Birgit Locher

Trafficking in Women in the European Union

Norms, Advocacy-Networks and Policy-Change
Contents

Acknowledgements

Contents

Abbreviations

Figures

1 Introduction

1.1 Puzzle and Research Question

1.2 Aims and Arguments

1.3 Outline and Approach

2 Studying the European Union: Classical Approaches and New Theoretical Challenges

2.1 Classical Integration Theories: Limits and Shortcomings

2.2 Social Constructivism: A New Theoretical Challenge

2.3 Feminism: Bringing Gender in

2.4 Conclusion: Towards a Gender-Sensitive Constructivism

3 Norms in International Politics

3.1 Definition, Typologies, Logics of Behavior

3.2 Stages in the Development of Norms

3.3 The Impact and Success of Norms

3.4 Conclusion: Implications for Studying the Anti-Trafficking Norm
7 The Beginning of the 1990s: The Fall of the Berlin Wall and the New Rise in Trafficking
7.1 The Fall of the Berlin Wall: A New Dimension in Trafficking
7.2 Belgium and the Netherlands: Early Domestic Activism
7.3 Member State Responses: Trafficking in Women as an Issue of Illegal Immigration and Organized Crime
7.4 Attempts of Coordinated Action in Europe
7.5 Gender Policies in the early 1990s: The EC and the International Realm
7.6 Conclusion: The Early 1990s – A Rational Choice Response?

8 The UN-World Conferences and the Power of Norms
8.1 Vienna 1993: “Women’s Rights are Human Rights”
8.2 New EP-Resolutions: From Equality Towards a “Rights”-Frame
8.3 Beijing 1995: Violence as “Meta-Narrative”
8.4 The European Union and the Fourth Women’s World Conference
8.5 The Colombo-Svevo Report and the new EP-Resolution on Trafficking
8.6 Conclusion: An International “Norm-Toolbox”

9 The Start of EU-Actions on Trafficking
9.1 Actors: Norm-Entrepreneurs in the “Velvet Triangle”
9.2 The “Vienna-Conference”: Trafficking as a Violation of Human Rights
9.3 “Exogenous Political Events”: The Belgium Scandals
9.4 The first Commission Communication on Trafficking and the Stop Program
9.5 Conclusion: The Human Rights-Frame
10 The Extension of EU-Actions against Trafficking ........................................ 251
10.1 "Violence against Women" as a new Political Issue in the EU ..... 252
10.2 The Daphne Initiative ........................................................................ 259
10.3 Institutional Changes: The Amsterdam Treaty and the Tampere Conclusions .......................................................... 263
10.4 The Violence Campaign........................................................................ 267
10.5 The Daphne Program: Stages in Decision-Making ............................. 271
10.6 Daphne under the Co-Decision Procedure ........................................... 280
10.7 The 1998 Commission Communication, the Sörensen-Report and the Public Hearing on Trafficking............ 287
10.8 Conclusion: The Anti-Violence Frame .................................................. 291

11 The Consolidation of EU-Actions against Trafficking .............................. 299
11.1 Beijing+5 Preparations and the “Women 2000” UN-Special Session .......................................................... 300
11.2 The new UN-Protocol on Trafficking in Human Beings ................. 312
11.3 A New EU-Framework Decision on Trafficking in Human Beings .................................................................................. 320
11.4 The EU-Enlargement: Trafficking as Part of the “Acquis” ............. 326
11.5 The “Brussels Declaration” and the “European Expert Group” ... 333
11.6 Conclusion: Norm-Institutionalization at the Regional Level..... 336

12 Summary: Explaining Trafficking in Women in the EU – Norms, Actors, Frames and Political Opportunity Structures .......................................................... 345

Bibliography ................................................................................................. 367

Appendix ....................................................................................................... 423