

ample, private-sector initiatives are not linked to international trade legislation; they are therefore not good indicators of the impact of mechanisms formally endorsed by political leaders and linked to legal obligations to enforce ILO Conventions. The following section therefore explores the promotional labour provisions model, as contained in recent EU bilateral FTAs, and what this model means in practice.

## The EU promotional labour provisions model: A negotiating blueprint

Since the mid-1990s, the EU has “deliberately put ‘sustainable development’ and ‘social solidarity’ at the heart of EU trade policy discourse” (Orbie, 2011, p. 165). This commitment has since become institutionalized in key EU legal instruments, namely the 2009 Lisbon Treaty, which most commentators identify as critically underpinning current trade policy (e.g. Orbie, 2011). The Lisbon Treaty amends the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union to state that trade policy “shall be conducted in the context of the principles and objectives of the Union’s external action” (TFEU, Article 207(1)) – objectives that include equality and solidarity – and amends the Treaty on European Union to create the objective of “fair trade” alongside “free trade” (TEU, Article 3(5)). At the same time, the treaty also increased the scope of the European Com-