

The Micro Processes of International Norm Diffusion:
The Case of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

The Geneva Conventions of the late 19th century began the pursuit of enshrining necessary human security and human rights standards in international law. Through continuous learning, international actors have expanded the meaning of human rights to include the safety of person for all global citizens. Although many rights have been ratified in international law, many actors continue to recognize different rights. As the global community continues to imagine new rights, the need for a means to advocate these rights, and diffuse them into society becomes a must. This paper, therefore, is designed to support human rights advocates in their campaigns to ensure more necessary rights are ratified in international law. This will be done through the conceptualization of a new micro-level model of norm diffusion, based off of Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's macro-level model. The micro-level model of norm diffusion goes beyond current structures of norm diffusion, further advancing our understanding of not only the physical activities that must be accomplished to diffuse an idea into a norm, but also the cognitive reasoning that must be understood in order graft an idea to personal understandings of the logic of appropriateness. By advancing the cognitive reasoning behind how ideas turn into norms at an individual level, norm entrepreneurs can better frame their idea to resonate with the international society, further turning the idea into a taken-for-granted norm.

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Introduction

Human rights are moral rights inherent to all human beings, no matter one's nationality, gender, religion, upbringing, sexuality, or any other cultural differences and statuses. These rights are granted equally and are enacted to promote a basic level of living for all human beings, and are inalienable.¹ Human rights are not only moral means, but also "a necessary condition for a set of ends, including the most abstract 'end' of living one's life in a way that is worthy of a human being."² Human rights, therefore, are enforced to maintain a safe and dignified lifestyle for all human beings, meaning that all persons have the right to living conditions that promote the security of life. States, international organizations, scholars, and the general populations of many states have endorsed human rights. They have 'positively' (direct action), and 'negatively' (indirect action) worked to ensure life, liberty, and security for all human beings, thus enshrining

¹ Donnelly, Jack. "The Relative Universality of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2007): 281-306. Page 282.

² Ci, J. "Taking the Reasons for Human Rights Seriously." *Political Theory* 33, no. 2 (2005): 243-265. Page 249.

these rights as international norms. Determined through the historical ethics of thousands of cultures and preserved as norms, these rights endorse the treatment of human life with dignity and respect in order to maintain the social contract necessary for human beings to live in peace and harmony. As societies change, so does the understanding of human rights. In the last century, the international community has increasingly adopted new human rights and human security standards through legal conventions and treaties, thus preserving them as international norms. Although these documents encompass a broad base of rights, new actors continue to recognize new rights that need positive endorsement as well. Therefore, there needs to be a direct way to ensure the promotion of these rights by emerging actors.

The focus of this paper is the concept of norm diffusion: how ideas turn into norms, and how norm entrepreneurs³ can advance them within the international system. Through this general concept, I have constructed a micro-level model for norm diffusion, which measures and presents all the necessary steps and responsibilities that norm entrepreneurs must relay to advance their norm. This model, loosely based on the macro-level model created by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink in their article *International Norm Dynamics and Political Change*, is designed to fill the gaps in the current literature on norm diffusion, and ensure a dedicated and detailed guide for norm diffusion. So far, the literature has advanced our understanding of norm diffusion at the macro-level. However, norm diffusion is a complex and individualistic process, whereby norm entrepreneurs, through socialization, play off cognitive reasoning by persuasion and conditioning. To fully comprehend norm diffusion, it is necessary to trace the process' most intimate applications, thus focusing on the psychological and sociological effects on

³ A norm entrepreneur is an individual who is dedicated to changing social norms.

human reasoning. Once the model is outlined, it will be applied to a case study of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) to demonstrate its validity.

The first chapter will be a literature review outlining constructivism. Since the end of the Cold War, political theories such as realism have become more difficult to defend. Realism struggled to explain drastic changes such as the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of international civil society demanding human rights and democratization. Alongside the change from a bipolar world towards a unipolar world, there has been a global expansion of democracy, international trade, non-governmental organizations, and communication, enabling more diplomatic and peaceful relations between states. Arising in the mid-1990s, constructivist theory began to challenge the dominant international relations theory of realism. In contrast to realism, constructivism believes that “ideas influence state leaders, global businessmen, and other political activists.”⁴ Constructivists argue that ideas and identity have a larger role than material means in the definition and execution of interests. This idea, therefore, directs constructivists to support the construction of power through soft means and influence over hard power. The theory of constructivism is extremely important to this subject because it helps define how the international community’s morality has change. Giving reason for the constantly changing international arena, constructivism lays out how social norms have guided the world to endorse higher standards of human rights. By emphasizing individual cognitive behaviour, this theoretical lens explains how and why actors are able to construct new social norms. The use of a constructivist lens is beneficial for this paper because it both

⁴ Halabi, Yakub. "The Expansion of Global Governance into the Third World: Altruism, Realism, or Constructivism?" *International Studies Review* 6, no. 1 (2004): 21-48. Page 35.

supports how and why norm diffusion works, and also improves our understanding of the nature of socialization.

The second chapter is the construction of the micro-level model for norm diffusion, which is based on the macro-level model created by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. They claim that there are three stages to norm diffusion within a *Norm Lifecycle*, which includes first *Norm Emergence*; which is a mechanism for the first instance of norm creation and advancement through persuasion by norm entrepreneurs. The second stage called the *Norm Cascade*; which is “characterized more by a dynamic of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers.”⁵ Finally, the norm advances into *Internalization*, in which the norm acquires “a taken-for-granted quality and is no longer a matter of broad public debate.”⁶ The concept of the Norm Lifecycle is used within this model, but due to their Finnemore and Sikkink’s model’s inability to recognize micro-level diffusion, it will be altered. The model has been expanded to recognize cognitive reasoning and how socialization tactics affect individuals’ perceptions and beliefs. This model will also include additional steps that provide a more detailed approach to norm diffusion.

The final chapter uses the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) as a case study for the application of this model to demonstrate its validity. In the early 1980s, a few international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) began to identify the indiscriminate and destructive nature of anti-personnel (AP) landmines. Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAFA), Medico International (MI), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), Handicap International (HI), and

⁵ Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917. Page 895.

⁶ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 895

Mines Advisory Group (MAG) recognized that these weapons not only victimized innocent civilians, but also impeded development projects.⁷ Witnessing firsthand how AP landmines devastated communities, these organizations set forth an agenda to ban the weapon outright. In October 1992, they combined their efforts and developed the ICBL.⁸ Using persuasion tactics that affected the Campaign's target audience's reasoning, the international community quickly recognized the need for an AP landmine ban as a universal norm. By the end of 1997, only five years after the creation of the Campaign, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti- Personnel Mines and their Destruction, otherwise known as the Ottawa Convention, was drafted and signed by 122 states.⁹ Due to the Campaign's quick success, it won the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize.¹⁰

The ICBL is an extraordinary breakthrough in international cooperation and humanitarianism. Unlike any other campaign, the ICBL was able to expand from a simple grassroots movement, to an international phenomenon. The uniqueness of the Campaign, which led to its swift success, is therefore the object of this paper's model. The ICBL was remarkable for its capability to address individuals from all over the world, government officials and civilians alike. It was also extremely impressive for an umbrella organization to address and produce a well-defined base of advocacy for its participating organizations, leading the Campaign to be consistent and easy to follow.

⁷ International Campaign to Ban Landmines. *Ban History*.
<http://www.icbl.org/index.php/icbl/Treaty/MBT/Ban-History> (accessed 12 02, 2012).

⁸ International Campaign to Ban Landmines. *Campaign History*.
<http://www.icbl.org/index.php/icbl/About-Us/History> (accessed 12 06, 2012).

⁹ International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Campaign History

¹⁰ Nobel Prize. *The Nobel Peace Prize 1997*.
http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1997/ (accessed 12 02, 2012).

The greatest strength of the ICBL, however, was not its ability to communicate and cooperate with many different actors, but rather its use of socialization as a means of gaining attention. By framing the Campaign as a humanitarian program, rather than as an arms control agenda, the ICBL was capable of provoking its audience to feel morally obliged to take action. This use of morality is quite fascinating because it advanced primarily through exploitation of the image of vulnerable, mine-affected children. Through careful planning, the norm entrepreneurs of the ICBL framed the Campaign this way, perfectly grafting the norm onto existing global values, and thus socialized the international community to accept and endorse their norm. This transformation of international society's understanding of AP landmines as a military issue into an issue of human security is a prime example of how norm entrepreneurs can advance their idea and turn it into an international norm. Although this example is not a direct example of human rights, but rather an example of human security,¹¹ the similarities between the actions of the ICBL and those of other human rights campaigns makes it a prime case study for this paper.

¹¹ Human rights are inalienable rights granted to every human being, consisting of the right to life, to work, the freedom of thought and expression, etc. Human security, although adding to the already established human rights regime, changes the severity of the right that is being undermined by the 'threat' to persuade governments to recognize that citizen's security is in fact state security. The change in rhetoric creates a heightened intensity of the threat, further affecting not only the individual but the state's security as well. Human security threats, therefore, often take priority over human rights problems.

Chapter One Literature Review

The international arena has been plagued by interstate violence, distrust, and egocentricity. Within the last century, this has been predominately guided, intentionally or unintentionally, by the realist school of thought in international relations (IR). In accordance with realism, international actors have acted to acquire power and security, with little concern for morality. Realism is statist in nature. By neglecting the significance of transnational actors and individuals, realist thinkers have been unable to conceptualize issues of human security and humanitarianism. This uncooperative framework for viewing the world only looks at direct threats to national security and power, leading realists to “express a strong suspicion about applying moral concepts, like justice, to the conduct of international affairs.”¹² Since states within a realist understanding do not act on anything other than the pursuit of self-interest, the advancement of human rights is improbable. The neglect of human rights, human security, and morality has led international relations theorists to recognize the many

¹² Orend, Brian. *The Morality of War*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006. Page 223.

faults of realism, and seek a new means for understanding. The first attempt at this was through the introduction of neo-realism by Kenneth N. Waltz in *Theory of International Politics* written in 1979.¹³ Though neorealism did struggle with the understanding and use of morality in the international system, it did add to the conversation by stating that the quest for power can be useful, but there are risks for states if they have too much or too little.¹⁴ Neorealists also rejected traditional realists view that power is sought after due to the human innate lust for power.¹⁵ Instead, neorealists believe that conflict in the international arena is not caused by the human lust for power, but because of the existing anarchic structure of the international system.¹⁶ Though this theory did not revolutionize how IR scholars viewed the world, it did help expand the agenda.

Since the end of the Cold War, however, neorealism also declined as a theoretical tool. It failed to explain the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of international civil society demanding human rights and democratization.¹⁷ Realism and neorealism were unable to identify and explain why such actions were taken in the international arena. Many scholars identified this issue, and thus began to develop new ideas and theories to help better understand the world. For example, in the late 1980s, poststructuralist ideas began to be conceptualized in IR discourse as an opposition to realist ideas.¹⁸ Poststructuralists added to the discussion by recognizing the importance of transnational

¹³ Schroeder, Paul. "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory." *International Security* (The MIT Press) 19, no. 1 (1994): 108-148. Page 108.

¹⁴ Waltz, Kenneth N. "The Origins of War in Neorealists Theory." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (The MIT Press) 18, no. 4 (1988): 615-628. Page 616.

¹⁵ Waltz 1988, 617

¹⁶ Waltz 1988, 620

¹⁷ Kratochwil, Friedrich. "The Embarrassment of Changes: Neo-Realism as the Science of Realpolitik without Politics." *Review of International Studies* (Cambridge University Press) 19, no. 1 (1993): 63-80. Page 63.

¹⁸ Peoples, Columba, and Nick Vaughn-Williams. *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Page 65.

actors, as well as the individuals and relationships that guide international relations.¹⁹ Critical Security Studies (CSS) also emerged after the end of the Cold War, challenging the realist assumption that the state is the only referent object of security relevant to international relations.²⁰ Focusing on the individual in the discussion of international relations and security, CSS began to “seek to illuminate the wide range of constraints on human well-being that exist in many parts of the world.”²¹ These advancements in IR thought had allowed for the promotion of human security in the international arena. However, they did not explain how or why soft power²² worked, or how norms diffused into society.

The international relations theoretical approach of constructivism has been deeply discussed within the literature of international relations and norm diffusion. This is due to constructivists’ emphasis on the roles of individuals within the international system, and how they affect the rise and fall of ideas and institutions. Constructivism claims that non-material factors such as ideas, norms, and culture are often more important than material factors, such as economic capabilities and military strength, for understanding world politics; and more importantly, it looks at how individuals attend to such ideas. As stated by John Gerard Ruggie, “constructivism concerns the issue of human consciousness in international life: the role it plays and the implications for the logic and methods of

¹⁹ Dunne, Time, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. Vol. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Page 216.

²⁰ Peoples and Vaughn-Williams, 2010, 23

²¹ Peoples and Vaughn-Williams, 2010, 24

²² Soft power is the means of influence in which hard measures, such as military and economic might, are not necessary. Soft power allows for the possessor to use its publicly practiced morality to influence other agents to pursue similar actions. Soft power is obtained through the practice of highly agreeable political values, culture, foreign policy, and the promotion of international cooperation and peace through diplomacy.

inquiry of taking it seriously.”²³ Human consciousness and interaction constitutes the reality of our international system. They give significance and meaning to constitutive rules set by states and other international actors. International life is social: international relations are constructed when people communicate, follow rules and norms, are guided by worldviews or institutions, perform rituals, and engage in various social practices.²⁴ This understanding of how socialization transfers and guides the actions of moral agents allows scholars to discover the movement and flow of ideas. In turn, this helps explain historical and contemporary changes in the international system. Constructivism defines institutions as “fundamentally cognitive entities that do not exist apart from actors’ ideas about how the world works.”²⁵ With this emphasis on social relations, constructivism is able to explain how and why international organizations and global cooperation is strived for, created, and maintained.

Constructivism came to be during the 1980s, in order to fill in the blanks that neorealist, neoliberal, neo-utilitarian institutions left. According to John Gerard Ruggie, “neorealism and neoliberal institutionalism treat the identity and interests of actors as exogenous and given,”²⁶ and neo-utilitarianism is unable to consider “how specific identities of specific states shape their interests and, thereby, patterns of international outcome.”²⁷ In response to this, constructivism balances extreme ideas from many

²³ Ruggie, John Gerard. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge." *International Organization* (The MIT Press) 524 (1998): 855-885. Page 878-879.

²⁴ Locher, Birgit, and Elisabeth Prugl. "Feminism and Constructivism: Worlds Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground?" *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (2001): 111-129. Page 114.

²⁵ Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* (The MIT Press) 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425. Page 399.

²⁶ Ruggie, 1998, 864

²⁷ Ruggie, 1998, 863

polarized theories while focusing on agency and actors.²⁸ Constructivism is a very useful theoretical lens for understanding the international system and norm diffusion, for it has moved beyond state-centrism. It recognizes civil society, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. More importantly, it recognizes that social movements, state identities, national interests, and transnational networks shape these actors.²⁹ Constructivism, therefore, asserts that human interaction is formed by not only material factors, but also ideational factors. These ideational factors are moulded by intersubjective beliefs, which are not reducible to individuals.³⁰ These shared beliefs are what construct the identities and interests of individuals, further defining each actor and their decision-making.

Constructivism is also extremely beneficial as a theoretical lens due to its recognition that social facts – such as money, rights, and sovereignty – exist only because people collectively agree that they exist³¹ - “collective intentionality creates meaning.”³² This recognition of social development allows for constructivism to understand and identify social change.³³ As stated by Alexander Wendt, “actors acquire identities – relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self – by participating in such collective meanings.”³⁴ Constructivism, through the relational and agency basis, is therefore able to question the roles of individuals in constructing international reality through the examination of their socialization and communication.

²⁸ Locher, and Prügl, 2001, 112

²⁹ Locher and Prügl, 2001, 114

³⁰ Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics." *Annual review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 391–416. Page 393.

³¹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, 393

³² Ruggie, 1998, 870

³³ Locher and Prügl, 2001, 115

³⁴ Wendt, 1992, 397

Constructivists understand that the international system is anarchic, but they recognize that “anarchy and the distribution of power only have meaning for state action in virtue of the understandings and expectations that constitute institutional identities and interests.”³⁵ Only through social understanding was the international system capable of developing the concept of anarchy and power dynamics. Thus, constructivists have been able to understand all the roles, identities, and ideas that are in the international system due to their recognition of social facts. Because of this, constructivism is able to go beyond other international theories, because it can explain the international relations both inside and outside territorial state systems.

Constructivism, due to its capability to account for social norms, is a very useful tool for understanding the rise of multilateralism and international institutions. By looking at the system through this lens, constructivists can account for the creation of international norms, the construction of international institutions, and political socialization. This is because they understand that “identities are inherently relational.”³⁶ Institutions and identities that govern decision-making processes and understanding of the international system are created through international socialization. Unlike realism, constructivism recognizes that the socialization process affects the creation and understanding of the international system, and the institutions that manage it. This socialization process gave rise to institutionalization in the international system, because “institutionalization is a process of internalizing new identities and interests, not something occurring outside them and affecting only behaviour; socialization is a

³⁵ Wendt, 1992, 401

³⁶ Wendt, 1992, 397

cogitative process, not just a behavioural one.”³⁷ Constructivism thus addresses the cogitation by moral agents to create international institutions and human rights norms.

Institutions develop through the cogitation and cognitive learning by moral agents. This learning allows for the development of relational norms. Through the development of these relational norms, states shape “the fundamental institutions they construct to facilitate coexistence.”³⁸ Such international organizations have professional staffers who are involved in epistemic communities, creating interaction between governments, knowledge bases, and bureaucracies.³⁹ By such interaction between these agents, social structures are created and transferred. Through a combination of sovereign state identity and the individuality of organizational staffing, ideas and practices can be arranged and diffused into international law and sovereign state policy with greater ease. By recognizing the influence of both sovereign state identity and the identity of individual staff members, constructivists are able to understand state centric power relations and power relations within institutions. As such, constructivism is able to view power and institutions as complimentary explanations of foreign policy, rather than opposing explanations.

Despite all the beneficial aspects of constructivism, Alistair Johnston highlighted some issues with it. One problem is that the socialization process within institutions that leads to the logic of appropriateness is unclear. The logic of appropriateness is what guides the behaviour of actors within an institution. This is because constructivism often

³⁷ Wendt, 1992, 399

³⁸ Reus-Smit, Christian. "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions." *International Organization* (The MIT Press) 51, no. 4 (1997): 555-589. Page 562.

³⁹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, 403

inherits the epistemology often found in sociological institutionalism.⁴⁰ This means constructivism assumes that “agents at the systemic level have relatively unobstructed access to states and substate actors from which to diffuse new normative understandings.”⁴¹ Constructivism implies that once actors are in the institutions and interacting with each other, the diffusion of values and ideas in the ‘world polity’ are automatic and predictable.⁴² This view neglects the degree of socialization across and within units, and the fact that not all actors are subjected to every aspect of public socialization at the international level. Individuals within a democracy will interact and design ideas of how their state will act. Domestic politics, though often brought into the international arena, does not automatically assume attention and association with other actors. It is important for constructivists to recognize this obstacle for understanding norm diffusion. Norm diffusion is not always natural and given, but instead carefully practiced by active agents. Despite this flaw within the theory, constructivism provides the best theoretical lens for discussing norm diffusion.

Alongside a theoretical lens, it is necessary to understand the basis of change within the international system, which has led to the increase in the application of our moral consciousness. The emergence of these new theories of international relations and security has been guided by the increasing moral consciousness of the world’s population.⁴³ Though the world has always had accounts of morality and ethics, international humanitarian projects barely existed as a field of employment or

⁴⁰Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments." *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (2001): 487-515. Page 492.

⁴¹ Johnston, 2001, 492

⁴² Johnston, 2001, 492

⁴³ Wheeler, Nicholas J. "Agency, Humanitarianism and Intervention." *International Political Science Review* (Sage Publications) 18, no. 1 (1997): 9-25. Page 20.

voluntarism before the 1990s. The increase in the capabilities of citizens to advocate for morality in politics and international relations has increased global opposition to the statist paradigm. Morality has guided political actors and civil society to work towards a more multilateral, peaceful society. This has allowed non-state actors to become norm entrepreneurs. Since the world's population increasingly demands higher universal ethical standards, people who have engaged in or failed to prevent horrific acts of brutality have been publicly scrutinized more aggressively.⁴⁴ This growing salience of morality in the discussion of international relations has led to an increase in voluntarism, humanitarianism, and the development of human rights treaties and organizations.⁴⁵ By this advancement in humanitarianism and decline of the statist paradigm, norm entrepreneurs are better able to diffuse their norm into society.

⁴⁴ Wheeler, 1997, 11

⁴⁵ Sznajder, Natan. "Democracy and Child Welfare." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 11, no. 2 (1997): 325-350. Page 326.

Chapter Two

The Micro-Level Model of Norm Diffusion

Norms are what direct societies' understanding of what is wrong and what is right. Through social norms, individuals within a society are able to understand the appropriateness of theirs and others' actions. Although norms vary from society to society, they connect individuals, organizations, and institutions together with a common understanding of appropriateness. Norm diffusion is the process by which an idea becomes socially accepted as a norm. Norms "serve as models for expected behaviour or practice."⁴⁶ Norms, especially social norms, are enforced through social sanctions, which create a range of unpleasant emotional states for violators.⁴⁷ Violators of social norms are often looked down upon by non-violators, often leading to disgrace or rejection. Norms are also often institutionalized. When institutionalized by a state, these norms become a stable collection of rules and practices that are encoded in, which direct those within the

⁴⁶ O'Neill, Kate, Jorg Balsiger, and Stacy D. VanDeveer. "Actors, Norms, and Impact: Recent International Cooperation Theory and the Influence of the Agent-Structure Debate." *Annual Review Political Science* 7 (2004): 149-175. Page 160.

⁴⁷ Sunstein, Cass R. *Social Norms and Social Rules*. John M. Olin Law & Economics Working Paper No. 36, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1995. Page 12.

institution's actions.⁴⁸ Between social norms and institutionalized norms, norms direct our daily lives, define appropriate behaviour, and bring sense of community between individuals. These shared expectations, ideas, and beliefs give the social world structure, stability, and order.

Norms direct and regularize behaviour, thus limiting and constraining actors' range of choices.⁴⁹ Norms constitute a social group's understanding and intentions; they are what Robert Payne calls 'social facts' because they reflect the group's 'legitimate social purpose.'⁵⁰ Norms are, however, limited to the social group into which they have diffused. International norms, national norms, domestic norms, and regional norms can be consistent or quite different. Due to the institutionalization of governments and globalization, local norms are often entwined with national norms, which in turn are often entwined with international norms. International norms, therefore, often originated in a single state, and thus diffused into international society through the efforts of norm entrepreneurs. This process also works in the reverse, where international norms diffuse into societies through the efforts of norm entrepreneurs, or even through cultural globalization.

There are many types of norms that must be recognized in order to further this study. All norms fall within one or both of the following categories. First, *prescriptive norms* "combine moral principles with considerations of efficiency and utility."⁵¹ They

⁴⁸ Raymond, Gregory A. "Problems and Prospects in the Study of International Norms." *Mershon International Studies Review* (Wiley) 41, no. 2 (1997): 205-245. Page 214.

⁴⁹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 894

⁵⁰ Payne, Rodger A. "Persuasion, Frames and Norm Construction." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 1 (2001): 37-61. Page 38.

⁵¹ Acharya, Amitav. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (2004): 239-275. Page 243.

inform individuals of what is acceptable in society. They dictate positive action, in which individuals voluntarily engage in productive behaviour prescribed by the norm. Second, there are *proscriptive norms*, which establish what behaviour is unacceptable. Such norms consist of social agreements, laws and/or regulations prohibiting action that violates the norm. Within proscriptive norms, there are *regulative norms*, which order and constrain behaviour through laws, and *constitutive norms*, which create new actors, interests, or categories of action.⁵²

As discussed above, norms are what define appropriate behaviour in societies. They connect individuals through shared values, understanding, and cooperation. Transnational norms have created lasting cooperation between states. Realist literature has understood international cooperation in material terms, in which military and economic power determines the nature and extent of cooperation. When a state is extremely wealthy and has a large military, this state is able to develop the rules of international society, and pursue cooperation according to their needs and wants. Constructivist literature, however, has been able to recognize the rise of international institutions and norms as new sources of cooperation. Through shared values, wants, and appropriate behaviour, norms constitute a means for peace and cooperation without the presence of a hegemonic power. Within this lens, norms have been understood as a tool of not only states, but also organizations and individuals, to advance human rights, cooperation, and peace globally. With the increase in international non-governmental organizations socializing with state leaders, an exclusively statist understanding of international relations is no longer viable. Many different actors socialize each other to accept new understandings of what is right and wrong. International norms not only socialize actors to new understandings of

⁵² Sunstein, 1995, 12

appropriate behaviour, but are also thought of as a new means of action. According to Gregory Raymond, international norms are sources of action in three ways:

They may be constitutive in the sense that they define what counts as a certain activity; they may be constraining in that they enjoin an actor from behaving in a particular way; or they may be enabling by allowing specific actions.⁵³

As such, social norms are a tool for advancing human rights from rhetoric to reality, improving the livelihood of individuals.

The Norm Lifecycle

Since our society is constantly changing, we begin to recognize the faults in our current understanding of what is right and wrong, as well as who needs to be protected. One example of this is the continual improvement in the rights of children. In 1924, the international community began to recognize the need for preserving the security of children. Through the League of Nations, norm entrepreneurs drafted the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of Child.⁵⁴ Under this declaration, children were granted the inherent rights of physical protection, adequate nutrition, shelter, healthcare, and protection from exploitation.⁵⁵ With the later formation of the United Nations (UN) in the 1940s, the security of children was readdressed in international discussions. In 1946, the UN established the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in order to protect children in Europe who were negatively affected by the Second World War.⁵⁶ UNICEF expanded its work to advocate for children's rights beyond Europe with the 1959 UN

⁵³ Raymond, 1997, 214

⁵⁴ Bueren, Geraldine Van. "The International Legal Protection of Children in Armed Conflicts." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* (Cambridge University Press) 43, no. 4 (1994): 809-826. Page 810.

⁵⁵ United Nations. *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child*. <http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm> (accessed 12 06, 2012).

⁵⁶ Skelton, Tracey. "Children, Young People, UNICEF and Participation." *Children's Geographies* (Taylor & Francis Group) 5, no. 1-2 (2007): 165-181. Page 170.

Declaration of the Rights of Child.⁵⁷ This declaration expanded children’s rights to include special protections to enable them to “develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity.”⁵⁸ It also included entitlement to education and protection from neglect, exploitation, cruelty, and discrimination.⁵⁹

The security of children within hostilities was raised in the 1977 First Protocol Additional to the Geneva Convention. This protocol held that all “states shall take all feasible measures in order that children who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities and, in particular, they shall refrain from recruiting them into their armed forces.”⁶⁰ More international legal regulations on the security of children were enshrined in the 1989 landmark Convention on the Rights of the Child.⁶¹ With fifty-four articles, the convention reaffirmed “the fundamental place of the family in society and [set] global precepts for children’s inherent right to life, survival, development, and freedom of thought, regardless of race, religion, or gender.”⁶² This convention has been ratified by 191 of the 193 UN member states,⁶³ and has enhanced the moral and legal rights of children at the local, national, and international levels. These improvements upon the rights of children outlines how our understanding of what is right

⁵⁷ Skelton 2007, 170

⁵⁸ The General Assembly. *Declaration of the Rights of Child*. res. 1386 (XIV), The United Nations, 1959.

⁵⁹ The General Assembly, 1959

⁶⁰ Honwana, Alcinda. "Children's Involvement in War: Historical and Social Contexts." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* (The John Hopkins University Press) 1, no. 1 (2008): 139-149. Page 142.

⁶¹ Collings, Sara, and Linda Davies. "For the Sake of the Children': Making Sense of Children and Childhood in the Context of Child Protection." *Journal of Social Work Practice* 22, no. 2 (2008): 181-193. Page 184.

⁶² Honwana, 2008, 142

⁶³ Honwana, 2008, 142

and wrong changes, further increasing the need for agents to promote greater human rights standards in the international system.

This project's model of norm diffusion, therefore, is designed to outline the necessary steps for norm entrepreneurs to advance greater standards of human rights. For norm entrepreneurs to diffuse their idea into society, it is necessary for them to follow the norm lifecycle. Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink designed the norm lifecycle in their article *International Norm Dynamics and Political Change*, written in 1998. The lifecycle follows three stages: *norm emergence*, *norm cascade*, and *internalization*. This model has been designed for macro-level studies of norm diffusion, leaving it unable to evaluate how socialization occurs within the diffusion process. For this research, however, I will be adapting and expanding this model to conduct a micro-level analysis of norm diffusion, fleshing out our understanding of the specifics of norm diffusion.

Stage One: Norm Emergence

The first stage of the norm lifecycle is norm emergence. In the first stage, norm entrepreneurs must evaluate a norm and advance it within society. According to Finnemore and Sikkink, norm emergence is where the norm entrepreneur uses persuasion as an “attempt to convince a critical mass of states (norm leaders) to embrace new norms.”⁶⁴ Although the use of persuasion is necessary to advance a norm, it is not the only factor in this stage. At this level, norm entrepreneurs must understand many factors that affect their norm and its diffusion into society. First, norm entrepreneurs must frame their norm. By framing the norm, they develop fixed meanings that are easily understood by the ‘norm takers’. Following norm framing, they must develop an organizational

⁶⁴ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 895

platform to promote the norm, as well as focus on the actors necessary for its development, and the tools they can use.

In the first stage, norm entrepreneurs must understand the international system through a constructivist lens instead of a statist one. With a variety of actors exercising different types power, it is essential for norms to be diffused from both the top down (the statist method), and from the bottom up (the grassroots method). The norm entrepreneurs “need to secure the support of state actors to endorse their norms and make norm socialization a part of their agenda, and different organizational platforms provide different kinds of tools for entrepreneurs to do this.”⁶⁵ Norm entrepreneurs must also advocate the norm to the targeted population in order to normalize the idea, thus applying pressure to domestic governments to ensure norm codification and enforcement.

The first issue norm entrepreneurs must understand is how to manipulate individual’s cognitive reasoning to ensure the norm taker⁶⁶ positively accepts their later actions. Norms are developed through socialization. As such, cognition dictates how actors accept new norms, further outlining the logic of appropriateness. The logic of appropriateness is when “actors are oriented toward whether an action is appropriate in a given situation, irrespective of the consequences.”⁶⁷ Appropriate behaviour is understood through the norms that dictate the lives of those within a society; i.e., behaviour follows identity. Through the combination of ideas, preferences, and norms, identities are formed, and thus define appropriate behaviour within a given group. Therefore, efforts to promote

⁶⁵ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 900

⁶⁶ The norm taker is an individual or institution that the norm entrepreneur is targeting to accept and adopt the emergent norm.

⁶⁷ Kotzian, Peter. "Arguing and Bargaining in International Negotiations: On the Application of the Frame-Selection Model and Its Implications." *International Political Science Review* 28, no. 1 (2007): 79-99. Page 81.

an emergent norm must relate to the standards of appropriate behaviour defined by prior norms.⁶⁸ The identities formed through the logic of appropriateness defined by a society have a large cognitive effect on individuals, determining the viability of them accepting an emergent norm.

The cognitive forces that govern human action also affect how individuals react to positive and negative reinforcement. Social scientists recognize that external and internal sanctions can cause feelings of guilt and isolation, encouraging the norm violator to follow the norm.⁶⁹ By accepting an emerging norm and following its standards, individuals begin to feel pleasure from the acceptance by society, thus making them want to continue to follow this norm. Our understanding is influenced “by the perceptions about the consequences of different behaviour patterns (behaviour of self or others; how effective certain behaviour is as a means to obtain goals; which kind of sanctions follow different forms of behaviour; etc.)”⁷⁰ Therefore, the logic of appropriateness is conditioned into human consciousness, creating values upon which we base our judgments of different acts within social contexts.

For the logic of appropriateness to be formed within a society, it must go through the process of socialization. When an idea or attitude toward an action is mutually agreed upon, it becomes a norm.⁷¹ For this to happen, individuals must be socialized into believing in it. According to Kenneth Waltz, socialization occurs through the emulation of others (such as idols), praise (for the behaviour that conforms to the norm), and

⁶⁸ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 897

⁶⁹ Olkinuora, Erikki. "Socialization, Structure of Personal Norms, and Norm Alienation." *Acta Sociologica* 15, no. 3 (1972): 228-253. Page 231.

⁷⁰ Olkinuora, 1972, 231

⁷¹ Payne, 2001, 42

ridicule (for the behaviour that deviates from the norm).⁷² Socialization is the process by which individuals inherit and disseminate customs, norms, and ideologies defined by their society. Socialization occurs when persuasive messages are communicated through daily social interactions, which increase an individual's exposure to an idea. With repetition and positive reinforcement, these interactions slowly make the norm agreeable by the outsider, thus solidifying it in their consciousness. Socialization can occur through daily interactions, such as media, interpersonal relations, and observance.

Conditioning, unlike socialization, is a more coercive means for advancing a norm. Conditioning occurs when norm advocates create external sanctions upon norm violators, associating the violation with a negative consequence. This form of social learning takes place "on the symbolic verbal level through identification and vicarious reinforcement."⁷³ The regulation of sanctions, therefore, helps actors to connect the relations between positive actions and negative actions, thus leading them to pursue positive reinforcement through norm promotion. Over time, the need for social sanctions will decrease because the actor will directly associate positive reinforcement with the norm.⁷⁴

Naming and shaming, where a norm advocate publicly names a norm violator and shames them for their actions, is also a strong tool of conditioning.⁷⁵ Social norms are sustained by "feelings of embarrassment, anxiety, guilt, and shame that a person suffers at the prospect of violating them."⁷⁶ Due to the negativity of the tactic, agents change their actions to ensure positive reinforcement. At first, naming and shaming tactics can be

⁷² Waltz, Kenneth N. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1979. Page 75-76.

⁷³ Olkinuora, 1972, 231

⁷⁴ Olkinuora, 1972, 232

⁷⁵ Shor, Eran. "Conflict, Terrorism, and the Socialization of Human Rights Norms: The Spiral Model Revisited." *Social Problems* 55, no. 1 (2008): 117-138. Page 118.

⁷⁶ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 903

seen as empty rhetoric, however over time and through repetition, the feelings of embarrassment will force the actor to change their behaviour. Norm diffusion is a gradual process, and salient results cannot be expected immediately.

Norms are socially constructed. They are developed through social interaction between agents. The directed diffusion of norms occurs through the active work of different types of agents, and is accepted by a host of other agents. Therefore, it is important to understand all the agents involved in the socialization process of norm diffusion. Norm entrepreneurs are the first agents to address the emerging norm. Norms do not appear out of nowhere - agents that have “strong notions about appropriate or desirable behaviour in their community”⁷⁷ construct them. Norm entrepreneurs, therefore, are critical for norm emergence, for they are the first to call attention to an issue. These agents are the first to name, interpret, dramatize, and give meaning to the norm. As such, they overtly exploit material levers to address the norm and diffuse it within society.

Norm entrepreneurs are not only the first to address the issue behind their emerging norm, but also the most active in diffusing the norm into society. Through the use of material and social levers, norm entrepreneurs frame a norm in such a way that it is naturally accepted into society, further giving it a taken-for-granted quality. These agents intentionally graft their norm onto the existing normative ideas, easing society’s acceptance of the emerging norm. As stated by Payne, “successful ‘norm entrepreneurs’ are therefore those able to ‘frame’ normative ideas in such a way that they resonate with relevant audiences.”⁷⁸ Norm entrepreneurs change and create norms through many

⁷⁷ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 896

⁷⁸ Payne, 2001, 39

different tools. First, however, they must signal their dissatisfaction with the existing norm and their commitment to changing it. Then they must frame the issue in a way that will be easily accepted by their targeted audience, create coalitions to legitimize and spread the norm, and find ways to make the defiance of the norm more costly.⁷⁹

Norm entrepreneurs are usually driven by empathy, altruism, or ideational commitment. Norm entrepreneurs are often empathetic to the suffering of others who are unable to achieve change without outside help. Thus, norm entrepreneurs act to improve the lives of others. They take action that benefits others despite the potentially high costs of personal harm.⁸⁰ Altruistic actors are not necessarily the same as empathetic actors. Altruism implies no expectation of return or praise for their actions, while empathy is an emotional response to the perceived plight of another. Norm entrepreneurs may also act due to their ideational commitment to values. These agents promote the norm because they “believe in the ideals and values embodied in the norms, even though the pursuit of the norms may have no effect on their well-being.”⁸¹

The targeted audience of the norm entrepreneurs are the ‘norm takers.’ Norm takers are all agents who are not the original norm entrepreneurs. These agents are the ‘outsiders’ of the norm who, through persuasion, come to accept it. Through the tactics used by the norm entrepreneurs, these agents eventually accept this norm voluntarily. In some situations, norm takers become norm advocates and actively promote the emerging norm. Norm advocates include bureaucratic support, marketing agents, experts, and public campaigners. As such, these agents can become either ‘positive’ supporters within the process, or regular ‘negative’ supporters of the norm.

⁷⁹ Sunstein, 1995, 23

⁸⁰ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 898

⁸¹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 898

Beyond norm entrepreneurs, there are other critical actors that are necessary for the advancement of a norm. As previously noted, for a norm to take hold society as a whole needs to accept it. For this, it is crucial that critical actors endorse the norm. In most cases, critical actors are celebrities or public figures. Celebrities, such as actors and singers, are generally unlinked to politics and global affairs. They become popular and loved through the entertainment business. In most cultures, celebrities are followed, endorsed by media outlets, and always have the attention of the general population. Due to their constant affection by the public, celebrities can become critical actors in promoting a norm. According to Andrew Cooper in his book *Celebrity Diplomacy*, celebrities bring a sort of glamour to a world of boring politics, increasing the interest of outsiders or the target audience. When endorsing a norm, celebrities encourage fans to accept the norm, often without questions. Celebrities' general disconnection from politics allows them to attract large numbers of fans to a cause without being in a politically hostile situation. As such, many international and non-governmental organizations have accepted this fact, and began recruiting celebrities to endorse their campaigns in order to increase awareness and funding. Organizations such as the United Nations are known for their use of celebrity endorsement, using actors like Audrey Hepburn and Angelina Jolie to represent their organization to the public.⁸²

Non-governmental organizations and corporations can also become critical actors due to their access to material resources and social leverage. They are capable of accelerating diffusion through constant public endorsement. By providing material resources and social prowess, these agents are capable of improving the organizational platform's ability to fund its project, provide expertise for increased legitimacy, and

⁸² Cooper, Andrew F. *Celebrity Diplomacy*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2008. Page 16.

improve its publicity. Through these tools, NGOs and corporations are able to increase the speed and scope of the socialization process.

Alongside this, NGOs are often connected to policy diffusion in three ways. First, they can provide education to the masses, increasing awareness and understanding of a subject. Second, they are able to lobby and participate in international and national discussions, influencing policy. These organizations are able to participate in international and national conferences, where they provide expert knowledge or advocacy.⁸³ Finally, they are able to provide direct support to national and international educational programs, thus “direct[ing] administrative assistance in formulating policy proposals or by campaigning for certain goals.”⁸⁴ In these ways, non-state actors have been increasingly active in international and national affairs, playing important roles in norm promotion, transnational social movements, international cooperation, and much more.⁸⁵

States can also become critical actors in international norm promotion. As noted earlier, the legitimacy of an international norm rides on the degree to which other states adhere to its tenets.⁸⁶ If there is wide-scale noncompliance by states, states that already do not fully agree with the emerging norm will be more likely to challenge the norm’s legitimacy and reject it. Within the international system, some states maintain greater wealth, and soft power. These states, which are admired by smaller, weaker states, are

⁸³ Jakobi, Anja P. "International Organizations and Policy Diffusion: the Global Norm for Lifelong Learning." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15 (2012): 31-64. Page 43-44.

⁸⁴ Jakobi, 2012, 44

⁸⁵ O’Neill, Balsiger and VanDeveer, 2004, 150

⁸⁶ Cortell, Andrew P., and James W. Davis, Jr. "Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A Research Agenda." *International Studies Review* 2, no. 1 (2000): 65-87. Page 83.

able to promote the norm through soft power. By endorsing the norm and providing examples of positive practice of the norm, powerful states are able to influence other states to accept the norm. Powerful states are also able to push the norm internationally through international organizations in which they carry much weight. Like NGOs, states are also good resources for gaining funding and expertise.

At the domestic level, states are critical in promoting the norm with its population. Governments are able to do this in three ways. First, the state is able to promote the norm through educating its masses on the subject, using facts to support its endorsement of the emergent norm. It does this through national media campaigns, calling media centers with their story, public statements, and even within public school systems. Second, the government is able to provide incentives to promote the norm, and by providing positive reinforcement to norm advocates. Unlike education, persuasion is the “self-conscious effort to alter attitudes and choices rather than simply to offer information.”⁸⁷ Norm takers can be educated in the subject, yet remain against the emergent norm. Persuasion, on the other hand, uses this information alongside other tools to change the targeted audience’s beliefs and attitudes. Finally, the government can utilize coercion by enacting laws that penalize violation of the norm.

All norm entrepreneurs need some sort of organizational platform. Organizational platforms are a structured community dedicated to marketing the norm to the targeted audience. Some platforms consist of a single organization that focuses on a single norm; some consist of a single organization that focuses on many norms; some consist of many organizations focused on the one norm. These organizations can be structured through a global governance body like the United Nations, through singular state governments, or

⁸⁷ Sunstein, 1995, 35

through NGOs. Organizational platforms provide the norm entrepreneurs with a base for operations, both physically and logistically. The platform, therefore, ensures a consistent set of rules to organize the structure and method of diffusion, as well as coordinating all the participating agents. Though these organizational platforms can vary in size and direction, they all require expertise and influence.

Though norm entrepreneurs are often experts on their norm, they still need the help of other experts to legitimate their claims. Expertise, therefore, comes from professionals from the relevant fields, and the scholarly literature on the issue.⁸⁸ By gaining the support of relevant experts and professionals, studies can be produced that show the effects of the problem the norm is designed to fix, in order to demonstrate the need for the emerging norm. Externally, expertise provides legitimation through fact finding and sharing, thus increasing the likelihood of the norm takers to accept the emergent norm. Internally, expertise is essential for providing the platform with the information needed to define, frame, and market the norm. Training professional bureaucrats can create expertise for internal use, thus strengthening the organization's structure.

Organizational platforms provide the means for norm entrepreneurs to persuade the targeted audience. Influence often comes from the organization's expertise. By promoting information on the subject, the organization is able to influence its targeted audience to believe in the norm's ability to address a current issue. However, influence is more than just expertise. Influence also comes from outside endorsement. No matter what the norm is, norm entrepreneurs and the organizations they work through must secure the support of outsiders. Such outsiders, as discussed above, can consist of other

⁸⁸ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 899

organizations, celebrities, or state actors. Through endorsement, their norm's legitimacy is increased. Endorsement by an independent, reputable agent, therefore, allows for an organization to gain influence as a respectable agent by enhancing its legitimacy. Endorsement, however, often happens later in the diffusion process, because it is necessary for the norm to be framed and publicly presented before outsiders can weigh in.

The second step in *norm emergence* is framing. Framing is when the norm entrepreneur develops a fixed meaning for the norm, organizes an experience, and then informs outsiders of how this norm relates to their interests, identities, and solutions.⁸⁹ Framing is a central element of persuasion. However, it is necessary for much more than that. Norm entrepreneurs must devote a significant amount of time to constructing a viable frame that suits the targeted audience. As such, it is necessary that the norm is suitable for both the targeted state government and the domestic population of that state. Frames, therefore, are the key measures for norm entrepreneurs to "impute social knowledge into their communicative acts."⁹⁰ Since norms rely upon the shared understandings of society, frames are a necessity to create a central purpose for and definition of the norm, which resonate with the outsiders as persuasive and acceptable. Framing, therefore, allows for advocates to highlight and define issues by using forms of language and images that name, interpret, and dramatize the norm to resonate with a populace. For international norms to transcend borders and be accepted by a domestic populace, the norm must be framed to create linkages between the existing norms of the

⁸⁹ Payne, 2001, 39

⁹⁰ Payne, 2001, 43

state and the emergent norm, because such linkages are not always obvious.⁹¹ As such, with well-designed framing, the global norm will thus appear local.

When advancing a norm, it is necessary for the norm to become easily understood and undisputable. Therefore, through framing, norm entrepreneurs must develop a fixed meaning for their norm. By providing a singular interpretation of the idea, one can create a singular solution or appropriate behaviour around the developed context.⁹² As stated by Rodger Payne, “a carefully crafted interpretive frame therefore constitutes a social power resource with relative autonomy from material power resources.”⁹³ Through the development of a fixed meaning, norm entrepreneurs are able to safeguard their norm by creating an indisputable idea that resonates with outsiders. When drafting the fixed meaning, it is necessary for norm entrepreneurs to focus on the aim component. The aim component of the frame consists of the purpose of the norm, the problem it fixes, and who it benefits.⁹⁴

To set your norm in stone, norm entrepreneurs must focus on frame building. Frame building is where one creates a fixed meaning, but improves its resonance with society by recognizing how this frame can be misunderstood or misinterpreted. Thus, while frame building, one must focus on the target audience. Audiences are always different from norm to norm, so the norm entrepreneur must clearly establish whom the audience is and how they are influenced. Dennis Chong and James Druckman advanced our understanding of framing by recognizing two social factors within norm takers. First,

⁹¹ Acharya, 2004, 243

⁹² Payne, 2001, 39

⁹³ Payne, 2001, 39

⁹⁴ Kotzian, 2007, 83

framing has a greater effect on audiences that are more knowledgeable.⁹⁵ This is because those who already have knowledge on an issue are able to excite their memory on the subject. The attitude one has on the subject is determined by their previous experiences and understandings of a situation, therefore, “a frame cannot impinge on an attitude unless it is available in memory.”⁹⁶ Second, strong prior attitudes about the subject will attenuate the framing effects. If individuals have strong opinions on the subject or similar subjects, their existing considerations will take precedence over the new considerations developed within the frame.⁹⁷ The norm entrepreneurs, therefore, must consider these two factors. If the norm entrepreneurs focus their attention to an audience that either does not have prior knowledge on the subject, or has strong conflicting feelings on the subject, it will be much more difficult to build support in that group.

After the frame has a fixed meaning and is built in accordance with its target audience, the norm entrepreneurs are ready to begin frame setting. Frame setting “concerns the influence of frames in communication, on frames in thought, and the precise psychological processes at work.”⁹⁸ Frame setting is important because it sets the basis of rhetoric and understanding of said norm. By connecting powerful language with detailed facts and images, the norm entrepreneurs are able to influence the targeted audience’s cognitive reasoning by exploiting an emotional response. Thus, norm entrepreneurs are able to highlight and define issues through language and images that not only name the new norm, but also interpret and dramatize it.⁹⁹ Through frame setting,

⁹⁵ Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. "A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments." *Journal of Communication* 57 (2007): 99-118. Page 110.

⁹⁶ Chong and Druckman, 2007, 110

⁹⁷ Chong and Druckman, 2007, 110

⁹⁸ Chong and Druckman, 2007, 101

⁹⁹ Acharya, 2004, 243

one can make a global or outside norm appear local, because it connects existing local norms to the emergent norm on an emotional level.

Communicative acts are the means norm entrepreneurs use rhetorical tools to advance normative ideas, and build a base of support within the targeted audience. Norm entrepreneurs relay the essential information to promote a norm to the targeted audience through communication or media frames (language, images, phrases, and presentation).¹⁰⁰ Words, phrases, and intrinsic characteristics help define a problem. Norm-advancing language must be clear and specific. Clarity removes the potential for misunderstanding, and specificity removes the ability for an outsider to misquote the subject. Within the clear and specific lines of communication, norm entrepreneurs must speak to the belief systems that transcend the specific cultural or political context of their targeted audience.¹⁰¹ The images used by the norm entrepreneurs are also key means for advancing an idea. By creating a clear and specific image that resonates with a population, the norm entrepreneur ensures that the audience is unable to ignore or misunderstand the subject. The same goes for presentations. Presentations must be formally addressed in such a way that does not detract from the norm, but allows for a clear message to be brought to the targeted audience. The most important aspect of communication as a means of socialization is repetition,, because “frequent exposure to a frame will increase the accessibility and availability of considerations highlighted by the frame.”¹⁰² Repeated declarations in approval of a norm by those considered to be legitimate and powerful will increase the norm’s saliency to outsiders.

¹⁰⁰ Chong and Druckman, 2007, 100

¹⁰¹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 907

¹⁰² Chong and Druckman, 2007, 111

To ensure consistency between agents promoting the norm, the norm entrepreneur must construct the script component. For a norm to diffuse into society, it needs to be supported by communicative acts that express the norm's social knowledge. Since norms rely on social understandings, the norm must be scripted in such a way that is appealing and memorable to the target audience. As discussed above, frames help name, define, interpret, and dramatize issues, which allows norm entrepreneurs and new advocates of the norm to explain its broader social meaning in an understandable and persuasive way. Thus, persuasive communicative acts are necessary for a frame to resonate convincingly. Communicative acts include education, persuasion, coercion, and conditioning. The script component, therefore, creates a standardized set of communicative tools for the norm entrepreneurs to use when they market their norm.¹⁰³ The consistency and repetition of the script increases the likelihood that norm takers will accept the norm.

It is important that domestic populations accept international norms. Frame adaptation ensures congruence, which is “described [as] the fit between international norms and domestic norms, and not the degree of fit between two, competing international norms.”¹⁰⁴ Frame adaptation, therefore, means that the norm entrepreneurs must adapt the norm's frame to individual cultures in order to graft it onto their cultural understanding. If the norm entrepreneur is unable to adapt the norm accordingly, the norm takers in this society will not be able to understand it in a local sense, and thus will reject it. As such, frame adaptation means that the norm entrepreneur needs to:

Mobilize popular opinion and political support both within their host country and abroad, stimulate and assist in the creation of likeminded organizations in other countries, and play a significant role in elevating

¹⁰³ Kotzian, 2007, 83

¹⁰⁴ Acharya, 2004, 243

their objectives beyond its identification with the national interests of their government.¹⁰⁵

Without adapting the frame to the targeted audience, the norm entrepreneurs risk misunderstanding, ignorance, and rejection.

The norm entrepreneur must recognize that domestic norms are often deeply entwined with international norms, and vice versa. However, when international norms are diffused into societies that have conflicting understandings of appropriate behaviour, they can be altered through the movement of diffusion, leading them to be variations or interpretations of the original norm.¹⁰⁶ As such, it is necessary for the norm entrepreneur to understand the organizational culture, the cultural match, the domestic and socializing forces, and localization. Organizational culture is the “heuristic filter for perceptions and calculation employed by actors in responding to outside norms.”¹⁰⁷ The organizational structure of the institutions governing this society determines what is and is not acceptable. For the norm entrepreneur to advance their norm, they must recognize the organizational culture and find a cultural match. A cultural match is when the norm being advanced is convergent with domestic norms within the “the legal system (constitutions, judicial codes, laws), and bureaucratic agencies (organizational ethos and administrative agencies).”¹⁰⁸ The more the norm resonates with the culture and norms of a society, the more likely the norm will diffuse quickly. As such, the domestic discourse provides the necessary context for the new norm to take on meaning.¹⁰⁹ Cultural matches, therefore, allow domestic actors to treat the new norm as given, instinctively recognizing its

¹⁰⁵ Acharya, 2004, 248

¹⁰⁶ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 893

¹⁰⁷ Acharya, 2004, 243

¹⁰⁸ Acharya, 2004, 243

¹⁰⁹ Cortell and Davis, 2000, 73

appropriateness and the obligations that come with it, because “domestic salience under such conditions is automatic.”¹¹⁰

Since every culture is different, it is necessary for the norm entrepreneur to localize the norm. Localization “is an evolutionary or everyday form of progressive norm diffusion.”¹¹¹ Localization must start with the reinterpretation and re-representation of the emerging norm through framing and grafting, thus extending the understanding of the norm in such a way that is congruent with the existing local normative directive. Localization is not a simple process. Societies and cultures may initially fear and resist a new norm due to its alien nature. As such, norm entrepreneurs must frame the norm in such a way that some individuals within the targeted audience will come to believe the new norm, thus enhancing its authority and legitimacy in their current culture and governance. Fortunately, through globalization, many norms do transcend borders, thus localization can be simplified by grafting it to existing local norms. These fundamental norms are foundational to the group and deeply ingrained in cultural practices and beliefs. If the norm entrepreneur’s norms are similar to such beliefs, they are better able to frame the norm in such a way that the community will accept it as if it were their own. Such relations between norms allow for easy understanding and relation. To ensure this happens, however, one needs credible local actors who are available to internalize the norm with that society. With sufficient discursive influence, such actors are able to connect their societal context and understandings to that emerging norm. Also, local norm entrepreneurs are often more credible for they are seen as part of the target

¹¹⁰ Cortell and Davis, 2000, 74

¹¹¹ Acharya, 2004, 252

audience instead of an outsider who does not understand the local values and identity.¹¹² These actors are also more capable of adapting the norm to the region's culture for they have a better understanding of local sensitivity. If such actors are unavailable, it is essential for norm entrepreneurs to understand their target audience and be sensitive to their culture. If norm entrepreneurs are ignorant or insensitive toward the culture, the norm will be rejected outright.¹¹³

The domestic and socializing forces are also something norm entrepreneurs must consider. Domestic forces are first seen when an international norm appears in domestic political discourse. In top-down norm diffusion, state leaders begin discussing and promoting a norm within the state and its society.¹¹⁴ Domestic forces that focus on the norm are often state leaders or NGOs. When they address this norm domestically, they usually do so in the form of demand for change to the state's policy. Once a state leader or NGO begins to press for change or address the norm, socialization begins to occur. Through the advancement of soft power resources (such as technical knowledge and moral leverages), these actors are able to slowly change the understanding of the norm within their society.¹¹⁵ Socializing forces are also seen outside of the state, and are understood internationally. The more states comply with the new norm, the more other states will be inclined to adhere to it as well. Conversely, wide scale noncompliance by states will also negatively affect the compliance of other states' domestic and international actions, undermining the legitimacy and utility of the norm.

¹¹² Acharya, 2004, 248

¹¹³ Acharya, 2004, 249

¹¹⁴ Acharya, 2004, 70

¹¹⁵ Cortell and Davis, 2000, 83

Norm entrepreneurs and the organizations they reside in advance their norm through the use of three tools: education, persuasion, and grafting. As described by Sunstein, “norms, meaning, and role can be a function of beliefs, and beliefs are mutable.”¹¹⁶ Therefore, it is possible to change an agent’s understanding of what is right and what is wrong through education. Although education helps present relevant facts, the targeted audience can reject these facts. Persuasion uses the facts supplied by education, combined with other tools, to alter the beliefs and attitudes of the targeted audience. Persuasive tactics are most successful when the norm has already been grafted. Grafting is a tool that connects the emergent norm to previous norms, thus making it easier for the targeted audience to recognize the norm’s benefits.

One tool within education is teaching through conferences. Conferences are important resources for advancing norms, for norm advocates are capable of presenting to a large audience and persuading them to believe in the norm as they do. At conferences, norm advocates can create tactful presentations in which they use appropriate rhetoric and images to frame the issue in a way that resonates with the targeted audience. Through storytelling, statistics, and logic, the norm advocate can influence their audience to either immediately accept the norm, or at least begin their socialization to the norm. Within conferences and governmental institutions, norm advocates are able to educate critical actors through lobbying. Since conferences host a variety of actors, some of which are government officials (dependent on the conference type), norm advocates can directly approach these actors. The same goes for governmental institutions. Norm advocates are able to direct their focus to educating government officials and lobbying them to approve or promote their norm.

¹¹⁶ Sunstein, 1995, 35

Another tool for increasing the effectiveness of education is marketing. With advertisements, norm advocates are able to create short, clear messages about their norm. Advertising campaigns promote a norm through rhetoric and images. Norm advocates can create billboards that display a striking image of the problem the norm addresses alongside a powerful phrase or statistic. They can do the same thing with pamphlets, television commercials, and other marketing tools. These tools present the necessary information to educate the targeted audience. Norm advocates are also able to educate their target audiences through demonstrations. Public demonstrations can be successful in promoting a norm to outsiders, either in a general public area or outside a relevant conference or governmental institution. Within public demonstrations, norm advocates can use images, rhetoric, and theatrics that highlight the problems the norm is trying to fix.

Persuasion, according to Sunstein, is “understood as a self-conscious effort to alter attitudes and choices rather than simply to offer information.”¹¹⁷ Within the first stage of the norm lifecycle, persuasion is the primary tool of the norm entrepreneur and their organization, because it is the greatest tool for convincing the masses. Persuasion is “is the process by which agent action becomes social structure, ideas become norms, and the subjective becomes the intersubjective.”¹¹⁸ In other words, the norm entrepreneur persuades their audience to believe in the emergent norm as their own socially constructed ideal, giving it a taken-for-granted quality.

The art of persuasion is understood through the analysis of social psychology. Persuasion stresses the communicative process that occurs through socialization and

¹¹⁷ Sunstein, 1995, 35

¹¹⁸ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 914

argumentation. By advancing an idea through persuasive language, the emergent norm begins to appeal to emotion and logic, strengthening the incorporation of the emergent norm into existing ones.¹¹⁹ Through socialization and argumentation, persuasion affects the cognitive reasoning of the targeted audience, producing changes in their beliefs, attitudes, and preferences to accept and agree with the emergent norm. Socialization, therefore, must be stressed when advancing a norm through persuasion, for it helps to disseminate an idea through the masses. The mutual agreements designed around normative ideas can be changed through social interaction with outside agents with differing normative ideas.¹²⁰ Constant reiteration of a different norm by multiple agents makes the targeted audience more likely to embrace their persuasive messages.

According to Payne, “persuasion occurs when actor preferences change in response to communicative acts and cannot be revealed merely by examining behaviour.”¹²¹ Due to the varying perceptions of what is right and wrong shared between individuals on a regular basis, it is difficult to measure the strength of persuasion as a tool for diffusing a norm into society. However, through constant pressure and attention on persuasion, norm entrepreneurs can better understand its effectiveness. Constant reiteration of the norm creates a situation in which the target audience is unable to ignore the norm, forcing them into the socialization process. Argumentation, though also important, comes with distractions. Since persuasion is a tool of socialization, in which knowledge and beliefs are shared between agents, this process is able to work in reverse. All the agents within the discursive exchange, including both the norm advocates and the target audience, share their appeals, understandings, and beliefs about the norm. Therefore, the norm advocate

¹¹⁹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 915

¹²⁰ Payne, 2001, 42

¹²¹ Payne, 2001, 42

must be prepared to have their appeals, understandings, and beliefs challenged.¹²² In cases such as these, norm advocates must follow the pre-meditated frame of the norm, and attempt to graft their norm to that of the others' normative ideals. By following the pre-designed framework, the norm advocate will less likely misconstrue the norm, or lose sight of their original goal.

Grafting is defined by Acharya as “a tactic norm entrepreneurs employ to institutionalize a new norm by associating it with pre-existing norm in the same issue area, which makes a similar prohibition or injunction.”¹²³ Grafting is largely an act of reinterpretation or re-representation of a norm. By taking the emerging norm and attaching it to an existing norm, norm advocates create a cultural connection with the targeted audience, increasing their ability and willingness to accept the new norm. In other words, individuals are more likely to adopt a position that is anchored in their normative values, “as long as they are cued by opposing frames when considering the issue.”¹²⁴ Since old norms and new norms are not always obviously similar, it is important for the norm advocate to use rhetorical devices to express the connection in a clear way. When new norms resonate with old norms, the targeted audience is much more likely to accept them.

Since norms come to be after their acceptance by a society as a whole, it is necessary that multiple agents of different backgrounds endorse the norm. Endorsement is when agents publicly back an idea, defending it and advocating that others agree with it too. Agents can endorse a norm through written or spoken testimonials that promote the norm, or through public declarations of one's personal or group's support of the norm.

¹²² Payne, 2001, 43

¹²³ Acharya, 2004, 244

¹²⁴ Chong and Druckman, 2007, 106

Endorsement is necessary for the advancement of an emergent norm because it creates greater public awareness of the norm, and allows for followers of the endorser to bandwagon onto the norm. As discussed above, populations find amusement in following and admiring brands, groups, or individuals. When these agents endorse a norm, their followers will recognize the norm and imitate them.

Governments are often the most successful agents for endorsing an international norm. When a state publically endorses an emergent norm, they create both domestic and international legitimacy for the norm. Critical states or organizations of states, such as powerful states (either material or soft power) are often essential for advancing a norm. Such states are often idolized by smaller, weaker states, so when they pursue a foreign policy or advocate for an emergent norm, the smaller states will follow suit. One example of this is the use of soft power by the European Union to promote positive changes in Turkey. Bordering Europe, Turkey has sought European Union (EU) membership for years. However, it had poorer standards than the EU in terms of human rights, economic security, and social security. Turkey therefore underwent a “series of major political reforms, involving the extension of cultural rights for minorities to the elimination of the death penalty altogether.”¹²⁵ In November 2002, Turkey took on “Annan Plan” in order to find a resolution for their dispute with Cyprus.¹²⁶ Turkey also signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords, “which included respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief and the equal rights and self-

¹²⁵ Yilmaz, Ziya, and Suhnaz Onis. "The Turkey-EU-US Triangle in Perspective: Transformation or Continuity?" *Middle East Journal* 59, no. 2 (2005): 265-284. Page 268.

¹²⁶ Yilmaz and Onis, 2005, 268

determination of peoples.”¹²⁷ Turkey underwent extreme changes to connect its economy and diplomatic relations to the European Union, demonstrating the strength and influence soft power has in international humanitarian norm promotion. The norms the European Union maintained were thus adopted by Turkey to ensure better relations.

NGOs and corporations also have normative strength for endorsement. Large, respectable organizations endorse norms to a sizeable array of people. NGOs can include religious groups, international humanitarian or environmental organizations, and social groups (such as Boy Scouts). These organizations can have large groups of followers or members. Religious groups frequently promote humanitarian norms through large scale public campaigns, lobbying, and active humanitarian aid programs.¹²⁸ Religious groups are essential because they influence a large population. International humanitarian organizations, such as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International, have the ability to endorse an emergent humanitarian norm by providing public statements regarding the subject and by providing expertise to bolster the norm’s rhetoric.

Corporations have many of the same capacities as non-governmental organizations. Due to their resources and consumer base, corporations are able to endorse emerging norms effectively and efficiently. Corporations are able to endorse the norm through public statements, advertising campaigns, product placement, and lobbying efforts. One example of this is Coca Cola’s environmental campaign to protect the Arctic. Coca Cola collaborated with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) to increase global awareness of the

¹²⁷ Richardson, John B. "Power and Persuasion in International Relations: A Comparison of EU and U.S. Approaches." Address to Seton Hall University, October 9, 2003.

¹²⁸ For example, the Mennonite Central Committee maintains extensive humanitarian aid programs across the globe; or the Catholic Relief Services, an organization set in the Catholic Community that provides international humanitarian relief projects.

effects of global warming on arctic life.¹²⁹ In 2009, Coca Cola joined the WWF's Climate Savers Program, voluntarily reducing their greenhouse gas emissions, and also created an awareness program within their holiday advertising campaign. The campaign included new labeling for their products, billboards, and television commercials. Alongside the campaign, Coca Cola began lobbying governments and other large corporations to implement a Polar Bear Conservation Action Plan.¹³⁰

Individuals also have a capacity for endorsement. Celebrities have been known for their active participation in product endorsement and humanitarian advocacy. Celebrities are able to publicly endorse a norm to their fan bases, attracting a variety of agents that most government and human rights organizations cannot reach. Celebrities can endorse the emergent norm through public statements in red carpet interviews, during live performances, via social media, and advertising campaigns. As such, norm entrepreneurs must secure the support of celebrities in order to reach their target audience at a different angle, increasing the spectrum for socialization. Different actors provide different tools for endorsement. By increasing socialization and persuasion through celebrity endorsement, the diffusion of the emergent norm will appear more natural, thus making it more likely to be accepted.

Once the norm has been accepted by a large percentage of the targeted audience, it reaches a tipping point. After enough endorsement and acceptance, the norm enters the second stage of its lifecycle, thus cascading into acceptance. Each norm reaches the tipping point at a different time. Since norms are unique, it is not possible to predict how many supporting agents it takes to bring the norm to its tipping point. Norms are not

¹²⁹ WWF. *Coke and WWF-Canada: Partnering to Conserve Polar Bears*. 2014.
http://www.wwf.ca/conservation/species/polar_bears_icoke.cfm (accessed 03 19, 2014).

¹³⁰ WWF, 2014

equal in normative weight, but a norm rarely reaches its tipping point before one-third of the target audience has adopted it.¹³¹ As previously noted, some actors are more critical than others, thus complicating the matter. If over one-third of the target audience has adopted the norm but these agents do not possess the skills or popularity required to transmit this norm to other agents, then the one-third mark is not applicable. In some cases, less than one-third of the target audience can accept the norm when it reaches the tipping point because these agents are better equipped and recognized by the rest of the target audience. One example of this is seen in the creation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Many small states, such as South Asian and Arabic states, wanted the inclusion of minority rights, but the delegates from the United States strongly opposed this.¹³² Throughout the creation of the Declaration, these small states pushed back and forth with the United States on a minority rights clause. In the end, the unopinionated participating states accepted the idea of human rights instead of minority rights created by United States, shutting down the clause.¹³³ Despite the majority wishing for minority rights, the strength of the minority created a tipping point for human rights, thus influencing others to join their cause.

Stage Two: Norm Cascade

The second stage of the norm lifecycle is called the norm cascade. This stage, according to Finnemore and Sikkink, is “characterized more by a dynamic of imitation as

¹³¹ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 901

¹³² Morsink, Johannes. "Cultural Genocide, The Universal Declaration, and Minority Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 21 (1999): 1009-1060. Page 1037.

¹³³ Burgers, Jan Herman. "The Road to San Francisco: The Revival of the Human Rights Idea in the Twentieth Century." *Human Rights Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1992): 447-477. Page 452.

the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers.”¹³⁴ Since their model lacks a micro-level understanding, I have expanded their explanation of this stage to incorporate a second component. The first stage within the norm cascade is the rapid promotion of the norm by the population of a society through emulation. After the norm has reached its tipping point, the norm’s socialization accelerates, through a greater population supporting and endorsing the norm. These emerging norm advocates consist of more types of agents than only state leaders, thus including individuals within a population, organizations, and corporations. For the norm to advance throughout the international system, domestic populations and their states must accept it. As such, little normative change occurs without the support of domestic movements. The pressure sent by individual norm advocates in a society creates a demand for conformity of the outsiders. With pressure socializing and conditioning the rest of the population, the group thus creates the means to enhance international and domestic legitimation. Within this stage, it is essential to understand the importance of individuals within the state. The main tool for promoting norm cascades is through the active process of internal socialization. The second level of the norm cascade is the internalization of the norm in international and domestic law.

The first step for a norm to cascade is through the rapid socialization of a populace through emulation. Emulation occurs when individuals begin to emulate other agents within their society, thus conforming to the norm. At the point in the process, a large population is following the norm, thus increasing pressure on outsiders to conform. Conformity is when an agent demonstrates that they have accepted the norm, therefore

¹³⁴ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 895

have “adapted to the social environment—that they belong.”¹³⁵ By conforming to the norm, agents are accepted into the divergent group designed by the norm advocates, leaving them to experience positive emotions associated with acceptance. Conformity is driven by agents’ fear of negative association caused by violating the norm. Such feelings of anxiety, guilt, embarrassment and shame inflicted on outsiders for not adhering to the norm force them to conform. This sort of pressure is also known as norm bandwagoning. Agents may publicly support an emergent norm “not because they are genuinely committed to it, but because they fear social sanctions.”¹³⁶ Thus, through consistent socialization, agents will slowly emulate their actions, further advocating the norm.

The second step for the norm to cascade is through the adoption and endorsement of the norm by state actors at the national and international level. At this point, the norm has been adopted and supported by a large enough portion of a given population to pressure the state to act on it. Here, states actively begin create national laws, and calling for international resolutions, conventions, or treaties on the norm to ensure its sanctity in the international system. One example of this is seen within the criminalization of slavery at the international level. The 1926 Slavery Convention was put into force in 1927 following the Western movement to ban slavery.¹³⁷ After the Civil War in the US ended in 1865, the Emancipation Proclamation was enforced, further criminalizing slavery within the state. After this movement, states across the globe began to endorse the norm, later moving it to international law within the League of Nations, and later passed to the United Nations.

¹³⁵ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 903

¹³⁶ Sunstein, 1995, 23

¹³⁷ United Nations Human Rights. *Slavery Convention*. 2014.

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SlaveryConvention.aspx> (accessed 03 19, 2014).

Stage Three: Internalization

The final stage of the norm lifecycle is internalization. Internalization occurs when the population and its governance systems almost fully adopt the norm. At this point, the norm has been turned into international law and has been ratified by a majority within the UN. Here, “norms acquire a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a matter of broad public debate.”¹³⁸ This taken-for-granted quality is adopted through the institutionalization of this norm. Thus, being constructed into domestic and international law, through institutionalizing it a defined rule. This final stage, therefore, is where the norm no longer needs the active support of norm advocate, only negative support to keep the norm from changing, or dying.

¹³⁸ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998, 895

Chapter Three

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines

To prove the model's validity, the use of a micro-level case study will be adhered upon. The case of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines is a perfect study for the application of this model due to its proven global success. The ICBL unknowingly applied the Norm Lifecycle to their Campaign, further utilizing the exact socialization tactics described within this model. Through framing and grafting, the ICBL changed the global perspective of AP landmines from a simple military tool to an issue of global human security. This change in perspective further grafted the emergent norm to previous notions of human rights, further ensuring ease of socialization. By going through every macro and micro-level step the ICBL went through, this model's contents will be proven accurate as a means to successful international norm diffusion.

During the late 1970s, some NGOs began to recognize the serious consequences and destructive nature of the use of AP landmines within postwar Laos.¹³⁹ Though their

¹³⁹ Eaton, Bob. "Crisis, Containment and Development: the Role of the Landmine Impact Survey." *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 5 (2003): 909-921. Page 911.

historical background was in traditional warfare, landmines were often used in low-intensity military campaigns, such as in Laos, Ethiopia, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, and Eritrea.¹⁴⁰ These NGOs, through their work in these regions, began to recognize the use of non-discriminate landmines in a large array of countries across the globe. While working within such post-war regions where landmines were still hidden within the terrain, these organizations witnessed the serious damage these weapons inflicted upon not only armed combatants, but also civilians. AP landmines, a cheap and effective tool used by many militaries across the globe, were often left behind after the end of the conflict they were used for. Since these landmines were rarely mapped or removed after conflicts, it was estimated that there was up to three hundred million mines hidden across the globe in 1996.¹⁴¹ Due to this negligence, many communities were directly affected by the indiscriminate destructive nature of these weapons, leading to the killing and maiming of about 26,000 people each year.¹⁴² Since AP landmines cannot discriminate between military actors and innocent civilians, more often than not, these weapons affect innocent civilians after the end of hostilities.¹⁴³ Not only are AP landmines indiscriminate, depending on the type of mine, these weapons destroy its victims through showering “them with metal or plastic fragments, or have one or more

¹⁴⁰ Clemens, Peter. "The United States and Humanitarian Demining in Eritrea: Training the Trainer, 1995-97." *Contemporary Security Policy* (Frank Cass) 21, no. 1 (2000): 68-98. Page 70.

¹⁴¹ Cornelis, Jan, Hichem Sahli, Marc Acheroy, and Yvan Baudoin. "Anti Personal Mines, a World-Wide Problem: From Political Conscience Towards Humanitarian, Research and Industrial Action." *Detection of Abandoned Land Mines*. Brussels: Brussels Demining Workshop, 1996. 51-57. Page 51.

¹⁴² Kinra, S., and M. E. Black. "Landmine Related Injuries in Children of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1991 - 2000: Comparisons with Adults." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 57, no. 4 (2003): 264-265. Page 264.

¹⁴³ Kinra and Black, 2003, 264

limbs torn off by the force of the blast.”¹⁴⁴ As NGOs started to notice the massive amount of damage this form of weapon had on non-combatants, as well as, how severely these tools prevented humanitarian and development project’s success, they began campaigning to develop an international ban on the use of the weapon.

Since the weapon often affects civilians long after the conflict has ended, and poses threats to humanitarian and development projects within these regions, six NGOs came together and created the ICBL in 1992.¹⁴⁵ With their combined efforts, these organizations launched research initiatives, conferences, and public campaigns to gain support from more diverse actors within the international arena. During the spring of 1993, the ICBL held the First NGO International Conference on Landmines in London, where forty NGOs sent 50 representatives to strategize the design of the campaign to ban AP landmines.¹⁴⁶ Through this conference, the ICBL gained support from varying organizations with different specializations and experiences. The ICBL and newly participating NGOs initiated the Campaign, where their combined efforts led to a multi-lateral approach that included “the sharing of information, planning through equal participation by the involved parties, and decisions taken through consensus and agreement.”¹⁴⁷

The public pressure that captured the attention of governments to take notice of the humanitarian horror of AP landmines allowed for the quickening of a universal understanding of the need to destroy the weapon. However, when it began to take hold

¹⁴⁴ Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin. *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998. Page 84.

¹⁴⁵ International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Campaign History

¹⁴⁶ International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Ban History

¹⁴⁷ Kjellman, Kjell Erling, Kristian Berg Harpviken, Ananda S. Millard, and Arne Strand. "Acting as One? Co-ordinating Responses to the Landmine Problem." *Third World Quarterly* (Taylor & Francis, Ltd.) 24, no. 5 (2003): 885-871. Page 858.

within governments, the campaign began to develop as a positive means towards the universal ban of the weapon. Since NGOs were incapable of fully drafting agreements and an international convention, the support of governmental actors began to support the final push for the ban. With the support of many NGOs and governmental officials from many different states, the ICBL began to advocate for a universal convention, and called for states to publicly agree to become a signatory.¹⁴⁸ The movement by states to change the international laws upon landmines started in 1995 through the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) Review Conference.¹⁴⁹ Here, states met to amend the 1980 Protocol on Landmines. Despite three sessions over two years, however, the process failed to ban the weapon, but instead make minimal changes. Noticing the failure of the conference upon the final session in Geneva, Canada's Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy decided to take the norm into his own hands, further giving a speech calling for a new negotiation outside of the CCW. After Axworthy's dramatic speech that called for an international convention banning AP landmines on October 5th, 1996, there were only 424 days until the December 3rd 1997 signing of that instrument.¹⁵⁰ Thus, in less than a decade, the ICBL was able to apply norm diffusion tactics to support the creation of the Ottawa Convention where 121 states ratified an international treaty to prohibit the use, production, stockpiling, and selling of AP mines.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Rutherford, Kenneth R. "The Evolving Arms Control Agenda: Implications of the Role of NGOs in Banning Antipersonnel Landmines." *World Politics* 53 (2000): 74-114. Page 141.

¹⁴⁹ Wexler, Lesley. "The International Deployment of Shame, Second-Best Responses, and Norm Entrepreneurship: The Campaign to Ban Landmines and the Landmine Ban Treaty." *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 20, no. 3 (2003): 562-606. Page 588.

¹⁵⁰ Gwozdecky, Mark, and Jill Sinclair. "Case study: Landmines and Human Security ." In *Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace*, by Rob McRau and Don Hubert. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. Page 29.

¹⁵¹ Eaton, 2003, 910

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction, otherwise known as the Ottawa Convention, had been a successful accomplishment of humanitarian efforts. By recognizing the indiscriminate nature and unnecessary harm caused by landmines, the Ottawa Convention states in its preamble that it is:

Determined to put an end to the suffering and casualties caused by anti-personal mines, that kill or maim hundreds of people every week, mostly innocent and defenseless civilians and especially children, obstruct economic development and reconstruction, inhibit the repatriation of refugees and internally displaced persons, and have other severe consequences for years after emplacement.¹⁵²

The Convention demands not only the ban of production or stockpiling, but also the active destruction of AP Landmines in mined areas under Article 5. If states are unable to accomplish the destruction of its mine reserves and the mines it has placed across the globe, under Article 6, the international community that has signed to the convention must participate and assist them. The strictness of the convention further outlines the need for transparency and compliance.

The Norm Lifecycle

The ICBL was extraordinarily successful in promoting its norm and diffusing it into international society. Their success came mostly through their collaboration efforts, careful framing, persuasive measures, and marketing techniques. Because of its apparent success, the ICBL will now be elaborated upon as a case study for the application of my norm diffusion model. Following each stage, this chapter will focus on the macro and

¹⁵² United Nations, *Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction*, 18 September 1997, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b3ad0.html> (accessed 12, 02 2012).

micro-level details of the Campaign, further exposing its use of persuasive tools and cognitive reasoning to alter the attitudes of the global community.

Stage One: Norm Emergence

The ICBL formally started on the 2nd of October 1992 in the headquarters of Human Rights Watch.¹⁵³ Originally designed by agents from Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation and Medico International, the ICBL was devised after the failure of the landmines protocol within the CCW that was signed in the 1980s.¹⁵⁴ The agents who came together that day were individuals from six international humanitarian organizations, all of which have seen or dealt with the destruction caused by AP landmines. This group consisted of agents from Handicap International (France), Human Rights Watch (US), Medico International (Germany), the Mines Advisory Group (UK), Physicians for Human Rights (US) and the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAFF-US).¹⁵⁵

Robert “Bobby” Muller from VVAFF has been considered the brainchild of the campaign, however, he was not the first to recognize and publicise the destruction of landmines. Rae McGrath, the founder and director of the Mines Advisory Group was one of the first humanitarian workers let into Afghanistan.¹⁵⁶ Throughout his time there, he began recording the deaths and injuries of civilians he saw. With this research MAG published the first comprehensive study of the impact of landmines on civilians and their

¹⁵³ Sigal, Leon V. *Negotiating Minefields: The Landmines Ban in American Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Page 1.

¹⁵⁴ Rutherford, 2000, 86

¹⁵⁵ Williams, Jody. *Landmines and Measures to Eliminate Them*. Article No. 307, New York: International Review of the Red Cross, 1995. Page 5.

¹⁵⁶ Rutherford, Kenneth R. *Disarming States: The International Movement to Ban Landmines*. Santa Barbara: Library of Congress, 2011. Page 22.

communities in 1991, called the *Afghanistan Mines Survey*.¹⁵⁷ Soon after, Asia Watch (program of HRW) and PHR published *Landmines in Cambodia: The Coward's War*, in which they reported disturbing figures of communities destroyed by the weapon.¹⁵⁸ Susan Walker, of HI, and Bobby Muller were also stationed in Cambodia at this time, helping victims of landmines receive medical attention and prosthetics in separate programs.¹⁵⁹ Once Muller's return to the United States, he met with Thomas Gebauer, the director of MI, where they talked about the need for a ban of AP landmines.¹⁶⁰ A month later, they agreed to call for a united group of organizations to campaign for the global ban of landmines, thus hiring Jody Williams as a campaign coordinator. Either through their empathy, altruism and/or ideational commitment, these actors became the norm entrepreneurs, further addressing the issue and exploiting the dissatisfaction with the existing pro-mine norm.

Once the norm entrepreneurs had agreed upon working together to campaign against AP landmines, they had begun to design an organizational platform for the ICBL to function from. The ICBL, unlike most organizations, did not have a single venue or headquarters. Instead, the ICBL Coordinator worked through the VVAF headquarters throughout the Campaign.¹⁶¹ Functioning as a NGO, the ICBL was a non-profit organization, and received the bulk of its funding through private sources and various governments. The ICBL received approximately one third of its total funding from the Open Society Institute, another third from various governments (notably Canada,

¹⁵⁷ Rutherford, 2011, 22

¹⁵⁸ Rutherford, 2011, 28

¹⁵⁹ Rutherford, 2011, 32

¹⁶⁰ Rutherford, 2011, 32

¹⁶¹ Short, Nicola. "The Role for NGOs in the Ottawa Process to Ban Landmines." *International Negotiation* 4 (1999): 481-500. Page 484.

Norway, and Sweden), and the final third from the affiliated NGOs and international organizations (IO).¹⁶² Acting as an umbrella organization, the ICBL membership consisted of NGOs, IOs, and religious groups. This decentralized and flexible network was led by Williams the ICBL Coordinator, but was also directed by a steering Committee made up of 13 organizations which consisted of Dan Church Aid/Lutheran World Federations; HI; HRW; Kenya Coalition Against Landmines; Landmine Survivors Network; MAG; Norwegian People's Aid; and the Afghan, Brazilian, Cambodia, Italian, and Sri Lankan Campaigns to Ban Landmines.¹⁶³ Although there was a central committee, the individual campaigns within each state was not fully fostered by Jody Williams in the United States Campaign to Ban Landmines (USCBL), but was given free reign.

Through the direction of the Steering Committee and Williams, the ICBL coordinated over 1000 NGOs that represented more than 70 states.¹⁶⁴ The main source of coordination was through the dissemination of information between participating groups, and the stress put on following the frame designed by the norm entrepreneurs. William maintained the internal communications among the members, ensuring regular contact, and consistent information. Fortunately, during this time, the rise of new communications technologies such as the Internet ensured inexpensive communication among members, further counterbalancing fragmentation. As such, alongside Williams, a staff of full-time and paid activists utilized such tools as the Internet and fax machines to ensure

¹⁶² Short, 1999, 484

¹⁶³ Berhe, Asmeret Aseraw. "Politicizing Indiscriminate Terror: Imagining an Inclusive Framework for the Anti-Landmines Movement." *The Journal of Environment & Development* 14, no. 3 (2005): 375-393. Page 380.

¹⁶⁴ Rutherford, Ken. *The Landmine Ban and NGOs: The Role of Communications Technologies*. Workshop, Internet and International Systems: Information Technology and American Foreign Policy Decision-making Workshop, San Francisco: Nautilus Institute, 1999. Page 5.

continuous communication and information sharing.¹⁶⁵ Alongside ensuring constant communication, Williams met regularly with the members of the ICBL through individual meetings or conferences, in which she ensured consistency across the Campaign, information sharing, and to plot strategies.¹⁶⁶ The high levels of collaboration and communication are what kept the campaign moving smoothly.

The organizational platform of the ICBL, through Williams' extensive efforts to coordinate the thousands of participating groups, was able to ensure that it was not short of expertise. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the organizational platform requires expertise to advance its given norm. Without expertise, the organization will lack legitimacy and influence, further removing any ability to later persuade its target audience. The ICBL had forged links across a large variety of interest groups, further gaining support from organizations that focused on arms control, demining, human rights, humanitarian assistance, international development, medical care, women's and children's rights, veterans' affairs, and victim rehabilitation.¹⁶⁷ The experts from this assortment of interests supplied research and publications upon the weapon and its destruction. The varied interests of these organizations ensured that different influential actors of diverse opinions, all who shared the same understanding of the emergent norm, supported the ICBL.

The combined efforts of hundreds of organizations not only increased the available expertise for promoting the norm, but also a more expansive network to influence the global community. The constant dissemination of information, and demonstrative rhetoric that has been found legitimate through the endorsement and

¹⁶⁵ Rutherford, 1999, 5

¹⁶⁶ Wexler, 2003, 589

¹⁶⁷ Wexler, 2003, 589

publication by experts, created a non-stop cycle of socialization. The endorsement by affiliated organizations increased public awareness through advertising campaigns, public demonstrations, and media reports. Thus, not long after the creation of the ICBL, it was able to influence individuals and states in over seventy countries. As such, the norm was readily available to the targeted audience, ensuring constant socialization.

Framing an issue is the most important aspect of the first stage of the norm life cycle. For the issue to become easily understood and well accepted, it must be framed in such a way that appeals to a wide range of experiences, and belief systems of its target audience. Framing, therefore, is a “complicated task of striking a delicate balance between logical, acceptable, and effective strategies.”¹⁶⁸ Framing usually occurs at the beginning of a campaign, however, the continuation of the frame is necessary to ensure positive results for the diffusion of the norm. The ICBL had created a frame that presented the landmine crisis as an urgent humanitarian problem that can be fixed through an outright ban of the weapon. Within this frame, they grafted the issue onto the already global norm of human rights and security for women and children, thus promoting an idea that was relatable and emotional appealing.

Originally, landmines were developed as a tool for state militaries for defensive purposes. Terrorist organizations and non-state actors, however, have adopted landmines; many of which use the tool as an offensive weapon to terrorize civilian populations.¹⁶⁹ The ICBL had recognized this fact, and began reconstructing a fixed meaning of the weapon that was easily understood and recognizable. Using the humanitarian perspective, they outlined the devastating impact AP landmines had on civilians, and how this

¹⁶⁸ Berhe, 2005, 381

¹⁶⁹ Rutherford, 2000, 83

problem plagues a large portion of the global population. The ICBL kept its meaning fixated at an emotional level, thus focusing on how more landmine victims were civilians performing daily actions, and that these civilians were often impoverished and unable to acquire proper medical attention. To advance the fixed meaning, the ICBL maintained the singular interpretation of the idea, thus only supplying statistics, images, and rhetoric related to their frame. As such, the ICBL, through its affiliated organizations, continued research, and began publishing reports in mass numbers. Such reports consisted of strong rhetoric, such as, “roughly 65 million to 110 million uncleared anti-personnel landmines are scattered like seeds of death in fifty-six countries around the world”¹⁷⁰ or “nearly 25 per cent of the civilian casualties treated by the ICRC in the eighteen-month period ending July 1992 were suffering from mine-related injuries.”¹⁷¹ These reports, through consistent use of similar numbers and images made the fixed meaning indisputable by outside actors. The fixed meaning also incorporated a singular solution to the problem, thus calling for a complete ban of the weapon. By creating a fixed solution that was singular and understandable, the ICBL framed the Campaign in way that is easy for states and individuals to follow.¹⁷²

Once the fixed meaning is defined, the norm entrepreneurs are able to begin building upon the frame, thus directing it towards its target audience, and improving the norms ability to resonate with society. Here, the norm entrepreneurs must research their target audience to understand how these actors will react to the norm. To achieve this, norm entrepreneurs examine their target audience; further identifying the knowledge

¹⁷⁰ Parlow, Anita. *Toward a Global Ban on Landmines*. No. 307, International Review of the Red Cross, New York: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1995. Page 2.

¹⁷¹ Parlow, 1995, 2

¹⁷² Wexler, 2003, 591

level they have on the subject, and whether they already maintain strong prior attitudes to the subject. If the target audience had a strong knowledge base on the subject and agreed with the ICBL's solution to the problem, then they are very likely to accept the norm easily. If the target audience does not agree with the ICBL's solution to the problem, however, it will be more difficult to persuade them into accepting the norm. The ICBL recognized the little prior knowledge their target audience had on the subject for it was still new in global media. This was fortunate for them, for it allowed them to advance their frame of the issue without strong retaliation from agents whom think opposite; however, it made publicizing and promoting information on the subject much more necessary. Thus, to ensure increased knowledge on the subject, the ICBL advanced publications on the norm, advertising campaigns, and other forms of demonstrations to attract the target audience to the subject, further increasing their understanding of the norm.

While building the frame, the ICBL exploited the tool of grafting. As such, the ICBL based their landmine-ban arguments on previously established universal norms, principles and law. The ICBL framed the landmine issue in a way that targeted an emotional response, further stressing human security, innocence, and proportionality. Human security resonates with the Fourth Geneva Convention, drafted almost fifty years prior to the Campaign, in which civilians must be protected. Human security combined with innocence resonates with all, for it brings out human nature, in which women and children are innocent and defenceless, thus in need of protection. Proportionality resonates with western just war theory, in which the use of violent methods must be proportional to the threat and retaliation. AP landmines, due to their indiscriminate nature

are not a proportional weapon for they make civilians an intentional object of attack. By grafting the norm to universal human rights standards ensured that the landmine problem would receive sustained attention. As such, by grafting the landmine issue to previous norms that recognize the need to protect civilians, especially children, the ICBL was able to emphasize that the harm of AP landmines outweighed their military utility. These points of reason were carefully chosen for they resonate with pre-existing international norms.

Frame setting is the next step within framing, in which the norm entrepreneurs adjust their use necessary forms of communication that affect the psychological processes of individuals to work in their advantage. The ICBL, to communicate in a way that appeals to the morality of individuals, they set the frame as a humanitarian issue rather than a political one, and also grafted it to previous universal human rights and human security standards. Coordinating rhetoric, the agents of the ICBL controlled the usage of the agreed-upon definitions and statistics alongside a convincing narrative. This narrative, otherwise known as the script component ensured that the targeted audience understood the relation of the emergent norm with previous norms. As stated by Berhe, “it is very important to establish and highlight the interconnections between effects and present them as a sequence of events.”¹⁷³ By creating a narrative that followed the statistics, the norm was set as straightforward, appealing, and memorable to the targeted audience. The carefully designed script component of the Campaign’s frame, further highlighting the perfect balance of statistics and narrative, which was consistently used by all agents within the campaign.

¹⁷³ Berhe, 2005, 388

The application of the ICBL's script component is seen through their extensive use of strong rhetoric, victim testimonies, and horrific images. The type of rhetoric used by the ICBL was the classic outsider strategy used by many mass movements, in which they used transformative rhetoric. Transformative rhetoric is when the issue is reframed as an issue of human security and human rights rather than that of national security and arms control.¹⁷⁴ The rhetoric used was defined to conjure and refine phrases that tilt the opinion of the targeted audience. In order to define the subject as an issue of human security and human rights, the norm entrepreneurs had to create a narrative directed towards an emotional reaction; a reaction that comes from the depths of individual's morality, and thus "that may stop you in your tracks, disrupt your composure and those around you."¹⁷⁵ As such the ICBL began to communicate to its target audience, further adding a face to the problem.

One way the ICBL did this was through changing the image of a landmine. AP landmines are a faceless word; one that does not create an image in an individual's head that sparks any emotional response. To create an emotional response to the word, the agents of the ICBL created a narrative around it, using harsh words to denote violence, and soft words to create the image of innocence. AP landmines *kill* and *maim innocent civilians*. The narrative they designed continued farther, further attaching the vision of unnecessary to the tool. In one narrative, landmines were said to "kill and maim on behalf of wars that ended long ago."¹⁷⁶ Another conveyed the *indiscriminate* nature of the

¹⁷⁴ Sigal, 2006, 6

¹⁷⁵ Hariman, Robert, and John Louis Lucaites. "Dissent and Emotional Management in Liberal-Democratic Society: The Kent State Photograph." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001): 4-31. Page 14.

¹⁷⁶ Nixon, Rob. "Of Land Mines and Cluster Bombs." *Cultural Critique* 67 (2007): 160-174. Page 163.

weapon claiming, “human ingenuity has devised some 270 varieties of land mine, yet not one that can discriminate between a soldier’s tread and the footfall of a child.”¹⁷⁷ By focusing on these key words, the ICBL was able to turn a faceless word into an emotional tool against the weapon.

Alongside the use of rhetorical tools, the agents within the ICBL focused on displaying and repeating horrific statistics to exhibit the enormity of the situation. One statistic that was popularly used was that landmines kill over 26,000 people a year, 80% of which are civilian.¹⁷⁸ To advance this set of statistics, the ICBL grafted the norm to the previous norm that banned biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. Comparing the amount and relentlessness of injury and deaths caused by landmines to that of these other internationally banned weapons, the ICBL proved that AP landmines have harmed more people than biological, chemical and nuclear weapons combined, even before their banning.¹⁷⁹ To extend the issue as a present and future problem, statistics began penetrating the media, stating that landmines will not stop killing people for there are between 59-69 million landmines still being deployed “which makes them one of the most toxic and widespread pollution[s] facing mankind.”¹⁸⁰

The statistics used also advanced the norm by associating it with specific regions. Focusing on developing states, statistics were very carefully set to accompany development practices. One figure often used was that of countries “such as Cambodia, Afghanistan, and Angola are among the most infested, with as many as 10 million mines

¹⁷⁷ Nixon, 2012, 165

¹⁷⁸ Rutherford, 2000, 87

¹⁷⁹ Rutherford, 1999, 2

¹⁸⁰ Rutherford, 1999, 2

in Cambodia alone, and 3 million mines were estimated to lie in wait in Bosnia.”¹⁸¹ Within these mine-infected states, the agents within the ICBL began to apply the statistics to individuals, further encompassing the region entirely. These statistics, associated with poverty and rural peaceful living, gave outsiders the image of an unnecessary evil. Playing up the narrative in which impoverished, rural communities are often the most affected, the agents of the ICBL outlined how many victims were simply “fetching firewood and water or farmers working in their fields or children mistaking mines for playthings.”¹⁸² For these impoverished victims to receive medical treatment, it will cost them close to \$7,000, a sum that is far from affordable.¹⁸³ Statistics were also used to make comparisons between mine-infected states and non-mine infected states, further showing the depth of the landmine problem. Due to the immense amount of organizations in Cambodia, and their extensive research on the state, it became a poster child for the Campaign. Imploring statistics, the agents of the ICBL reported that 1 in every 236 Cambodians are an amputee, in comparison to 1 in every 22,000 Americans.¹⁸⁴

The use of statistics was one of the best tools for politicizing the issues. According to Price:

The generation of statistics on AP land mines has politicized the issue of using land mines—this is in contrast to the unremarkableness of using most ‘conventional’ weaponry (for which such statistics are not publicly generated).¹⁸⁵ Not only had the statistics raised awareness to the immediate and widespread problem landmines were for human security and economic development, but also were a clear and

¹⁸¹ Price, Richard. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization* 52, no. 3 (1998): 613-644. Page 618.

¹⁸² Price, 1999, 618

¹⁸³ The International Campaign to Ban Landmines. *Report on Activities*. Annual Report, Geneva: The International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1996. Page 67.

¹⁸⁴ Price, 1999, 620

¹⁸⁵ Price, 1999, 622

indisputable message. Statistics were the perfect tool for advancing the depth and scope of the harm quickly and effectively. Advertising campaigns were able to combine simple numbers, and a picture that visualized the destruction further defining the violent nature of the tool and the amount of damage it causes. The easy nature of statistics to understand and associate with prior knowledge ensured that the targeted audience was unable to avoid the mass devastation caused by the weapon.

To truly captivate an audience with the horrors of a weapon, the campaign needed to also utilize images. Though the use of statistics helped frame the severity of the use of landmines, the application of multi-media fully dramatized the issue for the international community. By publicizing iconic photos of the actual destruction landmines had on children strengthened the emotional tie to the problem. The publications often featured graphic photos of the immediate wounds children had, photos of children in recovery missing arms and legs, and crying parents over the death of their children.¹⁸⁶ As the media began to catch on to the movement, newspapers, magazines, and the television were all bombarded with the images of suffering children to “invoke sympathy, concern, [and] even pity.”¹⁸⁷ These images also connected the outsiders with the destruction, further reducing them to empathise with the individuals in the image. One demographic within the target audience that was most affected by the use of these images was that of mothers. Mothers began empathising with the mothers in the images, further fearing for their own child’s safety. Using emotive images, the ICBL was able to address the natural instinct where “humans seek to reduce the unpleasant state of cognitive dissonance, and that such dissonance is aroused when people think of themselves as possessing attitudes

¹⁸⁶ Wexler 2003, 570-571

¹⁸⁷ Skelton 2007, 173

that have undesirable consequence.”¹⁸⁸ The use of emotive visuals suggests that there is power in the use of first-hand experiences with graphic images to morally persuade an emotional reaction.¹⁸⁹

The images used by the campaign were very carefully chosen. Since the frame of the norm was for human security, and more specifically, the security of the innocent, the agents of the ICBL implored “graphic pictures of children missing eyes, arms, and legs.”¹⁹⁰ Drawing attention to ‘butterfly mines’ (mines that look like toys due to their wings and bright colours), the agents endorsed images of children missing limbs next to these mines. Although most victims of AP landmines are men, the agents of the campaign focused the images they used on “pictures of hospitals, amputees, and women and children were used to portray landmines as an epidemic and a public health issue.”¹⁹¹ These images of suffering were designed to be appealing in an emotional and moral sense to both local populations and global audiences.¹⁹² Through the advancement of these images alongside disturbing statistics and strong rhetoric, the ICBL was able to advance its frame in a very consistent, understandable, and emotionally traumatizing way.

Finally, the agents of the ICBL needed to adapt their frame. Frame adaptation is essentially an extension of frame building, however with extensive efforts for localization within specific societies. Within the frame adaptation, the norm entrepreneurs needed to find a fit between their norm and regional norms. Due to varying cultures and understandings of human rights, normally this is a difficult task. However, since the

¹⁸⁸ Price 1998, 623.

¹⁸⁹ Price 1998, 623.

¹⁹⁰ Wexler, 2003, 571

¹⁹¹ Kitchen, Veronica. "From Rhetoric to Reality: Canada, the United States and the Ottawa Process to Ban Landmines." *International Journal* 57, no. 1 (2001): 37-55. Page 38.

¹⁹² Kleinman, Arthur, and Joan Kleinman. "The Appeal of Experience; The Dismay of Images: Cultural Appropriations of Suffering in Our Times." *Deaedralus* 125, no. 1 (1996): 1-23. Page 1.

ICBL framed the issue as a humanitarian issue that focused on the destruction of the lives of the impoverished, and civilians, notably women and children, they did not need to reconstruct the norm to fit different cultures since this was already associated with an universally accepted norm. Instead, the ICBL needed to localize the norm, meaning it needed to create a fixed concern by all communities for the livelihood of all citizens of the globe. The ICBL was able to do this by concerting actions with affiliated in all parts of the world. Since the ICBL consisted of organizations that had headquarters in various states, and organizations that were primarily stationed in developing nations, it was able to transcend its norm locally quite quickly. These regional actors were able to legitimize the Campaign in the local and cultural context, thus ensuring the domestic population and government did not refute the norm. By affirming support from regional organizations and religious groups, the ICBL was able to advance its network to encompass global influence. With the help of these local actors, individual, grass-roots pressure was applied to states, ensuring regional change.

When framing the issue, it is also necessary to recognize the critical actors for your campaign, so you can target them immediately. The critical actors for the ICBL were mainly composed of states. The first state was the United States of America, for it was one of the largest supporters, producers, and users of AP landmines.¹⁹³ Alongside the United States were China, Germany, India, Italy, and Russia. Although these states were major producers of AP landmines, they were also major powers within the international system, thus holding a lot of weight in intergovernmental organizations. The ICBL, by targeting these states, planned on creating a snowball affect of norm acceptance through the anticipated following these states maintained. Not only could the acceptance of the

¹⁹³ Rutherford, 2000, 97

norm by specific powerful states create a rise in appreciation by other states, but it also creates a support for the Campaign to digress through the diplomatic motions of turning the norm into international law. Although states maintained the greatest strength for ensuring internalization of the norm, individuals were also recognized as critical actors. The ICBL focused on advancing their norm through the endorsement of the norm by various celebrities. Celebrities that were attracted to the campaign consisted of actors, singers, athletes, and even a princess.¹⁹⁴

The ICBL used persuasion as its main overarching tool for advancing the norm. Having grafted their norm to previous norms, and framed it in a way that resonated with their target audience, the ICBL was able to begin active measures to socialize the international community into their way of thinking. The ICBL was able to persuade its target audience into believing in its norm through the publishing reports, advancing an advertising campaign, attending and hosting conferences, creating public demonstrations, and lobbying governments. Within each of these activities, the ICBL persuaded its target audience by advancing its frame (using rhetoric, statistics and images that have a fixed meaning and resonate with the target audience), using victim testimonies, and socialization through constant public awareness and media support. Through the combined efforts of various tools, the ICBL was able to encompass a multi-dimensional marketing campaign that was undeniably public and extensive.

The first notable tool used by the ICBL and its affiliates was that of surveys and reports. Starting as early as 1992 with HRW's *Hidden Death: Landmines and Civilian Casualties in Iraqi Kurdistan* the ICBL began an in-depth campaign of knowledge

¹⁹⁴ Such celebrities included Miroslav Klose (footballer), Cosma Shiva Hagen (actress), and Princess Diana.

sharing. One of the key publications the ICBL maintained was a quarterly newsletter that was created and circulated by Williams called the *Landmine Update*. This report was widely read by affiliate organizations and governments alike.¹⁹⁵ Through the use of publications, the ICBL was able to use its expertise to gain global influence and legitimacy. This dissemination of information was a carefully planned tool that initiated the advocacy campaign, further gaining the attention of the targeted audience. As such, the initial dissemination of information was what promoted the United States Congress to begin investigating the weapon, and thus commissioning even more global reports on landmines in 1994 and 1998.¹⁹⁶

The ICBL encouraged their affiliate organizations to conduct research, and provide surveys and reports publicly to ensure a comprehensive knowledge base of the weapon, sourced by multiple actors of varying expertise was public. HRW alone published many reports a year from 1992 through 1995. Their reports were extensive, and utilized the initial frame organized by the Campaign. Their first report, *Hidden Death: Landmines and Civilian Casualties in Iraqi Kurdistan* written by Rae McGrath, perfectly connected rhetoric and statistics to amplify the landmine issue. Using victim testimonies, the report outlined the damaging effect of the tools in an emotional and deeply individual light. One example of McGrath's tactical use of victim testimonies is seen here:

A Farmer, 29, from Sayid Sadiq, suffered an amputation below the knee of the right leg. He was working in a field when he tripped a mine. He did not know there were any mines in that area but he was aware of the danger generally

¹⁹⁵ Maxwell, Lawson and Tomlin, 1998, 23

¹⁹⁶ Wexler, 2003, 570

because he and his family knew more than 40 people who had been killed or injured due to land mines.¹⁹⁷

The victim testimonies in this report were immediately followed by medical details, in which statistics were defined to connect the emotional pull the reader had over the previous testimonies to the devastation of many. One example of this is that, “hospital records show that 1,652 land mine patients were treated from March to September 11, 1991.”¹⁹⁸ By showing the numbers of victims, alongside the emotional and physical trauma the victim faces, the report was able to ensure emotional and logical reactions from the reader in accordance with the emergent norm.

In 1996 the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) published the report called *Antipersonnel Landmines: Friend or Foe?* One of the most influential reports during the Campaign, this document encompassed all aspects of the Campaign’s frame. The first section within the document outlines the military doctrine and the use of landmines, charting the disproportionality of the weapon, the continuous use from terrorist organizations and internal armed militias, and how they are used as population control and for terrorism. Following this, it goes into a discussion of the military effectiveness, and the indiscriminate nature of the weapon. The detailed study outlines the implications of the weapon and the solution to the problem in a clear and understandable way; however, the most impactful message within the study is the use of images to highlight the medical affects the weapon has on humans. Such images include

¹⁹⁷ McGrath, Rae. *Hidden Death: Landmines and Civilian Casualties in Iraqi Kurdistan*. Landmine Report, Middle East Watch, New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992.

¹⁹⁸ McGrath, 1992

this image of a mother in Cambodia with her child shortly after the amputation of her right leg.¹⁹⁹



And this image of two children in a hospital in Chechnya a few days after stumbling upon a landmine while playing.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ The International Committee of the Red Cross. *Anti-personnel Landmines: Friend of Foe?* Report, Geneva: The International Committee of the Red Cross, 1996. Page vi.

²⁰⁰ The International Committee of the Red Cross, 1996, v



These horrific images were carefully chosen to outline the destruction of landmines have on the innocent and the weak. By providing these images rather than images of injured combatants, the ICRC ensured the continuation of the Campaign's frame and a powerful emotional response from the reader.

Not only were concise and detailed reports being published, but also entire books dedicated to the subject. Jody Williams and Shawn Roberts wrote *After the Guns Fall Silent: The Enduring Legacy of Landmines* in 1995. Focusing on the impact on landmines after conflicts have ended, the book described the consequences of the use of AP landmines on post-conflict reconstruction, refugee resettlement, and for the environment. Most interestingly, the book goes through detailed case studies of mine-infected countries, from Afghanistan to Vietnam. Within each case study, the authors outline the disruption landmines had on local infrastructure, including roads, farms, and other frequently used structures by the civilian population. Some of the case studies, Afghanistan for example, even looks at the loss of livestock and connects it with the loss

in US dollars. For this example, AP landmines in Afghanistan killed over 75,563 animals, costing over 6 billion dollars.²⁰¹ Continuing the Campaign's frame, the case study looks into victim profiles, further estimating over 8000 people are killed by the weapon each year within Afghanistan alone;²⁰² and that 14% of all households reported to have "at least one family member injured or killed by a landmine."²⁰³ The report continues to outline the impact of landmines on children, stating, "one-quarter of the mine incidents occurred on a mountainside, one-sixth in a pasture ... 14 percent were on a path and ... 13 percent were working or walking in a garden."²⁰⁴ The statistics used in this book provide the reader with a detailed understanding of the complete destruction of life and property, further creating an emotional response to the tragedy of innocent life.

The ICBL utilized conferences in two different ways. The first way was as a tool of coordination between its affiliates. The second way was as a tool for socialization and education directed at their targeted audience. The first ever NGO-sponsored International Conference on Landmines was held in 1993 in London. With over fifty representatives from forty NGOs in attendance, this conference acted as a coordination tool for the ICBL to intensify their efforts to socialize states and the global population into accepting their norm.²⁰⁵ A year later, the ICBL hosted the Second NGO International Conference on Landmines in Geneva. The number of participants doubled, thus bringing in one hundred and ten representatives from seventy-five NGOs.²⁰⁶ Like the first conference, this conference began to devise new coordination techniques that helped improve the

²⁰¹ Roberts, Shawn, and Jody Williams. *After the Guns Fall Silent: The Enduring Legacy of Landmines*. Oxford: Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, 1995. Page 49.

²⁰² Roberts and Williams, 1995, 66

²⁰³ Roberts and Williams, 1995, 67

²⁰⁴ Roberts and Williams, 1995, 69

²⁰⁵ Sigal, 2006, 3

²⁰⁶ Rutherford, 2011, 51

advocacy campaign of each individual state campaign. First, the keynote presentation by VVAF's Bobby Muller called for ICBL members to court public support rather than focus on government and military representatives to move the campaign forward.²⁰⁷ Second, participants gave presentations as a means of sharing information and tactics. HI, for example, "provided an overview of the strategies it used in applying pressure to the French government."²⁰⁸ The ICRC had also held a seminar, in which they brought in military experts from sixteen states to discuss the military value of and possible alternatives to AP landmines.²⁰⁹ This conference was the beginning of the ICBL's focus on humanitarianism rather than the disarmament discussion; and the creation of their six-month action plan, which designed the Campaign's central activities and goals. Here, the ICBL perfected its coordination methods by introducing progress reports for national campaigns, which contained both their success and failures, and lessons learned.²¹⁰

In June of 1995, the Cambodian Campaign hosted a Conference in Phnom Penh called *The Human and Socio-Economic Impact of Landmines: Towards and International Ban*. This time, over 400 representatives from 42 states attended, further acting as a major catalyst for broadening and expanding the ICBL's membership, especially from the Southern Hemisphere.²¹¹ The Conference was extensive, hosting multiple workshops designed for helping ICBL members improve their campaigning efforts. Such workshops included *Using the Media and Campaign Awareness, Campaign Updates and Starting a Country Campaign, Networking for a Country Campaign, and the Multi-Session*

²⁰⁷ Rutherford, 2011, 54

²⁰⁸ Mathew, Richard A., and Kenneth R. Rutherford. "The Evolutionary Dynamics of the Movement to Ban Landmines." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 28, no. 1 (2003): 29-56. Page 39.

²⁰⁹ Mathew and Rutherford, 2003, 39

²¹⁰ Rutherford, 2011, 54

²¹¹ Rutherford, 2011, 60

*Workshop on Advocacy.*²¹² The workshop *Using the Media and Campaign Awareness*, was a specialized workshop that went into great depth on the dos and don'ts of campaigning. The workshop included information on getting your message to the media, practiced media interview skills, and detailed talking points on the Campaign's frame. Another workshop focused on the emotional appeal, further discussing victim testimonies. One testimony displayed here was widely used in the Campaign. The testimony was that of Sothea, a Cambodian amputee. Her story goes as follows:

In February 1995, I stepped on a mine while tending the cows. My right leg had to be amputated. After three months in Kimpong Cham hospital, my grandmother took me to Wat Than to be fitted with a leg. Before the mine accident, I was in Level Three at school. Now I have stopped going to school because it is very far and it is too hard to walk.²¹³

The conference was also extremely helpful for the Campaign, for it increased coordination efforts for marketing tools, petition campaigns, public demonstrations, and public materials such as posters and brochures.

The ICBL had also held many conferences in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America as a socialization tool. These conferences were designed to generate both public and governmental support for the total ban of AP landmines, as well as a forum for drafting recommendations to present at the CCW Review Conference.²¹⁴ One example of these conferences is the Montreux Symposium. In April 1993, the ICRC hosted a symposium on AP landmines in Montreux, Switzerland.²¹⁵ The goal of the symposium was to "assess the current use and consequences of mines and to analyze the mechanisms

²¹² Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines. "The Human and Socio-Economic Impact of Landmines: Towards and International Ban." Phnom Penh: International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995. Page 110.

²¹³ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 97

²¹⁴ Rutherford, 2000, 96

²¹⁵ Price, 1999, 620

and means available to limit their use and alleviate the suffering of victims.”²¹⁶ The symposium attracted 60 participants, which included diplomats, doctors, lawyers, military officers, mine clearance experts, and representatives of humanitarian organizations.²¹⁷ The three-day symposium concluded with a report garnered by the participants, which called for the immediate and total ban of AP landmine.²¹⁸ The report also included a military analysis of the weapon, claiming the military cost did not outweigh the social cost; that the manufacturers and users of the weapon do not assume responsibility for victim rehabilitation and clearance operations; and that modern conflicts have used the weapon as a terror tactic instead of a military tool.²¹⁹ Through the discussions by various international actors, this symposium was a successful tool for advancing the ICBL’s influence through the utilization of experts from a variety of backgrounds.

The ICBL created an intensive advertising campaign directed at the populations of Western states. It was designed to control the agenda of the landmine issue, publicizing their frame through quick and accessible means. The first tactic they employed was free campaigning through the media. By supplying information to the media, which included victim testimonies, grave statistics, and images of amputees (mostly children), the ICBL was able to gain public attention.²²⁰ As the story they framed began to be picked up by other media sources, their narrative captivated audiences. The targeted audience, who previously had little exposure to such violence against innocent

²¹⁶ Price, 1999, 620

²¹⁷ Coupland, Robin M., and Remi Russbach. "Victims of Antipersonnel Mines: What is Being Done?" *Medicine & Global Survival* 1, no. 1 (1994): 18-22. Page 20.

²¹⁸ Lightfoot, Paul J. "The Landmine Review Conference: Will the Revised Landmine Protocol Protect Civilians?" *Fordham International Law Journal* 18, no. 4 (1994): 1526-1565. Page 10.

²¹⁹ Coupland and Russbach, 1994, 20

²²⁰ Rutherford, 1999, 3

children, were distraught by the images they saw. Their passionate emotional response to the narrative kept the story alive in Western media. One example of this occurred in the United States. Senator Leahy, the most prominent norm advocate in the country, was adept at attracting the attention of news media.²²¹ He would frequently make public statements endorsing the norm, while educating the masses and using persuasive rhetoric. Alongside the ICBL, VVAF commissioned a pro-ban advertisement in the New York Times on the 3rd of April 1996. The advertisement was an open letter addressed to President Clinton, signed by 15 retired generals and admirals.²²² When the Internet became more accessible, the statistics provided by the ICBL on their website were immediately picked up by the media.²²³ Since the ICBL and its affiliates were the only groups providing literature and information on the weapon, they were able to mobilize the media to advance their frame, firmly establishing their fixed meaning and fixed solution.

The German Campaign created a series of billboards with a map of the world with overlays showing different information, such as hospitals and mine victims. Meanwhile, posters depicted those responsible for the issue.²²⁴ By combining naming and shaming tactics with emotional rhetoric and images, the poster campaign was successful in attracting widespread attention. The U.S. Campaign created an International Call for Posters project, which encouraged students to design their posters for that year.²²⁵ By calling for children to help, the U.S. Campaign was able to combine education for youth

²²¹ Sigal, 2006, 14

²²² Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation. "An Open Letter to the President." *Paid for Advertisement Sponsored by the VVAF*. New York: The New York Times, 04 03, 1996.

²²³ Rutherford, 2000, 89

²²⁴ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 205

²²⁵ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 206

with the socialization of the parents through their children. Following these poster campaigns, the ICBL also produced universal Campaign Brochures created by Physicians for Human Rights.²²⁶ The brochures included strong rhetoric, statistics, and emotional images, and were translated for various countries, ensuring consistency. These billboards, posters, and brochures were displayed in public places such as bus terminals, and shopping centers across the globe, ensuring visibility to the targeted audience.

The Campaign utilized public demonstrations to increase public awareness of the destructive nature of the weapon. In 1994, the Italian Campaign to Ban Landmines was gaining momentum. Italian supporters of the campaign appeared on popular Italian talk shows. By August, an Italian Senator called for the government to ratify Protocol II of the 1980 Convention and immediately launch a moratorium on the export of the weapon.²²⁷ To help pressure the government to pass these laws, the Italian campaign hosted a three-day event in Brescia, the home of Valsella a landmine production company. The demonstration ended with over a thousand people walking 17 kilometers to the Valsella plant, calling for the ban of landmines. Upon arrival to the plant, female workers added their voices to the ban.²²⁸ In 1995, the CCW Review Conference hosted its meeting in Vienna, Italy. During the conference, Medico International, in cooperation with the Italian Campaign, converted a flatbed trailer into a simulated minefield. Set up in Vienna's downtown, it allowed the public to test their fate by crossing the minefield, where layers of vegetation and dirt hid sensors triggered by footsteps.²²⁹

²²⁶ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 207

²²⁷ Williams, 1995, 6

²²⁸ Williams, 1995, 7

²²⁹ Rutherford, 2011, 65

During the 1996 CCW Review Conference, the ICBL set up a pile of shoes outside of the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the Palais des Nations where the conference was being held.²³⁰ The four tons of shoes were displayed to dramatically represent current and future landmine amputees. On the Monday opening of the conference, the ICBL, the Swiss Campaign, For Humanity's Future, and Handicap International set up speeches and had participants lay flowers on the pyramid of discarded shoes as a gesture to mine victims.²³¹ Alongside this display, the ICBL set up a mock minefield inside the UN building in Geneva, in which "the sound of its mine detonations could be heard during Monday's opening sessions of the conference."²³² Inside the entrance of the Palais des Nations, landmine survivors (mostly in wheelchairs) gave participants a single red rose. When the participants entered the building, they were surrounded by pictures and displays of the landmine crisis, set up by the ICBL.²³³ On the 23rd of April, Ken Rutherford of the VVAF and Tun Channareth, a Cambodian landmine survivor, unveiled the Wall of Remembrance, "a memorial to the 13,748 landmine victims since the first CCW Review Conference ended in Vienna on October 13 1995 took place."²³⁴ With an electronic counter clicker, the participants of the conference heard a click every twenty-two minutes signalling another mine victim.²³⁵ Beside the wall, two landmine survivors from Cambodia and Bosnia took turns recounting their story.

²³⁰ Rutherford, 2011, 65

²³¹ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 64

²³² The International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1996, 63

²³³ Rutherford, 2011, 80

²³⁴ Rutherford, 2011, 79

²³⁵ Rutherford, Ken, and Jerry White. "The Role of the Landmine Survivors Network." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*, by Maxwell A. Cameron, Robert J. Lawson and Brian W. Tomlin, 99-117. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999. Page 101.

To persuade governments and corporations to support the ban, the ICBL used lobbying techniques. The individual Campaigns within states focused on national-level lobbying, while the ICBL itself focused on lobbying conferences such as the CCW, and corporations who produced the weapon.²³⁶ At the Cambodia Conference held by the ICBL, the Campaign outlined how each state Campaign could lobby appropriate government officials through media, personal visits, and letter writing.²³⁷ The ICBL instructed each national campaign to create a Lobbying Team, which would get to know delegates and work with those willing to help. One tactics used by national Campaigns was petitioning. In Cambodia, they gathered over 300,000 signatures in favour of a ban; in France, over 160,000; and in Germany, over 140,000.²³⁸ The ICBL presented these signatures to the Chair of the Review Conference at the Vienna meeting.²³⁹ Other tactics included letter writing, “submitting shareholder resolutions, and holding vigils.”²⁴⁰

For example, Mines Action Canada consistently sent letters and petitions to newspaper editors and Members of Parliament.²⁴¹ According to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International trade, Mines Action Canada “kept poking at our arguments, and the more they poked, the more we had to go back and re-examine our principles.”²⁴² Although Canada’s initial involvement in the campaign was by mistake,²⁴³

²³⁶ Coleman, Karharina P. "Locating Norm Diplomacy: Venue Change in International Norm Negotiations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 1 (2011): 163-186. Page 173.

²³⁷ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 182

²³⁸ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 207

²³⁹ Cambodia Campaign to Ban Landmines, 1995, 207

²⁴⁰ Wexler, 2003, 573

²⁴¹ Davis, Julian. *The Campaign to Ban Landmines: Public Diplomacy, Middle Power Leadership and an Unconventional Negotiating Process*. Occasional Papers, Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 2004. Page 3.

²⁴² Davis, 2004, 3

²⁴³ The United Nations published a list of countries that adhered to export moratorium on anti-personnel landmines in 1995, in which Canada was mistakenly added. Reluctant to mention the

Canada's Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet came to support the ban through consistent pressure and lobbying by Mines Action Canada.²⁴⁴

The ICBL was particularly successful in lobbying corporations. They approached AP landmine producers such as Motorola, Hughes Aircraft, Olin Ordnance, and others.²⁴⁵ Presenting these corporations with their findings on the implications of AP landmines and negotiating with the manufactures, the ICBL motivated many of these companies to give in. Alongside the lobbying, the U.S. Campaign to Ban Landmines (USCBL) used naming and shaming tactics, otherwise known as the Stigmatization Campaign, to press companies involved in the production of the weapon to renounce this activity. The USCBL published a report naming all of the companies and identifying the extent to which they were involved in the production of AP landmines.²⁴⁶ After continuous pressure through the Stigmatization Campaign and constant lobbying, seventeen of the forty-seven companies agreed to renounce any future involvement in the production of AP landmines. Motorola was the first, followed by Hughes Aircraft, Kemet, Olin Ordnance, Microsemi, Dyno Nombel, AVX, etc.²⁴⁷

The most influential individual who endorsed the Campaign was Diana, Princess of Wales. Although she was a latecomer, she was one of the greatest influences on the British government and population in favour of the ban. Near the end of summer 1996,

error, and under pressure from DFAIT and the CCBL, the Department of National Defense consented to the export moratorium that year.

²⁴⁴ Kitchen, 2001, 41

²⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch Arms Project. *Exposing the Source: U.S. Companies and the Production of Antipersonnel Mines*. Exposition, Washington: Human Rights Watch, 1997. Page 2.

²⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch Arms Project, 1997, 2

²⁴⁷ Human Rights Watch Arms Project, 1997, 2

Princess Diana was shocked after watching a TV documentary on the subject.²⁴⁸ Calling Elizabeth Dole, the head of an anti-landmine NGO, Diana began her very public investigation into the weapon. In January of 1997, through the ICRC, Princess Diana visited Angola, a region plagued by landmines.²⁴⁹ There, the Princess visited minefields and was photographed with limbless children for the press. Following her trip, she called on the British government to ban AP landmines, creating a media frenzy. Since the British government was still against a total ban at this time, the Princess used her celebrity status to leverage the media to continue the landmine story. The combination of the Princess' beauty, connection to the royal family, and comfort in front of a camera made her perfectly apt at currying public favour. Stressing the humanitarian consequences of landmines while providing detailed and emotional stories of victims she had met, the Princess mobilized public opinion to support her claims. The Princess' consistent pressure on the government, supported by the British population, persuaded the government to change its policy on a comprehensive ban from complete opposition to full support within a few months.²⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the Princess passed away before the Campaign was completed. However, her contribution is abundantly clear. Some participants of the Ottawa Process argued that it was due to the Princess that many reluctant governments participated in the treaty negotiations. The Prime Minister of Norway asked for the treaty to be titled *Diana, Princess of Wales Treaty*.²⁵¹

German celebrities such as Miroslav Klose (footballer), Cosma Shiva Hagen (actress), and Marius Muller-Westernhagen (pop star) endorsed the Campaign by

²⁴⁸ Huliaras, Asteris, and Nikolaos Tzifakis. "Celebrity Activism in International Relations: In Search of a Framework for Analysis." *Global Society* 24, no. 2 (2010): 255-274. Page 265.

²⁴⁹ Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2010, 265

²⁵⁰ Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2010, 266

²⁵¹ Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2010, 266

participating in a poster campaign.²⁵² The posters were displayed all over Germany, socializing Germans to accept the anti-landmine norm. Pope John-Paul II, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the Dalai Lama all publicly endorsed the campaign as well, calling for their followers to support the ban and pressure their governments.²⁵³ The Pope and Archbishop extended their endorsement of the anti-landmine norm through letters to governments and support for the ICBL.²⁵⁴ Through these concerted efforts, individuals across the globe were socialized by critical actors to support the AP landmine ban.

After intensive efforts by the ICBL and its affiliates, multiple states began supporting the Campaign and call for a total ban on AP landmines. Although the United States was initially supporting the Campaign, conducting research and gaining attention through the efforts of Senator Leahy, their momentum dwindled. Instead of major powers supporting the Campaign, middle power states stepped up and began to lead the negotiations. This included Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Philippines, South Africa, Sweden, and Switzerland. These middle powers began endorsing the Campaign through public calls for the ban, back door negotiations with other states, and keeping the process moving despite the difficulties faced within the CCW Review Conference. Alongside lobbying, the ICBL and its affiliates fostered many alliances with these national governments, allowing them to avoid governmental red tape and secrecy, thus helping them to convince them to support their cause.²⁵⁵ By encouraging these alliances, the Campaign as a whole was able to directly influence these states' domestic and international policies regarding the weapon, as well as participate in many of the

²⁵² Tepe, Daniela. *The Myth About Global Civil Society*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012. Page 115.

²⁵³ Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2010, 264

²⁵⁴ Rutherford, 2011, 60

²⁵⁵ Berhe, 2005, 382-383

private negotiations as consultants during the CCW Review Conference, and again later in the Ottawa Process.

One early example is the Belgian Campaign. As early as 1992, Belgium introduced a UN resolution calling for “a coordinated approach to the problem of mine removal.”²⁵⁶ This initiative contributed to the creation of the United Nations Demanding Trust Fund, within the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. This initial pressure to reduce the impact of the weapon also advanced discussions of AP landmines within the United Nations General Assembly. Only a year later, the United Nations General Assembly supported the resolution to create an export moratorium on all AP landmines.²⁵⁷ Alongside a few other states,²⁵⁸ Belgium followed through with the resolution and enacted an export moratorium. The consensus for a ban on AP landmines continued to grow, but Belgium was the first state to take any concrete action.²⁵⁹ In March 1995, Senators Lallemand and Dardenne’s bill was unanimously passed into domestic law that comprehensively banned the weapon.²⁶⁰ As the Campaign progressed, Belgium continued to support the ban at the CCW Review Conference, and later the Ottawa Process.

The Review Conference for the United Nations Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons lasted over a year. Starting on the 25th of September 1995, the conference held multiple meetings to negotiate the use and production of AP

²⁵⁶ Williams, 1999, 7

²⁵⁷ Borton, John, and Veronique Goessant. *ODI Newsletter: Relief and Rehabilitation Network*. Newsletter, London: Overseas Development Institute, 1994. Page 5.

²⁵⁸ Such as Argentina, France, South Africa, and Spain.

²⁵⁹ Rutherford, 1999, 2

²⁶⁰ Williams, 1999, 7

landmines.²⁶¹ Initially, the Conference was a propitious venue for creating a total ban on AP landmines. However, it quickly became a weak institution for this particular goal. Prior to the first Conference, a group of participating members formed the Group of Governmental Experts (GGE). Their first meeting was held in late February of 1994 in Geneva, where 26 states appointed their officers and reviewed background documents and proposals supplied by the ICRC.²⁶² The second meeting went into greater depth, discussing suggested amendments that included proposals from Australia, Sweden, and the Netherlands.²⁶³ During this meeting, they also reviewed the landmine report they commissioned from the ICRC, which attempted to find the best way to alleviate the AP landmine problem.²⁶⁴ Two more meetings followed in which little consensus was generated. However, recommendations were put forward for the CCW Review Conference.

The first CCW Review Conference was held in Vienna with 44 states participating and 40 states observing, alongside the ICBL and its 100 representatives from 70 organizations.²⁶⁵ Most of the states in attendance did not want the ICBL there, but Australia, Canada and New Zealand insisted on including NGO representatives in their team.²⁶⁶ During the Conference's negotiations, middle power states maintained optimism and pushed for the modification of the CCW Landmine Protocol. Australia's Minister for Defense Science and Personnel, Gary Punch, announced his country's commitment to reducing the proliferation of AP landmines, pointing out that Australia

²⁶¹ Coleman, 2011, 173

²⁶² Rutherford, 2011, 53

²⁶³ Rutherford, 2011, 53

²⁶⁴ Rutherford, 2011, 53

²⁶⁵ Rutherford, 2011, 64

²⁶⁶ Price, 1998, 624

was replacing its long-life mines with self-destructing mines.²⁶⁷ Canada's Ambassador Mark Moher expressed Canada's support for the elimination of AP landmines, but called for slow, rather than immediate, removal. China, India, Pakistan, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom defended their right to the weapon, pointing to its military utility. The conference ended with no conclusive amendment, and it was agreed that it would resume in January 1996. The second CCW Review Conference had fewer participants, with only 43 states participating and 33 observing.²⁶⁸ Despite fewer participants in the decision making process, little was accomplished, and the Conference resolved to meet again in April.

Despite intense lobbying by the ICBL and the support for a total ban by multiple middle power states, little was changed at the final session. The Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons Landmines Protocol was only "amended to prohibit the use of non-detectable mines, long-life (non-self-destruct) mines outside marked areas, and self-destruct landmines that do not self-destruct within 30 days or less than a 90 percent effective rate."²⁶⁹ Recognizing the failure of the CCW as a venue for change before the conference ended, representatives from the ICBL approached pro-ban governments to form a bloc and take the negotiations outside the CCW.²⁷⁰ Accordingly, the Canadian delegation, with support from the Quaker organization and Pieter Van Rossem of Pax Cristi Netherlands, called for a private meeting of 'good countries'²⁷¹ to discuss other

²⁶⁷ Rutherford, 2011, 64

²⁶⁸ Rutherford, 2011, 71

²⁶⁹ Rutherford, 2011, 81

²⁷⁰ Davis, Julian. *The Campaign to Ban Landmines: Public Diplomacy, Middle Power Leadership and an Unconventional Negotiating Process*. Occasional Papers, Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 2004. Page 2.

²⁷¹ Consisting of Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Ireland, Mexico, Norway, Philippines, South Africa, and Switzerland.

possible routes.²⁷² On the 22nd of April, the meeting was held, and Canadian diplomat Robert Laweson brought forth the idea of hosting a stand-alone pro-ban treaty conference in Ottawa to keep the negotiations moving.²⁷³ Support for the idea was strong. At the close of the final Review Session, Lloyd Axworthy announced Canada's commitment to the total ban, formally publicized the Ottawa Conference, and proclaimed that he would draft a ban treaty within a year.²⁷⁴

The Tipping Point of the Campaign came when Lloyd Axworthy made his announcement on hosting the Ottawa Conference on the 3rd of May 1996. With the failure of the CCW to produce a comprehensive ban, active supporters of the anti-landmine norm went outside the traditional methods of treaty negotiation, taking the norm into their own hands and starting the Ottawa Process. This moment was significant because the actor was not the Campaign itself, but instead members of the initial targeted audience: state governments. The 'Core Group,' including Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Ireland, Mexico, Norway, and Switzerland, supported the Ottawa Process.²⁷⁵ The Ottawa Conference was designed to allow state membership only through a self-selection process, in order to limit full participation to pro-ban states.²⁷⁶ For states to gain full status, they had to endorse a draft declaration that called for an early AP landmine treaty. In preparation for the conference, Austria hosted the first preparatory session in

²⁷² Short, 1999, 482

²⁷³ Mathew and Rutherford, 2003, 41

²⁷⁴ Wexler, 2003, 588

²⁷⁵ Laweson, Robert J., Mark Gwozdecky, Jill Sinclair, and Ralph Lysyshyn. "The Ottawa Process and the International Movement to Ban Anti-Personnel Mines." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*, by Maxwell A. Cameron, Robert J. Laweson and Brian W. Tomlin, 160-184. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998. Page 166.

²⁷⁶ Coleman, 2011, 174

February 1997, in which one hundred and ten states participated.²⁷⁷ Alongside states, representatives from the ICBL were involved, providing statistics, research, and proposals for the final treaty.²⁷⁸ Following this meeting, Belgium hosted the second preparatory session in June that year, where 106 states signed the Brussels Declaration. The Brussels Declaration was a requirement to participate in the final preparatory session hosted in Oslo that autumn. The Declaration committed all signatories to continue the discussions based on the text that was elaborated in the preparatory meetings.²⁷⁹ If a state did not sign the Declaration, they were only able to participate as a non-voting observer in the Oslo session, where the final text was to be negotiated.

Stage Two: Norm Cascade

The second stage of the norm lifecycle is the norm cascade, in which the targeted audience has adopted the norm, for the most part. For the ICBL, this stage of the lifecycle began at the start of the Ottawa Process, when the group of norm entrepreneurs expanded from the original ICBL members to include individuals in the Canadian group and the rest of the ‘Core Group.’ Although ICBL members were allowed to participate in the process, they had no control over the final treaty’s contents or governmental support. The first meeting of the Ottawa Conference in October 1996 had participants from fifty states,²⁸⁰ dozens of UN agencies, and hundreds of NGOs.²⁸¹ The initial conference

²⁷⁷ Short, 1999, 486

²⁷⁸ Short, 1999, 486

²⁷⁹ Coleman, 2011, 174

²⁸⁰ Participating States: Angola, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Columbia, Croatia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe. Observer States: Albania, Argentina, Armenia, Bahamas, Benin, Brazil, Brunei

declaration called for the “earliest possible conclusion for an international agreement to ban antipersonnel mines.”²⁸² Lloyd Axworthy set an ambitious timetable, in which all interested states were to sign the comprehensive treaty by December 1997. Within the conference, the participating states reviewed an outline treaty prepared by Austria.²⁸³ This outline treaty contained only 13 articles, and was designed to “appeal to states supporting both the Ottawa Process and the CD.”²⁸⁴ Although this initial conference was not designed to negotiate a treaty, the agenda focused on building the necessary momentum to support a negotiation process.

As the Ottawa Process continued, states that were originally against a comprehensive ban began to emulate the new norm entrepreneurs. For example, in the 1997 federal elections for both England and France, public support for the norm was so high that landmines became a major election issue.²⁸⁵ The newly elected governments from both states ended up pledging to support the Process, thus participating in later preparatory sessions. The addition of England and France was the first instance of ‘traditional powers’²⁸⁶ supporting the ban. This also meant two of the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council supported a comprehensive ban. Other states originally against a comprehensive ban also began emulating the new norm entrepreneurs. In December 1996, eighty-eight states co-sponsored a UN resolution that

Darussalam, Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, Czech Republic, Egypt, Holy See, India, Israel, Malaysia, Morocco, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia.

²⁸¹ Davis, 2004, 2

²⁸² Davis, 2004, 2

²⁸³ Hubert, Don. *The Landmine Ban: A Case Study in Humanitarian Advocacy*. Occasional Paper #42, The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Providence: Brown University, 2000. Page 21.

²⁸⁴ Hubert, 2000, 21

²⁸⁵ Davis, 2004, 3

²⁸⁶ Traditional powers consist of states with large military and economic capacities, these states include the Permanent Five members of the UN Security Council: China, England, France, United States, and Russia.

recommended enacting a total ban on AP landmines.²⁸⁷ Thus, the first preparatory session hosted by Austria in February 1997 had 111 participating states.²⁸⁸ Global support increased rapidly, thanks to the consistent campaigning of the ICBL and its affiliates, as well as increased pressure by pro-ban states, more specifically the Core Group. As such, regional conferences hosted by states occurred all over the world. In June 1997, the Government of Turkmenistan hosted the first Central Regional Conference on Landmines.²⁸⁹ From July 20-23, the Government of the Philippines and the ICRC hosted an Asian Regional Seminar on landmines in Manila.²⁹⁰ As more states began to support the Process, the norm became more natural, with more and more states emulating the trend and joining the Process.

Before the second preparatory meeting was held, Austria hosted an experts' meeting in February 1997 to review a draft of their ban convention.²⁹¹ This meeting was essentially a test to see how many of the participating states in the Process were truly committed to a comprehensive ban. Following this, a second draft meeting was hosted by Germany in April, which focused on compliance provisions. This meeting had the participation of 120 states.²⁹² Between meetings, explicit support for a comprehensive ban went from 30 states, to 70.²⁹³ The second preparatory session was hosted by Belgium

²⁸⁷ Adachi, Kenki. "Why Japan Signed the Mine Ban Treaty." *Asian Survey* 45, no. 3 (2005): 397-413. Page 402.

²⁸⁸ Hubert, 2000, 21

²⁸⁹ Naidoo, Vinothan, and Penny McMillin. *Towards Ottawa: A Total Ban Treaty on Anti-personnel Landmines*. Occasional Paper #26, Small Arms Programme, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 1997. Page 4.

²⁹⁰ Naidoo and McMillin, 1997, 4

²⁹¹ Laweson, et al., 1998, 170

²⁹² Laweson, et al., 1998, 174

²⁹³ Laweson, et al., 1998, 174

in June 1997, with 155 states participating.²⁹⁴ This meeting was designed to finalize the weeding-out of anti-ban governments from the treaty negotiations at the next session in Oslo. Therefore, at this meeting, states were encouraged to sign the Brussels Declaration, which outlined states' commitment to support an outright ban during the true negotiations. If they wished to participate within the treaty negotiations in Oslo, they needed to sign the Declaration, which 97 of the 155 states did. The Oslo negotiations began on the 1st of September 1997. With over a hundred states in attendance, including full participants and observers, the negotiations were stunted by the refusal of the US delegation to support a treaty without a fundamental change to the definition of an AP landmine. The US was fixated on preserving some of their current mines, which under the traditional definition were categorized as AP mines. Despite this issue, the Oslo Conference was successful in producing a comprehensive Convention that was clear and unambiguous, without changing the traditional definition of AP landmines.

Throughout the entire process, the 'Core Group' met several times through "formal meetings, numerous informal discussions, and hundreds of hours of telephone consultations,"²⁹⁵ developing a framework for action. Their continuous efforts were extraordinarily successful in creating a global norm, and the final Ottawa Conference attracted over 2,400 participants, which included over 500 members of the international media.²⁹⁶ Therefore, between the 2nd and 4th of December 1997, 122 states signed the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of

²⁹⁴ Laweson, et al., 1998, 175

²⁹⁵ Laweson, et al., 1998, 168

²⁹⁶ Laweson, et al., 1998, 181

Antipersonnel Mines and their Destruction.²⁹⁷ The signing of the Treaty signified the end of the norm lifecycle, with the norm internalized in a legally binding document.

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti- Personnel Mines and their Destruction, otherwise known as the Ottawa Convention, was a successful humanitarian accomplishment. Recognizing the indiscriminate nature and unnecessary harm caused by landmines, the Ottawa Convention states in its preamble that it is:

Determined to put an end to the suffering and casualties caused by anti-personal mines, that kill or maim hundreds of people every week, mostly innocent and defenseless civilians and especially children, obstruct economic development and reconstruction, inhibit the repatriation of refugees and internally displaced persons, and have other severe consequences for years after emplacement.²⁹⁸

The Convention demands not only the ban of production and stockpiling, but also the active destruction of AP mines in mined areas under Article 5. If states are unable to accomplish the destruction of its mine reserves and the mines it has placed, under Article 6, the international community that has signed to the convention must assist them. The convention strictly stipulates the need for transparency and compliance. Therefore, when the convention was signed in December 1997, it included precautionary means that “provide humanitarian relief for the hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children who have been maimed by landmines.”²⁹⁹

Model Application Conclusion

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), as an umbrella organization behind a movement, is one of the most successful instances of multilateral

²⁹⁷ Sigal, 2006, 3

²⁹⁸ United Nations, 1997

²⁹⁹ United Nations, 1997

cooperation in the international arena. The collaboration between the hundreds of participating organizations, civil society, and some government officials from a variety of countries allowed for the rapid growth of pressure on states to agree to a total ban of the weapon. This massive collaborative attempt to push the topic of landmines to the forefront of international attention is also quite remarkable for more than its sheer speed. Through persuasion, this campaign changed the international community's conception of AP mines from an obscure issue of military disarmament to a full-blown humanitarian crisis. By framing the campaign around humanitarianism, the ICBL was able to persuade civil society, government officials, and even military commanders to pledge to ban the use and stockpiling of these weapons.

Once the Campaign reached its tipping point, it had become highly effective. By changing the perceptions of individuals within key governments, the ICBL was able to ensure a legal ban on the weapon. The state-run Ottawa Process was extremely successful by extending the ICBL's frame to the negotiations. First, the Ottawa Process stipulated a fixed meaning and fixed solution, ensuring that the conference held a single-issue form, keeping discussion focused and making it easier to draft articles for the treaty. This also limited the ability for inter-issue trade-offs, contributing to a comprehensive ban without limitations. The Ottawa Process also succeeded by only including participants from states that were completely on board with a comprehensive ban, thus excluding negative negotiators. The Process allowed for the participation of NGOs and individuals directly affected by the weapon, and facilitated their communication with government officials. The expertise provided by NGOs and victims allowed for faster and more efficient negotiations while drafting the treaty.

Conclusion

The model developed above is an in-depth look at the logistical means of diffusing an issue of human rights into an international social and institutional norm. By analysing the necessary organizational structures, framing techniques, and application of social and psychological manipulation, this model can be used by norm entrepreneurs focused on human rights. Although this model has been displayed through a case study of human security rather than human rights, it is important to highlight the similarities between the two in terms of application. Human security changes the meaning of direct or indirect human rights violations from an individualistic problem to a threat to not only the individual's security but also state security. In other words, when individuals are being threatened, then the state is being threatened. This view forces state actors to react more quickly and with greater effort. Human security threats can and do consist of non-military threats such as issues of poverty and climate change. Thus, for the application of norm diffusion, the ICBL remains a prime example of the same tactics and tools as human rights advocates use.

No matter what the right or security need is, for it to diffuse into society and become a norm, it needs to be promoted through a strong organizational structure and an obvious, easily understood frame. Norm entrepreneurs must understand their target audience, use advanced marketing and information campaigns that target individuals and key international actors, and lobby governments. For example, during the ICBL's campaign, they used emotional tactics to graft their norm onto that of other preconceived norms. They used images and rhetoric that highlighted the suffering caused by AP landmines on women and children, calling on our moral obligation to ensure their protection. Such images made their targeted audience want to ensure that their rights to self-preservation, life, and security were upheld. UNICEF's development programs use very similar marketing campaigns to convey norms through commercials and other marketing, displaying mothers and children suffering from poverty, an issue of human rights. In both of these cases, many norm entrepreneurs advocating for international social development use similar tactics to ensure that their target audiences react appropriately and in accordance with their goals.

Appendix I Acronyms

CCS	Critical Security Studies
CCW	Certain Conventional Weapons
GGE	Group of Governmental Experts
HI	Handicap International
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICBL	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IO	International Organization
IR	International Relations
MAC	Mines Action Canada
MAG	Mines Advisory Group
MI	Medico International
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PHR	Physicians for Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Emergency Children's Fund
US	United States
USCBL	United States Campaign to Ban Landmines
VVAF	Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Appendix II

The Campaign Chronology

1991

- February
 - Mines Advisory Group published the first study on the impact of landmines on civilians called *Afghanistan Mines Survey*
- October
 - Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk calls for a ban on AP landmines.
- September
 - *The Coward's War: Landmines in Cambodia* was published by Asia Watch of HWR and PHR.
- November
 - VVAF and MI agree to jointly launch an advocacy campaign to ban landmines.

1992

- October
 - HI, HRW, MI, MAG, PHR, and VVAF met in New York and agreed to coordinate campaigning efforts thus creating the ICBL.

1993

- February
 - The French Foreign Ministry sent a letter to the Secretary General, officially requesting a review conference of the 1980 CCW Convention.
- April
 - ICRC hosts a symposium on landmines in Montreux.
- May
 - The First NGO International Conference was hosted in London.
- December
 - The UN General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for a moratorium on the export of AP landmines.

1994

- January
 - The New York Times ran a major feature on the landmine problem and the Campaign.
- April
 - UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali called for a total ban on AP landmines.
- May
 - ICBL hosted its Second International NGO Conference in Geneva.
- June
 - U.S. Senator Leahy introduces a legislation to establish a moratorium on the production of AP landmines.
- August
 - The Italian Campaign hosted a march to the Valsella factory to protest their production of AP landmines.
- November

- The government of the Netherlands agreed to destroy its AP landmine stockpile, and began to publically support a total ban.

1995

- March
 - Belgium becomes the first state to pass a domestic law that banned landmine use, production, procurement, sale, and transfer.
- May
 - Pope John Paul II calls for the end of the production and use of AP landmines.
- June
 - The Cambodia Conference was held in Phnom Penh
- October
 - The Review Conference on the CCW began in Vienna, but failed to reach a consensus, thus adding two additional sessions for 1996.
- December
 - Jody Williams and Shaw Roberts release their book *After the Guns Fall Silent: The Enduring Legacy of Landmines*.

1996

- January
 - The Review Conference on the CCW commences again; the ICBL hosts a meeting with pro-ban states to ensure coordination on an immediate ban.
 - The ICBL constructed the mountain of shoes demonstration outside the Eiffel Tower and the Palais des Nations.
- April
 - VVAF commissioned a pro-ban advertisement in the New York Times, which included signatures from 15 retired generals and admirals who were against the weapon.
 - New Zealand renounces its use of AP landmines.
 - Ken Rutherford and Tun Channareth unveil the Wall of Remembrance in Geneva.
- May
 - The Review Conference on the CCW fails to ban the weapon; Axworthy calls for the Ottawa Conference.
- September
 - Six presidents in Central America announce their banning of AP landmines, thus making it the first mine-free region in the world.
- October
 - The first session of the Ottawa Conference begins; Canada announces their goal of hosting a treaty-signing conference for the total ban of AP landmines in December 1997.

1997

- January
 - Princess Diana visits Angola on a highly publicised investigation of AP landmines.
- February

- Austria hosts the first preparatory session of the Ottawa Process with 111 states in attendance.
- The ICBL hosts the Fourth International NGO Conference on Landmines in Maputo.
- April
 - HRW and the USCBL begin their stigmatization campaign against AP landmine manufacturers.
- May
 - 24 African states met at the OAU Conference Toward a Landmine-Free Africa and pledged their support for the total ban.
- June
 - Belgium hosts the second preparatory session of the Ottawa Process with 106 states signing the Brussels Declaration.
- September
 - Norway hosts the third preparatory session of the Ottawa Process, in which 121 states negotiate the treaty.
- October
 - The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Jody Williams and the ICBL.
- December
 - 122 states met in Ottawa and signed the Mine Ban Treaty.
- 1998**
- September
 - Burkina Faso ratifies the Mine Ban Treaty, thus reaching 40 states.
- 1999**
- March
 - The Mine Ban Treaty enters into force.

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