes and responses of practitioners on the ground? The assumptions stipulated in H2 were confirmed to some extent. It showed that the impact of classic determinants of norm diffusion was prevalent although to varying degrees. First of all, the influence of the local context seems very dominant and is indeed ambivalent. DI-related buzzwords, efforts and concepts have been adopted and may lead to a norm cascade on the discourse level. In practice however, the translation into discourse, policy and institutions mean little in the light of the severe controversies, constraints and dilemmas

when it comes to the funding, consistency and follow through needed to translate the norm into practice.

In fact, the government seems to use a strategy of ‘smoke and mirrors’ while decoupling the adopted policy and discourse from the actual provision of support and care at the implementation level. Some local leaders are convinced that existing DI efforts are rather based on a cost-cutting exercise of the local government than the application of a principle. As a result, children’s homes struggle to match high expectations with minimal finances and support. In this situation, the support of local and transnational civil society actors comes into play. In this regard, the remaining existence of multiple small and medium scale donors who support the children’s home concept was confirmed. All different types of children’s homes have their ways of mobilizing funds and managing to survive – even if they struggle severely.

In this context, it was striking that the study found less confirmation of international and donor influence than assumed. The organizations certainly differ in the extent to which they manage to mobilize resources effectively, but this does not seem to determine the DI outcomes. Overall, funding is usually highly diversified and focused on multiple small- and medium-scale funding opportunities and crowdsourcing. Changes of program approaches appear to rather depend on the experiences and convictions of leading staff, as well as local context and opportunities, than on an influence of external donors or international networks. Eventually, it showed that the role of funding is mainly that its availability determines the options. It enables or disables the potential realization of what leaders think is the best way forward, e.g. whether they believe that there are workable/realistic alternatives to children’s homes considering the dilemmas pointed out here.

In fact, in the cases of the interviewed children’s home leaders, the eventual outcomes were predominantly shaped by two variables: Firstly, how the leaders relate to the DI norm - while some identify with it, others are unaware or resistant - and secondly, in how far they are willing, able and ready to push for change and to translate new concepts into practice. In this respect, the interviews revealed that the approaches of the individual leaders have often been shaped by their personal experiences while working on the ground in the context of the specific local challenges and opportunities. The extent to which international norm promotion and transnational funding dynamics influence them can depend significantly on whether the message matches their views.

Overall, it shows that the practice of protecting children at risk is a particularly complex and demanding task where simple answers and solutions are scarce. Many different priorities and rights need to be balanced, typically under constant pressure and resource deprivation and in the face of the daunting realities and challenges of working with traumatized children and families in dysfunctional communities. It may also be argued that child protection systems all over the world struggle with this.

However, it seems that the experience and struggles of practitioners on the ground are not necessarily heard by international norm promoters. The latter may even assume that the former can be part of the problem as they may justify and perpetuate children's homes to benefit their own agendas.[135] DI literature typically ascribes the persistence of children's homes to a link between those who operate them and misinformed donors or faith-based actors aiming to conserve traditional norms of 'orphan care'.

The interviews performed in this study have provided an in-depth insight into the reasoning of the leaders who are convinced that children's home care remains absolutely necessary in the South African context. In these examples, some children's homes do not seem to match the negative narratives attributed to them by DI discourse. Furthermore, many of these leaders agree that DI is the ideal and the right objective and are already making significant efforts to improve their service delivery accordingly. However, they highlight that South Africa still has a long way to go before a strict DI approach becomes a realistic alternative; the underlying dilemmas and root causes hampering the feasibility of safe and sustainable DI need to be addressed first.[136] Thus, in spite of their full awareness of the known pitfalls of residential care, these leaders are convinced by the need for the services they provide as they think that they are doing the best that is possible under the given local circumstances. Yet, this is widely unmentioned and underestimated in the DI related literature. In the theoretical context of this study, these cases can certainly be regarded as 'justified resistance' to the promoted norm.

In order to get practitioners on board, their experience and struggles need to be taken seriously and their own efforts recognized and supported. In order to make them believe in DI, the main question needs to be addressed: how can we tackle the very real obstacles in

135 See e.g. Dozier et al. (2012, p. 16), Better Care Network & UNICEF (2015, p. 61), LUMOS (2015, p. 32) and Csáky (2009, p. 12).

136 Similar arguments have been advanced by Garcia Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2014, p. 423) as well as Tobis (2000) as pointed out by Dozier et al. (2012, p. 17).

the way of DI effectively? For example, we can call for political commitment and efficient strategy as well as for building a strong and effective social workforce that ensures high-quality service provision for each individual child – but how can we achieve that? In line with Zimmermann's concept of appropriation, influential international actors should partner with leading local practitioners in order to figure this out. (See also Petersen 2018)

However, the study also revealed that the nature of the prevalent people dynamics can play a significant role in how and if a norm is received. The harmony or disharmony of personalities and the manner of cooperation has certainly done its part in shaping the work relationships of children's home leaders, government officials and international organizations. This facet demonstrates once more that how and if norms are translated on the ground will always depend on the approaches, actions and interactions of individuals.

In the light of the findings of this study, the following will be concluded in terms of ***H2***. While the assumptions do certainly apply in some cases, in others the findings demonstrate a very different dynamic and allow for the formulation of a new hypothesis:

H3: Norm diffusion and translation outcomes on the ground depend to a far extent on the individual convictions, attitudes and capabilities of the people in charge. The extent to which international norm promotion strategies and transnational funding dynamics influence these leaders does often depend significantly on whether the message matches their approaches and personal experiences.

The assumptions stipulated in this hypothesis are likely to apply on different dimensions of norm diffusion. In this regard, one respondent made an interesting comment with respect to political leaders. He highlighted that the new government official in charge of the children's homes sector in Cape Town was willing to consider a shift towards more forward-thinking funding models. He emphasized that this was not the common thinking in local government, but this new leader stood out as 'a forward-thinking person'. He stated:

> They haven't got there yet, but they're trying to get around the bureaucracy of their own system. But it's not working yet, they still have a few mavericks that are saying, let's make it work, let's try and figure it out, but it's always like you know, the bureaucracy just turns very slowly. So, I think people are trying but it's not yet the norm. (INT 8)

In terms of H1, it was established that this hypothesis was confirmed. Yet it should be reformulated in the light of the new concepts:

H1-new: A micro-level empirical assessment on the level of implementation and practice is most likely to reveal a state of translation diversity. This will include ambivalent sub-types beyond the concepts of decoupling or localization such as 'justified resistance' and 'contradictory compliance'.

After this overall conclusion in terms of the empirical findings of this study, it is important to return to a meta-level perspective and reflect on the way this research has been conducted. As usual, the study is characterized by certain strength and limitations and the hindsight perspective allows for a renewed evaluation of the overall research approach.

The methodological approach of this study has, to some extent, been shaped by the availability of a baseline from 2009 which has been a main strength in the overall design. It allowed for a detailed overview of developments in the sector under review. At the same time, the manageable sample and the familiarity with the field presented a situation where the use of in-depth interviews seemed to be particularly feasible and meaningful. The use of a Grounded-Theory method was most useful to maintain an open approach to gaining an in-depth insight into the perspectives, perceptions and reactions of target actors/practitioners on the ground.

On the other hand, it has been understood that the combination of a Grounded-Theory method with the formulation of abstract hypotheses can seem mismatched. In the same way it was noted that the use of case studies for testing hypotheses is – although common – highly disputed (Rohlfing 2012, pp.10-12).

However, in the light of the research aim, the overall approach was selected to allow for a holistic and meaningful insight into a complex social phenomenon based on real-life events and actors (Yin 2003). This classically connoted strength of case study research was considered together with newer ideas, such as analyzing causal regularities (Rohlfing 2012) and exploring diversity and deviance (Maggeti 2013). In line with Rohlfing's concept of a theory-centered case study it was argued that the detailed understanding of one case can allow for the establishment of new hypotheses for further research (see also Yin 2003, p. 32). In this way the case study can aim to contribute to the advancement of theory.

On the other hand, it has been emphasized that the findings on the particular case, sample, and context under review can – of course – not claim representativeness or replicability for another case. It remains vitally important to be very careful with any generalizations. This is

the main limitation of the used approach and a weakness commonly associated with case study research. After all, the findings of this study have provided renewed evidence of the difficulties arising in the context of norm diffusion and promoting generalized concepts and solutions. In fact, the findings again demonstrated how immensely complex the social world and civil society realities become and how important the local context is.

So how can the findings of this study be used to guide future research steps? I suggest that a further examination of the revised hypotheses in certain areas and cases which demonstrate relevant similarities to the case of this study can be meaningful to explore if the phenomena found in this case study show any broader robustness. Different ideas for further research could be considered.

The first and most obvious suggestion would be to further asses the translation of the DI issue in other local contexts across Africa, South America or Asia. Besides this, it also showed that while settings in other 'emerging' or 'developing' countries are certainly more comparable, the relevance of the identified pointed out dilemmas must not be underestimated in the Western world. For example, an international expert at one of the conferences stated:

> Funders now push with timelines and for instance say that in 6 month time the children must be reintegrated - but even in New York City if you would say that – where there are far more resources - social workers would say that is not possible – the New York City foster care system went through a reform and was funded for the transition for 20 years – so what do we expect from other countries which generally have less resources.

In a discussion of these issues in the context of this study, it was remarked that an analysis of the developments and practitioner perspectives in a case like New York City could reveal surprising similarities.

Thinking further, the prevalence and relevance of the discovered phenomena could be analyzed in a variety of comparably meaningful empirical fields and contexts. What first comes to mind are norms on similarly evocative child protection issues such as, for example, child labor or child participation. These fields have certainly also revealed potentially controversial aspects when it comes to translating normative international ideas into implementation, which would again differ in different local contexts. So, to what extent would an analysis of international norm diffusion processes on these topics reveal phenomena such as translation diversity, justified resistance or contradictory compliance as shaped by the individual convictions, attitudes, and capabilities of practitioners on the ground?

Beyond similar children's rights issues, there are other comparable empirical fields. It can be concluded that a degree of comparability is prevalent whenever an internationally diffusing norm is claimed to be a globally applicable measure in protecting or improving the situation of a certain target group. For example, the diffusion of particular international norms on labor rights or fair-trade movements would be an interesting field to study.

It may show in many fields that a black-and-white thinking can, at times, be too rigid and leave too little room for the grey area and the middle ground. We can have great principles and put a lot of resources into reforms which eliminate one problematic model or issue, but this may still not ensure that the interventions do actually benefit or protect the target group. In many cases, norm diffusion efforts may also mean finding oneself between a rock and a hard place, especially in the midst of our typically complex societies with their many pitfalls. At the same time, a lot depends on being able to ensure that the adopted concepts and strategies are translated into useful and locally suitable measures and implementation on the ground. (See also Petersen 2018)

It is at this point where further hypotheses need to be formulated in terms of donor influences and funding dynamics. Two points from the theoretical debate became particularly evident in this study:

Firstly, high-quality interventions will always depend on the people providing it. Yet donors are typically reluctant to invest in staff/running costs and prefer to fund material resources. While the reasons for this may be valid – as misuse of funds and mismanagement of people are also rife – it will still be the human rather than the material resources that will determine the quality of norm translation processes on the ground. In the example of this study, it will be the morale, understanding, training and teamwork of caregivers and the other relevant professionals that will determine if children receive the individualized support and safe space they need to deal with their situations. Eventually, the worth of any funding depends on its useful allocation and use – which again depends on the people in charge – on the ground and at the donor level. So how can funding policies be used to ensure that the workforce on the ground is effectively strengthened and nurtured? It will remain a complex and difficult balancing task to provide funding in a way that does not serve any inappropriate institutional needs of both, children's homes (especially if aiming for any kind of illegitimate financial gain) and donors (e.g. image/ presentability objectives, ideological drive), but meets justified institutional needs and interests which serve the realization of the UN Guidelines.

Secondly, classic notions of resource power in the transnational civil society arena may become progressively more challenged by the new trends towards diversification through crowd sourcing and the personal support and engagement of (paying) international volunteers. This topic did also recently move into the center of attention within the international child protection field (see e.g. LUMOS 2017). Some leading INGOs have started to study funding streams. They have aimed at identifying and converting donors in order to curb the support of children's homes. Yet, in the light of the highly diversified funding trends, this approach has turned out to be less effective and feasible than assumed. Eventually, the power of funds in driving the adoption of norms may only hold if the availability of other options and funding formats is strictly controlled, which seems unrealistic and probably undesirable.

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Appendix - Overview

Appendix 1: Overview of data sources

Attachment 1.1: Organizations, interviews conducted and conferences attended (anonymous)

NOTE: For reasons of privacy and confidentiality, names will not be disclosed

GLOBAL DIMENSION			
Name of organization	**Interviewee**	**Interview transcript number**	**Website address**
Not disclosed Not disclosed Not disclosed **Not disclosed** Not disclosed	 Director Director Director	 **16** **16** **17**	 not disclosed not disclosed not disclosed
Conferences International Federation of Educative Communities (FICE), 33rd Congress, Vienna 22-25 August 2016 International Institute for the Rights of the Child (IDE), Int. Alternative Care Conference, Geneva 3-5 October 2016			http://www.betterworld2016.org http://www.alternativecaregeneva2016.com

NATIONAL DIMENSION			
	Interviewee		**Website address**
Not disclosed	Director	**18**	not disclosed
Not disclosed	Director	**19**	not disclosed

(Continued on following page)

LOCAL DIMENSION							
	Name of organization	**2009 study**	**2017 study websites**	**2017 study interviews**	**Interviewee**	**Interview transcript number**	**Website address**
1	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director and Social Worker	**14**	not disclosed
2	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
3	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
4	not disclosed	x	x	x	Social Worker	**5**	not disclosed
5	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
6	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
7	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
8	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director	**9**	not disclosed
9	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director	**15**	not disclosed
10	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
11	not disclosed	x	x	x	Housemother	**10**	not disclosed
12	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director	**1**	not disclosed
13	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
14	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director (other)	**12**	not disclosed
15	not disclosed	x	x				not disclosed
16	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director	**8**	not disclosed
17	not disclosed	x	x closed				not disclosed
18	not disclosed	x	x	x	Director	**7**	not disclosed
19	not disclosed	x	x	x	Coordinator	**11**	not disclosed
20	not disclosed	/	x	x	Director and Social Worker	**13**	not disclosed
21	not disclosed	/	x				not disclosed
22	not disclosed	/	x	x	Director	**2**	not disclosed
23	not disclosed	/	x	x	Nurse	**6 (notes)**	not disclosed
24	not disclosed	/	x	x	Director and Consultant	**3**	not disclosed
25	not disclosed	/	x	x	Director	**4**	not disclosed

Appendix 2: Instruments for diachronic comparison

Attachment 2.1: Overview of numbers – 2009 vs. 2017

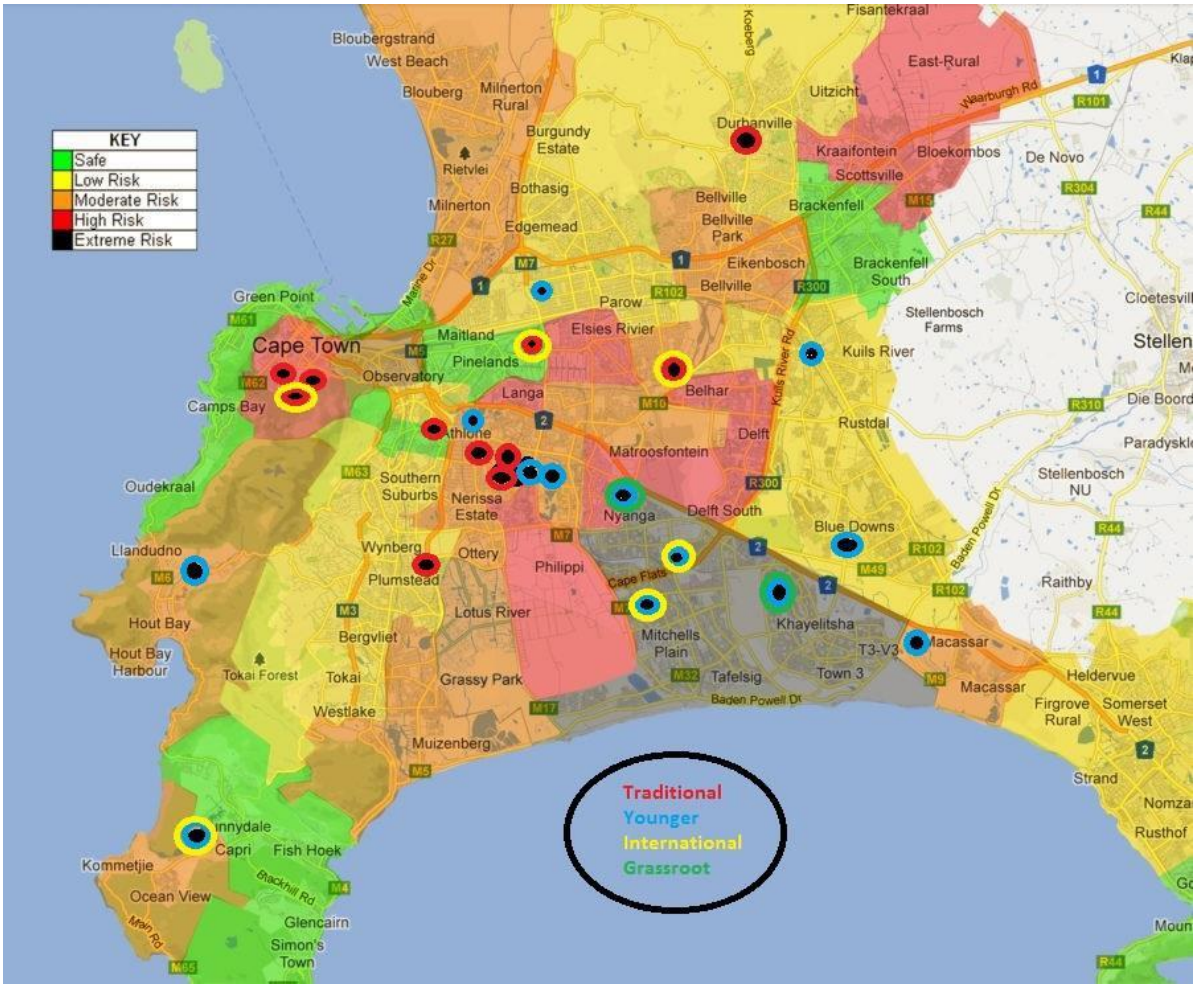
Children's homes / CYCCs in Cape Town	2009	2017
Officially listed	30	41
Total of NPOs running these homes	28	36
Found as up and running	23	36
Catering to distinguished groups	4	15
Subject of analysis	22	21
Additional examples (not/differently registered homes)	2	4
Units analyzed	24	25
Overlap (part of both samples)	19	19
Lost/new units of analysis	5 (lost)	6 (new)

Table 4: Diachronic analysis – The numbers

Official list for registered 'Child and Youth Care Centers' in the Western Cape - 2017:
https://www.westerncape.gov.za/directories/facilities/917

Official list for registered 'Children's Homes' in the Western Cape - 2009:
http://www.capegateway.gov.za/other/2004/2/childrens_homes.pdf
(If this list should not be available anymore online, it can be provided on request)

Attachment 2.2: Map – Location of children's homes in Cape Town 2017



Graphic 3: Map of Cape Town based children's homes - modified by author.

Source: https://www.capetownsafety.com/cape-town-safety-map/

Attachment 2.3: Overview of categories/indicators and possible characteristics

	Categories / Indicators	Possible characteristics
1.	**General points**	
	Registration	Still-newly-differently registered or unregistered / closures
	Background	Long tradition / faith-based / grass-root /local / foreign
	Location	City/ average suburb / wealthy suburb/ township
	Pure CH or bigger NGO	Pure CH, part of bigger NGO
	Funding model	Diversified (international/mixed/local), own specific funding model/mother organization
2.	**Program approach**	
	Family programs?	Already in 2009 / New FCSBs / None
	Number of children?	#
	Under 3-year-olds?	Yes/ no
	Care structure?	Dormitory units / small house / village / community-cottages
	Community relation?	Integrated / standing out / mixed
3.	**Self-presentation**	
	Website?	Yes/no + extensive or limited info
	Apparent DI awareness?	Yes/ sort of/ no-own little cosmos/ not apparent
	Emphasis of DI principles	Family reunification efforts / family relationships / gatekeeping - last resort
	Stories of change	A story or stance relating to DI principles
4.	Significant change?	Semi/ no/ yes

Table 5: Table of indicators

Appendix 3: Guiding questions for interviews

Attachment 3.1: Interviews at the Local Level - Grounded–theory–style interviews

Overview of categories and guiding questions

Categories	Guiding questions
a) Experiences in terms of challenges	Q 1: What are your main challenges?
b) Experiences in terms of changes	Q 2: What has changed (in the organization and/or the sector) and why?
c) Experiences in terms of the deinstitutionalization debate	Q 3: What do you understand by 'deinstitutionalization'? Q 4: How has this affected your organization? Q 5: What do you think about it?
d) Experiences in terms of the role of donors	Q 6: How are you financed? Q 7: What are the challenges in that regard? Q 8: Do donors give you what you need?

Table 5: Overview of categories and guiding questions

Attachment 3.2: Interviews at the National Level - Overview of guiding questions

- Please tell me a bit about yourself and your journey in the sector
- How have you experienced the development of the DI movement?
    - in general
    - particularly in South Africa
    - in Cape Town and its impact on children's homes in Cape Town
- When and how did that actually start?
- Who or what has been driving it and who or what has been hindering/curbing it?
- Has there been collaboration with international partners?
- What do you think about it? What would you say to those advocating it?
- How do you see the best way forward?

Attachment 3.3: Interviews at the Global Level - Overview of guiding questions

- What big questions/topics are you busy with right now?
- What have been your main challenges (where it fits with the topic)?
- Please tell me how you experienced the DI movement coming about – who/what were the main driving factors?
- What do you think it depends on whether countries can deinstitutionalize/What do you perceive as the common obstacles …and how do you think that should be handled?
- How have traditional faith-based organizations been adjusting? What does it take for them to change their approach in the light of the role of long-standing tradition /pride in tradition and classic Christian values of orphan care?
- How do you think that should be handled?
- What is your impression of the South African case? – (point to connections with international organizations?)
- What do you think are the most interesting questions in the context of this research?

Appendix 4: Dissertation summary in German/ Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die Doktorarbeit behandelt das Thema, in wie weit die UN Richtlinien für die alternative Betreuung von Kindern (Teil der UN Kinderrechtskonvention) auf lokaler Ebene umgesetzt werden und welche Rolle die Akteure der transnationalen Zivilgesellschaft, insbesondere als Geldgeber, in diesem Bereich dabei spielen. Das Fallbeispiel dafür ist Kapstadts Kinderheimsektor, in dem die Autorin auch 2009 Daten für ihre Masterarbeit in Bezug auf die selbe Thematik erhob und fünf Jahre lang tätig war.

Verortet in der theoretischen Debatte um die Diffusion internationaler Normen, zielt die Studie darauf ab, die oft zu wenig berücksichtigte Komplexität von Norm-Diffusions-Prozessen auf der lokalen Umsetzungsebene an einem ganz spezifischen Beispiel zu untersuchen. In diesem Sinne ist die Studie eine von empirisch-analytischem Interesse motivierte qualitative Fallstudie zur Diffusion einer spezifischen internationalen Kinderschutz-Norm in dem spezifischen, lokalen Mikrokosmos Kapstadt.

Die Studie beinhaltet dabei zwei methodische Schritte: Zunächst wurde anhand ausgewählter Indikatoren die Entwicklung von ca. 25 Kinderheimen zwischen 2009 (Jahr der letzten Erhebung und Jahr der UN Richtlinien) und heute beobachtet und im nächsten Schritt eine genauere, ‚grounded-theory-style' Analyse der Umstände konkreter Entwicklungen durch Interviews mit 15 ausgewählten Fällen durchgeführt. Die Leitfrage war dabei, wie die Normbewegung sich an der Basis auswirkt und unter welchen Umständen eine Anpassung, Nicht-Anpassung, oder Resistenz stattfindet.

Die allgemeine Forschungsfrage der Dissertation wurde formuliert als:

Which empirical-analytical insights can be gathered on the ground to further differentiate the outcomes of norm diffusion processes and what shapes them - beyond the established factors, such as transnational influences, domestic filters and diffusion mechanisms?

Insgesamt zeigt sich deutlich, dass die Komplexität und Multi-Dimensionalität von Normanpassung, Normlokalisierung und Normumsetzung mit der Nähe der Betrachtung kontinuierlich steigt. Während eine Linearität und ‚Effektivität' von Norm-Diffusions-Prozessen auf lokaler Policy- und Diskursebene ersichtlich sein mag, kann die Realität auf der Umsetzungsebene ‚on the ground' eine ganz andere sein. Die Umsetzungsebene ist von einer enormen Pluralität und Diversität von Akteuren und Verhältnissen geprägt, die eine Vielzahl von Norm-Umsetzungs-Ergebnissen nach sich ziehen, in der sich kaum Regelmäßigkeiten abzeichnen. Es lassen sich zwar Typen identifizieren, aber auch innerhalb

einer Typengruppe zeigen sich gravierende Diskrepanzen. Zudem wird deutlich, dass die Norm-Umsetzungs-Ergebnisse in jedem einzelnen Fall von zahlreichen Faktoren abhängen – unter denen auch die potenzielle Einflussnahme von Geldgebern stark abhängig ist, vor allem von der Dimension ‚Leadership' sowie den persönlichen Überzeugungen, Einstellungen und Fähigkeiten der leitenden Personen. Bestimmte starke Leadership-Typen sind in der Lage ihre finanzielle Versorgung durch diverse Fundraising-Methoden sicherzustellen und nehmen eine selbstbewusste Haltung konträr zu der internationalen Normbewegung ein. Sie stimmen dem Prinzip der Deinstitutionalisierung zwar zu, aber argumentieren, dass eine voreilige und rabiate Vorgehensweise in diesem Sinne die Kinder noch mehr in Gefahr bringt. Solange die gravierenden Herausforderungen und Dilemmata in diesem Kinderschutzfeld nicht sinnvoll und umfassend behandelt werden können, bleibt eine strikte Deinstitutionalisierung des Sektors ein wenig realistisches Ideal. Rabiate Ansätze von internationalen Advocacy-NGOs, die dies durch drastisches Framing und Ressourcen-Konditionalität herbeiführen wollen, werden in diesem Zusammenhang als weit entfernt von realen Umsetzungsproblemen und teilweise kontraproduktiv gesehen.

In Anbetracht dieser Ergebnisse stellt die Studie die Diskrepanz zwischen theoretischen und linearen Annahmen und der komplexen Realität an der Basis heraus und zeigt auf, dass bei der Verallgemeinerung von ‚good practice' Normen Vorsicht geboten ist.

Appendix 5: Dissertation-related publications by the author

Petersen, Juliane (2018): Deinstitutionalizing Cape Town's children's home sector - Between a rock and a hard place. In *Child and Youth Care Work* Vol. 36/1, pp. 10–17 NACCW Cape Town, South Africa.