

Trafficking and Representation: A Normative Study of Gender in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings from 2005 regarding the construction and negotiation of the norm of trafficking as a women's issue based on the problem formulation: *As part of a norm life cycle, how is the norm of 'trafficking as a women's issue' constructed and negotiated in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings?* It is significant to establish the findings of this question in order to further discuss gender equality in policies, the impact of gender norms, and inclusive gender representation. This thesis is written in the context of rising numbers of male victims of trafficking in recent years, while they as a group are still being silenced in international legal trafficking policies. The process of answering the problem formulation is carried out using the norm life cycle theory in combination with the 'what's the problem represented to be' approach. The analysis is based on the three stages of the norm life cycle theory being norm emergence, norm cascade, and norm internalization. The WPR approach allows for a deeper investigation of these stages while adding a needed discursive dimension to the normative theory. The norm of trafficking as a women's issue, is proven to have been part of all the stages in the life cycle. The norm emergence section established that the norm is constructed in the convention through its implications of trafficking being a violation of women's human rights and an act of violence against women. Furthermore, a historical overview of the norm journey showed that the norm originates in a discourse that closely associated trafficking with female prostitution. The norm cascade section proved that the norm had been accepted by society partly due to its status in documents from the Beijing Conference in 1995. The section further illustrated the silence of men in the convention, and thus lack of negotiation of the norm, while exploring the effects of the norm. Lastly, the norm internalization stage showed that the norm of trafficking as a women's issue is defended today through the convention itself and initiatives by the UN, all while having reached a taken-for-granted status. However, the norm is also being negotiated through the work of the grassroots of the trafficking regime, which no longer makes trafficking into only a women's issue. The norm is proven to not be negotiated as such *in* the convention but rather in recent years after its implementation. Discussions on gender equality, gender representation, and gender norms are carried out at the end of the thesis, arguing that the convention is failing in its attempt to reach gender equality through policies since it silences men and other gender identities.

List of abbreviations

CAHTEH = Ad Hoc Committee on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings

CMM = Center Mod Menneskehandel

CoE = Council of Europe

EU= European Union

GRETA = Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings

ILO = International Labor Organization

INGO =International Non-Governmental Organization

IR = International Relations

LGBTQ+ = Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer+

NGO = Non-Governmental Organization

SDGs = United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

UN = United Nations

UNODC = United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

WPR = What's the problem represented to be

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Introduction

The world as we know it in 2021 is facing many challenges. Now, a global pandemic is paralyzing the world, and issues of inequality, health care, trust in authorities, and mental health are becoming unavoidable, all while climate change, social responsibility, race-based violence, and civil conflicts, among others, are still issues that need the international community's attention. Human trafficking is one of those issues that never left because of the Covid-19 pandemic and still needs to be part of the global agenda and given much attention (Dow Jones, 2021). Trafficking is one of those difficult issues to discuss as a society, both nationally and internationally, because it goes on in the dark – not only physically in the dark spheres of society but also in the dark places of us as people. Trafficking happens because there is demand for the services it can provide, a demand coming from the people in terms of, most often, cheap labor and sexual services (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.19-20). We cannot discuss human trafficking without turning the focus inwards and looking at the ominous parts of our own society and ourselves. There is a tendency to believe that slavery was something that happened some hundred years ago on big ships taking people from Africa to the rest of the world under horrendous conditions; however, this is not the case. Modern slavery is still happening, and innocent people are still suffering in the hands of traffickers who are supplying a 'commodity'. Human trafficking is one of the most brutal acts of crime because people are robbed of their independence and freedom and are kept in violent or psychological grips of coercion and all, in most cases, because they dreamt of a better life for themselves and their families (Planitzer, 2020a, p.33).

There are slightly different definitions of trafficking in the international community, but for the purpose of this report, the definition from The Council of Europe will be used. The CoE defines it as such: "'Trafficking in human beings" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 4a). It is significant to understand trafficking as going beyond only sexual exploitation which is what many believe that trafficking means. Trafficking is understood by the people involved in combating it as including sexual exploitation, labor exploitation, domestic servitude, organ harvesting, and forced criminality, and marriage (Dow Jones, 2021). The

understanding that trafficking equivalates only sexual exploitation is partly due to the media coverage of trafficking, as most of the instances of trafficking reported in the media concern victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (ibid.,). Something else which is important to take away from the definition is that trafficking does not have to be across borders; it can be domestically within a state that trafficking occurs (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.15). Furthermore, for there to be trafficking, according to the definition, there must be three elements combined present; an *action* which can be transportation as an example, a *means* which can be the use of deception and a *purpose* which is the type of exploitation which can be labor exploitation (ibid., p.14-15). As the definition suggests, there can be different combinations of the three elements along with also more than one act under the different elements.

In January 2021, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime published the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020, where a global and regional overview is presented (UNODC, 2021). The report presents statistics on many different areas of trafficking; I will only mention a few significant numbers to illustrate part of the scope of trafficking on a global scale. The division on gender in trafficking concerning victims is women 46%, girls 19%, men 20%, boys 15% (ibid., p.31). The report has researched the division of adults and minor victims combined with high or low country income; the research shows that in high-income countries, 86% of the victims are adults and 14% are minors, while in low-income countries, the division is 50% adults and 50% minors (ibid., p.9). In terms of what purpose people are trafficked for, the numbers are 50% sexual exploitation, 38% forced labor, and 6% criminal acts; these numbers vary slightly when looking at the regional level (ibid., p.11). Another source, also making research on numbers from 2020, has different results and claims that trafficking for the purpose of forced labor exceeded sexual exploitation in 2020 after the onset of Covid-19 (Dow Jones, 2021). In general, there are fewer reported victims of trafficking during the pandemic, according to Dow Jones, which does not seem unlikely due to societal lockdowns (ibid.,). The UNODC is, as they mention, working with numbers from 2018 or most recent, compared to Dow Jones who has been investigating trafficking in the light of the global pandemic, resulting in their numbers probably being most recent (UNODC, 2021, p.11: Dow Jones, 2021). Additionally, it is logical to assume that sexual exploitation in the shape of forced prostitution has been decreasing, as the virus is transmitted through physical contact with others, resulting in lower demand. If one looks a bit closer at the background of the victims, numbers show that 51% of the victims are exploited because they are of economic need, and 20% of victims are children from ‘dysfunctional families’ (UNODC, 2021, p.9). And when it comes to the trafficking patterns; 57% of trafficking cases can be

classified as executed by “business-enterprise-type of organized criminal groups”, which means that three or more persons are working together in a network where trafficking is the main criminal activity for those involved (ibid., p.12-13).

At the beginning of developing my thesis, I was involved in another project in my 9th semester in collaboration with the NGO Ami Ami, which works with trafficking victims in Denmark. My assignment at the time was to explore whether there was theoretical knowledge on men and shame, which they could use as support in their work. This assignment led me on a journey to investigate the Danish National Action Plans to Combat Human Trafficking, where I did not see men mentioned once. This then led me to look at the documents that shape the Danish plan, which is the UN Palermo Protocol and the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings. Both did not mention men either; however, the CoE mentioned gender equality several times while still silencing men, which appeared problematic. The ultimate aim for me is, thus, to discuss gender equality in trafficking on a policy level and what that entails and should mean while incorporating the impact of norms, however, before that is possible, I must investigate the construction of a norm focusing the trafficking issue on women, and the negotiation of the norm over time. The problem formulation for this thesis is, therefore: *As part of a norm life cycle, how is the norm of ‘trafficking as a women's issue’ constructed and negotiated in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings?* I will not focus on the political negotiation of the norm but rather the social gender norms that are up for negotiation. This problem formulation allows me to investigate, through the norm life cycle theory, a norm of trafficking as a women’s issue, where it was established and reproduced but also the natural other side of that, which is to investigate the consequences and effects of the norm.

The thesis is structured in chapters. The first chapter of Methodology introduces the whole process of constructing the thesis. The second chapter addresses and clarifies the main theories and concepts used in this project. The third chapter is the analysis which provides a comprehensive look at the CoE convention through a norm life cycle perspective. The fourth chapter presents a discussion on gender equality, and in that context, the impact of gender norms on the convention. Lastly, a conclusion will be presented, which will answer the problem formulation.

Methodology

This chapter of the thesis will present the methodological considerations leading to this project. The sections are ontology and epistemology, my bias as a researcher, a literature review, the choices of theories that I have made, the research design, a data presentation, the strategy of analysis, and, lastly, the delimitations and limitations of the thesis.

Ontology & epistemology

This project is developed from a nominalist perspective which means that the categories of the world we live in are created by us as humans (Porta & Keating, 2008, p.21). Additionally, this thesis takes the interpretivist ontological approach (ibid., p.23-25). This means that I believe that people create the objective reality that exists and that it only has meaning depending on the individual (ibid., p.23). Positivism argues that there is an objective reality that is independent of people and that it is something to be discovered throughout studies; I do not agree with this perspective (ibid., p.22-23). To me, human interpretation of the world we live in is paramount, and one cannot separate the objective from the subjective (ibid., p.24). Ontology is related to what we know, and epistemology is related to how we know those things (ibid., p.21-22). Porta and Keating argue in their text that there are overlaps between ontology and epistemology and that the two are not separated from each other (ibid., p.22-23). This means that the epistemological standpoint for this thesis will also be interpretivist, meaning that I am dedicated to understanding and studying the subjective meaning of an entity to make sense of the objective (ibid., p.24-25). I will, thus, not accept that something just is the way it is, but rather I am devoted to understanding the motivation and interpretation of the reality of a given group or individual in order to understand the action and behavior they have found meaningful (ibid., p.24). It is, to me, impossible to understand social phenomena without looking at the subjective interpretation of the mechanisms of the world (ibid., p.24-25).

My bias

As a researcher from the global north and a gender studies student, I have a bias that, naturally, affects this project. Although this project is concerned with the CoE and gender representation in this part of the world, it is important to recognize that the way things are understood in this thesis might not apply to other writings or align with other understandings of the subject. Additionally, I have a bias of being a gender studies student, which means that this project is influenced by my academic learning and mindset. There will be counterarguments and other perspectives presented throughout, which are important to also take into consideration. I am also aware that I am a heterosexual, cisgender woman investigating and discussing the representation of other genders, which surely will influence my way

of interpreting – I am not aware of what it is like to be another gender or how they would understand the subject and the problematizations raised. I am in this thesis raising questions about gender norms, which I only fully understand in my own position as a woman – men and other gender groups are discussed and investigated, to the best of my ability, since I will never fully bodily understand the normative circumstances, they are subjected to. I do find it important to mention my aim is that trafficking and other challenges the world face are discussed less as a gendered issue and more as a human issue.

Literature review

Regarding what academic literature is conducted on this subject, there are limited options. My research shows that no academics have explored the relationship between gender norms with a particular focus on men and the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, and what underlying mechanisms of frames and discourses that are present in the document. Birgit Locher has developed a thorough norm analysis of the European initiatives on trafficking up until 2003 in her book “Trafficking in Women in The European Union: Norms, Advocacy- Networks and Policy Change” (Locher, 2007). This work is made with some of the same frameworks, like the norm life cycle and mechanisms in mind as in this project, however, her analysis is focused on the EU and, thus, does not dive into the CoE. Her normative analysis does provide the major historical events related to trafficking and women and proves that the discourse on trafficking is strongly tied to women (Locher, 2007). Additionally, Planitzer & Sax have made a comprehensive analysis of the convention, which was published in late 2020, to understand how the convention came about and the initiatives taken since, which is extremely valuable (Planitzer & Sax, 2020). However, that analysis is more descriptive and with the intent of giving an overview of the convention’s meanings and obligations, not the underlying mechanisms of discourses and norms (ibid., p.1). They do, however, briefly mention gender commitments and the meaning thereof, as well as the silence of men in the convention and how that may appear problematic (ibid., p.249-257). The overall picture seems to be that if men are mentioned in any sort of analysis on the specific convention, it is more as a side comment and not as a focal point for the main analysis.

Extensive research has been carried out regarding women and trafficking and how women are understood and portrayed in legal initiatives surrounding the issue. Additionally, it is relevant to mention the ongoing work of the danish researcher Marlene Spanger, who investigates how gender and gender norms are present in trafficking, prostitution, and migration and what that means for the people involved. She has also, along with a colleague, touched upon the challenges of

being a male victim of trafficking in “Migraners Mobilitet: mellem kriminalisering, menneskehandel og udnyttelse på det danske arbejdsmarked” (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p.155-171). One of their main findings was that migrant workers, including men, are stuck in situations where their access to rights is limited due to lack of knowledge, communication, and responsibility from Danish companies and authorities – this regards their rights as employees but also, for some of them, their rights as victims of human trafficking (ibid., p.137-180). There are mentions and case- articles from all over the world of men in trafficking, many touching upon the meaning of gender, but very few on trafficked men in Europe and even fewer on men in trafficking related to sexual exploitation. Many NGOs, along with other institutions involved in the development process of trafficking, are beginning to raise awareness on men as victims; a few can be mentioned like GRETA, End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT), and the danish Center Mod Menneskehandel. This project, thus, aims to make such a normative analysis combined with a gendered lens focusing on the male aspect of trafficking, which has not yet been investigated in academia, according to my research.

Choice of theories

In this thesis, the theories are chosen more in collaboration and overlap with the data than may be the case in other projects. Some of the theories are to clarify concepts and meanings of elements used in the discussion rather than to dictate the standpoints of analysis. One could argue that the method used to analyze (WPR) is a theory and should belong in the ‘Theory ‘chapter; however, in this project, it works as a tool, which will be presented and elaborated later in this chapter.

The norm life cycle theory is introduced to work as a tool in understanding how the norm of trafficking as a women’s issue has evolved, been established, and been institutionalized through the CoE convention. The norm life cycle theory is particularly used to understand the construction of the norm regarding the role of women in trafficking, where the WPR is adding a further dimension that sheds light on what is silenced. The norm life cycle theory will work as the main pillar and structure of the analysis and set the initial frame that allows for further investigation. The theory will provide a rough image of the status of gender in policies on trafficking, which will work as the foundation for a normative debate on gender equality in the policy realm in the discussion chapter.

The section on gender definition was chosen for the thesis because it is at the very essence of the theme at hand. When one wants to discuss gender, it is paramount that the concept is introduced and presented to the reader. Especially because there are so many different conversations

and discussions about the definition and meaning. It was important to me to include an LGBTQ+¹ dimension in the gender definition section since I understand gender as more than a dichotomy, which is a different perspective than in the convention. Additionally, there can be an intersectional aspect of trafficking that the inclusion of the perspective of this community can provide.

For parts of the analysis and the discussion in this thesis, it is important to introduce norms and, in particular, gender norms. This notion will be touched upon briefly in the analysis, but mainly in the discussion section to discuss the role of gender norms and the silence of men in official documents on trafficking. The analysis will provide a foundation for which gender norms can be debated in the discussion section, which will provide a broader perspective on the interpretation and underlying mechanisms of official legal documents. This part will also be used to argue that bias and officials' internal interpretations and understandings of the world, and in this case gender, influence the policies produced.

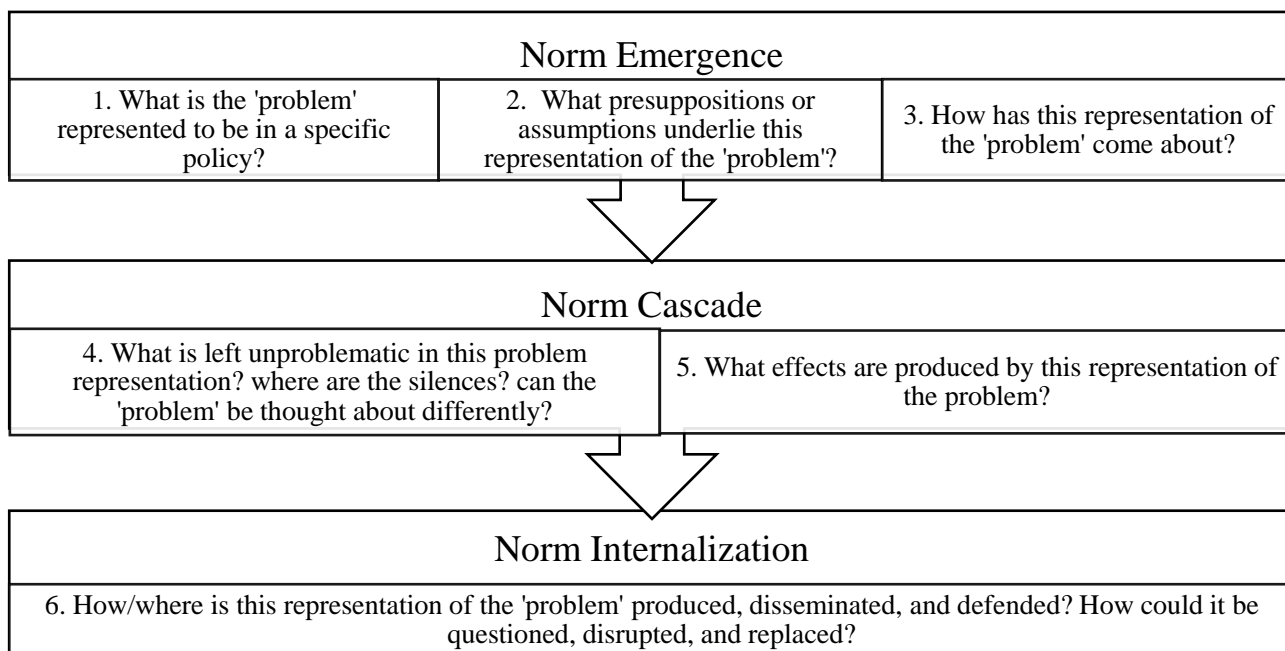
Research design

This thesis is focusing its research on the CoE since it is one of the leading human rights organizations in the world. The thesis will be directed mostly at the Global North and, in particular, Europe; however, the CoE has members from all over the world, which means that the content of the chosen convention is not directed at a specific region even though most members are from the European continent. Denmark will be mentioned a few times in the analysis as an example of how the convention has an influence on domestic authorities and their systems, along with giving concrete examples of trafficking initiatives and effects. It is, however, important to stress that this thesis is not a case study on Denmark – the country will only be referred to as an example to give context.

The analysis of the thesis will, in sections, follow the stages of the norm life cycle (Norm Emergence, Norm Cascade, and Norm Internalization) where the questions from Bacchi's WPR approach have been incorporated as tools to illustrate and elaborate on the different stages of the norm life cycle. This way of structuring the analysis and fitting two significant elements of theory and method together will allow me to go a step deeper into the norm life cycle theory. Question 1-3 will establish the different elements that are part of the norm emergence stage in detail. Question 4-5 will illustrate what is left out of the norm and which consequences that has as a result of the norm cascade. Lastly, question 6 will allow the norm internalization stage to be investigated from different sides of

¹ I have chosen deliberately to go with the term LGBTQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer; the + represents the inclusion of many other and future categories) when referring to that community. LGBT is probably the most used term in academic literature; however, I do find that too narrow compared to how the community's own understanding of the abbreviation and inclusion, in general, is developing.

norm defenders and norm challengers. Figure 1 below shows which questions are divided into which stages.



Data presentation

The main data for this thesis will, as mentioned, be the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings from 2005. The convention has 47 articles and an accompanying explanatory report on 59 pages which will be the main foundation of the analysis (Council of Europe, 2005a; Council of Europe, 2005b). I choose the convention because it did not mention men while still dedicating itself to gender equality and gender mainstreaming (Council of Europe, 2005a). Not all articles will appear in the analysis since it is an analysis that looks at a specific norm, so all articles are not relevant. The convention has not been amended or in other ways altered, which means that it is still representative of the current CoE agenda and approach to combating trafficking. Compared to other established transnational initiatives on trafficking, the CoE's approach is dedicated to gender equality which makes it unique and a natural choice for further investigation from a gender perspective.

Another aspect of the analysis is a short questionnaire developed to investigate if men, as a group, are still silenced in the trafficking regime as of 2021. The questionnaire is mailed to 54 people or organizations who are actively part of the regime surrounding the combat of trafficking. The questionnaire has been sent to 9 individual academics and experts and, also, employees in these organizations: GRETA, La Strada International, Anti-Slavery International, ILO, The Anti-Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling Unit (UN), Hope for Justice, International Justice Mission,

HopeNow, Stop The Traffik, Ami Ami, CMM, Reden International, On the Road, FLEX Focus on Labour Exploitation, MRICI, La Strada Belarus, PAG-ASA, CCEM, ICMPD Headquarters, and Walk Free.

The research field of surveys and questionnaires has in the last 15-20 years turned into a science that is much more focused on the effects of the questions asked and in which order they appear (Holbrook, 2017). Questionnaires and surveys are cognitive exercises that kickstart psychological processes for the people answering, which is something that researchers should be aware of (ibid.). Simple and clear questions are, therefore, often preferred to both respect the participants' time and the psychological process, but also to limit the data treatment for the researcher, since it can be time consuming and expensive (ibid.). The structure of the questionnaire for this project is, thus, also carefully considered since research show that the specific questions asked, and the order are paramount for results (ibid.). The aim of my survey is to get an overview and a glimpse of where the professionals' thoughts on the matter are right at this moment, which will support my investigation. Almost all questions will be close-ended to limit the data treatment and get as simple an overview as possible since the convention is my main focus (ibid.). The first question was developed to see, in an unmanipulated way, if the responders associated trafficking with women. Concerning answering, options were adjusted to include 'maybe' sometimes because I was not sure who would answer; it might be an employee that did not know the answer. Also, the option 'I do not wish to answer' was incorporated to make room for possible duty of confidentiality. I choose to make an open-ended question at the end, where the responders can leave a comment if they wish. This was to allow them to share some thoughts with me if the questionnaire had brought something up. To give an overview:

Question	Answering options
What do you associate with the word trafficking? (please write 5 things)	-
Do you feel that gender equality plays a role in your work?	Yes, no, to a certain extent
Have you in your work heard of or personally known male victims of trafficking?	Yes, no, I do not wish to answer
Are you of knowledge of or in contact with a male victim of trafficking right now?	Yes, no, maybe, I do not wish to answer

Have you in your work known of government or supranational organization policies aimed at male victims of trafficking? (the word ‘directed’ was altered to ‘aimed’, due to a responder’s confusion)	Yes, no
Have you heard of or made initiatives, studies, surveys, programs, classes, policies, reports, etc. directed at male victims of trafficking?	Yes, no, maybe
Write a comment here if you wish.	-

Strategy of analysis

This project is based mainly on qualitative data and primarily document analysis; however, quantitative data will be presented briefly at times and mostly in the form of presenting my questionnaire’s data. This also means that I have used more than one sampling approach to the project. As mentioned, the norm life cycle theory in cooperation with Bacchi’s WPR approach will appear in the project as adding an investigative dimension and elaborated framework. The offset of the analysis is, thus, the norm life cycle and its stages, where the WPR approach will work as a tool to uncover the elements of the stages. To clarify, the problem representation in the analysis will be understood as and be equivalent to the ‘norm’ of the lifecycle.

The ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ approach

The ‘What’s the problem represented to be’ approach is an approach to policy analysis that has been developed by Carol Bacchi in 2009 (Bacchi, 2009, p.1). The approach is developed around six questions that aim to rethink how one studies and thinks about policy and the production of policy (ibid., p.1). Bacchi suggests that beneath policies, there is a certain representation and interpretation of the problem that needs to be analyzed to truly grasp the content and consequences of policies (ibid., p.1). The six questions are interconnected and aim to provide a deeper insight into a policy (ibid., p.2). The six questions are:

1. *What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in a specific policy?*

This question addressed the straightforward, however, not easy task of identifying the problem representation in the policy (ibid., p.4). The idea is to pinpoint one or several of the problems that the policy expresses; often, policy analysis has understood the problem to be outside the policy, however, this task is based on looking inside the policy (ibid., p.2-3). Instead of thinking that policies are answers to problems from the outside, this question wants to open

the analysis by taking the departure within the policy and understand what the solution (the policy) is suggesting the problem to be (ibid., p.3).

2. *What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?*

The aim here is to look at what is taken for granted in the development and interpretation of the dominant problem; what is assumed and presupposed in the policy (ibid., p.5). The question includes an analysis of the ontology and epistemology of the policy while also identifying the established meanings that make the problem representation sensible (ibid., p.5). It is important here to distinguish between policymakers, which is not of interest; it is the policy itself and the problem representations that are the focus of analysis (ibid., p.5). Binaries are introduced in this question as a concept to look for; dichotomies often appear that say something about the hierarchies, privileges, and values of people in the policy (ibid., p.7). Key concepts are also something to look for, which are understood as abstract labels that indicate in which frame of mind and in which understanding the policy is developed (ibid., p.8). Lastly, in this question two, categories are presented as something to look for in the policy, which will tell something about the people the policy is dealing with, but also how those give meaning to the problem representation (ibid., p.9).

3. *How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?*

Question number three deals with the genealogy of the policy (ibid., p.10). It aims to investigate how exactly this problem representation has been developed and how this representation dominated over others (ibid., p.11).

4. *What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?*

This question investigates the limits to the policy and opens for the more critical aspect of this approach to policy analysis (ibid., p.12-13). What one should look for here is silences and what is left out of this problem representation, and reflecting upon these (ibid., p.12-13). The policy is challenged here because this question wants to investigate the incoherence of the policy and the often-appearing contradictions that the discourse around the problem representation reveals (ibid., p.13).

5. *What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?*

The aim here is to look critically at the effects and, thus, consequences that the problem representation has produced (ibid., p.15). The pre-understood notion for this question is that some groups often benefit more from a policy than other groups and that the policy should be

altered to prevent that from happening (ibid., p.15). Three types of effects are suggested for investigation in this question: discursive effects, subjectification effects, and lived effects (ibid., p.15). Discursive effects address the effects that the problem representation has on what can be said and thought about the issue (ibid., p.15-16). Subjectification effects are about the available subject positions of the discourse of the problem representations; it is about social relationships and how people fit into those (ibid., p.16). Lived effects address the impact that the problem representation has on people's lives in a more material way: in a sense, it is about who gets what and who has what available to them (ibid., p.17-18).

6. *How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated, and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted, and replaced?*

This last question is tied to question three, however, it goes deeper into looking at the process of how the problem representation has been defended and gained legitimacy (ibid., p.19). Here one looks at where the problem representations can be threatened and in what contexts while also investigating how the problem representation may be challenged and possibly replaced (ibid., p.19).

Survey questionnaire

For this thesis, I want to investigate where the norm around men being explicitly part of the anti-trafficking policy is. I have, thus, developed a questionnaire that has been sent out by mail to people working in the field internationally and some that I personally know. The responders to the questionnaire will appear anonymous in the text. This questionnaire is to get a brief overview of where men as recognized victims of trafficking are in the discourse since they are not mentioned specifically in the convention. Out of the 54 people and organizations, it was sent to, 12 responses have been received. With such a low response rate, it is not possible to conclude anything for certain, but it can give a small estimate of opinions from the field. The questionnaire works as complementary data for investigating the men as trafficking victims in 2021 – the questionnaire can provide slightly more insight than possible through online research, despite the low rate of responses.

Structure of the analysis

The structure of the analysis will follow the norm life cycle theory and its three steps norm emergence, norm cascade, and norm internalization. The six questions presented above from Carol Bacchi's policy analysis will be used as methods to investigate norm emergence, norm cascade, and norm internalization of a particular norm. The questions will be used as a guide, and not all aspects that the questions encourage will be investigated; only what I find relevant for the analysis to support the

norm life cycle. I have chosen this structure because I believe that Bacchi's questions can add a deeper dimension to the norm life cycle theory and because those questions address policy analysis from a discursive and, on a deeper level, also a normative perspective. I have attempted to keep the structure of the analysis clear while also attempting to merge a specific theory structure with a specific method structure – I will, naturally, argue and explain the reasoning behind the steps taken during the analysis.

Delimitations and limitations

There have been made some conscious delimitations to the thesis, as one cannot fit everything on a subject into one project. I have chosen to delimit the subject to trafficking, since that is part of my expertise, but also because I believe one can eliminate an aspect of a discussion about whether the victims are even entitled to help; most policy developers agree that trafficking is one of the most heinous crimes, which creates room for the deeper discussion I am looking to have. One of the main delimitations is the choice to work only with the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings. I could have chosen to work with several documents for comparison, however, I have chosen to make one in-depth analysis to illustrate a point and conduct a discussion. There needed to be an empirical delimitation because this thesis must reach some sort of interpretive layer that goes beyond only the first steps of analysis; an in-depth analysis of one legal initiative would allow me to do that. Having said that, other studies on legal frameworks within the policy area of trafficking are needed to make a comprehensive conclusion on the subject. Another conscious delimitation is the choice of gender norms, as there are hundreds of different norms that could have been interpreted in the realm of trafficking policy development. Lastly, I have chosen to delimit the scope of the thesis to discuss mainly men because the silence was striking to me when comparing to victim statistics. It is, however, important to me to include an LGBTQ+ dimension and mention what I see as further problematic due to my interpretation of gender.

Additionally, there were also things that I could not control or were out of my hands. The biggest obstacle for the project has been the Covid-19 global pandemic, which has put the country into lockdown. This had more psychological effects on me as a researcher, however, some written material was also harder to come by. And since all communication has become increasingly complicated, I also chose to develop a short questionnaire for the analysis because I knew there were bigger odds for the people, I wanted to reach to answer that due to Covid-19 challenges. Adding to the effects of the pandemic, and the influence on me as a researcher, not having access, in most of the development of this thesis, to physical study halls and libraries, have been a large stress factor, not

creating the best work environment. I have, however, tried to work around these circumstances to the best of my ability.

Theory

This section will present the theories and concepts relevant to the project. Firstly, the norm life cycle theory will be presented with an explanation of the different stages. Secondly, the concept of gender will be defined and discussed. Lastly, gender norms and international norms will be explained and put in an international context.

Norm life cycle

A large aspect of the field of International Relations is the analysis', debates, and discussions of norms and how norms influence social behavior and political dimensions of society. How something becomes an international political agenda and why some things over others make it to that agenda is the content of many academic papers. The norm life cycle theory is developed by Finnemore & Sikkink in 1998 and is a further development of other theories on adoption of norms in the field of IR (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.895). The theory was developed because the authors wanted to investigate the norm journey of the suffragette movement and highlight the importance of non-state actors in norm development (True, 2018, p.137). The theory is, thus, developed based on a gender case which make it easily applicable and make a substantial argument for the relevance of this theory in a case like mine since it has already been used for gender-sensitive analysis. The norm life cycle theory or model of norm influence has three stages: norm emergence, norm cascade, and internalization (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.895). In an ideal scenario of this life cycle, a norm goes from being accepted only by a few to end up being a norm that is natural, obvious, or taken for granted in political, social, or economic spheres (ibid., p.895). However, in some cases, the stages are not chronologically reached, which will be addressed further in the analysis. The two first stages of the lifecycle had been discussed in various ways before in IR theory, but the two scholars added on this third dimension which closed the academic gap and finalized it into a complete cycle (ibid., p.895).

The first step, norm emergence, is about norm entrepreneurs and norm leaders (states) and how the first group manages to convince the second group to adopt, push and be advocates of a specific norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.895: Locher, 2007, p.64). The second step in the cycle, norm cascade, is about how these norm leaders manage to convince others to adopt the norm – this is both about other norm leaders and societies (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.895: Locher, 2007, p.65). The third and final step is internalization, which is about how the norm is now a natural part of the political agenda and society, and rarely challenged any longer (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998 p.895: Locher, 2007, p.65). A norm life cycle may take many years or even decades to complete itself – this

varies from norm to norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896). Some norms may never reach the ‘tipping-point’ in stages one or two and may never, thus, become an actual broadly accepted norm (ibid., p.895). However, as Locher describes in her book, it is important to investigate the norm if it is failing the complete cycle – there is important knowledge in also knowing why a specific international norm did not make it through all three stages (Locher, 2007, p.70). The following few pages will explain the three stages in more detail.

Norm emergence

Norm emergence is, as mentioned, the first stage in the norm life cycle. This stage involves norm entrepreneurs, organizational platforms, and a ‘tipping point’ whereafter the norm cascades (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896-901). These three elements are important for a norm to enter the cycle, and successful implementation of a norm on an international level is not possible, according to Finnemore & Sikkink, without these three components (ibid., p.896). Norm entrepreneurs are a vital part of getting a norm in the cycle because it is they who advocate and push the norm (ibid., p.896-897). Sometimes a norm can be traced back to a single person who has managed to persuade and advocate for a certain norm due to some experience or some interpretation of injustice (ibid., p.897). Norm entrepreneurs can often be characterized as empathetic and altruistic people who believe so steadfast in their vision or norm that they often are willing to go very far for their cause, some beyond the borders of law and others lay down their life (ibid., p.898). Throughout history, norm entrepreneurs have been willing to use hard methods and push the boundaries for acceptable behavior for the promotion of their cause (ibid., p.897). These people are essential for the process because they call attention to the norm, and they frame the norm in the right interpretation (ibid., p.897). Organizational platforms are also vital for this stage in the cycle because it is here that the norm begins to gain momentum and gets spread beyond a few people (ibid., p.899). These platforms can be NGOs, INGOs but also already established institutions whose aim is not only to promote norm change but has many functions (examples from the text is the World Bank, the UN, and the ILO) (ibid., p.899). The advantage for the platforms is that they possess certain expertise, transforming into logos and ethos, and that a norm is often institutionalized before moving to the next stages in the cycle (ibid., p.900). When several states have accepted and adopted the norm (becoming norm leaders) from norm entrepreneurs, a tipping point is often the next step (ibid., p.901). Here, in most cases, one third of the states in the international system must adopt the norm in order for it to ‘tip’ into the next stages of the cycle (ibid., p.901). States have different normative values, which means that it matters which states support and adopt the norm for it to cascade (ibid., p.901). A state that

assumes the characteristic of being crucial in this stage, thus of big normative value, is a state which is necessary for the norm to reach its intended goal without being compromised – these states are different depending on the issue that the norm is engaged in (ibid., p.901).

Norm cascade

This stage, norm cascade, is all about socialization (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.902). It is in this stage that more states decide to take on the norm and be part of the community around the norm (ibid., p.902). Some states adopt the norm without the direct influence of norm entrepreneurs or domestic pressure from within the states to conform to the norm (ibid., p.902). States are also now beginning to make the population aware of the newly adopted norm by making them comply and adopt the norm too (ibid., p.902). The mechanism that is introduced in this process is a validation of population and state leaders if they comply with the norm and advocate for it, additionally, states, norm entrepreneurs, organizations, and norm leaders are also ready to ridicule or punish those who deviate from the norm (ibid., p.902). It is really in this stage that more and more populations and state representatives are joining in on the norm and the community around it (ibid., p.902). This stage is indeed very transnational and cannot be understood solely on a domestic state level (ibid., p.902). Some of the reasons for a state to comply with the new norm are legitimation, conformity, and esteem (ibid., p.903). This stage has much to do with state identity and comparison to other states (ibid., p.902). Legitimation can be a reason for adopting the norm because that will possibly maintain a position for a state where it is considered credible and strong by other states, and the population will compare their institution with others across borders and decide on its own government if it is the most legitimate out there (ibid., p.903). Conformity can be a reason to adopt a norm because a state will want to fit into the group it identifies with; Finnemore and Sikkink argue that much of goes on between humans studied in social psychology and the need to belong to a group and not stand alone, is also going on in an international society, which may explain why some states adopt a norm (ibid., p.903). Lastly, esteem can be a reason for a state to follow a norm because it may have a certain identity image, and then it wants to defend or gain that pride, they associate with the framing of the norm and, thus, gain self-esteem (ibid., p.903-904).

Internalization

Internalization is the last stage of the norm life cycle theory. Here the norms have reached their end in cascading and are now so broadly accepted and universalized that they are internalized (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.904). At this stage, the norm is at a place where it is rarely discussed or taken actively into account when developing policy – it has become a norm that is taken for granted and

strongly integrated into habits (ibid., p.904-905). The norm is not something necessary to push or advocate for any longer; it is more a universalized and normalized condition that is rarely questioned (ibid., p.905). A big part of this stage is the mechanism of professionalization; the norm is being internalized in societies through the professional institutions that being both ‘moral’ institutions like NGOs but also other organizations (ibid., p.905). This is also the stage where normative bias lives and is detected by analysts and scholars who dive into subjects and discussion surrounding norms (ibid., p.905). At this stage, the international community will be interpreted as having moved one step closer to one another regarding identity and values and appear as more alike due to this internalization of a norm (ibid., p.904-905). As mentioned previously, this whole norm life cycle is not necessarily a quick process – it can take many decades to reach a point of internalization.

Critical views on the theory

There are scholars who believe that this theory is simplifying norms and making them static things while not making enough room for the dynamism and complexity of norms (Krook & True, 2012, p.122; True, 2018, p.138). Krook and True, along with this thesis, argue that a theory like the norm life cycle would benefit from having a higher focus on discourse because discourses present a deeper analysis of the nature of the norm and its exact journey from stage to stage (Krook & True, 2012, p.123). Additionally, True states: “Norms are anchored in language and revealed by repeated speech acts” (True, 2018, p.139). The norm life cycle is accepted by most scholars involved in norms and IR; however, they criticize it for having a static view on norms that is not always representative of reality (ibid., p.138-139).

Gender definition

This project focuses on gender and the representation of gender, which naturally means that the need to define gender is present. In gender studies, this topic is fundamental and evolving and, thus, still inconclusive, meaning that one definition as such is not possible. However, for the purpose of the discussion and understanding of this project, it is necessary to define or at least delimit the concept.

In the English language, there is a greater variety in words related to this concept than in other languages like Danish, where there is only one word ‘køn’ meaning both gender and sex. This can give rise to difficulties in discussing the concept across borders and can create a lot of confusion because translations of the debates from other countries are insufficient (Rees, 1998, p.20). Due to this importance of the language and the use of language this project will distinguish between and use two words:

Sex: will in this project be used to refer to the biological aspect of men and women. Sex will be used when there is a need to put emphasize the physical differences between men and women and the bodily dimensions of the two (Best & Williams, 1997, p.165). This term can be understood as implying a dichotomy being women and men (ibid., p.165).

Gender: will be used as a term that goes beyond the biological dimension and touches upon the social aspect of men and women but also many other gender identities (ibid., p.165). Gender is, on the contrary to sex in this project, not understood as a dichotomy but rather as a social construction where there is room for endless representation of an individual's social person. Types of gender can be transgender, non-binary, cisgender, gender fluid, among others (TeenTalk, n.d.). It is important for this project to mention that the CoE has a definition of gender that is different: "(Gender is) A social construct that informs roles, attitudes, values and relationships between women and men. While sex is determined by biology - the biological differences between men and women - gender is determined by society; almost always functioning to subordinate women to men." (Council of Europe, 2021a).

Gender as the definition we understand and use today was developed in the 1970s by feminist activists and academics who started to theorize the lived social and political lives of women (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.57; Cavaghan, 2017, p.18). These people believed that having a biological dimension of gendered life solely maintained a male-dominated power structure and a patriarchal system (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.57). It was argued that always having femininity equal female and masculinity equal male meant a society where women were only to assume certain roles due to their biology (ibid., p.57). However, there is some discussion around using the two distinctions of gender and sex because some scholars argue that the body (sex) is also influenced by culture and discourses and that the female and male bodies have different significance and social value (ibid, p.58). This is an important argument that has its truth, however, in the lack of more clear terms for the discussion in this project, the terms above will be used. One of the founding academics on gender definition and understandings of gender as a social construction is Judith Butler (ibid., p.58). Butler argues that gender is a social construction made from already available discourses on gender and that it is a performance that one *takes on* and not something that one *is* (Butler, 2006, p.34). This also implies that gender is not something fixed or static, but rather it evolves as discourses on gender and gender identities evolve (ibid., p.9+34). Additionally, Butler argued for having the

term gender separately from sex because one could not expect that the female body would be equivalent to feminine performance, and the other way around for males (ibid., p.9). This argument is also based on Butler's recognition of the intersectional aspect of people's lives and how that may influence an individual's performance of gender (ibid., p.4). Butler has been associated with being one of the main figures of queer theory, however, there seem to be different interpretations of her work within the LGBTQ+ community which will be discussed next (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.59).

The way that Butler describes and defines gender as a performativity and as not necessarily attached to sex were a welcome interpretation taken on by many in queer theory and transgender studies (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.59). This interpretation laid the foundation for the idea that all interpretations of gender identity were possible, which aligned with many minds both in academic circles but also in the LGBTQ+ community. However, Butler has since said that this was a wrong interpretation of her work and that gender was not a free play among identities or categories (ibid., p.59). Butler does not believe that gender is flexible and something free, rather it is restricted to norms, boxes, and specific allowed behaviors (Halberstam, 2018). For this reason, Butler has been rejected by several scholars in transgender studies because they believe that trans persons need to just be, and gender as a performance makes trans people and their feelings less legitimate (ibid.,). Although, if one is with or against Butler and her ideas, one can argue that she managed to rethink the way that sex or gender was thought about, and at least sparked the notion that there may be many more ways to interpret gender than a dichotomy (ibid.,). Additionally, Butler managed to create a fair and strong argument that discourses mattered and that they created the social world around us and the possibilities within that world (ibid.,). The exact definition of gender and what that entails is still an ongoing debate within traditional feminism, queer theory, and transgender studies (ibid.,). Additionally, there also still exists the discussion about whether the term gender has its place and relevance because some people believe that humans are more influenced by biology, hence they believe in the term sex, and others understand individuals as mostly social beings (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.59). One thing is for sure: a more and more visible LGBTQ+ community will guarantee a continuing debate of the subject.

Gender norms

To discuss norms in general and gender norms, a definition of norms is needed first. Norms can be defined as behavior that a group finds appropriate or right (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.891; Hall, 2005, p.126). Norms can be understood as the underlying rules of the daily lives of a group and the

moral guidelines of what is considered as right behavior and wrong behavior (Hall, 2005, p.126). Norms often differentiate between groups and are not necessarily the same across cultures, however, some norms can be both regional and international (Hall, 2005, p.126; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.892). There are different types of norms, this project will focus on individual norms and international norms. Individual norms are inherited and passed on from generation to generation, and they are learned or indoctrinated in children at the moment one is born, and sometimes even before (Hall, 2005, p.126). Norms are often maintained through group judgment, shaming, or ridicule if a person or an actor deviates from the established norm, and deviating behavior is often categorized as abnormal (ibid., p.126-127). Scholars often agree on a distinction between two types of norms: regulative norms and constitutive norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.891). Regulative norms can be understood as the norms that dictate and restrict behavior, the ‘what is right and what is wrong’ norms (ibid., p.291). Constitutive norms can be understood as the norms that create new behavior or meaning to something (ibid., p.291). This thesis will focus majorly on constitutive norms, as the norms go beyond regulating behavior; they are part of self-perception and identity (Locher, 2007, p.61-62).

Social science is also about how norms influence, in this case, international politics (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.888). Norms influence the political landscapes, and IR is also about investigating how norms influence politics (ibid., p.888). We see how norms play a role in the international society daily when different actors push for or discuss their interpretation of morality (ibid., p.889). Norms are apparent in international politics through initiatives based on morals, idealism, international law, value and identity politics, and nationalism (ibid., p.889). A great example of norms being present in international politics is human rights, and all the political institutions and platforms build around those (ibid., p.889). International norms deal with states and state behavior, while domestic/individual norms are present within a state (ibid., p.893). However, there are deeply intertwined, and a lot of international norms have their roots in domestic norms through norm entrepreneurs as an example (ibid., p.893). The international community is guided by laws and regulations that decide appropriate state behavior; hence, norms shape the policies or the framework of state behavior (ibid., p.893).

When we speak of norms as guiding behavior, it is natural that there also exists rights and wrongs within the realm of gender and the expectations to that. Gender norms are understood as a group’s collective determination on appropriate behaviors, rationales, and values for being female and male (Oakley, Ollen, & Overtree, 2017, p.697-698). Gender norms are both tied and influenced

by biology and culture and, in general, other perceptions that influence the understanding of a group's 'right' woman or man (ibid., p.698). Gender identity, gender roles, and gender stereotypes are all concepts that have gender norms at the core, and they are all a product of specific gender norm narratives (ibid., p.697-700). Just like norms, gender norms vary from culture to culture, however, in this dimension, there are also regional and international kinds. There does seem, however, to be a general internalization of norms that are coming from a heterosexual bias (Nielsen, Walden, & Kunkel, 2000, p.292-293; Little, 2020, p.81). Many of the deemed appropriate behaviors concerning gender and the expression of that comes from a heteronormative perspective that is important to recognize and understand in relation to analysis and discussion of institutionalized gender norms (ibid., p.292). The heterosexual perception of gender norms has seemed to take the hegemonic position and, thus, is a norm in itself that is understood as the natural or obvious position (ibid., p.284). At the grassroots of some societies, there does, however, seem to be a production of new gender norms and gender perceptions that allow for other normative interpretations of appropriate behavior.

As mentioned, there is a heteronormative bias of traditional gender norms, however, these do seem to be more present in established institutions, which is why for this paragraph, female and male gender norms will be presented. There is a value in speaking, at least to a certain extent, about universal gender norms, which is relevant in the field of trafficking, among others, due to the long normative influence of the global North through colonization (Morrell & Swart, 2005, p.91). Additionally, specific gender norms related to females and their exclusive biological ability to give birth are also arguments for accepting a universal gender norm to a certain extent (Basow, 2018). On a cross-cultural level, the female gender norm and, thus, appropriate behavior is that they should be more nurturing, obedient, responsible, loving, caring, passive, agreeable, emotionally aggressive, and anxious than males (Best & Williams, 1997, p.184-187; Little, 2020, p.77; Oakley, Ollen, & Overtree, 2017, p.700). Males, on the other hand, are understood to be more aggressive, strong, active, conscientious, tough, expressive, confident, achieving, self-reliant, violent, and competitive in comparison to females (Best & Williams, 1997, p.184-187; Little, 2020, p.77; Oakley, Ollen, & Overtree, 2017, p.700). Male stereotypes and male gender norms are found to be generally easier to recognize and define for people than female stereotypes, however, also more static and harder to deviate from without social judgment (Best & Williams, 1997, p.185+188). These gender norms are important to recognize as traditional and as having a heteronormative bias. If one takes an institutional look at gender norms on an international level, there is a reproduction of individual and traditional gender norms (Zwingel, 2016, p.27). Throughout history and in modern times, most states and

institutions have excluded women from many of the decision-making processes, which can be interpreted as reproducing masculinist norms that males are more conscientious and achieving than women (ibid., p.27). More institutions and states are, however, taking measures of gender equality and incorporating the female life experience into politics (ibid., p.27). There is a value in taking this dichotomy of gender and these norms into account when analyzing and discussing institutions and their political products and discourses - as Locher mentions in her work; policies reflect more than just formalities of rules and law - it is most important to investigate the social norms which are part of the dynamic relationship of norms and decision-making processes resulting in policies (Locher, 2007, p.72-73).

Theoretical reflection

The norm life cycle will work as the overall framework of the analysis and guide the process of answering the problem formulation. The definition of gender helps outline the complexity of the stances on the subject, which will appear in part of the analysis while clarifying where this thesis takes its offset. Lastly, norms are at the core of this thesis, and the discussions within, the section on gender norms will, thus, create the foundation on which the analysis and critiques can be presented.

Analysis

The Council of Europe, established in 1949 with headquarters in Strasbourg, France, is one of the leading human rights organizations in the world, with 47 member states where 27 of which are members of the European Union (Council of Europe, 2021c). All member states have signed the European Convention on Human Rights, and one of the major parts of the organization is the European Court of Human Rights that oversees the implementation of signed conventions (ibid.,). The decision-making body of the organization is the Committee of Ministers that consists of the foreign affairs ministers of each member state (Council of Europe, 2021b). Additionally, there is the Parliamentary Assembly which consists of 324 representatives from the member states' domestic parliaments (ibid.,). The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, which consists of 47 articles, was signed by the member states of the CoE in Warsaw in 2005 (Council of Europe, 2005a). The convention comes with a 59-page accompanying Explanatory Report that clarifies and elaborates on different aspects like the development process, definitions, background knowledge, legal terms, etc., which will also be used as part of the analysis (Council of Europe, 2005b). It is important to mention that the convention, and the European dimension of trafficking in general, is addressing states mostly in the receiving end of trafficking, which, naturally, shapes the themes and initiatives within. Regarding the roots of the trafficking phenomenon, the convention addresses state obligations to make initiatives that lower the demand of services that result in trafficking and initiatives that enable the fight against world poverty since this is identified as a key cause of trafficking (Council of Europe, 2005a)

Norm emergence

Norm emergence is the first step in the norm life cycle theory. This is, as mentioned in the theory chapter, the step where the norm is established through norm entrepreneurs and organizational platforms, and there is also a 'tipping-point' in this stage where the norm begins to spread, which leads to the second stage: norm cascade (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.896-901). The first three questions of the WPR approach, in an edited form, will appear in this first stage of norm emergence. The first part of this section will establish the norm based on the convention and investigate some of the frames that the convention offers. Secondly, a section on the construction of the norm will follow, looking into the genealogy of the problem representation and how that exact understanding of the norm has come about. This section will especially make the norm entrepreneurs, the organizational platforms, and the institutionalization process apparent. Lastly, in this section, a summary and context

section will come, where the ties between the norm emergence stage and the policy analysis will be clarified explicitly.

Norm establishment

The problem/the norm

In the description of the first question in the WPR approach, Bacchi suggests that the way to go about this question is to establish what the policy wants to do because that will tell what the perceived problem is by policymakers (Bacchi, 2009, p.2-3). The aim of the convention on an overall scale is naturally to combat trafficking and the exploitation of human beings for specific purposes, making that the one major problem (Council of Europe, 2005a). The specific purpose of the convention is also stated clearly in Article 1, which is to combat trafficking in human beings while promoting gender equality, protect victims' rights and assisting which includes a proper and effective investigation while throughout encouraging international cooperation between states (ibid., Article 1 a,b,c). These three points suggest that there is a problem when combating trafficking around the lack of gender equality or gender sensitivity, the neglect of victims' rights and proper management of victims by authorities, and not sufficient cooperation between the states internally. Two of the aims, and several articles throughout the convention, also point to the overall problem as a human rights violation (ibid.,). The convention is divided into ten chapters that mostly address the framework and strategy of how to accomplish the three main aims, however, smaller problem representations are also to be found. Some of the problems hindering the combat of trafficking as presented in the convention are an unsatisfying institutional structure on an international and national level (Article 5 para. 1), poverty (Article 5 para. 2), lack of education and knowledge both in public and in officials (Article 5 para. 2 + Article 6d), the public's demand on services (Article 6), and proper border control and security (Article 7+8+9) (ibid.,).

A problem representation that is particularly interesting is that trafficking is spoken of, in the convention, as a women's issue (Council of Europe, 2005a). This is also why one of the aims is to combat inequality in the policy area, according to the accompanying explanatory report of the convention (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.11). Women are mentioned ten times in the convention while men are mentioned zero, and in the explanatory report, women are mentioned sixty times while men are mentioned sixteen times (Council of Europe, 2005a: Council of Europe, 2005b). Women, and in some cases children, are actively included in the policies in the convention and mentioned as to taken extraordinarily into account in the preamble, Article 6, Article 10 paragraph 1 and Article 39 (Council of Europe, 2005a). Following Bacchi, the policymakers must, therefore, believe that there

is a specific trafficking-related problem regarding women that needs addressing through such a convention. Article 17 addresses the requirement of gender equality in all measures presented in the convention through the approach of gender mainstreaming (ibid.,). The explanatory report is addressing and explaining the construction of Article 1a as: “The purposes of this Convention are: a to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings while guaranteeing gender equality” - it speaks of gender equality measures, in this case of trafficking, to incorporate specific measures that address women’s human rights because women “are more likely to be exposed to practices which qualify as torture or inhuman or degrading treatment (physical violence, rape, genital and sexual mutilation, trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation)” (Council of Europe, 2005a: Council of Europe, 2005b, p.11). When such statements, framings, and measures are considered in the convention, it is clear that trafficking is assumed to be a women’s problem. It can be argued that this representation of trafficking as a women’s issue is an international norm due to its active presence in this convention. As mentioned in the theory, international norms are found in policies and laws that determine right and wrong. This understanding of the representation of trafficking as a women’s issue and, thus, an international norm will be further argued for in the norm construction section and in the summary at the end.

An interesting aspect of the convention, overall, is that all the policies presented in the convention make the parties or states responsible for the elimination of trafficking; the public is only mentioned in Article 6 that addresses “measures to discourage the demand” and even that is made the state’s responsibility to impel (ibid., Article 6). This tactic towards development and strategy of policy is a strong top-down approach that assigns all action and obligation to combat trafficking on the states while making them complied to cooperate with NGOs and civil society (ibid., Article 5 para.6). This suggests that the CoE assumes the problem of trafficking to generally be hindered by insufficient international and state authorities and institutions - there is no specific demand in the convention that the citizens individually must comply with something; it is clarified who is responsible for what in a court case, but no direct law initiative where the public itself is addressed (ibid., chapter IV-VI).

Presuppositions

The second question in the WPR approach goes a step deeper into understanding the frame of mind behind the policy (Bacchi, 2009, p.5). This section will, thus, go into the presuppositions that appear through the discourse of the convention and investigate categories, binaries, and key concepts. One of the main assumptions that are present in the convention is the dedication to human rights (Council of Europe, 2005a, Preamble + Article 1b+ Article 5.3 + Article 11.3 + Article 29.3 + Article 30 +

Article 40.4). How this convention is linguistically constructed signifies a strong testimony to the understanding that the human rights concept is the foundation for the 'right' world. The underlying assumptions in that dedication to human rights suggest policies that are based on the world view of political liberalism where all people are created free and have the right to self-determination and individualism, meaning that the individual has value and the right to self-realize. Freedom is also mentioned in the convention several times, both concerning human rights, suggesting that human rights create freedom, and as a concept on its own (ibid., Article 11.3+ Article 30+ Article 33). It is strongly clarified in the convention and the accompanying explanatory report that there should be enhanced focus on women's human rights (Council of Europe, 2005a, Preamble: Council of Europe, 2005b, p.3+4+11). Violence against women, hence trafficking, is explicitly accounted to be an aspect of human rights in the convention, which is a result of a long struggle by activists and norm entrepreneurs to get policy developers to interpret human rights as including women's rights. These values all seem to shape the political worldview that the convention stems from.

In correlation to the chosen main problem representation of trafficking as a women's issue, there are also some assumptions present in the convention. First, there is an underlying understanding in the policies that lives of women and men are not the same and that they do not have the same terms (Council of Europe, 2005a, Preamble + Article 6 + Article 10.1 + Article 39: Council of Europe, 2005b, p.11). This understanding may be something that appears natural; however, some might argue differently – either way, it can be categorized as a presupposition in the convention. This is enhanced further in the policies addressing the demand and need for gender equality between women and men (Council of Europe, 2005a, Preamble + Article 1a, 1b + Article 6 + Article 17). When the policies are addressing the need for more equality measures and guarantees, it means that they have the understanding that there was a negative inequality before the convention, and, on a deeper level, that all people *should* be equal. In relation to gender equality, the convention also dedicates itself to the approach of gender mainstreaming, which reveals that the convention seeks to incorporate gender equality as a natural part of a system (ibid., Article 17). These assumptions align rather well with the worldview of liberalism and freedom.

In relation to a problem representation in the previous section, there is an assumption in the policies about the role of states. One of the aims of the convention was to strengthen international cooperation in the fight to combat trafficking, and the convention's chapter VI is dedicated to this aim (Council of Europe, 2005a). Having so much focus on cooperation regarding problem-solving on an international level tells us that the policy assumes that the best way to combat issues is in

fellowship and that cooperating as states is the way forward to a better world. This represents a certain worldview and approach that goes against state individualism and anarchy within the international community. The convention itself is also a testimony to this worldview since a precondition for the text is a collective desire for international cooperation. This does not mean, however, that this convention does not imply great respect for state authority – the convention assumes that states should strive for cooperation while still demonstrate authority towards their citizens. As an example, there seem to be the assumption that equality is a social responsibility that the states ought to guarantee (ibid.,). The convention assumes through its overall strategy of the policies that states are responsible actors for development and that the best approach to combating societal issues is from the top-down, as mentioned previously (ibid.,). This is also an interesting understanding of the world since there are many different approaches to development and understandings of how development and change are best achieved. Additionally, the convention also assumes that the best result comes through responsibility and accountability. By creating a monitoring mechanism, the convention reveals that it believes in a culture of monitoring and direct accountability and that that approach is equivalent to great results (Council of Europe, 2005a, Chapter VII).

Categories

Here, one needs to look for the people categories that are present in the policy, to figure who one can be in the realm of the policy, but also to determine the further assumptions connected to groups (Bacchi, 2009, p.9). In the convention, people can be divided into these categories: human being(s), victim(s), child(ren), young adults, women, witness, person, natural person, legal person, boys, girls, family members of victims, a public official, perpetrator, child victim, staff, an official, trafficker(s), a national, an offender, a member of civil society, an independent national expert, a specialist, and a refugee (Council of Europe, 2005a). The categories in the convention seem to be divided into two linguistic realms of the policies: the political and the lawful. Politically someone can be a human being or a person, while lawfully, they can be a natural person and/or a legal person.

In relation to gender, there are some interesting categories in the convention. Sex/seses, which is used, are implying to equvalate male and female; it is, however, not specified if that is determined by biology or the individual's interpretation of identity (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 3+ Article 6). The use of the concept of gender appears more frequently in the text, which also suggests meaning men and women solely. The gender groups, in the convention, are boys, girls, and women, or less explicit "she/her" or "he/him" (ibid.,). "Human being" is the only gender-neutral political category that consistently encompasses all lives in the convention (ibid.,). Other categories,

both political and legal, seem to be gendered when looking further into the language of the convention. Person, child, offender, national, and victim are in the convention all referred to as she/her or he/him once or more (ibid.,).

Binaries

Binaries are to be understood as two things that are separated and different and sometimes put in opposition to each other (Bacchi, 2009, p.7). Binaries assume a specific relationship between two things; something is a certain way, and the other is directly not in that certain way – Bacchi describes it as “an A/not-A relationship” (ibid., p.7). In this convention, several binaries or dichotomies can be found in the policy designs, which reveal something about the logic present in the development (ibid., p.7). Some of the binaries found are victim/perpetrator, equality/inequality, international/national, the state/civil society, lawful/unlawful, member states/non-member states, non-discrimination/discrimination, and him/her or he/she (Council of Europe, 2005a). Depending on what problem representation one has chosen to focus on, all the above-mentioned binaries are interesting to investigate further and tells something significant about the development foundation of the policies. However, regarding the problem representation of trafficking as a women’s issue, the ‘him/her’ or ‘he/she’ binary is interesting. This binary reveal something about the gender logic there is behind the convention, making, in most cases, ‘him’ equal the A, and ‘her’ equal the not-A. This can be interpreted as revealing an underlying norm or understanding that women are bi-products of men. This assumption will be investigated later in the analysis under norm consequences and discursive effects.

Another interesting binary that is worth mentioning when discussing trafficking as something that is mostly happening to women and, thus, a women’s issue is the victim/perpetrator dichotomy. Here it is clear that we have the ‘good’ on one side ‘victim’ and the ‘bad’ on the other ‘perpetrator’, this fits very well with the mindset of the rest of the convention and the assumptions as mentioned previously. What is interesting is that victims throughout the convention are portrayed as vulnerable and perpetrators as aggressive, creating this deeper dimension of the binary that reveals the normative schemes of the policies (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 4a + Article 12.7 + Article 5.2 + Article 5.5+ Article 28.1 + Article 28.4). When the convention does portray trafficking as primarily having to do with women, it also becomes women who are being described when discussing victims in the policies (Mullally, 2020, p.251). This does create a trace where women become vulnerable victims through the specific use of language and discourse. Reynolds has conducted studies concerning gender and the victim/perpetrator roles, and her studies consistently showed that

females were assigned victimhood and males were assigned a perpetrating role (Reynolds, n.d.). She states: “Across all six of our studies, we consistently observed a pattern in which participants more readily linked women with victimhood and men with harm perpetration. Our results repeatedly supported the existence of a gender bias in moral typecasting” (ibid.,). These findings do fit with the convention’s representation of gender. Additionally, the results of the studies also support the nature of creating this good vs. bad binary, as it found that we as humans tend to morally typecast, which means that we have difficulty seeing someone both as a perpetrator and a victim, which may be a perspective of great importance in this case (ibid.,).

Norm construction

This section on norm construction will investigate the WPR approach’s third question about the genealogy of the problem representation, hence the norm, and how this representation has come about. In the light of the analysis above, the convention’s stance on women’s human rights, gender equality, linguistic gender representation, and binaries can all be summed up as the convention making trafficking an issue that concerns women. This thesis ultimately aims at discussing gender equality in trafficking policy which means having to look at the gendered problematizations in this convention. This section will, thus, focus on how trafficking has normatively been made into a women’s issue by identifying some of the significant events that have contributed to creating this norm and narratives in the convention. As this whole WPR approach proves in its essence, it is never random or coincidental how a certain policy ends up being constructed, which is why this aspect of the analysis is extremely fundamental. Naturally, many events helped shape this convention and the normative foundation for it, but a few significant periods have been selected as the focus. The anti-trafficking norm can be traced back to the abolishment of slavery, but as a modern phenomenon, the first steps towards combating trafficking were taken at the beginning of the 19th century (Locher, 2007, p.105-106). The discussions about combating trafficking in Europe back when they arose were closely linked to the discussion of prostitution (ibid., p.105).

Prostitution and trafficking: making trafficking a women’s issue

Before trafficking as a modern phenomenon was treated, the crime was considered a byproduct or consequence of prostitution (Locher, 2007, p.110). Before industrialization and the 20th century, prostitution was regulated and monitored by the state in both the UK and France (ibid., p.106-107). In the 1800s, the state was able to keep prostitutes in a separate part of cities and in brothels they could monitor, however, by the turn of the century, many more people emigrated and came to the cities from the country, which increased prostitution and sex work (ibid., p.110). As the industry

became more independent from the established brothels, more and more people worked alone without an establishment, and the industry saw itself becoming more internationally oriented, all while trafficking increased (ibid., p.110). People who were involved in politics at the time saw trafficking as mainly occurring for prostitution purposes, and since prostitutes were considered to be sexually deviant or fallen women, the narrative of trafficking as a women's issue is established and in the process of being institutionalized (ibid., p.107-108).

Prostitution was discussed in political circles from the mid-1800s due to the increase of regulation that the states put on the prostitutes (Locher, 2007, p.107). Feminist groups saw this as deeply unfair and portraying a double standard, resulting in Josephine Butler and the Ladies National Association starting to raise their voice in 1870, hence, becoming norm entrepreneurs (ibid., p.108). This sparked an international movement of people who wanted to abolish prostitution and saw the women in sex work as victims of the uncontrollable lust from men (ibid., p.108). This abolishment movement had two objectives: one was to abolish prostitution and 'save' the women, and two was to eliminate trafficking and the slavery that brothels hosted (ibid., p.109). In the years after, the term "white slave trade" was at the forefront when discussing trafficking; some applied it as a synonym for prostitution, others as a correlated concept to prostitution, and it was also thought to equate the international trade of women (ibid., p.111). At the beginning of the 20th century, two international instruments were developed in the attempt to combat trafficking, The International agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade in 1902, the Paris Convention for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic in 1910, which marked the beginning of international cooperation on the issue (ibid., p.114).

In the years until 1949, the League of Nations made initiatives to understand and combat trafficking, becoming an organizational platform, however, they were all replaced by the United Nations Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others in 1949 (Locher, 2007, p.116-117). This convention, signed in New York, took a strong stance on prostitution and addressed trafficking as a direct symptom of prostitution (ibid., p.117). Article 16 of the convention takes the abolishment approach to prostitution and directly encourages states to take initiatives to prevent prostitution and rehabilitate 'victims' of prostitution (ibid., p.118-119). This convention, which clearly links prostitution and trafficking, was the only international tool in the fight against trafficking for fifty years until the Palermo Protocol in 2000 (ibid., p.119). The UN has, thus, been the major organizational platform in modern days, pushing for specific norms around trafficking while playing a huge role in the institutionalization process of the norm. The fact that prostitution has played such a large role in the international policy development

on the trafficking area and that only women were believed to be prostitutes or victims of sexual exploitation makes it reasonable that trafficking is considered a women's issue. Today, there are still two large groups that struggle with each other in the trafficking policy development processes; the abolitionist group that wants prostitution to be illegal and the regulatory group that believes voluntary prostitution should be legal (Mullalay, 2002, p.273). The CoE convention makes the matter of the legality of prostitution up to the state signatures, and the explanatory report suggests that the wording in Article 19 was essential since the CoE had no interest in picking sides in the prostitution matter (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 19: Council of Europe, 2005b, p.36).

The new frame: trafficking is violence against women

In the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, an increased number of NGOs were established and funded, which created an immense international network of women's rights activists (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.181-182). The main focus of the discourse at the time was that 'women's rights were human rights' which managed to bring a lot of these NGOs together under one banner, despite their field of work, and in 1995 the concept of violence against women was the main discourse surrounding women's rights violations (Locher, 2007, p.192-193). This came to show through the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, where women's rights as a part of human rights were explicitly addressed for the first time (ibid., p.187). Norm entrepreneur Charlotte Bunch was a significant activist in this battle since she wrote a famous article in 1990, and because she was the director of The Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights, which was organized by the Rutgers Center for Women's Global Leadership (Locher, 2007, p.183: Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.184). The campaign focused on women, human rights, and violence and managed to put activist and grassroots organizations together in an international planning meeting, where they would discuss strategies for the Vienna Conference and the Beijing Conference – this managed to put many people under one banner and in one coordination (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.184-185).

After the Vienna Conference in 1993, the discourse that women's rights were human rights had been established and accepted by many in the international community - the discourse was then concretized, and 'violence against women' became the topic of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (Locher, 2007, p.192). This conference is significant in the genealogy of the norm of trafficking as a women's issue because trafficking and sexual exploitation of women became a subject at the Beijing Conference under the umbrella topic of violence against women since it was characterized as such (ibid., p.194). The 'violence against women' frame made it possible for many activists, NGOs, and projects to work together even though they may have worked with

different areas of injustice because it transnationally seemed that all could agree that to have bodily integrity was a human right (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.195). As a result of the conference, the Beijing Platform for Action was developed, which addressed trafficking and the injustice it represented while urging a new international tool to be developed and, thus, made it a high priority in the international agenda going forward (Locher, 2007, p.193-194). The conference in 1995 is fundamental not only because it was pioneering in addressing violence against women as an issue but because it managed to make the connection between human rights and violence against women, thus, making it a human rights issue (ibid., p.193). Thus, this conference is also becoming an extremely significant organizational platform for the norm of trafficking equivalating violence against women. In the same year, Radhika Coomaraswamy, who was the UN Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, presented her report for the Human Rights Commission, which stated and highlighted many of the issues expressed by activists in the prior five years and addressed trafficking and forced prostitution as violence against women and a human rights violation (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.187; Locher, 2007, p.193). Her report was the first of its kind, and it helped highlight important agendas while catalyzing further examination and investigation of serious acts of violence against women in history, making her a norm entrepreneur as well (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.187-188). The discourse that characterizes trafficking as violence against women is present in the CoE convention several times, which illustrates the connection the convention has with the above-mentioned events (Council of Europe, 2005a, Preamble; Council of Europe, 2005b, p.3+4+8+11+34).

The UN Palermo Protocol

The CoE convention and the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (also called the Palermo Protocol) are closely tied as the convention mentions in Article 39 (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 39). The protocol was established in 2000, but it shares with the CoE convention the influence of the ‘violence against women’ discourse while also resembling each other in other ways (United Nations, 2000). The convention states in Article 39 that it is “intended to enhance the protection afforded by it (Palermo Protocol) and develop the standards contained therein”, which means that the protocol is part of the foundation of the convention (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 39). The convention was meant to enhance the rights and improve the measures taken in the protocol, hence, place more responsibility and accountability on the CoE member states (Planitzer, 2020, p.447). Especially the Committee of Ministers found it important to stress the fact that the convention is enhancing the rights and demands made by the UN (ibid., p.447).

The Palermo Protocol seems to be the groundwork for the standards and the themes of the CoE convention, which implies that the convention has inherited much of the narrative of the convention, and some of the articles in the convention are described to be “identical” to the protocol in the explanatory report (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.14+20+21+35). Like in the convention, women are the focus of the UN initiative, however, the protocol address it more explicitly, like in the title, than the convention does (United Nations, 2000). Trafficking is also narrated as primarily a women’s issue in the Palermo Protocol, which may have influenced the convention as well (ibid.,). At the least, the CoE has not tried to challenge this narrative, placing it as something natural and unquestioned, placing it as the norm.

The making of the convention

According to the explanatory report, the CoE has been involved in combating trafficking since the late 1980s (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.3). The CoE had adopted eight recommendations from 1991 until 2004, leading up to the finalized convention (ibid., p.3-6). The recommendations are (ibid.,3-6):

- Recommendation No. R(91)11 on sexual exploitation, pornography and prostitution of, and trafficking in, children and young adults.
- Recommendation No. R(2000)11 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on action against trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation
- Recommendation No. R(2001)16 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the protection of children against sexual exploitation.
- Recommendation No. R(2000)11 on action against trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation.
- Recommendation 1545 (2002) on a campaign against trafficking in women
- Recommendation 1610 (2003) on migration connected with trafficking in women and prostitution
- Recommendation 1611 (2003) on trafficking in organs in Europe
- Recommendation 1663 (2004) on domestic slavery: servitude, au pairs and mail-order brides

The CoE had other initiatives throughout the same years that also helped shape the convention. They had a Group of Experts on trafficking in women from 1992-1993, a model action plan against trafficking in women which states were encouraged to draw up domestically in 1996, a comprehensive study made by the Steering Committee for equality between women and men in 2002, the LARA project in 2002-2003 which supported criminal legislation in South-East Europe on

combating trafficking, among other initiatives (ibid., p.3-4). Recommendations 1610, 1611, and 1663 strongly advised the CoE to begin the process of drafting a legally binding convention (ibid., p.5-6). In April 2003, the Committee of Ministers decided that the “multidisciplinary” Ad Hoc Committee on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings would develop a draft of a convention (ibid., p.7). In the fall of 2003, the CAHTEH meetings began, and the CoE began negotiating the elements of the convention (ibid., p.7). CAHTEH ended up having eight meetings from 2003 to 2005, where the convention was then adopted (ibid., p.7).

The rather large role of gender and gender equality is partly because the Steering Committee for Equality between Women and Men took the initial role of pushing the CoE’s work on trafficking and made a study on the probability of constructing a convention (ibid., p.6). The Steering Committee was, therefore, part of the group that wanted an effective instrument related to trafficking that particularly included a gender dimension, and, thus, it became an organizational platform for a trafficking norm that was gender-sensitive within the system. There is no record showing that anyone in the CoE or around the organization was against the development of a convention, quite the contrary. In regard to language and gender, in the early drafts of the convention, the language was focusing more on human beings, which the ILO commented as positive since it includes the interpretation of male victims, which challenged the norm (Mullally, 2020, p.250). Norway was on the contrary to the ILO, pushing for a specific focus on women and children in Article 1 of the convention, which addresses gender equality as part of the aim, similar to the Palermo Protocol, while France and Switzerland were against even mentioning gender equality as part of Article 1 at all (Planitzer, 2020a, p.26-27). The note made by the ILO was, however, not taken into further consideration by the CAHTEH who eventually pulled the linguistic focus more towards females reestablishing the norm of trafficking as a women’s issue (ibid., p.250).

The convention is, according to the explanatory report, adding value by, first, being the initial international legal framework regarding trafficking (ibid., p.6). Then by going beyond the minimum standards of previous international frameworks and being ambitious in the protection of human rights (ibid., p.6-7). The convention also takes all forms of trafficking into account while setting up a monitoring mechanism (ibid., p.7). Lastly, the convention has added a gendered dimension because it “mainstreams gender equality in its provisions” (ibid., p.7). The interesting thing in the development of the convention is its continuous focus on women; the ‘human rights’- discourse is all over the convention, which, as mentioned, in these times were focused much on women’s rights. Additionally, sexual exploitation and prostitution is a focus that again is traced back to women in the

normative political frames. And lastly, it is the first international instrument on trafficking dedicated to gender equality in all areas of policy, which in this context means the dedication to women's rights, since men or other gender identities were never mentioned in the discussion of Article 1a in the CAHTEH meetings, and 'gender' was suggested as meaning women (Planitzer, 2020b, p.26-27).

Summary and context

This section is called norm emergence because all of the three questions presented above helps to illustrate different aspects of the norm emergence stage in Finnemore & Sikkink's life cycle theory. Question 1 and 2 helps to establish the norm of trafficking as a women's issue in the CoE convention, while question three helps to establish the norm entrepreneurs and organizational platforms while illustrating the institutionalization of the norm. As Locher argues: "the international agreements and conventions on trafficking can be seen as the codification of rules and the institutionalization of norms at the international level" (Locher, 2007, p.105). Following this argument, this convention and the problem representations within can be identified as international norms; therefore, trafficking being a women's problem can be characterized as an international norm. Much of the evidence for this problem interpretation can be found in the internal and sometimes hidden discourses of the convention, as argued for in the first pages of this section as well as the next section of the analysis.

Question three of this analysis is a substantial one because it helps us to understand how the norm was constructed. It is immensely significant to understand the prostitution dimension investigated and recognized as a concept correlated to trafficking in international ideology for about 150 years, which shapes the norm. Trafficking, at that time, was considered the bi-product of prostitution, and since women were interpreted as the 'only' group being prostitutes, trafficking became equivalent to something only happening to women. One can argue that the norm 'trafficking as a women's issue' has two underlying dimensions. The first dimension is that trafficking is a women's problem because of its relationship with prostitution and sexual exploitation, which current numbers of trafficking victims are still supporting (UNODC, 2021, p.32). The second dimension of this norm is that trafficking is a women's issue because it is characterized as violence against women. Each of these components of the norm has its norm entrepreneurs and organizational platforms. Regarding the prostitution dimension of the norm, Josephine Butler and the Ladies National Association can be characterized as the norm entrepreneurs and the smaller organizational platform, and the League of Nations as the major organizational platform of the norm (Locher, 2007, p.105-108). In the violence against women dimension of the norm, Radhika Coomaraswamy and the contributors to her report in 1995 can be characterized as the norm entrepreneurs and the United

Nations and the Beijing Conference as the organizational platforms (ibid., p.193-194). Both of these dimensions constitute together the norm of trafficking as a women's problem as presented in the convention, which argues for a tipping point on this norm at around the time of the Beijing Conference in 1995. The Beijing Conference produced the Beijing Declaration and the Beijing Platform for Action on women's rights, where 189 governments participated in the development, and where trafficking in total is mentioned 43 times (UN Women, 2014, p.7+60-261). According to Finnemore & Sikkink, one-third of states must comply with a norm before it has reached the tipping point, which one surely can argue that the declaration and platform live up to (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.901). The international norm of trafficking as being understood as an issue related to women has, thus, emerged, been constructed, detected in modern policy, institutionalized, and reached a tipping point.

Norm cascade

Norm Cascade is the next step in the norm life cycle theory. This step is about socialization, and how the norm begins to flood over the international community, and how governments, institutions, and other communities begin to adopt the norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.902). As mentioned in the last section, the Beijing Conference and the Beijing Platform for Action can be considered the tipping point of the 'trafficking is a women's issue'-norm with all its modern dimensions. After the Beijing Conference, many institutions and governments began to incorporate the platform in their international and domestic initiatives (UN Women, n.d.). The conference was extraordinary because it managed to connect thousands of NGOs and activists with governments who were all ready to establish formal directions for attaining equality on behalf of women (ibid.,). In relation to the chosen norm, focus and action on this area of trafficking began to pick up speed after the conference. According to the explanatory report, the CoE had eyes on the issue of trafficking regarding women, and "drew up a general action plan on trafficking in women" identifying the most pressing areas where action was needed, sometime after 1993 (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.3). It was, however, not until *after* the conference in 1997 at the Strasbourg Summit that the CoE reached a "collective concern", and activities on the matter were launched (ibid., p.3). After the Summit, member states were urged to make domestic action plans that should create the framework of how each state would deal with trafficking, which suggests that the cascade aspect of the norm life cycle is in play (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.4: Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.902). It is significant to remember that the norm of trafficking as a women's issue is a normative dimension in the discourse of trafficking, which makes the cascade of the norm present when trafficking, in general, is discussed on a policy level. All the following recommendations, as presented in the previous section, were all part of establishing

the CoE convention. The convention in itself is also proof that the norm has cascaded because, as Finnemore & Sikkink argue, mechanisms are put into action that helps states, in this case, but essentially the population to comply with the norm (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.902). One of the important stages in the cascade is *Recommendation 1610 (2003) on migration connected with trafficking in women and prostitution* to the CoE, which clearly states that the CoE should draft a convention as soon as possible (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.5). The convention is a tool to make states and people comply or adapt to several norms, but, for this case, specifically, the norm of trafficking being related to women's rights. The focus on gender equality in Article 1 and Article 17 of the convention is the policy product of this norm, which will further cascade and be implemented in the norm in states through its demands and encouragements (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 1+ Article 17).

Finnemore & Sikkink mentions that there can be several reasons for an institution or party to comply with or adopt the norm being legitimation, conformity, and esteem (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.903). All three aspects can be in play when it comes to the choice of the CoE to make trafficking a women's issue. Legitimation can be seen in the way that the explanatory report presents the convention as being ambitious in its approach to gender equality (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.7). This will establish them as having authority and being perceived by other institutions and NGOs or activists as being strong or credible, more so than the UN and the Palermo protocol because they, according to themselves, go further in the fight for equality (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.903; Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 39). Conformity can be a reason because the CoE is one of the leading actors in the international community in human rights and the preservation of those, so if the CoE does not adopt the 'women's rights are human rights'- perspective, they will no longer be able to live up to their own ideas of their identity since they would be excluded from the group of leading human rights advocates. This also relates to the last reason for the adoption of the norm, which is esteem, because they want to be able to think of themselves as one of the leading institutions on rights and be able to live up to their own self-image.

When a norm cascades, it also means that the norm has been accepted and adopted into measurements that regulate that norm, which this convention is proof of. This next part of the analysis will look further into the silences of the convention and explore what this means. Question 4 and 5 of the WPR approach are appropriate to investigate in this section on norm cascade because it will establish the norm further by investigating what is not included in the norm – the norm itself becomes clearer in its establishment by illustrating what is left out (Krook & True, 2012, p.123). This does not

make sense to investigate before the norm cascade section because the norm cascade is a symbol that the norm is accepted in its form, or else it would have been disposed of before the tipping point.

Results of norm acceptance

This section will focus on question 4 of the WPR approach, which explores the silences of the problem representation and what is left out of the policy (Bacchi, 2009, p.12-13). The silences of the policy are the result of the norm acceptance because every stage of society is now interpreting the norm as it is narrated, which leaves something or someone out. In relation to the norm in the convention of trafficking as a women's issue, the silences are absolutely paramount for this understanding. Women are referred to in the convention ten times while men or other gender identities are mentioned zero times (Council of Europe, 2005a). By not including men as a group in the convention and only referring to women and children as groups, men are silenced as part of the trafficking issue, which defines the norm and the frame possible for people to understand trafficking solely as having something to do with women. Mullally states: "the relative invisibility of men and boys as victims, particularly in the context of sexual exploitation remains a serious concern" – men are not explicitly mentioned in the policies, which makes it inconceivable to interpret that trafficking concerns them (Mullally, 2020, p.257) The accompanying explanatory report does mention that the convention is for women, children, and men and that men can "sometimes" be victims of trafficking as well (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.1+10) This will be explored further in the section on discursive effects and the discussion section of the project.

A different dimension to this problem of silence is that other gender identities are not referred to in the convention as well (Council of Europe, 2005a). Gender is understood as a dichotomy in this convention, and the use of "sex" and "gender" are the same and mean only female or male (ibid.,). A person in the policies is to be understood as a 'she' or a 'he' with no other interpretations available (ibid.,). By default, this means that only people who can identify as 'she' or 'he' can enjoy the rights in convention, but it also sends the clear message that other interpretations of gender and gender identities are not accepted, which reproduces a norm of gender as a dichotomy.

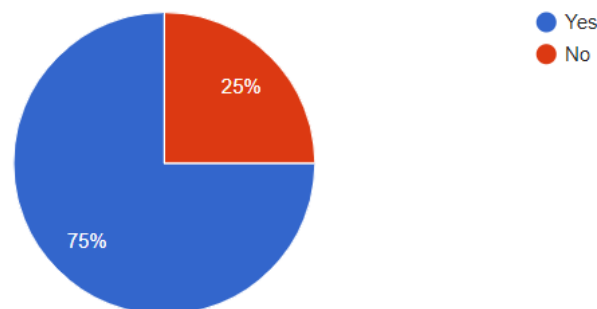
Are men still a silence in the trafficking regime?

The fact that men are a silence in the convention calls for a little further investigation knowing that men and boys constitute over 35% of detected victims of trafficking in 2020, according to data (Boys 15%, Men 20%) (UNODC, 2021, p.16). In the convention, GRETA is established, which is the monitoring mechanism of the CoE in regard to trafficking, and a department that assists states in implementing the convention while monitoring that they live up to the demands in the convention

(Council of Europe, 2005a, Chapter VII). At the beginning of 2018, GRETA launched its 7th General Report, which covers the whole year of 2017 and has a special focus on human trafficking for labor exploitation (Council of Europe, 2018). The report puts more emphasis on men and presents males as the primary victims of labor exploitation (ibid., p.38). They made this report, among other reasons, because they saw several states overlooking labor exploitation as a form of trafficking and that the states were not prohibiting it sufficiently (ibid., p.32). The norm of trafficking as a women's issue in the convention could play a role in the reasons why labor exploitation and male victims have been overlooked. Men are part of the report and recognized as victims throughout, which means that more focus has been put on men in the last few years by GRETA (ibid., p.32-68). The UN also includes men in the trafficking discourse now by, as an example, including much data and knowledge on male victims in their Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020 from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2021). The supplementary questionnaire, as shown below, is also showing that the majority of the people involved in the field of combating trafficking are experiencing that governments and supranational organizations are making policies that are considering the male dimension of trafficking.

Have you in your work known of government or supranational organization policies aimed at male victims of trafficking?

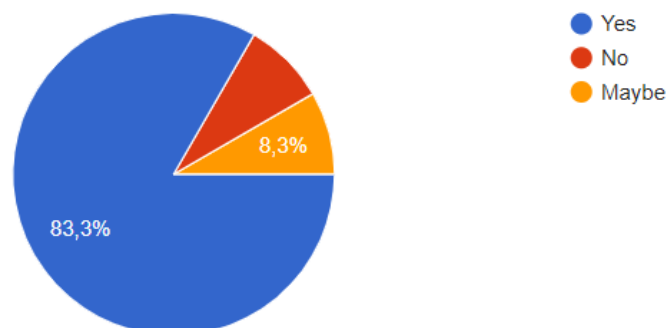
12 svar



Additionally, several organizations and non-governmental organizations are beginning to incorporate males in their reports, publications, survivor's statements, and investigative programs. This can be shown not only with research online but also the supplementary questionnaire that shows 83,3% of the respondents are actively involved in incorporating male victims in the trafficking discourse:

Have you heard of or made initiatives, studies, surveys, programs, classes, policies, reports etc. directed at male victims of trafficking?

12 svar



Examples of this are La Strada International, which is an NGO cooperation platform that works with GRETA, which includes publications that focus on men in trafficking in their database, indicating that men are not a silence in their understanding of trafficking (La Strada International, 2021). Stop The Traffik, which is an international organization that provides knowledge hubs and investigates the different dimensions of trafficking, includes men in their data on trafficking, which shows awareness of the male dimension of trafficking (Stop The Traffik, 2021). The NGO Hope for Justice includes men as part of their target group and in their survivor's statements presentation in their year in review 2019-2020 (Hope for Justice, 2020, p.12-13). This also shows that men are considered part of the trafficking issue by this NGO, where they too face challenges and are victims. ECPAT International (End Child Prostitution and Trafficking), which also cooperates with GRETA, have at the beginning of this year published a report specifically investigating the sexual exploitation of boys and the vulnerabilities they face as possible victims of trafficking, which again suggests that trafficking, and in this case in particular sexual exploitation, is not only considered a women's issue in 2021 (ECPAT International, 2021).

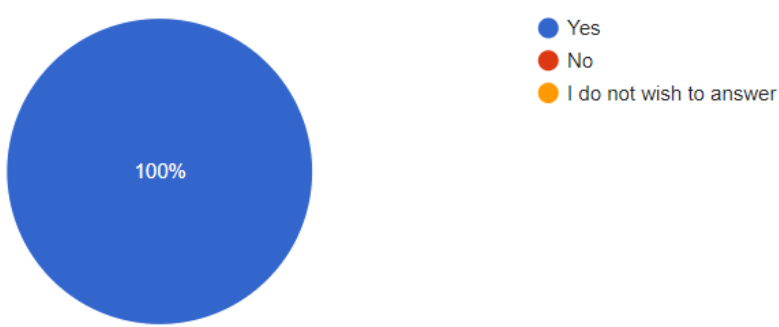
A domestic example of how the norm of trafficking only being a women's issue is challenged is Denmark. HopeNow is an NGO working in Denmark which has been working with men for a long time and is currently part of a project where one of the main agendas is to put more focus on male victims of trafficking (HopeNow, n.d.). The Danish task force on the area representing the Danish authorities, called Center Mod Menneskehandel, is also putting a heightened focus on men as possible victims (Socialstyrelsen, 2020). A specific example is in the yearly report of 2019, where CMM highlights their experience with young Moroccan men particularly, and they are highlighting that as an example of how authorities need to be aware that male victims of trafficking exist too (ibid.,

p.12-17). This seems to show that men are actively mentioned in the trafficking discourse by several actors involved in the fight against trafficking, making them no longer a silence and challenging the norm that trafficking is mainly a women's issue.

Two of the questions in the questionnaire were related to whether the people working daily with combating trafficking were experiencing the male dimension of trafficking in 2021, which they are:

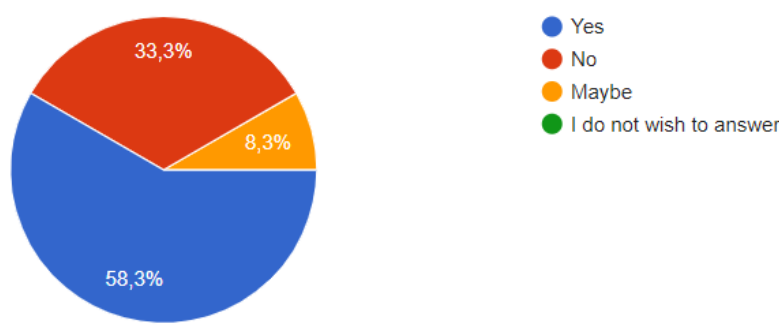
Have you in your work heard of or personally known male victims of trafficking?

12 svar



Are you of knowledge of or in contact with a male victim of trafficking right now?

12 svar



Based on these answers, people in the anti-trafficking field have experience with male victims of trafficking, and more than half of the respondents are in contact with male victims right now. This does support the research above on trafficking in 2021 and that males are most definitely in the awareness of the people at the grassroots of the trafficking regime. In relation to the norm life cycle, the aspect of cycles not being chronological is proven here. This brief research proves that the norm of trafficking as a women's issue is being challenged; one may, thus, discuss if this is the emergence

of a new norm or if it still in negotiation, and then still in the cycle. On the one hand, I am tempted to identify this information as knowledge of a new norm emergence because the rest of the analysis and the discussion will argue that gender norms are an engraved part of this norm of trafficking as a women's issue, and, thus, disrupting that would mean a serious confrontation with societal gender norms. However, I am going to argue that this knowledge on the incorporation of males in the trafficking regime is leaning more towards a negotiation of the already existing norm, meaning that we are still in the same cycle. The norm is, right now at least, challenged to incorporate a broader scope and bring focus to more gender groups, not to be reinvented completely or replaced. There is nowhere mentioned, in my research, that trafficking should not be focused on females and the challenges that roughly 70% of the victims are experiencing. The gender norms confrontation, which would be part of a new cycle and a new norm emerging, is not in the recent present as far as my research show. Since the major institutions are incorporating males in some of their discourses now, we might be back somewhere in the norm emergence stage with several norm entrepreneurs and more organizational platforms coming into play, however, many are still not focusing on males and the CoE convention, as an example, has still not been amended which would be a clear sign of norm cascading.

This research, in general, also leads to a discussion on development and where societal development is best initiated. The convention, as mentioned, implies that lasting development should be implemented from top to bottom, and that powerful organizations in the international community should be ambitious on that matter (Council of Europe, 2005a). The research here does, however, challenge that slightly because change on this silencing of men is happening at the roots of the trafficking regime. It can be argued that development on this matter and the scope of the norm is coming from the bottom and working its way up the system. Several organizations and governments are now establishing a focus on men, to a certain extent, while several of the conventions and protocols on trafficking has not been amended to reflect the reality of 30% male victims. There is here, an opportunity for a theoretical discussion, in general, on how societal development is best achieved through bottom-up or top-down – are we looking at the individuals and the people as the catalysts of change, or are we seeking for our authorities to implement new initiatives? And which of those are lasting? This will, however, have to be a discussion for another time.

Norm consequences

Discursive and subjectification effects

In Bacchi's WPR approach, question 5 is all about looking at the consequences or effects of the problem representation (Bacchi, 2009, p.15-17). The discursive and subjectification effects are described by Bacchi as the effects of the discourse, meaning what is left out of this problem representation and where are the limits in the policy understanding, and of the subjectification, which is about the people categories and what the policy presents as opportunities for those (ibid., p.16-17). The effects in question 5 are extremely related, and since the chosen problem representation is about the specific discourse in relation to groups of people, the two have been merged in this section (ibid., p.15). A section will follow that focused more on the specific consequences and effects this specific norm of trafficking as a women's issue has on people's lives (ibid., p.17-18).

Trafficking as a women's issue is a discursive norm that has effects on the perception of women, men, and gender in general. One very concrete way of looking into this is through the investigation of the linguistic use of "she" "her" and "him" "his" "he" in the convention as presented under Categories in Norm emergence (Council of Europe, 2005a). Throughout the convention, the male pronouns are continuously mentioned first when referring to the sex of an individual, which one can interpret as a normative frame of gender perception where men are at the center or the primary, and all else is secondary or not at the 'level' of the man. This does not have to be a deliberate choice made by the developers of the convention and, thus, a deliberate signal they want to send - it can simply be the compliance to an unconscious linguistic norm that is inherited through generations. Two places in the convention do this pronoun order deviate: in Article 24c where "her/his" is referring to a public official, and in Article 33 paragraph 2 where "she/he" is referring to a victim (ibid., Article 24c + Article 33.2). A 'public official' is not defined in the convention or the accompanying explanatory report, which makes it difficult to interpret or analyze further on this linguistic choice. The second deviation on pronouns states: "... if the information available leads them to believe that she/he is a victim of trafficking in human beings" (ibid., Article 33.2). It is possible to interpret a bit more on this deviation since a victim is defined in the convention but also is assigned several characteristics throughout the convention, as will be discussed below (ibid.,). In the light of reading the rest of the convention and the chosen problem representation, this deviation reveals the understanding from the or a policy developer(s) that women are the primary and maybe only victims of trafficking, and that men are a formality that needs to be included but in reality, not understood as victims of trafficking.

Men are not mentioned as a group anywhere in the convention. The convention and the explanatory report do, thus, allow men to be able to subjectify as a victim of trafficking through the use of pronouns, however, when it is specified that the nature of the trafficking is sexual exploitation, men are silenced both in the convention and the explanatory report which have serious subjectification effects as a result of the policy discourse (Council of Europe, 2005a; Council of Europe, 2005b; Mullally, 2020, p.256). When the explanatory report discusses or deals with sexual exploitation, it focuses solely on women, and the recommendations led to the convention also saw sexual exploitation as only having to do with women (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.5). The current data shows that 17% of victims of sexual exploitation are males, which makes this discourse problematic (UNODC, 2021, p.33). Additionally, the report does, as an example, explicitly state: “Trafficking in human beings, when it is carried out for the purposes of sexual exploitation, mainly concerns women, although women can be trafficked for other purposes” which shows that men, or others, are not even considered in the discourse around sexual exploitation – the sentence could just as well have been ‘although others can also be subjected to sexual exploitation’ which would have created different subjectification opportunities and effects (ibid., p.33). The direct subjectification effect is that men cannot interpret or identify themselves as victims of sexual exploitation due to the discourse of the convention, which may lead to lived effects for potential male victims of sexual exploitation since they may not be detected at all.

However, there is, concerning one certain group, a place where only men are mentioned or referred to in the explanatory report. A trafficker, meaning a person who is trafficking people, is kept without any sex or gender in the convention, however, in the explanatory report, a trafficker is solely referred to as “himself”, “him”, “he”, and “his” (ibid., p.31+48+49). A revealing subjectification effect of the chosen discourse is, thus, that only men can be interpreted as a trafficker, which in the light of the rest of this analysis says a lot about the gender norms present in the development of the convention, or at least something about the underlying frame of minds leading to these linguistic choices. Recent data does show that 38% of convicted perpetrators are women, which emphasizes how far this representation of a perpetrator is from reality, and how deeply rooted the gender norms are (UNODC, 2021, p.39). This will be discussed further in a later chapter.

A theme that continues to appear in the convention and the explanatory report is that of vulnerability (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 4a + Article 5.5 + Article 5.5+ Article 12.7; Council of Europe, 2005b, p.14-46). Some persons are vulnerable to trafficking, hence vulnerable victims, and children are throughout considered the most vulnerable group (Council of Europe, 2005b).

Additionally, the questionnaire also showed that several professionals associated trafficking with vulnerability, which makes it essential to discuss (see Appendix 1). In the convention, women and children are often mentioned in the same sentence or almost as correlated groups to each other in the realm of trafficking (Council of Europe, 2005a, Preamble+ Article 6 + Article 39; Council of Europe, 2005b, p.1+2+3+4+8+9+10+33+56). Taking into consideration that in the convention, victims are considered vulnerable, which previously has been argued to mean women, and that women continuously are put into the same group as children, who are explicitly considered vulnerable, the identities and, thus, subjectification possibilities of women are limited to being vulnerable. If women are continuously put in the same sentence as children, who we consider to be the group in need of most protection, the narrative very quickly becomes that women are just above or maybe at the same level of ‘helplessness’ as children (Locher, 2007, p.243). This linguistic choice enforces a discourse around women that resembles the common gender norms. When trafficking in the convention is presented to be something that concerns women, and that women are understood as victims who are vulnerable and in need of aid both in their situation as victims of trafficking but also as a social group who are not equal to the man, it may not help one of their main agenda’s which is equality and prevention of harm against women, since they stagnate the role and gender norms that surround women. As O’Brien writes: “The identification of a trafficking victim as female instantly resonates with a worldview in which women are perceived to be inherently more vulnerable than men, contributing to a ‘gender specific and gender hierarchic’ phenomenon” (O’Brien, 2019, p.57). The positive aspect of this might be that women, who are victims of trafficking, may get the help and rights they need.

Lastly, a discursive and subjectification effect of the presentation of gender and women and men in the convention and explanatory report is that of the lack of representation of other gender identities. This was briefly touched upon in this project in the part on the silences of the convention, and the part following this on lived effects will clearly illustrate why this is an issue, however, other gender identities and, thus, specifically members of the LGBTQ+ are not considered in the report. The effects of that are, in terms of discourse, that the problem is not considered to have a gender dimension beyond the dichotomy and that people cannot identify as anything else than female or male if they want to access their rights as victims of trafficking. It sends a strong signal to people on the perception of gender from the CoE, meaning that in terms of discourse and subjectification, they are dismissing a large part of the rising LGBTQ+ community (Tremblay, 2018). People who identify as

anything but female or male are effectively deemed ‘wrong’, ‘unacceptable’, or even ‘untitled to rights’ since they do not qualify as a person in the language of the convention.

Lived effects

Lived effects is another element of question 5 of the WPR approach, which concerns how the problem representation has an impact on the direct lives of people (Bacchi, 2009, p.17). If one looks closely at every aspect of the 19 pages long convention, many lived effects could be highlighted and brought into the light. However, this part will focus mainly on the lived effects of the norm of trafficking as a women’s issue.

The major lived effect of the norm is the potential non-identification of victims that are not women. A very recent publication by Spanger & Hvalkof, which is about migrant’s mobility in Denmark and human trafficking, among other subjects, has a chapter on human trafficking and how migrant male workers are often criminalized by the Danish authorities while truly being victims of human trafficking (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p.155-166). In the book, the authors have interviewed David, who was a migrant worker that later got identified as a trafficking victim, who told about his experience with the Danish police (ibid., p.155-156). He states in the interview that he continuously said to the police that he had done nothing criminal, however, they kept treating him as one and forcing him out of his living space, took him in detention for the lack of ID papers, forced him to strip down at the station, and took his phone from him – all this based on assumptions that he was a criminal never considering that he was a victim (ibid., p.156-157). This is made clear by the authors not to be a stand-alone case and that the discourse on trafficking in Danish authority circles is deficient and not adjusted to migrant workers who are subdued to labor exploitation who are often males (ibid., p.155-157). Spanger and Hvalkof also state that the dominating discourse around human trafficking until 2012 in Denmark concerned migrant women in prostitution (ibid., p.157). This can be argued as part of the lived effects for men. Norms and discourses trickle down the policy system; the CoE convention shapes part of the Danish authorities’ Action Plan on Trafficking, which then forms the Danish strategy and system for combating trafficking, which essentially affects the training and discourses available for the individual police officer on the ground. If the Danish police authorities, and other branches of the Danish authorities for that matter, had been trained and educated to understand that trafficking does not only concern women in prostitution but also many other people, David might have been treated as a victim from the beginning avoiding further emotional toil (ibid., p.157-162). However, this can only be done if the narrative is changed and the norm is challenged and broadened by a new understanding of trafficking, which goes beyond a female dimension. In the

worst cases, men might not be detected as victims of trafficking (Reynolds, n.d.). In the book, a policeman clearly states: “We were used to that ... when we (the police) saw the Rumanians, then it was not as victims it was as beggars, thieves, or something else” which says a lot about the lived effects of the chosen policy norm (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p.157).

Additionally, other gender groups can be overlooked by authorities partly due to the norm; the UNODC Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020 sheds light on how governments tend to overlook the vulnerability of LGBTQ+ persons to trafficking (UNODC, 2021, p.38). The report describes how 20-40% of the homeless youth in North America identifies as part of the LGBTQ+ community compared to 5% in the general population, and due to the stigma around their person, some of them end up on the streets and are, thus, more exposed to the possibility of becoming a victim of human trafficking (ibid., p.38). Because they have limited means, they may end up in a situation of labor or sexual exploitation and situations of trafficking that they are having a hard time leaving because of their social and economic vulnerability (ibid., p.38). Once again, the lived effects of trafficking considered a women’s problem, and the lack of representation, as a result, means that some victims may not be detected or that the LGBTQ+ groups’ specific challenges in relation to trafficking are not even on the radar of the authorities, because it is outside the norm, and not considered as a dimension of the issue from the very top. Homosexual males who are socially and economically vulnerable are considered as a specifically undetected group because homosexuality between men is taboo, and they might, as a result, refuse to identify as victims of trafficking and access their rights in that context (ibid., p.38). The lived effects here may concern more the lack of attention there is to the issue and, thus, the potential undetected victims; the report does state that very little research is done on trafficking effects on the LGBTQ+ community (ibid., p.38).

Summary and context

Throughout this section, the norm of trafficking as a women’s issue has been proved to have cascaded. The WPR questions are helping to establish this because they highlight what is silenced in the norm and what effects it has on people’s lives. Had the norm not cascaded and still been in the norm emergence stage, it could still be challenged and shaped, which would have left it not yet with any real-life consequences or effects because it would not have been majorly adopted. The norm would still be up for negotiation and may, thus, have included a gender-neutral language that would send a different message and open for more subjectification opportunities. The analysis presented above, therefore, establishes that the norm has cascaded and influenced people, organizations, and domestic governments.

Norm internalization

Norm internalization is the last stage of the norm life cycle theory. In this stage, the norm has approached a taken for granted status, where the norm is rarely questioned and more incorporated in initiatives and organizations in a very organic and natural way (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p 904-905). Bias can be detected if a norm has reached this stage because unconscious or easy decisions are made that reflect the underlying understanding of right and wrong and, thus, the norm (ibid. p.905). Institutions and governments who are part of the international community will also appear to have moved closer to each other in terms of identity and morals (ibid., p.904-905). In this case, the norm of trafficking as a women's issue has been internalized because the CoE developed a convention, which resembles the narrative in the UN Palermo Protocol and, therefore, the norm has been adopted and made the international community come together around the same narrative or moral which evolves around the abolishment of violence against women and women's rights. Additionally, this convention made many European states lawfully accountable for handling trafficking domestically accordingly, making the norm part of policy culture. This convention is, however, developed in 2005 over fifteen years ago, which does not make it fully representative of the current norm on trafficking on the ground. As the previous section shows, when investigating whether men are still silenced, the grassroots organizations prove that the norm is broadening or is at least challenged. As Spanger & Hvalkof write in their book, the discourse on trafficking only regarding women in prostitution began to go beyond and include issues of forced labor in 2012 (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p.157). The peak of the internalization on an entire society level may, thus, be between 2005 and 2010-12, since trafficking is no longer (in 2021), at some grassroots at least, considered to solely be a women's problem. However, at the top supranational level, which the CoE and the convention represents, the norm is still internalized and unquestioned since there have been no efforts to amend the convention to change its discourse on trafficking or incorporate men as a group.

Norm legitimacy

For this section on norm internalization, the WRP approach's question 6 is interesting to briefly consider. Question 6 is building on question 3 about the problem representation's genealogy; however, this question looks particularly at where the representation is defended and where it is challenged (Bacchi, 2009, p.19). When a norm is internalized; it becomes a natural part of society and reaches a taken for granted status. Question 6 will help pinpoint where the norm is reaffirmed, considered continuously natural, and defended, while also pinpoint where people might disrupt the norm or address the bias which is present as a result of the life cycle. As explained under the section

on norm construction, this norm of trafficking as a women's issue is constructed over time. As the investigation in that section shows, the norm does not have its origin in the CoE convention, but rather, the convention is a European result of the Beijing Conference in 1995 and the Palermo Protocol from 2000. The CoE convention is a step in creating legitimacy around trafficking as a women's issue, that was established in those prior initiatives. The convention is reproducing the norm and making it reach a broader 'audience' (the states), which legitimizes the norm that the issue of trafficking concerns women. The convention in itself is, thus, part of legitimizing and defending the norm because it is part of the collection of significant documents that have institutionalized and, thus, defended the norm (ibid., p.19).

It is interesting to look at where the norm of trafficking as a women's issue is reproduced or defended in more recent years, to better understand the current status of the norm. At the grassroots of the anti-trafficking professional community, the norm may begin to be recreated, however, at the top institutional levels, trafficking is still considered a women's issue. An example, other than the non-amendment of the convention, is the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. The SDGs were launched in 2015, setting the 'right' direction for the development of the world up until 2030 by establishing particular goals (United Nations, n.d.a). Goal 5 of the SDGs concerns gender equality and empowerment of women and girls, and target 5.2 specifically states: "Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation" (ibid.,). As explained previously in the analysis, the narrative of violence against women in relation to trafficking has been part of the creation of the norm that trafficking is a women's issue. Goal number 5 in the SDGs concerns *gender* equality, however, men are not mentioned in relation to trafficking as victims. The goal only concerns women even though it proclaims to concern gender equality; men or other gender identities are not mentioned anywhere. Taking the goal in its entirety into account, plus the mentioning of trafficking under these circumstances, it reproduces the narrative that trafficking is equivalent to violence against women and, thus, something that concerns women. Human trafficking is mentioned again under goal 8 on decent work and economic growth (target 8.7), where children are mentioned as the only group (United Nations, n.d.b). The norm of trafficking as a women's issue can be argued to be reproduced or defended through the SDGs in 2015 because it silences other gender groups. Hence, they relate trafficking to women as the only gender. It is, however, important to mention that the convention and the SDGs are, through this norm, representing roughly 7/10 victims of trafficking who are females (UNODC, 2021, p.31).

Challenging the norm

As mentioned, question 6 of Bacchi's WPR approach includes investigating where the problem representation or norm is challenged and 'threatened' (Bacchi, 2009, p.19). One may argue that this project in itself is challenging the norm, which puts it into a group of other writings that questions the discourse on trafficking like Spanger & Hvalkof (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p.155-166). Additionally, under the 'Norm cascade' section of the analysis, it was investigated whether men were still a silence in the trafficking regime, which proved that they were not. It, therefore, seems that the norm is being challenged at the grassroots of the trafficking regime of the international community. Center Mod Menneskehandel, which is an organ of the Danish authorities, is challenging the norm even further by including trans persons in their statistics of victims and their report (Socialstyrelsen, 2020, p.6+ 12+13). They are choosing to include several gender identities which challenge the understanding and discourse around trafficking.

Additionally, the choice of including more gender identities as part of the trafficking issue is also challenging the heterosexual matrix that is present in the convention. The heterosexual matrix is the cultural understanding that human bodies only make sense when they are established through the sexes and when those are constant, meaning that females convey femininity and males convey masculinity which all is defined through heterosexuality (Butler, 2006, p.208). The heterosexual matrix is often to be found in policies and the epistemological outset of the policy development (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2018, p.64-65). It means that many policies are developed from a heterosexual world perspective that understands females and males as the primary genders and that desire is an exchange between those two bodies (Butler, 2006, p.208; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2018, p.64-65). Several studies have been made where a bias of the heterosexual matrix has been detected in policies on gender equality and prostitution as examples (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2018, p.64-66). It has become apparent throughout this analysis that the heterosexual matrix and that particular cultural understanding can be detected in the CoE convention. The silences on other gender identities, the discourse surrounding sexual exploitation, the consistent victimization of women in particular, and the ties with prostitution and violence against women narratives all speak into this argument that this convention is developed as part of the heterosexual matrix in international politics. When the Danish Center Mod Menneskehandel chooses to include trans persons as part of the trafficking discourse, they are indeed introducing a norm shift and a new norm proposal that goes beyond the heterosexual worldview. Additionally, when the UNODC is arguing that more studies and knowledge should be conducted which focus on the relationship between trafficking and the LGBTQ+, they are challenging the norm of trafficking as a women's issue and, thus, the underlying heterosexual matrix present in

that specific discourse (UNODC, 2021, p.38). Something interesting in the explanatory report is that in paragraph 147 on page 24-25, the report presents a gender-neutral language throughout that section with the use of “such persons” or “that person” when referring to an individual (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.24-25). It is, however, only there that the report is referring so neutrally to a person. This approach might be part of a possible solution; if the convention and explanatory report, throughout, amended the linguistics, this analysis would have been impossible to conduct, meaning that all would have the possibility to subjectify as victims and, thus, have access to their rights while in respect of several gender identities. Additionally, the discourse around trafficking as a women’s issue would change, which would have an effect on all that the CoE is impacting through the convention (states, law, culture, education systems, domestic authorities, etc.), and maybe result in more victims being identified and, thus, relieved from suffering and injustice.

There is, however, a downside to the use of gender-neutral language. As scholars of gender studies have pointed to, the lack of explicit visibility in policies can also have negative consequences of stigmatization (Agustin & Lombardo, 2009, p.5-7). Several groups and lived experiences of people have been overlooked and ignored because of invisibility in policies, which have made experts push for intersectional policy representations that allowed for all experiences and groups to be explicitly incorporated and, thus, not muted (ibid., p.5-7). The danger of making the language in the convention gender-neutral would, thus, be that the focus that is needed on female, male, and LGBTQ+ victims of trafficking would result in a lack of explicit acknowledgment of the intersectional challenges that these groups are individually facing.

Summary and context

Question 6 from the WPR approach has here added a dimension to the norm internalization stage because it determines precisely where the norm is defended and legitimized but also helps the researcher to consider where it is challenged and where it may be disrupted and possibly replaced. In this case, one might want to keep tabs on the LGBTQ+ communities’ impact on introducing gender-neutral language in policy development or other initiatives that allow for a broader gender interpretation. The question also addresses the bias of the norm, which adds to the argument of the norm having attained the norm internalization stage by reaching a taken-for-granted status.

Trafficking and gender: the last questions

This section will focus on gender equality and gender norms in relation to gender equality policies since the convention, as mentioned, has dedicated itself strongly to gender equality throughout all its initiatives. However, in the light of the analysis, some questions arise and need further discussion.

How can we speak of gender equality?

Throughout the convention, gender equality is mentioned as an aim and demand for states to incorporate in every policy they implement on trafficking (Council of Europe, 2005a, Article 1a + Article 17). This is obviously of high importance to the CoE and an element of justice concerning trafficking that it finds paramount, or else it would not be placed as part of the first article of the convention. However, in the light of the analysis completed, I wonder how gender equality is interpreted by the CoE and the policy developers of this convention. Gender equality is defined in the explanatory report as: “Gender equality means an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life. Gender equality is the opposite of gender inequality, not of gender difference. It means accepting and valuing equally the complementarity of women and men and the diverse roles they play in society. Equality between women and men means not only non-discrimination on the grounds of gender but also positive measures to achieve equality between women and men. Equality must be promoted by supporting specific policies for women, who are more likely to be exposed to practices which qualify as torture or inhuman or degrading treatment (physical violence, rape, genital and sexual mutilation, trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation)” (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.11). This interpretation of gender equality is developed at the beginning of the 2000s, which is important to remember – the discourse and statistics were different; however, this aim of gender equality is clearly meant to regard women - this is both implicitly and explicitly stated.

One must accept and comply with the fact that the CoE convention is still representing the statistics of the field: women are more exposed to trafficking than men or other gender identities, thus, the initiative is still relevant and of great importance (Council of Europe, 2005a; UNODC, 2021, p.16). Hence, it must be acknowledged that women are trafficked more than others and that naturally, there needs to be initiatives and attention on that particular problem, which the ILO is a good example of. In 2021, their front page in regard to trafficking is highlighting the fact that most females are trafficked, and they do not mention men there (ILO, 2021). This is an example of how an international institution is signaling that there needs to be a particular focus on the fact that females are more prone to trafficking than others. It is not wrong to address the statistics and emphasize that some groups are

to have particular attention, however, I must wonder if that means the complete silencing of other gender groups? It should be possible to both address the particular need for attention to female victims of trafficking and make the discourse around trafficking include other possible victims.

The convention cannot be understood as a sustainable initiative in relation to gender representation because it excludes any type of involvement in the trafficking tendencies to deviate from the 2000s – we are currently speaking of circa 30% male victims of trafficking, which makes trafficking no longer only a women’s issue. A sustainable initiative means that something can prevail and stand the trials of time; just fifteen years after the implementation of the convention, serious issues can be raised (IISD, n.d.). In the light of the development on the nature of trafficking as concerning more labor exploitation and, thus, more male victims, and the heightened societal focus on the LGBTQ+ community and their rights, this convention is not representative of the social reality (UNODC, 2021). This lack of representation of genders is a serious matter because it can ultimately mean that people will not get the help they need, or as in the case of David, be treated as criminals by authorities (Spanger & Hvalkof, 2020, p.155-157; Reynolds, n.d.). Discourses in conventions like these matter because they trickle down the whole system and impact the action of the domestic governments through action plans which then impact their law enforcement. Hence, one cannot expect the local police officer to acknowledge men or other gender identities as victims of trafficking if the supranational authorities and leaders cannot. This norm of trafficking mainly concerning women can have real consequences for the people most in need of help and justice. The explanatory report itself mentions that equality means the “equal visibility of both sexes” so the fact that 30% of the victims are left out of the discourse is concerning (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.11).

Gender mainstreaming and responsibility

The convention is dedicated to make gender equality a part of every move in combating trafficking, and its strategy for that is gender mainstreaming. The explanatory report defines gender mainstreaming as: “the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making” (Council of Europe, 2005b, p.18). This means that the convention is encouraging the states to make gender perspectives a natural part of the policy development in all steps and that no special task force should incorporate a gender dimension.

Gender mainstreaming is a heavily debated approach to gender equality within the field of gender studies, but also in other spheres where policy and development are discussed. Major international institutions like the UN, the EU, and the CoE have devoted themselves to gender

mainstreaming and are advocates for the use of the approach through many of their initiatives (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.88). This has had an impact on gender-sensitive policies and development and driven positive steps towards gender equality; however, a critique is still there (ibid., p.88). Much of the critique is that the concept is not strong enough on its own and that there are so many different interpretations and definitions that it becomes difficult to reach the goal of gender mainstreaming and, thus, gender equality (ibid, p.88 - 89). Scholars point to the fact that not much has changed from previous initiatives on gender equality and that because the concept is vague, it tends to become a technical exercise and not the transformative tool it was meant to be (Cavaghan, 2017, p.18: Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p.98: Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017, p.88-89). It is often met with resistance which Mergaert & Lombardo argues can show: “that if the institution’s informal gender norms are unequal, actors are likely to manifest resistance to gender mainstreaming, even if the institution officially endorses it, because they have ‘learnt the script’ of informal unequal gender rules of behavior within a given institution” (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014, p.15). It also becomes a question of responsibility as Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay describes it sturdily in her text: “Accountability for ensuring that gender equality concerns inform policy-making and programme implementation on a sustained basis is hard to pin down... it would be preferable to focus on women’s rights, children’s rights and men’s rights because the rights focus actually tells one what has to be achieved” (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p.98). The major obstacle for gender mainstreaming to be incorporated as intended can be unequal gender norms in the institution or a matter of interpretation and responsibility of execution in the organization.

This is the general critiques of gender mainstreaming, however, in the case of this convention, there are two sides to this. On the one hand, as the critique states, the approach to gender equality may not get things done, and how exactly the states are supposed to take on gender mainstreaming is not mentioned in the convention or the explanatory report. On this matter, the critique might be right in its concerns that the accountability of the process of implementing gender mainstreaming gets lost and that by having everyone incorporate a gender dimension to their work, the results may not be as effective. In terms of direct content of the convention, the CoE does not place the responsibility on anyone to kickstart this gender mainstreaming approach or give the states the tools to make a gender dimension a natural aspect of their work. By incorporating this approach, the CoE must assume that, as of right now, a gendered dimension is not a natural part of the work in the states related to trafficking, which means that support and education are needed for different

officials and employees for gender equality to be reached through the strategy proposed, which should be addressed in the convention.

However, on the other hand, the convention is also establishing trafficking as a women's problem and a women's rights problem through its explicit and implicit discourse. Mukhopadhyay is arguing in her text that addressing the issue, trafficking in this case to a specific area of politics is the right approach because the gendered dimension is not confounding (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p.98). The convention is creating a discourse where women and their rights are in focus and, thus, pushing the gender efforts in the convention towards women. The explanatory report and the convention are making trafficking a real issue that concerns women and violates their rights, which, according to Mukhopadhyay, is the clearest direction for incorporating gender (Mukhopadhyay, 2016, p.98). By placing the issue in a specific policy area, there is no question about what is meant by a gender dimension – it means women. The responsibility still lies with the individual states according to the convention, but the direction is concretized and clear through the discourse. Gender mainstreaming is still, however, mentioned as the approach to attain gender equality in the convention, so trafficking is 'only' made to concern women's rights in the implicit way it speaks about the concept of trafficking. In a way, the convention makes it implicitly understood that the gender mainstreaming approach is targeted at women and their rights, which once again makes the exact direction and strategy of incorporating gender un concrete and left with narrow interpretation because the states are only left with norms, discourses, and 'hints'. In the light of this analysis, however, the fact that gender mainstreaming is nowhere explicitly addressing only women means that men, or other gender identities, are not far from being able to be interpreted as part of a natural gender dimension in policy making regarding trafficking. Although, the norm of trafficking as a women's problem must evolve and reach the top of the international community before such interpretations can be incorporated.

The impact of gender norms

In the convention, men are not mentioned as a group, only as a pronoun – women are, as a group, mentioned several times. Women are mentioned alone several times in the convention, and explanatory report, mostly as in need of specific policy measures, and male pronouns are used alone once in the explanatory report when referring to a trafficker. Women as an explicit group are referred to several times as a stand-alone victim group, but only once as a pronoun when referring to a trafficker in both the convention and explanatory report. There is an uneven representation of gender in general in the convention and report, but the representation of gender in relation to trafficker and victim is also uneven. Women are mostly referred to as victims of trafficking, and in the limited cases

where males are referred to, they stand alone as the gender associated with being a trafficker. Considering this and the general analysis, I think it is most important to consider the roles of gender norms in this representation. The established gender norms suggest that society is more prone to accept women as vulnerable victims and men as an aggressive trafficker, and seem to struggle with recognizing men as vulnerable, in general, but also as victims (Reynolds., n.d.).

The common gender norms are presented in theory as women being perceived as more obedient, passive, and agreeable, among other things, and men being perceived as more aggressive, tough, and self-reliant. The gender norms do fit with the portrayal of women in the convention as vulnerable victims since being understood as more obedient and passive is not far from being a victim; all are characteristics of being beneath something else. When women are being perceived as obedient and passive, it is also easy to put them in a discourse of vulnerability and as ‘more prone’ to become victims of trafficking (Reynolds., n.d.). Men, on the other hand, are understood to be strong and aggressive, which fits more with the characteristics of a perpetrator than of those of a victim (ibid.,). Most of the convention concerns the rights of victims and how states are supposed to combat trafficking and ensure those rights of victims. I do not believe it is a coincidence that males are silenced throughout an initiative that concerns mainly victims – in this context, and in society in general, there are struggles accepting men in an inferior role.

A victim is subdued to the actions of another, an act that does not at all compliment the traits we otherwise identify men with. The ideal man is not subdued to another or is even allowing someone to dominate him – he is strong and tough so he will not let anyone place him in an inferior position: “the stereotypes that lead us to more readily assume men are capable leaders are the same ones that cause us to feel less empathy for their suffering” (Reynolds, n.d.). Men, and women, are indoctrinated with gender norms and gender stereotypes from an extremely early age, which will naturally result in an impact throughout our lives; either we comply and feel comfortable in the norms assigned to our gender, or we break with those and challenge them. Studies show, as mentioned in the theory, that male gender norms are harder to deviate from than female gender norms, which may have impacted the development of this convention. If the policymakers were to actively include men as a group in the convention, then they would have to be open to challenging the gender norms they likely were brought up to live. They would have to accept and actively incorporate in their mindset that men could be vulnerable to trafficking too and that men could be in situations where they are being exploited or subdued. Likewise, they would have to accept that men could also be victims of sexual exploitation, which may mean challenging a heteronormative bias and prejudice concerning

sexuality. In many of the issues the world is facing today when we speak of gender equality policy it is the lack of representation of women. In this case, it is the other way around; men lack representation and inclusion in the trafficking regime. It is peculiar that in one of the only political spheres where the attention to women is overwhelming, it is in the case of trafficking, where the majority of the policy concerns people in vulnerable, yielding situations. Gender norms are influencing people, and, in the end, it is people who are developing policy in the institutions – we cannot escape the norms indoctrinated in us since childhood, no matter our professional occupation.

In this case of trafficking and policy development, policymakers must be ready to challenge the gender norms and their internal heteronormative bias and become accountable for the aim of gender equality. Gender equality cannot only mean addressing the needs and rights of women; it must include attention to all possible gender dimensions, *also* a male gender dimension. The numbers of male victims of trafficking have been on the rise for the last ten years, which must be paid attention to. There is a dominating discourse in the trafficking regime that concerns women, and the consequences of that might be tragic. If male victims are not on the radar of everyone involved in combating trafficking, how are they to be helped? And are they even being detected? If something is not present in a discourse, it is not in our consciousness. In this case, the lack of gender equality in terms of representation and attention can, in the worst scenarios, have suffering consequences for people's lives.

Conclusion

This previous section has discussed gender equality, gender mainstreaming, and the impact of gender norms in policy making based on the findings in the analysis. My ultimate aim was, as mentioned in the introduction, to discuss what gender equality means and if one can speak of gender equality in policies where 30% of victims are silenced. I am arguing that gender equality includes all genders and that only pursuing an agenda targeted at women does not qualify as gender equality in an institution. However, before I was able to present that discussion, a thorough analysis had to be conducted around the norm of trafficking as a women's issue. The problem formulation for this thesis is: *As part of a norm life cycle, how is the norm of 'trafficking as a women's issue' constructed and negotiated in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings?* The analysis conducted established that the norm of 'trafficking as a women's issue' has been a part of all the stages of the norm life cycle. The norm emergence showed that the norm was constructed on assumptions of liberalism, human rights, and the elimination of violence against women. The section showed that a history of prostitution being equivalent to trafficking and a feminist movement in the 1990s where women's rights were established has human rights played a massive role in the construction of the norm in the convention. The Beijing Conference in 1995 became the tipping point for the norm, and the platform and declaration became the first steps in the institutionalization of the norm. The norm began to cascade further through organizational platforms like the UN, and where *Recommendation 1610 (2003)* played a large role in the CoE institutionalization process of the norm. The norm of trafficking as a women's issue has in certain discourses reached the internalization stage because the norm is still defended in the UN and other organizations. In terms of the negotiation of the norm and the social gender norms apparent in the convention, the interesting and problematic thing is that the norm is barely negotiated. The only element related to gender of 'the trafficking as a women's issue' norm which is negotiated is that of the perpetrator dimension of the issue, which is normatively considered to equate males. The norm has since the establishment in the convention been negotiated by the grassroots of the trafficking regime to include a broader perspective on possible victims, however, in the CoE convention, other gender groups than women are silenced.

This particular norm life cycle proves how significant norm diffusion is in the process of shaping a norm; it is all about in which context and discourse that the norm is constructed. Additionally, the institutionalization of an international norm shows extremely powerful because that norm will, as argued, trickle down the whole political and societal system on a national and international level. My arguments align rather well with Locher's work since she also establishes

trafficking as a policy field that concerns mainly women in the EU. Additionally, my arguments complement the findings of Spanger & Hvalkof by contributing a normative perspective on the complications and challenges they researched as part of the lives of migrant workers in Denmark. Furthermore, there is an implicit argument in the thesis for elaborating the norm life cycle theory by including the dimension offered through the analytic framework of Bacchi's WPR approach. As mentioned in the theory, the criticism of the norm life cycle theory was that it lacked an analysis of the discursive component of a norm. The framework of this thesis is a contribution to such an extension of the norm life cycle theory, which proves how valuable it is to investigate further than the norm itself; to establish what is left out of the norm and the accompanying consequences establish a lot.

A study that could complement and elaborate on the findings in this thesis, could involve a further investigation of the current norms on trafficking in our time from a gendered perspective, while also discussing how development is best achieved. A project that focused on the top-down vs. bottom-up approach to policy development on trafficking, and societal development in general, would be extremely interesting to conduct. This project does, however, contribute with the initial analysis and argumentation necessary to discuss this, which, in the end, will hopefully contribute to an acknowledgment of all victim experiences.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire:

What do you associate with the word trafficking? (please write 5 things)

12 svar

exploitation , manipulation , vulnerability, international crime networks, coercion

deceit, force, inequality, hope for a new life, financial debt

Human trafficking is a process by which people are lured or taken into slavery.

Exploitation, abuse, vulnerability, discrimination, profit

Criminal offence, violation of human rights, sexual exploitation, labour exploitation, trafficking in children

use of force or deceit exploitation (we use the formal definition) involuntary (although consent is irrelevant)

Modern slavery, forced labour, forced sexual exploitation, debt bondage, slavery

Money survive crime lies hope

forced labour, forced prostitution, mixed migration, 3Ps, drugs

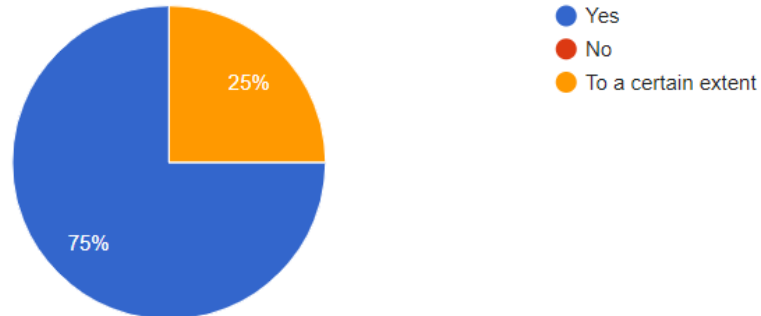
exploitation, injustice, control, deception, trauma

Modern slavery, vulnerability, lack of freedoms, lack of rights, poor government response.

Poverty, lack of opportunities, coercion, strict immigration policy, violence

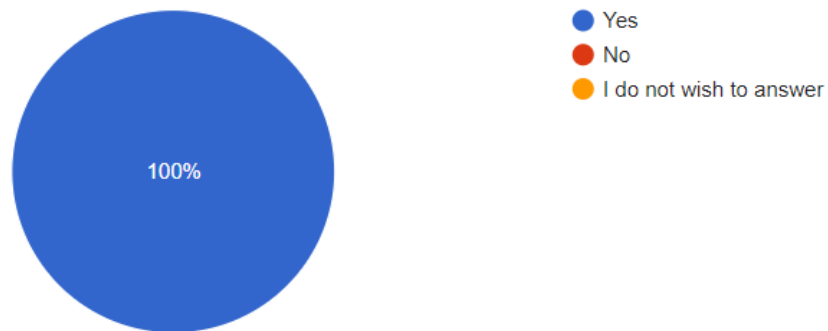
Do you feel that gender equality plays a role in your work?

12 svar



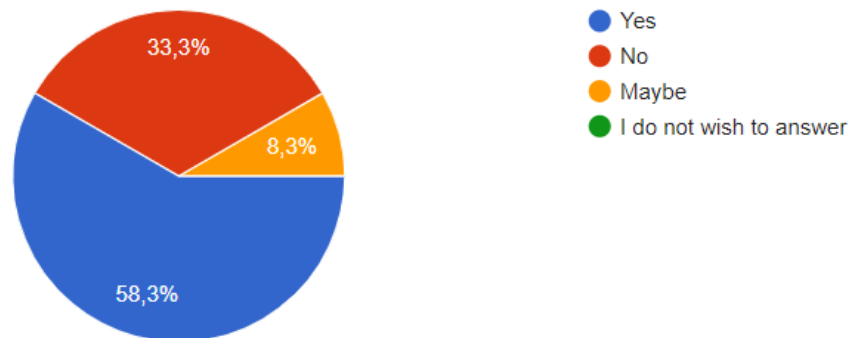
Have you in your work heard of or personally known male victims of trafficking?

12 svar



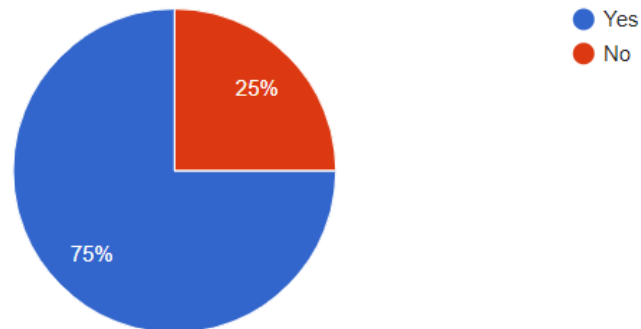
Are you of knowledge of or in contact with a male victim of trafficking right now?

12 svar



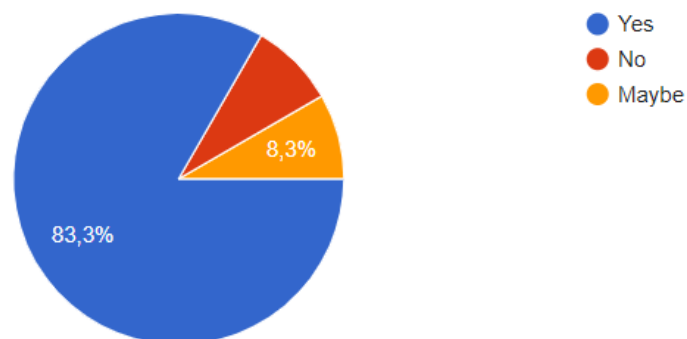
Have you in your work known of government or supranational organization policies aimed at male victims of trafficking?

12 svar



Have you heard of or made initiatives, studies, surveys, programs, classes, policies, reports etc. directed at male victims of trafficking?

12 svar



Write a comment here if you wish.

6 svar

As I have written to you HopeNow has been aware of men who are trafficked for many years. We organize social activities , work in our outreach work and provide counseling for men and women . We have defined unofficially hundreds of men as trafficked and provided services for them. We have also over the years officially submitted documents to CMM and Immgration resulting in an official identification. Our peer group work and our staff are in contact daily and weekly with traffikced men and also women.

If you leave aside the tight focus on women enslaved into commercial sexual exploitation in Europe and North America, you realise that in most of the world the gender (and age, etc) of enslaved people is more complex - for example, I've worked with families in hereditary slavery in India, clearly there is a gender dimension to this work, and in the process of liberation through community action it is the women that will always lead the community in spite of the strict gender role expectations.

Studies on trafficking in man/labour exploitation are very much needed

I answered it on behalf of our members, LSI secretariat is not in direct contact with victims.

Hi Anna, happy to fill out your questionnaire- keep in touch and let me know how your report goes!

Not quite clear what you mean by "directed at". I ticked yes as work on deep water fishing often involves exclusively male victims but you could say it is directed at victims of TIP at sea, rather than specifically at males.