

Contents

List of figures	9
List of graphs	11
Acknowledgements	13
1. Introduction	15
1.1 Purpose and delimitation	18
1.2 Significance	20
1.3 Theoretical paradigm	22
1.4 Structure of the study	24
2. Problem and research questions	29
2.1 A gender-biased understanding of human rights	29
2.2 Contestation of the traditional understanding of human rights	34
2.3 Response of human rights NGOs	40
2.4 Research questions	43
3. Conceptualization	47
4. Focused literature review	51
4.1 Social constructivism in International Relations	52
4.2 The role of norm entrepreneurs in the emergence of international norms	53
4.3 Comparatively powerless actors' strategies for influencing norm dynamics	56
4.4 Norm diffusion and norm dynamics	58
4.5 The study's theoretical contribution	62

5.	Data and method(s)	63
5.1	The origin and characteristics of Grounded Theory	63
5.2	Reasons for the use of grounded theory techniques	65
5.3	Case selection	67
5.4	Data corpora	69
5.4.1	Criteria for data collection and generation	69
5.4.2	Written archival documents	71
5.4.3	Interview data	72
5.5	Data analysis	75
6.	AI's structure, decision-making, and policy implementation	77
6.1	Brief overview of the development of AI's work in general	77
6.2	A gendered human rights NGO	80
6.3	Internal structure - the international level	84
6.4	Internal structure - the national levels	86
6.4.1	The Swiss section	87
6.4.2	The German section	91
6.5	Decision-making and implementation	97
6.5.1	The international level - The IS as a powerful central node	97
6.5.2	The national level - AI sections	100
7.	The beginnings of AI's interest in VAW	103
7.1	The international level	103
7.1.1	Policy development 1989-2001	104
7.1.1.1	ICM decisions indirectly concerning AI's work on VAW	106
7.1.1.2	ICM decisions directly concerning AI's work on VAW	110
7.1.2	Policy Implementation	
	- AI's activities on VAW within the frame of the mandate	116
7.1.2.1	<i>Women in the Front Line</i>	120
7.1.2.2	<i>Human Rights are Women's Rights</i>	120
7.1.2.3	<i>Take a Step to Stamp Out Torture</i>	125
7.1.3	Feminist strategizing	127
7.1.4	AI's work on women's rights discussed	146
7.2	The national levels	153
7.2.1	The Swiss section	154
7.2.1.1	First collective and individual initiatives	154
7.2.1.2	A women's network emerges	159
7.2.1.3	Ignorance rather than opposition	162

7.2.2	The German section	165
7.2.2.1	Sektionsarbeitskreis Menschenrechtsverletzungen an Frauen	166
7.2.2.2	The MaF's successful attempts to influence decision-making ..	168
7.2.2.3	Disinterest regarding women's rights	171
7.3	Intermediate conclusions	174
8.	The challenges to make women's rights part of AI's DNA	177
8.1	The international level	178
8.1.1	Policy development 2002-2010	179
8.1.1.1	ICM Decisions indirectly concerning AI's work on VAW	181
8.1.1.2	Decisions directly concerning AI's work on VAW	183
8.1.2	Policy Implementation - Focus and content of the SVAW campaign	188
8.1.3	Pushing work on the issue of VAW from the top down	196
8.1.3.1	Policy development initiated by the IEC	197
8.1.3.2	Getting ready for the SVAW campaign	198
8.1.3.3	The SVAW campaign Machinery	200
8.1.4	Resistance against AI's work on VAW	210
8.1.4.1	Resistance against the SVAW campaign	210
8.1.4.2	Resistance against the adoption of a policy on abortion	214
8.2	The national levels	220
8.2.1	The Swiss section	221
8.2.1.1	Merging the international campaign strategy with the section's priorities	222
8.2.1.2	The continuing importance of the women's network	226
8.2.1.3	Women's rights - confined to a story by women acting for women	235
8.2.2	The German section	243
8.2.2.1	<i>Look & Act: Preventing Violence against Women</i>	243
8.2.2.2	The MaF - a group of voluntary experts	246
8.2.2.3	Highly controversial issues - domestic violence and abortion ..	249
8.2.3	Comparison between the Swiss and the German AI sections	255
8.3	Intermediate conclusions	259
9.	Discussion and outlook	261
9.1	Summary and new insights	261
9.1.1	New insights into the mandate period	263

9.1.2	New insights into the post-mandate period	265
9.2	Implications for other human rights NGOs	269
9.3	The study's theoretical contribution	271
9.3.1	Ways that comparatively powerless actors can influence norm emergence	271
9.3.2	Reasons for limited norm diffusion	273
9.4	Outlook.....	274
Appendix		281
Appendix 1: Coordinators of the Intersectional Women's Network IWN		281
Appendix 2: Additional graphs and figures		281
Appendix 3: AI's statute, mandate, and mission.....		284
Sources and Literature		287
Sources.....		287
	Amnesty International archive	287
	Archive of the Swiss section of Amnesty International, Bern	288
	Archive of the German section of Amnesty International, Berlin	289
	Private archives	289
	Archival Material.....	290
	Interview Material	302
	Internet Documents	303
Literature.....		305
List of abbreviations		317