

**CONTROLLING TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN:
THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN NGOS AND THE EUROPEAN UNION**

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Paper prepared for presentation at the biennial meeting of the European Community Studies
Association, Madison, WI, May 31 – June 2, 2001.

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Introduction

Trafficking in women and girls has become a booming transnational business. It occurs at the nexus of a complex set of factors that exploit its victims. While there are many factors compelling women to seek employment outside their countries of origin, vulnerable women are often caught up in exploitative and abusive trafficking networks. Trafficking in women raises serious questions about women's human rights. The deceitful way in which women are trafficked suggests that this phenomenon is a contemporary and unique form of slavery.

So far, efforts to address trafficking in women have largely remained within the jurisdiction of sovereign states. Recipient countries generally treat trafficking in women as a migration issue. They respond to the problem in an *ad hoc* manner, concentrating their efforts on legislating barriers to trafficking at the borders, including attempts to tighten border controls, scrutinize visa policies, and deport individuals -- primarily the trafficked women -- who have been caught in the act. But efforts to combat the problem in this way are removed from current reality. Tougher immigration rules are ineffective against crafty traffickers, and they pay insufficient attention to the social causes and consequences of trafficking.

There are compelling arguments to regard trafficking as a human rights issue rather than as a migration issue. This alternative line of reasoning focuses on the sexual exploitation and abuse suffered by trafficked women. It seeks to criminalize the behavior of the traffickers rather than the trafficked and to provide some recourse to the abuse that trafficked women suffer. Yet this approach focuses on the consequences of trafficking (i.e., the violation of women's human rights), rather than its causes. Moreover, while human rights concerns have influenced debates about trafficking in women at the global level (e.g., at the League of Nations and the United Nations, see Uçarer, 1999), the lack of consensus on key concepts in this debate -- prostitution, voluntariness, abuse, coercion, trafficking -- has complicated contemporary efforts to develop an effective human rights framework to address trafficking in women.¹ As a result, there has been limited success in developing effective international rules that can stem this growing phenomenon. The existing international legal regime on trafficking in women was pieced together from the efforts to build international law around the issue, dating back to the *intergovernmental* efforts undertaken by international organizations such as the League, Council of Europe and later, the United Nations.

Yet, despite the existing legal framework, the phenomenon shows no signs of abating. Recently, there have been efforts in the European Union to combine both the migration and human rights approaches in combating trafficking. In addition to attempting to create an integrated approach which promises to deal more effectively with this transnational criminal activity, the European Union is in the process of establishing formal linkages with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and incorporating their know-how as well as their financial and human resources into their efforts to stem the flow of trafficked women and address the suffering inflicted upon unsuspecting victims.

This development is intriguing for substantive as well as theoretical reasons. Substantively, it signifies the beginning of a novel partnership between an intergovernmental organization (IGO) and NGOs at the regional level, a partnership that has not been fully explored in the previous attempts to build a global regime to combat trafficking. This partnership, which admittedly is still in its infancy, stands the chance of solidifying into a permanent arrangement, linking the supranational, state-level and

¹The human rights framework on trafficking centers on the sexual exploitation and abuse of women -- questions the migration approach avoids. Some have argued that in order for trafficking to violate the human rights of the trafficked, a distinction has to be made between voluntary and involuntary prostitution in individual cases. Women who willingly consent to being trafficked -- knowingly putting themselves at risk of being prostituted -- have little or no right to recourse. But this raises difficult questions regarding what constitutes voluntary and involuntary prostitution.

sub-state level actors who must work together to combat trafficking. Theoretically, it raises questions about the nature of the IGO-NGO interface, an issue that has been brought to salience as scholars explore the growing inclusion of NGOs into global governance and the increase in the delegation to NGOs of the provision of services by large IGOs. This paper will briefly review the emergent literature that seeks to understand the cooperation between IGOs and NGOs, review the historical efforts by IGOs to address trafficking and highlight the process through which NGOs were first admitted into the European debate on trafficking and then made operational partners of the European Union in the last two years.

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GLOBAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNANCE

It is clear that the past twenty years have witnessed the pluralization of global governance (Gordenker and Weiss, 1996: 17). While there has been a significant degree of “institutionalization” of international affairs that has been characterized by the surge in functional Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) in the post-World War II period, the most recent diversification seems to be occurring in the international nongovernmental arena. The Union of International Associations (itself a nongovernmental organization, NGO) estimates that there are well over 15,000 functional NGOs that operate in at least three countries. As global problems grow more complex, nongovernmental organizations (national and international) have started to play a more assertive and indispensable role in a host of different policy areas. They have not only become important actors in addressing transnational problems and dealing with the immediate consequences of complex humanitarian emergencies, but they have also become operational partners for national governments and Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) alike. This is an especially valid observation in the case of NGOs which are primarily concerned with human rights and humanitarian issues (Gaer, 1996; Natsios, 1996).

While research on NGOs is still at an elementary stage, several observations can be made about the contribution of NGOs to global governance, particularly human rights, humanitarian and women’s rights NGOs. First, they represent a challenge to both national as well as intergovernmental institutions in their effort to promote the rights of and assist their target population and inject critical voices into an international system that has increasingly become compartmentalized and bureaucratized (Weiss, Forsythe and Coate, 1994). Secondly, particularly in the field of human rights, the more prominent NGOs have come to represent impartiality and reliability in gathering information, publicizing abuse, advocating on behalf of victims, engaging in public awareness campaigns and forcing national and intergovernmental institutions to address humanitarian and human rights issues (Claude and Weston, 1992). Thirdly, they have increasingly become operational partners for IGOs. As a result of this partnership, created at the nexus of overstretch from the perspective of IGOs and insistence on the part of NGOs, part of the provision of services by large IGOs such as the United Nations have started to be delegated to NGOs. Recent studies on the United Nations system demonstrate this process in complex humanitarian emergencies, environmental protection and economic development (Conca, 1996; Donini, 1996; Natsios, 1996; Sollis, 1996). As a result of this process, NGOs have become conduits through which governmental and IGO monies are dispersed, along with the provision of services by the same NGOs that are being passed down by large IGOs.² This cluster of phenomena is being referred to as subcontracting (Gordenker and Weiss, 1998), devolution (Cruz, 1994; Lahav, 1998),³ or scaling up/down

²By this token, some estimate that 80% of all development aid goes through NGOs.

³The idea of states devolving some of their duties to subnational actors is being raised by many students of international organization. The members of the European Union seem to be no exception to this. For example, in the area of immigration controls, member states have enacted legislation that delegate some of the traditional duties of the state — such as checking the validity of the travel documents of non-nationals entering that particular state — to subnational actors such as the agents of airlines and other carriers.

in the theoretical literature that seeks to understand the relationship between NGOs and IGOs/national governments.

Subcontracting refers to the provision of services -- normally within the mandate of an IGO -- by other institutions, governmental and/or nongovernmental. The recent subcontracting of UN military missions to individual countries (such as the US) and other international institutions (such as NATO and the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe) highlight subcontracting even in the security domain. Issues that traditionally fall within the "low politics" domain are likewise subcontracted, as is apparent in the eagerness of larger IGOs to make operation partners out of a wide variety of smaller IGOs and NGOs. By comparison, the notion of devolving or scaling down is somewhat different in that it implies a permanent shedding of policy areas and responsibilities and scaling back of the organizational scope. The efforts to rethink the operational scope of an IGO usually comes at the heels of diversification on the part of IGOs which, in trying to respond to a changing environment and an upsurge in matters of multilateral concern, subjects the organization to the consequences of overstretch, part of which might be addressed with efforts to delegate the provision of services to other actors.

The ascent of NGOs can in part be explained by the willingness, indeed necessity, on the part of national governments and IGOs to both devolve part of their responsibilities in the provision of services and also subcontracting these to other institutions such as NGOs. This represents a scaling down for the IGO, a reduction in the operational load — and sometimes scope — for the organization (Uvin, 1996). In turn, the shift in the locus of the provision of services by IGOs creates opportunities for affiliated NGOs to scale up in terms of financial capability, operation scope, and political access to the world of IGOs. In many cases, this symbiosis works to the advantage of both the IGOs and the NGOs: the overburdened IGO saves money through co-financing with NGOs, human resources through allowing NGO personnel to oversee project development and implementation and attempts to capitalize on the know-how of the NGOs which are closer to the issue. NGOs, in turn, receive financial support, gain access to networks, strengthen the credibility of the organization and create possibilities for future partnerships.

These broadly simplified observations generally draw on the interface between NGOs and the United Nations. This paper will explore similar trends within the European context. However, in order to understand the process through which the EU brought NGOs into the discussion on trafficking in women, it is necessary to take a brief look at the overall role of IGOs in shaping the legal regime that surrounds trafficking for it is the shortcomings of the historical efforts of IGOs that has highlighted the need to rethink strategies.

TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN AS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE: THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

It can't be denied that international trafficking of women involves questions about the factors that contribute to this form of "migration." Studies undertaken by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) suggest that trafficking is by and large a North-South phenomenon whereby women are initially trafficked from poor southern countries to more affluent northern ones. Economic concerns are first among the factors that compel women to leave their countries of origin, making them vulnerable to traffickers. On the recipient side are flourishing sex markets consisting of customers as well as sex-related businesses with a high demand for "exotic" women from faraway places. Many of these recipient countries have poor, if not nonexistent, mechanisms to deal with trafficking as a criminal activity. In many cases where there is an attempt to stem the phenomenon, the victims are the first and sometimes the only ones to get punished through deportation and incarceration. In addition, there is a burgeoning cadre of intermediaries who facilitate trafficking. These networks will see to it that demand meets supply, legally or illegally (International Organization for Migration, 1995; International Organization for Migration, 1996a; International Organization for Migration, 1996b; Uçarer, 1999). Yet, despite the obvious and nonnegligible migration component of trafficking, international legal efforts that sought to

deal with the consequences of trafficking predate the designation of trafficking as a migration phenomenon. The objective of these early efforts were twofold: to develop international jurisprudence that dealt with trafficking and to raise awareness about the human rights dimension of the phenomenon. In both areas, international organizations have been instrumental in creating multilateral momentum, providing fora within which to debate the issues and keeping the debate on the international agenda.

Multilateral Efforts and International Jurisprudence. Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation was initially recognized as an international criminal activity that harmed the human dignity of its victim. Emphasis was thus put on the plight of the trafficked and efforts were made to chastise individuals who subjected their victims to such abuse. The international legal instruments that are of relevance to trafficking in women emerged out of collective legal efforts to address what was termed *white* slave traffic at the turn of the century. Accordingly, steps were taken both by the League of Nations and the United Nations to provide international instruments to protect victims against trafficking and slavery.

The initial instruments sought to establish common policies to combat the prostitution of under-age individuals and the sexual exploitation of women of full age under duress. At the turn of the century, it appears that there was consensus that this was a gender specific phenomenon: in other words, women and young girls were the primary targets of cross border pimping. While the first documents were concerned with the *slave trade associated with white women*, the subsequent development of these instruments follows a curious path that progressively included additional groups of individuals into the mandate of these documents and resulted in the ungendering of the issue. The first arrangement to deal with trafficking was signed on 18 May 1904. As spelled out in its title, the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, concerned itself with the fate of *white* victims only. The first Convention -- the Paris Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic -- that followed the 1904 Agreement was likewise concerned with the suppression of *white* slave traffic. Though no gender was specified in their titles, both instruments sought to establish a common policy against the prostitution of women and under-aged girls who are abused and/or constrained. Multilateral efforts were initially in the form of international treaty making. Thus, even before the League of Nations came into existence, the signatories to the Paris Convention agreed to make the forced traffic and forced prostitution of white women and girls of full age and that of minors (even with the individual's consent) a crime, albeit with a racial slant.

The 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children lifted the race restriction and extended the definition of trafficking also to include minors and children, but not men, as victims. The 1933 Geneva Convention expounded on the Paris Convention by declaring the trafficking of *women of full age*, even with their consent, a criminal activity. Likewise, superseding the Paris Convention, the 1949 New York Convention allowed all individuals involved in the trafficking of *persons* and their exploitation through prostitution to be liable for criminal punishment regardless of whether such trafficking occurred with the consent of the trafficked individual or under duress. Until and including the 1933 Convention, the treaty texts continued to make explicit reference to women as the objects of trafficking. By contrast, especially with the 1949 Convention, there has been a steady move away from gender-and-race-specific language in the general provisions. The 1949 New York Convention was the last legal attempt under the aegis of the UN to bring about binding international rules. Its preamble notes that "prostitution and the accompanying evil of traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the *human person* and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family and the community (UNTS, No. 1342, emphasis added). To prevent such distress, Article 17 of the 1949 Convention maintains that the signatories will undertake:

1. To make such regulations as are necessary for the protection of immigrants and emigrants, and in particular, women and children;
2. To arrange for appropriate publicity warning the public of the dangers of the aforesaid traffic;

3. To take appropriate measures to ensure supervision of railway stations, airports, seaports ... in order to prevent international traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution;
4. To take appropriate measures in order that the appropriate authorities be informed of the arrival of persons who appear, *prima facie*, to be the principals and accomplices in or victims of such traffic. (*Ibid.*)

In line with the abolitionist logic, the New York convention sought to protect the prostitute from exploitation by others. Nonetheless, however noble its objectives, the New York Convention reflects the contradictions inherent in abolitionist logic which regards prostitution as a personal choice and at the same time argues that it enslaves the victim. As is often the case with international treaties, this instrument is fraught with monitoring and enforcement problems as it was ratified by less than half of the UN member states. The impact of different legal traditions was abundantly clear in the ratification process which made the contents of the convention unacceptable to some countries. In the case of European states, this divergence of practice was illustrated by an absence of a common position as the Convention was being signed: Greece, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg voted in favor of the Convention, France and the UK voted against and Belgium, Denmark and Sweden abstained. The abstentions or the refusal to sign and ratify the instrument were justified by a variety of reasons ranging from constitutional incompatibility to outright unacceptability of the underlying assumptions of the instrument. Not surprisingly, major sending countries such as Thailand and the Dominican Republic likewise abstained and refrained from becoming parties to an international legal instrument that could potentially incriminate their citizens (Hirsch, 1996: 44).⁴

International Organizations and Agenda Setting. Partly due to a lack of consensus on remedies, trafficking in women remains a divisive transboundary issue. Nonetheless, at a time when alternative legal avenues are being explored to address a growing phenomenon, important work is also being done in an effort to attract public attention on the human rights dimension of the issue and expand the limits of the current debate in an effort to attempt robust responses. The United Nations has recently been particularly instrumental in leading such efforts. The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing Conference) sought to raise awareness, facilitate goal-oriented thinking, and generate discussion on trafficking, casting it in terms of another form of violence against women. The report on the conference identified the "effective suppression of trafficking in women and girls for the sex trade" as a "matter of pressing international concern" (United Nations, 1995: para. 122). Strategic objective D.3 of the report deals with eliminating trafficking in women and assisting victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking. It calls for the ratification of the existing international instruments. It also urges addressing the root causes of trafficking by stepping up cooperation and concerted action by the relevant law enforcement authorities, allocating resources for the rehabilitation of victims, and mounting educational programs to prevent trafficking (United Nations, 1995: para. 130).

⁴Currently, pleas for a new international instrument that could address the shortcomings of the New York Convention, especially as seen by the regulationist school, are directed towards reinstating the concept of forced prostitution -- defined as "the act, for financial gain, of inducing a person by any form of constraint to supply sexual services to another person" -- into a new international instrument that is to be negotiated within the UN framework. This instrument would provide for extraterritorial rules of jurisdiction for courts to prosecute traffickers, foster international cooperation through extradition, vigilance and police collaboration, collect and share information by an international data bank and supplementing the judicial aspects with encouraging social assistance to victims and prevention through information campaigns through the work of NGOs.

The debates in Beijing have brought a certain momentum to multilateral discussions. Following the Beijing Conference, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the UN has focused on the issue in its Commission on the Status of Women. This commission was instrumental in preparing the draft resolutions on Mainstreaming the Human Rights of Women (ECOSOC, 1996a) and Violence against Migrant Workers (ECOSOC, 1996b), which distinctly approach the phenomenon from a human rights angle. Both documents focused on the need for multilateral cooperation to combat trafficking while inviting UN member states to develop new legally binding instruments to supersede the existing ones. ECOSOC's Commission on the Status of Women also drafted a resolution that was more specifically directed towards trafficking in women. Submitted by Fiji, Ghana, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Thailand (the first time such an instrument was initiated by source countries), this resolution urgently called for the implementation of the Platform of Action of the Beijing Conference, invited governments to "consider the development of standard minimum rules for the humanitarian treatment of trafficked persons consistent with internationally recognized human rights standards," encouraged UN specialized agencies and other bodies, governments and NGOs to gather and share information on trafficking, called upon governments to take appropriate preventive or prohibitive action against trafficking, and pledged to keep the issue on its future agenda (ECOSOC, 1996b).

After the Beijing Conference, which firmly put the trafficking issue on the UN agenda, the issue has been integrated into the working program of ECOSOC's Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. During 1997 and 1998, the Committee has been hearing reports from the countries from where women are trafficked into Western countries. Many of these reports speak to the developments in the application of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in the individual sending countries and take stock of domestic policies implemented to put into practice Article 6 of the said convention.⁵ Some of this stock-taking also highlighted the fact that compliance of some signatories left something to be desired and demonstrated that despite the international legal instruments in place, organized crime has a tight grip on the trafficking of women and was not being tackled successfully.⁶ At the end of its eighteenth session, and after various reports on *inter alia* Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and the Dominican Republic, the Committee, trafficking was once again condemned as a violence against *women* and the Committee recommended that, in line with the Beijing Platform for Action, migrant women be provided with adequate information to protect them from traffickers. As for the specific countries that were highlighted for growing problems with trafficking, the Committee recommended closer cooperation between the sending countries and the regional organizations in the recipient ones (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 1998).

Politically, these calls are difficult to incorporate into binding treaties in the short run. As was discussed earlier, there is no clear global consensus on how to deal with prostitution. Compared to the difference of opinion within the human rights perspective, the migration perspective (however incomplete) appears more coherent and consistent in its analysis and prescriptions. Yet, though the human rights perspective is more controversial, it more accurately centers its emphasis on the welfare of the trafficked woman and is superior to the migration rhetoric in that respect. That being said, one must caution the reader about the shortcomings of this approach. First, there is still no consensus on what the human rights of women are, making it difficult to develop instruments that would protect them. Even

⁵For example, in a recent meeting of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, a report was submitted by the representative of the Dominican Republic who spoke of revisions to the Dominican penal code that included trafficking in the list of activities considered as violence against women punishable by law.

⁶In January 1998, the Committee met to evaluate the developments in Bulgaria, another sending country. To the dismay of the Committee, the report that was presented documented not only that trafficking was on the rise, but also that a well organized web of criminal activity surrounded the issue.

human rights and women's rights NGOs remain divided on the issue. Though the majority of NGOs would subscribe to the notion that trafficking is violence against the human dignity of women (a position put forth, *inter alia*, by the Coalition against Trafficking in Women), there is a competing school that asserts that women ought to have a right to prostitute themselves (the stance advanced by the International Committee for Prostitutes) and preventing them from doing so in the name of protection is the real breach of their human rights. Even if the existing instruments seem to adopt a stance that seeks to protect the woman from traffickers, the international jurisprudence that is developed is often difficult to implement and enforce. Finally, even if all of these issues were resolved, concentrating solely on the human rights angle targets rectifying the consequences of the phenomenon and not the cause.

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN: SETTING THE STAGE

Some have argued that rather than addressing trafficking in women at the global level, efforts ought to be concentrated at the regional level where it is arguably easier to forge consensus and deal more effectively with the idiosyncrasies of the region. Europe is one region where governments, intergovernmental organizations, and of late NGOs are slowly developing a more comprehensive agenda relating to trafficking. Significantly, there have been recent efforts within the European Union to synthesize the migration and human rights approaches to develop an integrated and effective response and carve out a role for NGOs in these efforts.

Trafficking in women as a political issue has gained salience in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall. While before 1989 most of the foreign prostitutes -- partly trafficked -- were recruited in Asia, South America, and Africa, the current trend shows an important increase in those who are trafficked from Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs). While there is a noticeable overall upward trend, not all EU member states have been equally targeted by traffickers. Continental Europe appears to be more affected by trafficking than the northern and the northwestern periphery (e.g., Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Ireland).

While the actual numbers are disputed due to problems with data collection, it is estimated that approximately 200,000 Eastern European women work in Germany. In Austria, while there were only fifty cases of trafficking that were discovered in 1990, the numbers jumped to 316 cases involving 752 women in 1994, most of them from the CEECs (International Organization for Migration, 1996a: 8). The Dutch Foundation Against Trafficking in Women, a women's-rights NGO, reported in 1995 that sixty-nine percent of the foreign prostitutes who were trafficked to the Netherlands were from Eastern Europe, predominantly from Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary. It is estimated that for each trafficked woman whose case reaches the hands of the authorities, there are three others who remain unreported. In fact, the existence of individuals who are accused of trafficking 200 women points to the magnitude of the problem that goes undetected (International Organization for Migration, 1996a).

The recognition that effective policies need to be devised at the regional level is leading to collective efforts to respond to trafficking. Within the EU, cooperation on trafficking in women falls within the workload of the newly established "Third Pillar,"⁷ which can approach the problem from the perspective of legal cooperation and migration policies alike, thus potentially allowing for a healthy dialogue between the two approaches. Most of the work on trafficking in the European Union is done by the European Parliament and the European Commission through a process that allows consultation with other intergovernmental organizations such as the Council of Europe. Although NGOs are not yet very

⁷The 1992 Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) restructured the European Community and renamed it as the European Union (EU). The post-Maastricht architecture of the EU consists of three pillars: The first pillar is the original Treaty of Rome as amended by Maastricht and centers on economic integration (the common/single market); the second pillar centers on common security and foreign policy (CSFP); the third pillar centers on the competence area of justice and home affairs, including judicial cooperation and cooperation on migration issues.

successful in influencing the official debate, their voices are increasingly being heard by the public, European bureaucrats, and policy-makers, while EU institutions are becoming increasingly more comfortable with and in fact dependent on NGOs to implement projects.

European Parliament. Among the European institutions spearheading debate on trafficking in women is the European Parliament (EP). On 14 December 1995, an Italian Member of the European Parliament, (MEP) Maria Paola Colombo Svevo, submitted a report to the EP's Committee on Civil Liberties and Internal Affairs on Trafficking in Human Beings which formed the basis of the European Parliament's resolution on the same subject (European Parliament, 1995). On 18 January 1996, this resolution was unanimously adopted by the EP. The Colombo Svevo Resolution urges member states to "identify trafficking as a violation of human rights and a serious crime" (European Parliament, 1995: para. 15). It calls on EU member states to create a legal framework that would penalize trafficking as well as protect victims and introduce preventive measures targeting countries of origin. Possibly the best combination of measures, the Colombo Svevo Resolution calls on member countries to develop a common and multi-track policy of dissuasion to combat trafficking that would rest on a combination of "prevention, deterrence, prosecution and rehabilitation" (European Parliament, 1995: para. 7). The resolution also calls on the EU "to take action at an international level to draft a new UN convention to supersede the obsolete and ineffective" 1949 Convention and to exert its leverage at the UN to appoint a special rapporteur for the traffic in human beings to the UN's Commission on Human Rights (para. 31). This resolution forms the basis of current programs developed by the European Commission.

European Commission. Combating trafficking in women featured high on the agenda of Anita Gradin, the Swedish Commissioner who was confirmed for a five-year period in 1995. Gradin was quick to involve the Commission in the regional efforts to combat trafficking. Following up on the Colombo Svevo Resolution, Gradin tasked the Commission with organizing a Conference on Trafficking in Women. This conference took place in Vienna on 10-11 June 1996.

The Vienna Conference (organized and funded in part by IOM) brought together experts from source and destination countries, representatives of EU institutions, other European international organizations such as the Council of Europe, and to a lesser extent NGOs. Engaging the experts in group sessions that concentrated on trafficking from multiple perspectives, including migration policy, judicial cooperation, law enforcement, police cooperation, and social policy, the conference made numerous recommendations for a multi-track policy that would criminalize trafficking, prosecute traffickers, and assist vulnerable women and victims of trafficking. These recommendations also emphasized judicial and police cooperation at both national and international levels (European Commission, 1996b).

After the mass resignation of the Santer Commission in 1999 and the installment of the Prodi Commission in the same year, Antonio Vitorino (the Portuguese Commissioner in charge of the Justice and Home Affairs dossier) inherited the Commission's work to date on trafficking. Since then, several changes have occurred that have improved the Commission's ability to interact with NGOs. First and foremost, a new organizational outfit was created within the Commission to deal with Justice and Home Affairs matters, of which trafficking is part. By contrast to the previous arrangement which put trafficking issues with the Task Force for Justice and Home Affairs, a new Directorate-General for Justice and Home Affairs was created, greatly enhancing the human and organizational resources of the Commission to address issues relating to migration and entry into the Union's borders (Uçarer, 2001). Commissioner Vitorino continues to display the commitment to this issue area as well as to the role of NGOs role in it. In line with the overall "comprehensive" approach that the Commission appears to be taking with regards to border-crossing issues in general, the Commission services have recently produced a document which not only argues that trafficking issues should be studied and combated within the broader framework of the variables that contribute to the trafficking in women (such as poverty, gender

discrimination, and inequality) but also highlight the emergent role of NGOs, particularly in addressing the root causes (as well as the ensuing consequences) of trafficking (European Commission, 2001).

BRINGING NGOS IN: THE EMERGENT EU-NGO PARTNERSHIP

Since the Vienna Conference, the European Commission has taken steps to develop European-wide programs to stop trafficking in women. These efforts have centered on building cooperative ties between Union institutions, national and local authorities as well as NGOs and voluntary organizations. In the words of former Commissioner Anita Gradin:

The NGOs play an essential role in the fight against violence. Often, they have better ways of raising awareness among the public and reaching out to those at risk than public authorities. With the help of Daphne, the expertise and experience of NGOs can be stimulated and shared with like-minded organizations in other member states and the applicant countries (quoted in 1998b).

These efforts have manifested themselves in several initiatives, funded by the EU budget and carried out by NGOs. This section highlights three such efforts -- the STOP program, the Daphne Initiative (and subsequently program), and the TACIS and PHARE programs -- each of which involves avenues for European NGOs to come into operational partnerships with the Brussels institutions, particularly with the European Commission, which is the executive arm of the European Union.

The STOP Program. In its 1996 Communication on Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation, the Commission laid the groundwork for a pilot program on the Sexual Trafficking of Persons (appropriately referred to as the STOP Program), which was designed as an incentive and exchange program for persons responsible for combating trafficking. The STOP program was designed to improve existing data collection, research, exchange of information and training between authorities. These authorities included judges, police and immigration officers, civil servants and other public officials active in the field (European Union, 1996: 7; European Union, 1997). €6.5 million were allocated to fund the program over a five-year period (European Commission, 1996a).

Table 1 highlights the number of projects that were funded by the STOP program that involved efforts to fight against trafficking in women, sexual exploitation of children or both. While the STOP program was primarily designed to provide funding to various agencies of member governments, the figures suggest that some member states might have contracted NGOs to undertake part of these projects. In terms of the types of activities, it appears that NGO *research* projects were funded more than anything other project. NGO projects accounted for roughly 25% of the STOP programme, which officially came to an end on 31 December 2000. In order to provide continued support for the STOP project (which were directed in large part towards CEECs), particularly as the accession process for CEECs intensified, the Commission proposed a two-year extension of the project (named STOP II) with an annual budget of €4 million targeting almost exclusively candidate countries. Compared to the €6.5 for the first five years, this is a considerable budgetary commitment to an area generally seen as the most proximate source region for trafficked women (European Commission, 2001: 14). The proposal is expected to be accepted by the Council of ministers during the first semester of 2001.

The fight against ... by ...	Member States (# of projects funded)	NGOs (# of projects funded)	Total
Trafficking in women	6	3	9
Sexual exploitation of children	9	3	12
Both	7	2	9
Total	22	8	30
Type of activity	Member States	NGOs	Total
Seminar, conference, symposium	11	2	13
Studies and research	8	4	12
Exchanges, training	4	1	5
Total	23	7	30

Table 1 **Activities under the STOP Program, 1996-1997**
Source (European Commission, 1998: 42)

The Daphne Initiative/Program. The Daphne initiative is clearly the most ambitious of EU initiatives to involve NGOs in combating violence against women and children. In 1997, the European Commission launched the Daphne Initiative, which provides funding for NGOs targeting violence against children, youth, and women. In line with the human rights framework, the Commission appears to regard trafficking as a type of violence against women and thus demonstrated its commitment to stem trafficking and develop measures to protect trafficked women. The initial remit of the Daphne initiative was wide, covering a broad variety of issues and commanding a budget of 11.8 million ECU.

In an effort to combine the merits of the migration approach with those of the human rights framework, the Commission seeks to improve cooperation and coordination between sending and recipient countries in such areas as information campaigns, migration training of national civil servants to detect and respond to trafficking, and judicial cooperation to assess and strengthen national legislation as well as European and international laws relating to trafficking. Since the Vienna Conference, there has been a Belgian initiative to adopt an EU instrument to combat trafficking in persons.⁸ While still at an early stage, the EU's efforts to address trafficking are promising. These efforts are also based on an informed debate on trafficking and have established cooperative programs linking EU institutions, governments, and NGOs.

In order to qualify for the EU's Daphne program, NGOs have to apply officially after a call for tenders is issued in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*.⁹ Applications for funding are then evaluated at the Task Force for Justice and Home Affairs at the Secretariat General of the European Commissions with an eye towards the promise they hold in:

- Setting up networks or reinforcement of network at European level to promote and coordinate information and actions on measures aimed at protecting, and preventing violence towards children, young persons and women, including the promotion of cooperation between NGOs and voluntary organization and authorities involved in

⁸Belgium is the only EU member state where there is explicit legislation for combating trafficking in human beings and child pornography. Partly as a result of this Belgian initiative, and partly because the Commission would like to consider trafficking within a broader framework, current EU efforts do not specifically target trafficking in women, but rather refer to the broader category of trafficking in human beings.

⁹The call for proposals is generally issued in March with a deadline of June. The proposals are reviewed in September and decisions on the distribution of funds is reached in early October.

these areas and at combating trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation;

- Focusing on the protection of children, young persons and women from all kinds of violence and commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking and other abuse, and promoting the rehabilitation of victims of such abuses;
- Developing and implementing pilot projects and subsidies to NGOs or voluntary organizations ... in particular victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation; and
- Promoting the introduction of instruments designed to encourage the reporting of violence against ... women and forms of trafficking in women (Task Force for Justice and Home Affairs, 1997: 2).

Local, regional or national public authorities, universities and other educational establishments are not eligible to present applications, though are often commissioned by the recipient NGOs to conduct some of the research proposed by the applicant NGOs (Task Force for Justice and Home Affairs, 1997). The funding criteria for funds from the Daphne initiative indicate that the program is conceived to support projects that seek to address the *immediate consequences* of trafficking within the territories of the member states as well as *creating networks* of exchange across Europe and devising pilot projects that target *transferable results*. In particular, the program seeks to support six types of activities:

1. Training and exchanges involving the personnel of NGOs and private associations;
2. Pilot projects to be established by a feasibility study and guided by a steering committee;
3. Creation or reinforcement of European networks consisting of NGOs and private associations that concentrate on measures aimed at preventing violence, *inter alia*, against women;
4. Dissemination of information through seminars, conferences, campaigns, brochures, newsletters, media presentations in an effort to raise awareness and promote non-violence;
5. Studies and research on the causes and consequences of the different types of violence, including trafficking;
6. Fostering cooperation between NGOs and public authorities, including law enforcement and judicial bodies (Task Force for Justice and Home Affairs, 1997: 3-4).

Through the Daphne budget, the Union commits funds of up to 80% of the total estimated costs of the projects meeting these guidelines and objectives. The remaining 20% must be secured by the applicant NGO from public or private sources prior to the application. The Union's approach to the dissemination of funds to NGOs is one of preventing duplication in projects while targeting to produce the highest level of cumulative impact. To this end, the Commission's Task Force reviewed the successful projects underway and includes information in its guidelines for applicants on the areas already covered by the existing projects and highlights those areas that have not been adequately covered.¹⁰

During 1997, some 428 projects were submitted for review under the Daphne initiative, of which 47 were accepted by the Commission to receive financial support. Several of the initiatives seem to have

¹⁰Reviewing the projects that received funding in 1997, the Commission found that the following areas were not sufficiently addressed: behavior patterns of abusers and methods of criminal cooperation, support mechanisms for women and children being abused and effective reporting and intervention, self-help mechanisms for victims of violence, and statistical overviews of patterns of abuse, demographic trends and vulnerable groups. A review of the projects that received funding in 1998 indicates that some of these issues were in fact addressed by the new projects.

been rejected because the amount of financial support requested was below the ECU 10,000 level which was considered to be the minimum level which would not only justify the paperwork involved but also be large enough of a sum to ensure that the goals set out in the initiative would be met (1998a). There was a small increase in the number of programs that received financial support in 1998, during which time 49 NGO projects received funds from the Daphne program. Initially, 39 projects received funding for the second year, but an additional ten projects were funded thanks to supplemental funding in the amount of 800,000 ECUs allocated by the European Parliament to the program. Appendix I highlights the NGO-sponsored programs that targeted trafficking which received funding in 1997 and 1998. The initiative was continued in 1999 during which time 54 projects were approved for Daphne funding.

A review of the projects authorized and funded during 1997 and 1998 suggests that there is an increase in the number of specifically trafficking-related projects that secured funding. Of the 47 projects funded in 1997, 13 were generally related to addressing violence against women, of which three (23%) dealt with trafficking *per se*. In 1998, 19 projects dealt with violence against women, of which seven (37%) dealt specifically with trafficking issues. These projects came from seven different countries and concentrated mainly on the dissemination of information, public awareness campaigns, telephone hotlines for victims, and networking.

Initially, these projects were submitted for each calendar year. In order to address the drawbacks arising from funding programs in one-year increments, the Commission presented the Council and the Parliament with a five-year Community action program (to run between 2000-2004) on 20 March 1998. With this move, the Daphne Initiative became the Daphne Programme, which signaled not only a broadened geographic scope, but also more access by a broader variety of organizations as well as multi-year projects. This program would command a budget of €5 million annually (roughly \$4 million) and would aim to exchange information and enhance cooperation between the national, intergovernmental and nongovernmental bodies involved at the European level through the building of networks and pilot projects and by launching public awareness campaigns. Increasing the program's scope and preparing for the expansion of the European Union towards Central and Eastern Europe, this five-year program would also be open to the 11 countries which have association agreements with the European Union and their NGOs. Finally, the program seeks to further information exchange between its participants by maintaining an active database on the various projects that have been funded (47 in 2000 and updated regularly) by the Commission (European Commission, 2001: 14).

In a further effort to plant the issue firmly on the regional agenda, 1999 was designated by the Commission as a campaign year against violence against women.¹¹ The year highlighted the various forms of violence perpetrated against women — including trafficking — as well as convening another European conference on violence against women and trafficking, including participation by prominent NGOs.¹² In addition, the commitment to combating trafficking in women was renewed at the Tampere European Council of October 1999, which marked combating trafficking as a priority issue (European Council, 1999). In line with the comprehensive approach, subsequent European Council's (such as the one Lisbon European Council of March 2000 and the Nice European Council of December 2000) affirmed common objectives on fighting poverty, social exclusion, and discrimination — issues that are linked to the root causes of trafficking (European Council, 2000a; European Council, 2000b).

¹¹Initially, Commissioner Gradin expressed her desire to designate 1999 the "Year against Violence against Women." It appears that the idea of designating the year ran into problems resulting from the lack of time required to plan and administer the year. Instead, it was decided to launch various campaigns that were not part of a larger blueprint.

¹²This conference was cosponsored by the German presidency of the European Union (which held this post during the first semester of 1999) and was held in Cologne on International Women's Day on 8 March, 1999.

PHARE, TACIS and the Central and Eastern European Countries. Initially, the STOP and Daphne programs were not available to CEECs that are preparing to join the European Union in the next few decades (Archer and Butler, 1996).¹³ This was a serious weakness of the two programs outlined above, considering the fact that significant amount of research documents the increased numbers of women who are being trafficked into the Union territory from the CEECs. This weakness was later rectified with the overhaul of the STOP and Daphne programs, opening the door for funding to CEEC NGOs. However, even when CEECs did not yet have access to STOP and Daphne funds, NGOs from CEECs which have signed association agreements with the EU have access to EU funds to combat trafficking from these countries into the Union territory within the framework of the European Union's PHARE (Poland Hungary Aid for Reconstruction of the EC) and TACIS (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States) Democracy Programme. Though the funds available are smaller sums than is characteristic for the STOP and Daphne programs, several NGOs from EU and CEE states have found it possible to tap available resources.

The PHARE program was launched in 1989 under a Commission initiative and supported by industrial states. While it was originally conceived to extend aid to Poland and Hungary, other CEECs — such as the Czech Republic and Yugoslavia — were added in 1990. In turn, TACIS was established in 1990 to provide aid to the fallout states of former USSR. Currently, both programs are involved in paving the way for the eastern expansion of the EU through technical assistance and cooperation as well as the transfer of EU funds to the prospective member states in an effort to close the economic, political and social gap between the current members and the applicant countries.

The attention given to providing these NGOs with the means to raise awareness, as well as assist the victims in the CEECs is not misplaced, considering the dramatic increase of trafficking East-West trafficking. The principle program that seeks to undertake such action in *La Strada*, a program developed by the Dutch Foundation against Trafficking in Women, a women's rights NGO. The idea for *La Strada* (meaning "The Street" in Italian) flowed out of a 1980 campaign — called "Stop flying sperm!" — which was mounted by a Dutch action group in order to end European sex tourism to Asia.

The group, initially lacking in organization and institutional structure, eventually gelled into the Dutch Foundation against Trafficking in Women. The *La Strada* Program aims to cast trafficking as an abuse of women's human rights and draw public attention to the problem through exposure. It seeks to combat both the causes and the consequences of trafficking: while warning potential victims of the dangers of trafficking, the program also offers support to victims. While the original pilot project which was run in 1995-96 targeted work in Poland and the Czech Republic, the scope of the program was expanded to include the Ukraine during 1997-98. The program is unique in that, in addition to the traditional advocacy roles to be expected of an NGO seeking to defend women's human rights, it seeks to develop and groom local NGOs in the CEECs, which are expected not only act as local partners, but also as future expert NGOs which will carry on the mission. The organization acts as a central hub, providing the link between European institutions and fledgling NGOs in the CEECs. This symbiosis seems to benefit the Dutch Foundation as well. It is thanks to its close ties to local NGOs that information on the plight of existing and potential victims can be collected. Based on this information, the Dutch Foundation may intervene with the appropriate authorities on behalf of the victim to find a possible solution.¹⁴

¹³The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania have signed European Agreements with the EU in 1991, beginning the process of their accession to the organization.

¹⁴ The Dutch Foundation was and continues to be instrumental in advocating on behalf of women trafficked from Eastern Europe: one such case was that of a Polish hairdresser who was trafficked into the Netherlands, raped, blackmailed and finally arrested as an illegal immigrant. The Dutch Foundation publicized her case and secured asylum for the woman who would otherwise be deported to Poland and possibly forced back into prostitution. European Commission DG1a, *op cit*.

The *La Strada* campaign rests on a three-pronged approach: media awareness and lobbying, prevention and education campaigns, and victim-support. In Poland, these lobbying efforts yielded recognition from the Polish president and linked domestic institutions — such as the press, law enforcement, and the church — with their counterparts in the Czech Republic and the Netherlands. The project also sponsored a seminar of experts in an effort to both build a community of concerned experts as well as a means to raise public awareness.

A review of the activities of the NGOs that are funded by the European Union suggests that the EU sees the operational benefits of NGOs in at least two levels: support/assistance (including legal assistance and protection from further violence) to existing victims of trafficking and support/assistance to potential victims (including information campaigns as well as addressing “root causes”). While the former NGO projects represent those that are funded *within* the Union, the latter reaches out to countries of origin, particularly CEECs which are considered high priority because of their geographic proximity as well as their candidacy process for the European Union.

NGO NETWORKING IN EUROPE

NGOs have responded by and large positively to EU’s efforts towards inclusion, especially to the part that allows them to tap EU resources. Judging by the number of applications that figured well into the hundreds each year for the past two years, many NGOs with many different kinds of projects are knocking on the Commission’s door for funds. Yet, another development is of interest and goes beyond tapping financial resources but might have been consolidated and encouraged by recent EU willingness to work with NGOs. This centers on enhancing cooperation and information channels *between* the NGOs that can then *collectively* lobby the Union institutions for funds as well as policy initiatives. One such effort is the recent creation of the European Network of NGOs against Trafficking in Women. NGOs from Western, Central and Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin and North America participated in the European NGO conference on Trafficking in Women, held in Noordwijkerhout in the Netherlands on 5-7 April 1997. At this conference, the newly established Network called on European governments and the EU to adopt a code of conduct to prevent and combat traffic in women. Not surprisingly, the group proposed its EU code of conduct and urged EU institutions to adopt it or draft a similar instrument with a similar content. The code of conduct elaborated at the conference rested on three pillars:

- Develop policies against “trafficking in women” which clearly and unambiguously identify and address the violations of the rights of women affected and avoid common distortions and definition confusions;
- End the conditions under which trafficking in women, forced labor and slavery-like practices thrive by ensuring the civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights of women as persons, as workers and as migrants;
- Ensure that the European Code of conduct guarantees basic legal protection and possibilities for redress to victims of trafficking (Network European NGOs, 1997: 1, 3, 4).

These calls highlight NGOs concerns about the degree to which they consider European policies to address the rights and needs of the women affected by trafficking which, as was highlighted above, has traditionally centered around using migration policies as tools to stem the flow of trafficked women. Not surprisingly, NGO groups — though not always in agreement about the contents of women’s rights — were highlighting the human rights aspect and cautioning against adopting restrictionist migration policies that seem to impact neither the cause nor the consequence of the trafficking problem. Considering the fact that most of these organizations are women’s rights organizations with significant expertise on the plight of the trafficked women, and keeping in mind that NGOs are far less likely to be

able to impact immigration policies, this course of action seems to be in line with the strategies used by NGOs when dealing with national governments and IGOs.

The statement that included the elaborate proposed European Code of Conduct was subsequently presented to the EU Ministerial meeting that took place on 24-26 April, 1997, two weeks after the NGO meeting. The UN experience demonstrates that NGOs have successfully used global meetings and conferences as publicity platforms as well as for networking purposes, both with each other and with national and international authorities (Weiss and Gordenker, 1996). The recent effort to network NGOs in Europe — while so far the only example of its kind — would seem to indicate that European NGOs may consider a similar strategy whereby they might develop meetings that could run parallel to official meetings where trafficking issues may be considered. The very fact that there are efforts to consolidate the NGO movement against trafficking would seem to point to the importance attached to developing common NGO positions from which member states and IGOs and their constituent institutions can subsequently be lobbied. It is, however, not clear at this point how much of an impact they might have had.

Perhaps the most successful instance of networking is that of the creation of the umbrella organization Women against Violence Europe (WAVE), which was created in 1994 and began its work at the 1995 Beijing Conference. It was not until 1997, however, that the organization was able to launch an agenda due to the lack of funds. With the initiation of the very first round of the Daphne Initiative, WAVE was able to tap into the financial resources made available by the Commission which enabled it to further its work on creating a network of women's NGOs. Since then, WAVE has been able to obtain further funds from the Daphne Programme. WAVE brings together approximately 1,000 women's organizations combating violence against women and children in Europe, some of which deal specifically with trafficking issues, and provides an opportunity for networking and exchange of information between NGOs, as well as organizing conferences where NGOs can come together with government officials and other professionals working in this area [Women against Violence Europe (WAVE), 2000 #107].

CONCLUSION

Trafficking in women is a growing phenomenon that has largely eluded effective national and international efforts to eradicate it. Unfortunately, as Jonas Widgren observes, "there will be more victims in the decades to come" (Widgren, 1996: 1). The migration framework that seeks to understand this phenomenon points to factors that compel individuals to leave their place of ordinary residence and cross international borders, the expansion of criminal networks that specialize in trafficking, the relative ease with which borders can be penetrated, and, to a lesser extent, the emergence of regional markets for trafficking. The human rights framework points to the lack of an appropriate and adequate legal structure that criminalizes the traffickers rather than the trafficked, protects the human rights of the trafficked, and provides support to those who have been victimized by trafficking. Policy approaches that utilize only one of these frameworks will not be effective.

Historically, the divergence of national legal approaches to prostitution has limited international legal efforts to eradicate trafficking. More recently, renewed attention to trafficking as a gendered phenomenon that violates women's human rights has led to calls for global action. However, a debate persists over which women's rights are at stake and how they can best be protected. As the United Nations and the European Union begin to take up these questions, it is clear that stronger cooperative efforts by governments, inter-governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations are needed to stop this transnational criminal activity that abuses vulnerable women and girls. A human rights-cum-migration approach may ultimately bring about a more informed dialogue and more effective policies at the national, regional, and global levels.

The recent European experiment with strengthening the NGO component of this much-needed cooperation and exchange appears to be a step in the right direction. This paper briefly highlighted the

developments leading up to the official inclusion of NGOs into the trafficking debate, at the insistence of the Commission and the Parliament. While the NGOs obviously had a vested interest in being included, it appears that the opening up of the debate and the launching of the funding programs were largely a result of the salience trafficking issues gained on the European agenda, compelling EU institutions to engage in multilateral debate. As the issue was thrust onto the European institutions, as the media picked up not only on the plight but also the magnitude of the issue, and as European institutions began to grapple with the implications of the expansion of the EU (including countries who at present are sources of trafficking), the urgency of the issue sent national and supranational policy makers looking for comprehensive solutions.

It was at this juncture that NGOs were made (junior) partners in achieving some of the goals of the organization. The EU approach combines the migration and human rights aspects and sets goals on both fronts. Most of the goals that pertain to the migration side of the problem still gravitate towards unilateral, bilateral or multilateral state responses. It appears that the human rights side of the problem is more likely to be “subcontracted” in part to NGOs.

While there are some general guidelines for what human rights issues to address that pertain to trafficking, it appears that — at least for the time being — European NGOs that are eager to avail themselves of the EU funds have to follow the general guidelines set by the Commission, which reflect some of the goals set out in the Parliament’s resolution and the Commission’s communications. These activities include information and awareness campaigns, legal, psychological and physical assistance to current victims and creating a network of individuals and institutions for the purposes of information gathering and exchange.

Seen from the EU’s vantage point, the focus on NGOs (particularly those operating in CEECs) suggests a desire to extend the EU’s reach beyond its territory as it attempts to follow a dual-pronged approach. The first plank of this combating strategy (pushed by the Commission in particular) seeks to convince member states to develop legislation in punishing and deterring organized criminal rings that are involved in trafficking as well as developing measures to help trafficked women, particularly those who are willing to help the authorities in cracking criminal rings. The second is one of assistance to victims. It is in this plank that the EU has enlisted the services of NGOs, creating both a multiplier effect in financial terms as well as capitalizing on NGOs comparative advantage in the field. Such subcontracting is increasingly indicative of the IGO-NGO interface and combating trafficking seems to be no exception.

In effect, the EU retains the policy domain as one that will continue to be dealt with and conceptualized at the multilateral level, therefore resisting devolution. Instead, it attempts to create a multiplier effect for its funds, as well as commissioning the human resources of the successful NGOs in conceptualizing and implementing these goals. What this analysis does not reveal, however, is the nature of the NGOs or the projects that did not withstand the scrutiny of the Commission. It is clear that there is disagreement among policy makers and NGOs alike on one of the most contentious issues surrounding trafficking, namely whether prostitution should be legal and whether efforts to prosecute prostitutes are in fact a violation of the human rights of prostitutes. Many EU countries consider prostitution a criminal activity, an attitude that is carried to the corridors in Brussels. Further research would seem to be order to understand the cleavages between the NGOs, whether their stance on prostitution has any impact on their selection as EU partners, and whether and to what extent the same cleavages may hinder the efforts to build NGO coalitions to lobby the EU more effectively.

Organization

Project

1997 (47 projects total)

National Organization of Battered Women's Shelters in Sweden (Sweden)	Publicity campaign and help line throughout Sweden to make municipal and governmental organizations more aware of violence against women and to help them create a safer environment for women and children
European Women's Lobby (Belgium)	European observatory and network to facilitate the exchange of information between NGOs in the matter of violence against women and how its causes should be addressed at the European level
Telefono Azzurro (Italy) *	Research and seminars establishing an EU-wide help-line network for the prevention of the abuse of minors, particularly sexual abuse, and producing a directory
XINI — Center of Continuous Vocational Training (Greece) *	Seminars, and conference to create awareness among Greek police officers of the need to improve services offered to women victims of rape
Qvinnojourne i Ostersund (Sweden) *	Training courses to provide civil servants, employment agencies and medical services with a common platform of knowledge to assist cooperation in supporting child and women victims of sexual abuse
Caritas der Diocese Linz (Austria) ‡	Pilot projects to enable women to obtain information and to communicate in order to implement their rights and opportunities to overcome social isolation: information materials on trafficking in women and establishment of a support network for women at regional, European, and transnational level
Frauen Beratungs und Therapienzentrum (Germany) ‡	Research study on whether migrant and ethnic minority women affected by violence as a result of trafficking in people have adequate access to psychological institutions
End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (UK) *	Project for a film production by young people on the commercial sexual exploitation of children
Mobility International (Belgium) *	Training disabled women to become trainers in the fight against sexual violence
Democratic Women's Movement (Greece)	Research, training and network with professionals, judges and the police to raise public awareness on violence against women
Institut de Victimologie	Network of European care centers involving concerned professionals in all member states in common research to help victims of violence
WAVE— Women against Violence Europe (Austria)	Network of aid organizations for abused women and children in EU involving exchanges with professionals, police and judicial authorities, a coordination point and cooperation with target groups
Parsec-Ricerca ed Interventi Sociali (Italy) ‡	Research, seminars and conferences on the problems of prostitution and the sexual exploitation of immigrant women, with a view to improving existing practices and establishing new practices for the public and private services involved

1998 (49 projects total)	
Association Internationale des Charités (Belgium)	Bringing together volunteers to prevent violence against women throughout Europe. Research and seminar, including training and exchange of best practices
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (UK) *	Support victims of sexual abuse and trafficking, including prostitution, around military bases. Research and training of professionals
Stiftelsen Kvinnoforum (Sweden) ‡	Combating trafficking in women in the Nordic and Baltic states. Handbook and establishment of network of NGOs, research institutions and governmental bodies
Research Centre of Women's Affairs Athens (Greece) ‡	Evaluating public attitudes towards the sexual exploitation of and trafficking in women refugees and creating an information support office for these women. Research, seminars and press conference.
MAIZ—Autonomes Integrationszentrum für Migrantinnen (Austria) ‡	Preventing and reducing violence against migrant women, in particular trafficking. Cooperation with police and judiciary, advice to victims, training workshop and public relations campaign.
Coordinamento Nazionale Comunità di Accoglienza (Italy)	Assisting women who are victims of violence and trafficking, in particular street workers. Training program for professionals
Gruppo Indagine e Resistenza alla Follia Femminile Ah! (GIRAFFA, Italy) ‡	Developing prevention campaigns for non-EU trafficked women in Puglia. Information campaign.
Associazione on the Road (Italy) ‡	Supporting migrant women and young victims of trafficking. Training and counseling of victims.
Laboratorio Immagine Donna (Italy) ‡	Using television and cinema films as basis for reflection on nature of domestic violence, sexual exploitation and trafficking in women and to train professionals.
Other	Of the remaining projects not highlighted here, six were on domestic violence, six on violence against children, seven on the sexual abuse of children, seven on general women's rights issues, and 10 on other miscellaneous issues.

Appendix 1 Daphne Initiative Projects, 1997-1998

Source Task Force for Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs, Secretariat General of the European Commission

* Programs that deal with sexual abuse of women, including rape and — probably — trafficking and forced prostitution

‡ Programs that specifically deal with trafficking

The remainder of the highlighted NGOs and their projects reflect a more broad agenda centered around fighting violence against women

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Project Name and Description</i>
Caritas der Diözese Linz	LENA: multi-dimensional pilot project for women in Upper Austria victimised by trafficking: Pilot projects to enable women to obtain information and to communicate in order to implement their rights and opportunities to overcome social isolation. Information materials on trafficking in women and establishment of a support network for women at regional, European and transnational levels.
FrauenBeratungs und TherapieZentrum (FBTZ)	Verein für Beratung, Therapie und Selbsthilfe für Frauen und Kinder e.V.: Research study on whether migrant and ethnic minority women affected by violence as a result of trafficking in people have adequate access to psychological institutions.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)	Developing Best Professional Practice for Reducing Sexual Abuse and Trafficking in Militarised Areas of Peace-time Europe: Support victims of sexual abuse and trafficking, including prostitution, around military bases. Research and training of professionals.
Childnet International	Inhope forum: Combating child pornography on the Internet. Networking, research and co-operation between the hot-lines in Europe to increase co-ordination.
Stiftelsen Kvinnoforum [FWF]	Crossing Borders Against Trafficking in Women: Combating trafficking in women in the Nordic and Baltic countries. Handbook and establishment of network of NGO's, research institutions and governmental bodies.
Arbeitskreis Neue Erziehung e.V. (ANE)	Helping Children to Self-confidence - Information Campaign for Parents to prevent Sexual Violence against Children and Young People: Raising of parental awareness of issues concerning child abuse. Preventing sexual violence against children and young persons through the distribution of a brochure followed by a survey.
Research Centre of Women's Affairs Athens [RCWA]	Women Refugees - STOP Women's Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking: Evaluating public attitudes towards the sexual exploitation of and trafficking in women refugees and creating an information support office for these women. Research, seminars and press conference.
MAIZ-Autonomes Integrationszentrum für Migrantinnen (MAIZ)	Action and Prevention for Female Migrants in particular for Women Affected by Trafficking: Preventing and reducing violence against migrant women, in particular the victims of trafficking. Cooperation with police and judiciary, advice to victims, training, workshop, public relations campaign.
Laboratorio Immagine Donna (LID)	X Films: Using television and cinema films as basis for reflection on nature of domestic violence, sexual exploitation and trafficking in women and to train professionals. Producing films, dissemination.
Free Women: National Network against Violence and Women Traffic	Associazione On The Road: Assisting women who are victims of violence and trafficking, in particular street workers. Training programme for professionals.
Gruppo Indagine e Resistenza Alla Follia Femminile Ah (GIRAFFA)	Cabria - Donne unite contro lo sfruttamento sessuale: Developing prevention campaigns for non EU-trafficked women in Puglia. Information campaign.
Associazione On The Road	Escape route: from the street to 'autonomy': Supporting migrant women and young persons victims of trafficking. C8Training and counselling victims.
Red Europea De Mujeres Periodistas Españolas	The Role of the Media (Radio and Press) in the Prevention of Violence Towards Women (Traffic and Pornography):
RR. Adoratrices Esclavas Del SMO. Sacramento Y De La Caridad	Pilot Project for the comprehensive assistance of Women who are Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation
Sozialpädagogisches Institut Forschung GmbH	Improvement & Coordination of Help for Victims of Violence and Trafficking in Women in Prostitution
IRENE (Iniziativa-Ricerche-Espertenze Per Una Nuova Europa)	Network for fighting the phenomenon of trafficking of women for the purpose of sexual exploitation
Foundation Of Women Forum	Training and Capacity Building against Trafficking in Women
Gruppo Indagine e Resistenza Alla Follia Femminile Ah (GIRAFFA)	Cabria 2000: Women and Institutions against Sexual Exploitation: The project proposes at Apulia region level to create an integrated group of voluntary associations, Entities, Public Institutions and the forces of Law and Order in order to continue action started in 1999 in favour of women forced into prostitution.
Health Policy Unit, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine	Identifying and responding to the health needs of women and girls trafficked to EU countries: The project will use information collected from trafficked women, immigration and law enforcement officials, health service providers, and NGOs in both sending and recipient countries; in combination with a survey of national and international legal norms related to trafficking and health.

Appendix II: Daphne Programme, 2000-2203
Source: (European Commission, 2000)

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