

The Human Trafficking Crusade:
A Content Analysis of Canadian Newspaper Articles

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Abstract

Although human trafficking was not a new concept, it gained increased attention across the United States and Canada in the first two decades of the 21st century. To better understand the Canadian anti-trafficking movement, this thesis analyzed the discourse on the topic in six local and national daily newspapers between 2008 and 2018. The goal of this thesis was to investigate the emergence of human trafficking as a social problem. Using social constructionism as a point of departure, a critical discourse analysis was conducted in NVivo of the quotes made by human trafficking experts in Canadian media. The results of this analysis suggest that an Unofficial Christian Coalition emerged in Canada, which – assisted by the media – led a moral crusade against human trafficking and pushed for the adoption of restrictive sex work legislation in Canada.

Key words: human trafficking, sex trafficking, sex work, sex trade, prostitution

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INTRODUCTION

Young girls being coerced into trafficking their bodies? Women being traded like commodities, and beaten and battered and worse? Innocence being lost to dirty old men, who care nothing for anything except their own grimy desires? Who cares. The highest court in the land certainly doesn't seem to care.

– Warren Kinsella (Journalist), in response to the Supreme Court *Bedford* decision.
(*Toronto Sun*, 12 January 2014)

In the second decade of the 21st century, the topic of human trafficking seemed to have amplified across North America. Although human trafficking was not a new concept, it gained increased attention across the United States and Canada. Literature emerged from diverse disciplines investigating the phenomenon – health sciences (e.g. Ross, Dimitrova, Howard, Dewey, Zimmerman & Oram, 2015), childhood development (e.g., Greenbaum & Brodrick, 2017), dentistry (e.g. Gillette, 2012), hospitality (e.g., Paraskevas & Brookes, 2018), marketing (e.g., Szablewska & Kubacki, 2018), and economics (e.g., Cho, 2016). Furthermore, the issue gained celebrity recognition in the media, as more and more high-profile public and political figures joined the anti-trafficking movement (Haynes, 2014). However, this commotion left some scholars questioning the quick widespread preoccupation with the ‘problem.’ Indeed, a body of literature emerged from this trend which critiqued the anti-trafficking movements in the United States and Canada. This thesis adds to this body of literature.

To better understand the Canadian anti-trafficking movement, this thesis analyzed the discourse on the topic, in six local and national daily newspapers between 2008 and 2018: the *Toronto Star*, *Toronto Sun*, *Ottawa Sun*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *National Post*, and *Globe and Mail*. This time period was particularly relevant – it was during this time that three sex workers

challenged the constitutionality of the prostitution laws in Canada (Bedford v. Canada, 2010 ONSC [Ontario Superior Court] 4264;¹ Canada [Attorney General] v. Bedford, 2012 ONCA [Ontario Court of Appeal] 186;² Canada [Attorney General] v. Bedford, 2013 SCC [Supreme Court of Canada] 72³) and there were major changes to Canada's sex work laws in 2014. And, as earlier research has demonstrated, the Canadian human trafficking narrative had been grounded in anti-prostitution attitudes up to this point (see for example, Grantham, 2016; Jeffrey, 2005; Lam & Lepp, 2018). The goal of this thesis is twofold: first, to determine *who* was speaking as an expert on human trafficking in the media; and second, to explore *what* they were saying about human trafficking. Ultimately, the aim of this thesis is to investigate the emergence of human trafficking as a social problem in Canada. By analysing the discourse that was presented in the media, we can better understand the nature of the dominant human trafficking narrative; including, who was sharing it for which reasons.

Outline of the Thesis

The first chapter – The Contemporary Human Trafficking Narrative – will provide a review of the literature on human trafficking in Canada. Highlighted here will be what the literature says about the Canadian federal government's role, and the influence of Christian morality on government decision-making. The chapter will then discuss research on public actors and the media as claims-makers. The second chapter – The Social Construction of Moral Panics – will present the theoretical lens used to produce this research. It will begin by discussing Malcolm Spector's and John Kitsuse's (1987) theory on constructing social problems. Specifically, this chapter will present their claims-making process. Throughout the chapter, the

¹ Ontario Superior Court of Justice, Reasons for Judgment: <http://blogs.law.columbia.edu/genderandsexualitylawblog/files/2010/10/bedford-v-canada.pdf>

² Court of Appeal for Ontario: <https://www.canlii.org/en/on/onca/doc/2012/2012onca186/2012onca186.pdf>

³ Supreme Court of Canada Judgment: <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/13389/index.do>

concepts of framing, social movements, moral crusaders, and moral panics will be unpacked. In the third chapter – An Exploratory Critique – we will turn to critical discourse analysis, which provided the methodological framework for this thesis.

The fourth chapter – Canadian Perspectives on Human Trafficking – will present the findings of the discourse analysis, by highlighting the three perspectives that emerged on human trafficking in the media: the violence against women perspective, the religious/moral perspective, and the human rights perspective. The claims made by experts about human trafficking in the media will be categorized within these perspectives, and major tactics identified. The fifth chapter – The Emergence of a Moral Panic – will situate these findings in the broader social context within which the claims were made. This process will demonstrate how the social context both affected and was affected by the narratives in the media – resulting in the creation of a moral panic. Indeed, this chapter will employ Erich Goode’s and Nachman Ben-Yehuda’s (2010) five characteristics of a moral panic to demonstrate the construction of a human trafficking moral panic in Canada. The following chapter – Media Manipulation of the Narrative – will then explore the findings as they relate specifically to the media. Since the media is an integral aspect of this thesis, a full chapter is dedicated to unpacking its influence on the trafficking discourse as both a primary and a secondary claims-maker. Finally, this thesis will conclude with a brief summary of the analysis and recommendations for future research on this topic.

Chapter One

Literature Review: The Contemporary Human Trafficking Narrative

The last two decades has seen escalating interest in human trafficking globally and in Canada. Consequently, there has been an increase in Canadian literature addressing the issue of human trafficking from various perspectives. A commonly utilized framework is the violence against women approach. Proponents of this perspective conflate sex work and human trafficking and argue both are a symptom and cause of the continued oppression of women and thus, inherently exploitative (Christmas, 2018; Gallagher, 2015; Sweet, 2014; Weitzer, 2009). Perhaps unsurprisingly, these scholars suggest that eliminating sex work is necessary to end modern-day human trafficking. Relatedly, there is a large body of literature which frames human trafficking as a matter of international organized crime. This research utilizes a criminal justice framework arguing for increased policing, tougher sanctions, migration controls, and robust policies encouraging securitization of the nation state (Hastie & Yule, 2014; Jimenez, 2011; Kaye, Winterdyk, & Quarterman, 2014; Mohajerin, 2006; Miller & Baumeister, 2013; Perrin, 2010; Roots, 2013). For these authors, the closing of borders and the criminalization of sex work will lead to less incidents of human trafficking. Finally, in Canada, human trafficking is often framed as occurring in the context of racialized colonial violence. Those who use this framework view trafficking as disproportionately affecting Indigenous women and girls in Canada (Bourgeois, 2015; CWF, 2014; Perry, 2018; Ray, 2019). Proponents of this approach focus on the legacy of colonial violence which they maintain is being reproduced in the form of domestic trafficking of Indigenous women within Canadian borders.

There is, however, a robust body of scholarship that challenges a fundamental assumption that underlies the above-noted scholarship – that human trafficking is a significant social

problem – suggesting instead that both the scope and prevalence of human trafficking is being inflated. This body of literature focuses on the processes through which the meaning and understanding of trafficking have emerged in the contemporary context.

In this chapter we start by considering the two main bodies of research within this body of literature: first, that a narrative of human trafficking is purposefully created by the Canadian federal government as a mechanism for advancing their anti-immigration and anti-prostitution agendas; and second, that particular claims makers in the form of moral entrepreneurs have initiated a moral crusade against human trafficking.⁴ This paper will then consider a point of convergence in these bodies of literature – that the media is the primary mechanism for disseminating the human trafficking narrative. Accordingly, this literature review concludes by looking at scholars who examine the power that the media holds in constructing and disseminating the human trafficking narrative.

I. The Federal Government's Anti-Trafficking Agenda

As previously mentioned, this literature review will begin by presenting scholars who maintain that the Canadian federal government, specifically under former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, was instrumental in creating the human trafficking narrative. These scholars argue that the Harper Conservatives appropriated the concept of human trafficking, and used vague statistics, victimizing language, and gendered and racialized tactics as a means of tightening immigration policy and criminalizing sex work (e.g. Grantham, 2016; Roots & De Shalit, 2015; Roots, De Shalit & van der Meulen, 2015). The following section will present the

⁴ *Claims-making* are the activities of an individual or group trying to change some social behaviour or condition they collectively see as undesirable. In asserting their grievances, they're making claims about the behaviour. *Moral entrepreneurs* define a particular behaviour as a threat to societal values and press for its acceptance. A *moral panic* is a wide-reaching fear that society is threatened by some evil and is largely the work of moral entrepreneurs. These concepts will be developed in the next chapter.

literature that demonstrates how the Conservative government was using trafficking for tougher sanctions on immigration.

Trafficking Policy as Immigration Control

Elya Durisin and Robert Heynen (2015) maintain that “we can see a shift in discourse in the year 2000, with the adoption of the UN Protocol [to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons], which has had a profound impact in Canada and internationally” (p.9). They, along with other Canadian scholars (e.g., Grantham, 2017; Jeffrey, 2005; Lepp, 2002; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007) point to the creation of the *Protocol to Suppress, Prevent and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (UN, 2000) (of which Canada was a founding member) as providing the Harper Conservatives legitimation for increasing their securitization policies. Leslie Jeffrey (2005) argues that the initial policy (the *Convention Against Transnational Crime*, from which the Protocol was derived) was created for governments to facilitate collective action to abolish gangs and international organized crime rings. The Convention and its Protocol have made trafficking part of a wider criminalization of migration (or, “crimmigration”⁵) with an emphasis on border security, rather than human rights. The government effectively shifted its discourse to focus on criminalizing potential traffickers and protecting potential victims.

Jeffrey (2005) argues that this connection grew stronger with time, particularly in the post 9/11 era. In 2001, Canada introduced the concept of trafficking into its legislation through section 118 of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA, Canada, 2001). This

⁵ “Crimmigration” is a term coined by Juliet Stumpf (2006) to define the growing crisis of criminalizing immigration. The criminalization of immigration has set a stage for criminal law to overtake immigration law, wherein the distinction of the two has become ambiguous. The problematic nature of this convergence lies in enforcing immigration-related conduct with criminal sanctions. In this process, “aliens become synonymous with criminals,” and these non-citizens are “shorn of the rights and privileges of membership” within the destination country (p.419).

legislation was designed by the Canadian government to address a wider concern with illegal immigration, not just trafficking. For example, the Immigration Minister at the time, Liberal Denis Coderre, announced in 2003 that the new Immigration Act and investments of over \$600 million in security and immigration would help address the problem of human trafficking (Jeffrey, 2005). According to Katrin Roots and Ann De Shalit (2015) the government at the time (headed by Liberal Jean Chrétien) was committed to the global anti-trafficking campaign and felt pressure by the international community to uphold the standards set out in the Protocol. This provided a foundation for the incoming Conservative government under Harper to enact their “tough-on-crime” agenda (Roots & De Shalit, 2015, p.76). Indeed, when the Harper Conservatives were voted into parliament in 2006, they expanded RCMP operations on trafficking in cooperation with CSIS⁶ and local police forces. As Roots and De Shalit suggest, the international anti-trafficking movement had helped to align Canada’s humanitarian past with Harper’s contemporary “law-and-order inclinations” (p.68). By invoking the crime and punishment perspective into its federal anti-trafficking programs, the Harper Conservatives demonstrated “an increased appetite” (2015, p.67) for securitization and immigration control to a degree unprecedented in this country.

Sex Trafficking as an International Scourge

In addition to its focus on immigration control, research has demonstrated that the Canadian government has been specifically targeting immigrant sex workers through their anti-trafficking legislation. Nandita Sharma (2003) claims that due to an ongoing fear of immigrant sex workers, the Canadian government had been presenting the borders as a site of criminality.

⁶ The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) is Canada’s primary national intelligence service. It is responsible for collecting, analysing, reporting, and disseminating intelligence on threats to Canada’s national security. Canada.ca/en/security-intelligence-service

This is evident by the changes to immigration and refugee law presented in the previous section, which make specific reference to the cross-border trafficking of women and children for sexual purposes as part of the reasoning for strengthening Canadian borders. Sharma (2003) asserts that these securitization measures under the Liberal government of Chrétien were a “very deliberate ruse to garner support from otherwise liberal-thinking people for an extremely racialized and regressive immigration policy” (p.5).

Subsequent Canadian studies have found that the racist and sexist undertones of the IRPA were not only reproduced but amplified by the Harper Conservatives. In an analysis of 13 official government communications, Kate Grantham’s (2017) work highlights the “strategic deployment” of certain trafficking narratives to “prop up a reductive and paternalistic anti-prostitution agenda” that erects significant barriers for immigrant sex workers entering the country (p.91). Key findings resulting from Grantham’s analysis suggest that the implementation of anti-trafficking policy in Canada focuses on law enforcement and securitization and, that the Harper government draws direct links to sex work and immigration, “cracking down aggressively on both” (p.92).

Similarly, Robyn Maynard (2015) looked at specific policy decisions made by the Harper Conservatives in their anti-trafficking program. In claiming to fight human trafficking, the Canadian Conservative government was in fact creating a narrative to advance a political agenda that was hostile to migrants and sex workers. To demonstrate this, Maynard (2015) shows that the crime of human trafficking is defined in policy and legislation as primarily affecting women and girls and of being of a sexual nature. She notes that although prostitution is not defined in the *National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking*, the Conservative government had described prostitution as human trafficking in its 2011 election platform as well as in various press releases

and official statements. In another example Maynard provides, the Conservative Party of Canada passed a motion at its policy convention in 2013 that conflated human trafficking and the purchase of sex: calling for a “specific plan to target the purchasers of sex and human trafficking markets through criminalizing the purchase of sex,” and stating that “human beings are not objects to be enslaved, bought, or sold” (Maynard, 2015, p. 42).

During the time Harper was in office from 2006 to 2015, “the Canadian Conservative government continued to introduce bills and laws that impinged on social and economic justice for affected communities” (Maynard, 2015, p.46); migrant sex workers in particular, who were at greater risk due to the combination of restrictive immigration policy and the laws criminalizing the sex trade. Some of these include: *The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (2014)⁷ which put sex workers in more harm by pushing them underground; the *Safe Streets and Communities Act* (2011) included a section entitled ‘Protecting Foreign Nationals Against Trafficking, Abuse, and Exploitation,’ which empowered immigration officers to refuse entry to women deemed “vulnerable to experiencing humiliating or degrading treatment, including sexual exploitation or human trafficking” (Maynard, 2015, p.49); and, revocation of the exotic dancer work permit exemption⁸ in 2012 by the former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Jason Kenney, which was justified as being for the protection of women vulnerable to trafficking. In conclusion, Maynard states that people were being “victimized by the anti-trafficking efforts that claim to help them” (2015, p.49).

⁷ The PCEPA decriminalizes individuals who sell sex but criminalizes the act of purchasing sex (and all other related activities). The PCEPA was a response to the ruling of *R. v Bedford* (2013) in which prior sex work laws were deemed unconstitutional.

⁸ The exemption allowed migrant exotic dancers to work in Canada with contracts that guaranteed their wages. Migrant women wishing to work as dancers must now do so with few labour protections and without a permit (Maynard, 2015).

Ultimately, researchers argue that in taking a crime and punishment approach to human trafficking, the Harper Conservatives had given the federal government tools to control immigrant sex workers. Moreover, the government's anti-trafficking discourse had validated legislation that increased state power, enhanced restrictions on immigration, and encouraged the criminalization and surveillance of the sex trade (De Shalit, Heynen & van der Meulen, 2015; Durisin & Heynen, 2015; Lam & Lepp, 2018; Maynard, 2015; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007; Roots & De Shalit, 2015; Roots, 2013). Scholars argue that the Canadian government under Harper targeted immigrant sex workers and that regulations in immigration policy continue to restrict women's options for entering and working within Canadian borders (Grantham, 2016; Jeffrey, 2005; Maynard, 2015; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007; Lam & Lepp, 2018; Roots, 2013). In short, these studies suggest that the government had been shaping a discourse on human trafficking—from the development of the Protocol to the changes made to immigration policy—that emphasized immigration and the sex trade as primary areas of concern for sex trafficking. Thus, the federal government had positioned itself as uniquely qualified in ending the (purported) epidemic of human trafficking.

From Policymakers to Moral Regulators

The following section will highlight research from the second grouping of scholars who critique the framing of human trafficking. This section will begin by looking at authors who suggest that government officials use the power of their position to advance their own moral agendas. These scholars build on the previous body of research by considering why these anti-prostitution and anti-immigration policies were enacted. As the coming section will show, they assert that decisions made by the Harper Conservatives were fuelled by their desire to maintain traditional values in Canada by morally regulating those living within Canada's borders. In this

sense, the Harper Conservatives were not only acting as policymakers, but were making specific claims about human trafficking that scholars argue was akin to a moral crusade on sex work and immigration.

II. Human Trafficking Moral Entrepreneurs

We will now turn to authors who suggest that particular claims-makers have been strategically presenting human trafficking as a moral issue. In doing so, large-scale public acceptance has been achieved to fight the threat that human trafficking poses to Canadian society. The following section will discuss state agents – and implicitly the state apparatus – as moral entrepreneurs. Authors in the following section argue that individual government actors have been shaping an anti-trafficking narrative by imposing particular moral values on the public. The second section will then look at authors who suggest claims-makers from within the general public have shaped the prevailing trafficking narrative. For authors in this section, claims-makers in the public have shaped and disseminated a moral perspective on trafficking, which then had an influence on the government decision-making. As the research on human trafficking moral entrepreneurs is scarce in Canada, the following sections supplement Canadian analyses with literature from the United States.

The Unification of Church and State

Yuka Doherty and Angelique Harris (2015) argue that U.S. government officials impose their moral views on human trafficking through their over-reliance on the term *sex trafficking* and by “aggressively targeting a certain type of population [immigrant sex workers]” (p.23). In their analysis of the language in American policy documents, Doherty and Harris assert that the U.S. federal government has effectively redefined human trafficking for the purpose of supporting its moral agenda. In particular, these authors maintain that the question of consent is

central to policies in the U.S. like the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* (TVPA, 2000). To Doherty and Harris (2015), the use of the term “consent” by the U.S. government contributes to legitimizing their moral ideology. In the case of human trafficking, the U.S. distinguishes between *who* consents to *what*; “certain types of consent are treated as lawful, while others are not” (Doherty & Harris, 2015, p.26). Sexual acts violate moral behaviour and so females are reprimanded for consenting to engage in commercial sex acts: in the eyes of the U.S. government, a woman cannot consent to sex work. Further, the TVPA defines sex trafficking as commercial sex as opposed to sexual exploitation, which Doherty and Harris claim is taking a “morally driven approach over others...and it marks those who engage in voluntary commercial sex as immoral” (2015, p.31). Thus, the federal government in the U.S. was not only focused on state securitization but has been systemically imposing their moral values on the public through their sex trafficking narrative.

To further investigate the use of morality within government, Yvonne Zimmerman (2010) analyzed the language used by the George W. Bush administration on the topic of human trafficking. She suggests that this administration’s opposition to trafficking as moralistic is evidenced in the preponderance of religious language employed by the president and high-ranking administrative officials. Zimmerman contends that the use of religious doctrine in the U.S. is not new— particularly around issues pertaining to sex. She opines that the Bush administration found that the “appeal to theological speech was an efficient way to highlight the urgency of the United States’ moral obligation to address this massive human rights issue” (Zimmerman, 2010, p.80). Bush highlighted the theological dimensions of the issue in virtually every public comment he made; evidenced by his proclivity to invoke nomenclature of “evil” (Zimmerman, 2010, p.84). Zimmerman points to Bush’s former speechwriter, David Frum, who

has indicated that the Bush administration self-consciously used “evil” to tie human trafficking to religious imagery. For example, in addressing the UN General Assembly in 2003, Bush stated:

Each year, an estimated 800,000 to 900,000 human beings are bought, sold, or forced across the world’s borders. Among them are hundreds of thousands...who fall victim to the sex trade...there’s a special evil in the abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable... those who create these victims and profit from their suffering must be severely punished. Those who patronize this industry debase themselves and deepen the misery of others. And governments that tolerate this trade are tolerating a form of slavery. (Zimmerman, 2010, p.84)

The former chief anti-trafficking official in the U.S.—Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, John R. Miller— was more obvious in his application of theological reasoning. For example, in one interview he explained, “The [anti-trafficking] message is that you cannot be a slave to a man if you want to have a full relationship with God.”⁹ To another interviewer, Miller said, “What does the Lord tell Moses to tell Pharaoh after he tells him to say, ‘Let my people go’? He says, ‘*So they may serve me.*’ Serving the Lord connects with freeing people from slavery”¹⁰ (Zimmerman, 2010, p.86). Zimmerman claims that this strategy by Bush and his administration constructs anti-trafficking work as a spiritual task. Although the crime of trafficking in the TVPA is not defined by a lack of a relationship with God or a failure to serve God, the Bush administration supplements the need to free people from abuse with explicit theological legitimation to intervene.

⁹ In an interview with Ori Nir for Forward Magazine, May 7th, 2004. *U.S. Official Does ‘God’s Work’: Eradicating Slavery.* <https://forward.com/news/5602/us-official-does-e2-80-98god-e2-80-99s-work-e2-80-99-eradicating-s/>

¹⁰ In an interview with Anath Hartmann for Washington Jewish Week, September 15th, 2005: *Federal Official Works to End Modern-Day Slavery.*

A similar intertwining of church and state has been observed in Canada. Scholars have noted the relationship between the Conservative Party of Canada and Christian religion, and in particular, Evangelicalism (Malloy, 2013). James Malloy (2013) analysed the strategies used by Stephen Harper¹¹ to attract, regulate, and control Evangelical Christians and social conservatives¹² to form an overall conservative coalition. Prior to 2000, these groups had no obvious home within any single political party. However, with the creation of the Conservative Party of Canada, a significant number of Evangelical Christian Conservative MPs were elected to Parliament. Harper's government included high level Evangelical Christian elites, such as the former president of *Focus on the Family Canada*, and the former director of the Evangelical *Laurentian Leadership Centre*, part of Trinity Western University. Malloy (2013) stresses that it is difficult to characterize any legislator's religious beliefs with precision, particularly since Harper (unlike Bush) was especially guarded in referencing religion. However, Harper's affinity for religious doctrine can still be identified, for example in his 2009 speech at the Manning Networking Conference he noted that "his version of conservatism is summed up in three Fs: freedom, family, and faith, and that faith in all its forms teaches... that there is a right and wrong beyond mere opinion or desire" (Malloy, 2013, p.192). Another tactic used by the Harper Conservatives was to maintain ongoing and direct contact with Evangelical Christians and social conservative groups by means of mail and advertising, "allowing careful messaging and

¹¹ Stephen Harper is a member of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a Canadian Evangelical Christian church. He is recognized as being "the smartest Evangelical politician you never heard of" because of his tight-lipped approach to discussing religion in politics. <https://theyee.ca/Opinion/2015/09/14/Covert-Evangelism-Stephen-Harper/>

¹² Malloy (2013) defines social conservatism as "traditional and moralistic values toward reproductive rights, sexual orientation, and sexuality generally, as well as to support for a high degree of state regulation of 'morality'" (p.187). Alternatively, Malloy states that Evangelicals are "committed to spreading the Word of God" through individual conversion, and Evangelicalism is "to be strongly opposed to abortion, same-sex marriage and to hold social conservative views on other issues of sexuality and reproduction" (p.188). Evangelicals and social conservatives are distinct categories but are highly overlapping with a shared moral agenda.

mobilizing of discrete groups” (Malloy, 2013, p.193). Harper used various strategies during his time in office to manage Evangelical Christian and social conservative elements, “signalling a personal commitment to these groups” (Malloy, 2013, p.200). According to Malloy (2013), the Harper Conservatives attempted to broker these groups into a larger conservative coalition and into a unified ‘family’ agenda, showing at times a willingness to polarize key moral issues (such as, excluding abortion from international maternal health funding in 2010). Malloy concludes that in Canada there has been a clear link drawn between Evangelical Christians, social conservatives, and the Harper Conservatives, which he states had been carefully and methodically “cultivated and managed by the party and its leader” (2013, p.200).

Similarly, Michael Prince (2015) argues that policymaking under the Harper Conservatives was driven by a moral vision held by Stephen Harper and other officials in the Conservative party. Accordingly, the Conservative government had attempted to “recast notions of the social by a particular emphasis on tougher public safety, security and justice, and related legal programs” (Michael Prince, 2015, p.58). Prince quotes Harper on his ideas of social order as a primary value and of “personal self-restraint reinforced by moral and legal restraints on behaviour” (2015, p.74). This approach to social policy is based on the recognition of threats and moral wrongdoings associated with personal life and globalization, including human trafficking, immigration, and terrorism. Evidenced through personal statements and official policy records, the era of the Harper Conservatives is akin to a moral crusade, argues Prince (2015). Ultimately, he suggests that the Harper Conservatives were moral entrepreneurs, consciously acting to form public opinion.

In accordance with Prince’s (2015) argument, Ann De Shalit, Robert Heynen and Emily van der Meulen (2015) maintain that the Harper Conservatives placed primacy on issues of

security and policing when it came to social policy. When considering the anti-trafficking political agenda in particular, these authors argue that the Conservatives had been “given a window of opportunity to kill two birds with one stone” by combining securitization with a desire for greater moral control (De Shalit, Heynen & van der Meulen, 2015, p.393). In this sense, the Harper Conservatives were able to mobilize their network of Evangelical Christians and social conservatives in support of harsher sanctions on immigration and the sex industry. Likewise, Roots and De Shalit (2015) state that the political landscape under Harper “has not strayed far from the age-old moral crusade against prostitution and, in fact, has revitalized it through the conflation of sex work and trafficking” (p.70). As mentioned above by Malloy (2013), Harper and other high-ranking Evangelical Christian government officials took a moralistic stance on sexuality and placed primacy on state regulation of morality. As such, Roots and De Shalit (2015), and De Shalit, Heynen and Van der Meulen (2015) suggest that the anti-trafficking program in Canada was framed by the Conservatives’ traditional views on sexuality and by a desire for greater moral control over citizens and non-citizens alike.

In summation, Malloy (2013) and Prince (2015) suggest that Harper and his Conservative Party officials relied on the support of Evangelical Christians and social conservatives to support their moral agenda. Furthermore, De Shalit, Heynen and van der Meulen (2015) and Roots and De Shalit (2015) demonstrate how this moral agenda is evident in the Conservative’s anti-trafficking activities, such as the imposition of tougher sanctions to limit the sex trade and immigration. Thus, these scholars maintain that this administration’s moral values were apparent in their attitudes on human trafficking. Furthermore, it was during their time in office that the Protocol was adopted, the Anti-Trafficking Action Plan created, the IRPA amended, and the PCEPA established.

In the following section we now turn to scholars who look at claim-makers within the public sphere. Similar to Harper profiting off his connections to Evangelical Christians and social conservatives, the following section will show how private actors within the American public mobilized to enforce their moral agendas. These scholars maintain that the anti-trafficking moral crusade in the U.S. began with a select group of individuals, who eventually were able to create a large-scale anti-trafficking movement that spurred the government to respond with official policies and legislation. For these scholars, the government's response was a byproduct of a larger social movement and these high-ranking political officials were not the engineers of the moral anti-trafficking narrative suggested by the previous group of researchers.

Moral Entrepreneurs in the Public

Research from the U.S. has shown that the driving forces behind the current anti-trafficking narrative (outside of government officials) have been claims-makers taking a radical feminist and/or conservative Christian perspective. According to scholars (e.g. Bernstein, 2010; Doezema, 2010; Gulati, 2010; Weitzer, 2006), abolitionist feminists have aligned with conservative Christian groups to eradicate prostitution as a means to end the alleged sex trafficking epidemic in the U.S. For instance, Mashoula Desyllas (2007) argues that the current conception of trafficking in the U.S. was formed and supported by religious leaders, neoconservatives, and abolitionist feminists. As an example, Desyllas (2007) demonstrates how Michael Horowitz, a neoconservative from the Hudson Institute (a Washington D.C. think-tank) formed a powerful coalition of Evangelical Christians. This coalition pressed for legislation focused on the sexual exploitation of women and girls – while explicitly excluding male sex workers and other forms of labour. This legislation eventually became the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* which was adopted in 2000.

Four years later, Sharon Cohn – director of Anti-Trafficking Operations for the International Justice Mission, a Christian organization fighting to end sex slavery – spoke with Bush about a “new enemy:” sex slavery (Desyllas, 2007, p.69). The following year, the *Trafficking of Victims Protection Reauthorization Act* (TVPRA, 2005) was signed. Desyllas (2007) states that historical patterns in the level of public concern in the U.S. over the trafficking of women and girls are directly linked to increases in immigration. Thus, understanding the historical context “of socio-political, religious, and economic perspectives in the U.S.” helps to situate “the current U.S. policy within a racist, heterosexist, hegemonic framework that harms women through so-called ‘protection’” (Desyllas, 2007, p.62). Desyllas’ research shows how certain Christians and Christian groups within the U.S. have successfully mobilized public fears around immigration to fuel anxiety around sex trafficking. These groups are able to use their position and connections to influence policy at the federal level in order to legitimize their anti-trafficking actions.

Elizabeth Bernstein (2010) expands on Michael Horowitz and the neoconservative Hudson Institute’s involvement in the U.S. anti-trafficking agenda. Bernstein presents a list of influential abolitionist feminists who participated in a panel organized by the think-tank, entitled “The Profits of Pimping: Abolishing Sex Trafficking in the United States.” These feminists included Laura Lederer (founder of *Take Back the Night*), Dorchen Leidholdt (feminist lawyer for victims of domestic violence), and Donna Hughes (Chair in Women’s Studies at the University of Rhode Island). Sharing the stage with these prominent feminists were Michael Horowitz (a veteran of the Raegan Administration), Mark Lagon (former aid to the far-right Republican Senator, Jesse Helms), and Bonni Stachowiak (professor of business administration at the Evangelical Christian Vanguard University). This reinforcement of a feminist-conservative

alliance highlighted a “feminist embrace of state-anchored sexual moralism,” in which prominent feminists have actively defended conservative and faith-based organizations (Bernstein, 2010, p.53). The collusion of feminist groups with conservatives on the anti-trafficking agenda had been previously recognized by authors such as Wendy Chapkis (2005) and Kamala Kempadoo (2005). However, Bernstein (2010) suggests that this relationship went further than previously believed, arguing that abolitionist feminists had conformed to the conservative ideas of securitization and criminalization – which she refers to as Carceral Feminism. The success of U.S. anti-trafficking campaigns in criminalizing marginalized groups and enforcing border control have been a direct result of feminist advocates joining forces with a neoliberal project of moral control. Furthermore, Bernstein (2010) suggests that a new generation of Christians – “young, highly educated, and relatively affluent Evangelical Christians who often describe themselves as ‘mentors of the justice-generation’” – have taken-up the most recent crusade against sexual slavery and human trafficking (p.60). Bernstein states that this new generation of “justice-oriented Churches” have adopted the language of feminist advocates for social justice. These shared political commitments serve to link contemporary feminists, Evangelical Christians, and a broad spectrum of secular and religious conservatives on a crusade against the threat to sexual, family, and historical values posed by the idea of human trafficking.

In providing an example of these ‘justice-oriented Churches’ in the U.S., Carly Daniel-Hughes (2018) writes about the Evangelical Christian speaker and activist, Christine Caine. Though Caine positions herself as an anti-*human* trafficking activist, Daniel-Hughes states that “in fact, sex trafficking is [Caine’s] primary target, and with it the sex industry” (p.1). Caine is among a powerful constituency of conservative Christians that have formed alliances with anti-prostitution feminists; FAAST, Wellspring Living, and Concerned Women for America being a

few of the anti-trafficking NGOs they have formed. Daniel-Hughes argues that these groups dominate the public narrative about human trafficking and sex work and continue to influence policy-making and anti-sex-trafficking laws. This narrative works primarily by inciting fear, voyeuristic interest, “and a sense of moral righteousness” (Daniel-Hughes, 2018, p.2).

Evangelical Christian women have been drawn to the anti-trafficking campaign by its rhetoric: the traditional script of sexual and gender roles is foundational to anti-trafficking activism, in which girls are rehabilitated so that they can take their true social position as wife and mother. Furthermore, Evangelical Christians may have succeeded in having their anti-trafficking narrative accepted simply because they are better story tellers:

Christian anti-trafficking activists, instead [of sex-workers’ rights advocates], paint dramatic pictures of millions of innocent, vulnerable (even desirable?) victims: women and girls under threat of the voracious appetites of cruel and dehumanizing sex trades, and they need you to rescue them. (Daniel-Hughes, 2018, p.3)

Daniel-Hughes concludes by highlighting the influence these groups have over the narrative that is present in the media, and thus, their impact on the public and on policy changes.

The blending of conservative Christian ideology and politics ubiquitous in the U.S. was not, historically speaking, well received in Canada – a state of affairs that Sam Reimer (2000) suggests stems from a desire to be distinct from our neighbours to the south. However, Evangelical Christians the past few decades have created a subculture that spans national borders in North America. Specifically, the past three decades have witnessed the arrival of the ‘religious right’ in Canada which increasingly blurs political distinctions between the two countries (Reimer, 2000). In the late 20th century, Tom Warner (2012) suggests that Evangelical Christians sensed they were losing control over Canada’s moral agenda. Subsequently, they sought to

increase their influence by aligning with conservative political parties –initially the Reform Party and more recently the Conservative Party of Canada. The constituency of social conservatives and Evangelical Christians is particularly passionate and motivated to use partisan politics to advance their moral agenda. For example, Brian Rushfeldt, executive director of Canada Family Action Coalition,¹³ criticized Pierre Trudeau’s Liberal government for promoting “the negative moral and financial consequences of social liberalism” (Warner, 2012, p.101). Indeed, Rushfeldt claimed that “the family – God’s fundamental institution for society – is labeled destructive by feminists, discriminatory for homosexuals, outdated and unnecessary by liberals” (Warner, 2012, p.101). Thus, Warner argues that Rushfeldt felt a need to defend “the biblical view of humanity” and thereby encouraged people of faith to become elected officials to influence decision-making during the upcoming federal election (2012, p.101).

In another example, Warner, (2012) demonstrates how social conservative groups successfully lobbied the Conservative government to increase the age of consent from 14 to 16 and to close “all defence loopholes to child pornography” (p.103). Focus on the Family, Family Canada Action Coalition, and the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada “aggressively promoted both measures” (Warner, 2012, p.103). For prominent social conservatives, the arrival of Harper and the Conservative Party presented the potential to secure victory against secularists, socialists, and activists who they believe have brought the country dangerously close to ruin. As Rushfeldt stated: “Let us build on the hope that Election 2006 gave us for change in the moral and spiritual levels of Canada” (Warner, 2012, p.104).

Finally, Warner turns to the power these Evangelical and social conservative groups have over the media discourse; which he suggests influenced federal decision-making. Warner points

¹³ A registered Canadian lobbying group described as “promotion and defence of Judeo-Christian principles in Canadian society.” <https://lobbycanada.gc.ca/app/secure/oc/lrs/do/vwRg?regId=491692&cno=647>

to the controversy generated by a \$400,000 grant awarded to the Toronto Pride Parade in 2009: REAL Women¹⁴ condemned the Minister of Tourism, Diane Ablonczy, for choosing Toronto Pride as the recipient in multiple public statements; the Institute for Canadian Values, a social conservative think-tank, presented a petition to the Canadian public to protest “sex parades;” and, conservative spokesperson Joseph Ben-Ami publicly shamed the act in the media, stating it had “ignored, obstructed or jettisoned virtually every prudent policy initiative that social conservatives have championed” (Warner, 2012, p.109). As a result of the outcry, Conservative MPs released statements that they did not support the decision and that Ablonczy was being punished for awarding the grant to Toronto Pride (Warner, 2012). Later that year, the fund was removed from Ablonczy’s control and the Harper government denied a grant for Montreal’s Pride Parade.

More recently, the Trudeau Liberals came under fire for allegedly trying to block anti-abortion organizations from receiving federal funding in 2018.¹⁵ A large group of religious and social conservative organizations including the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the Abortion Rights Coalition of Canada spoke up in the media against the Liberals. The backlash was a result of the federal government placing a requirement on funding applications that the organization attests that their core mandate respects certain rights – one of which was reproductive rights. The backlash prompted Conservative Party Leader Andrew Scheer to publicly condemn the government for “imposing [the] personal values of Justin Trudeau on a wide variety of groups” (Geddes, 2018). Political researcher Frank Graves stated that Scheer had “little choice but to actively oppose” Trudeau and the Liberal government

¹⁴ Realistic, Equal, Active, For Life Women of Canada (REAL Women) is a socially conservative advocacy group in Canada that lobbies for the Judeo-Christian nuclear family. <http://www.realwomenofcanada.ca/>

¹⁵ Geddes, J. (2 February 2018). How the Trudeau Liberals stumbled into a fight with religious groups. *Maclean's*. <https://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/how-the-trudeau-liberals-stumbled-into-a-fight-with-religious-groups/>

on abortion in the media “since social conservatives were a key part of the Tory voting coalition that handed him an upset leadership win” (Geddes, 2018).

The works of Reimer (2000) and Warner (2012) highlight how, similar to the situation in the U.S., social conservative groups and Evangelical Christians held substantial influence over the public narrative, and as a result, the Harper Conservatives’ decision-making. It is evident that Evangelical Christians and social conservatives were successful in getting their moral values to the forefront of the Conservative agenda in other regards, such as same-sex marriage and abortion. Therefore, it is possible that these groups shaped the human trafficking discourse in Canada in ways not yet understood. To date, however, scholars have yet to examine how these groups have impacted the anti-trafficking movement and dominant discourse in Canada.

III. Media, the Almighty

Although the researchers reviewed above differ on its original source, there is a general agreement that the media plays a crucial role in disseminating the trafficking narrative. Maria Papadouka, Nicholas Evangelopoulos, and Gabe Ignatow (2016) suggest that news media is the only source of information and opinion on human trafficking for most citizens. Thus, the media plays critical “agenda setting” and “gate keeping” roles while raising awareness about human trafficking (Papadouka, Evangelopoulos & Ignatow, 2016, p.656). Similarly, in Erin Denton’s (2010) content analysis of 191 incidents of human trafficking described in the Canadian media, she concludes that the media shapes both public perception and policy. Furthermore, she argues that the media’s capacity to influence the general public’s understanding of human trafficking is significant; as too strong a focus on sexual exploitation has led to ineffective policies and legislation trying to end the phenomenon of sex trafficking (Denton, 2010). Thus, the over-

abundance of scholarly literature on sex trafficking notwithstanding, the media plays a significant role in propagating the human trafficking narrative.

The following sections highlight the literature on the media's role in framing and promoting the dominant human trafficking narrative. The first section will look at those scholars that maintain the media is being used as a mechanism for the federal government to share their human trafficking narrative with the public. The second section will then consider authors who suggest that moral entrepreneurs from the general public are employing the media to disseminate their messages.

Media and Government Collusion

In order to determine whether the Canadian media is publicizing the federal government's narrative, scholars have analyzed the extent to which the government's message appears in the media. De Shalit, Heynen and van der Meulen (2015) contend that the websites of NGOs who received federal funding for anti-trafficking initiatives both reiterated and amplified the state's discourse. The authors conclude that the Conservative federal government provided funding exclusively to organizations that endorsed their message, thus relying on these organizations to, in return, tout their policy decisions in the media. In effect, media representations of trafficking by NGOs are national campaigns "in which the federal government plays a facilitating role" (p.406). Therefore, the Conservative government deliberately shaped the discourse used by national anti-trafficking programs, which was then broadcast in the media for the public.

In their study, Durisin and Heynen (2015) argue that in 1995, both organized crime and prostitution were overwhelmingly being mentioned in relation to female immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe in Canadian media. They suggest that reporters' use of trafficking

language reflected the discourse put forward by the government of the day. The authors conclude that the portrayal of Central and Eastern European women as *proto-criminal*, as *illegitimate labourer*, and as *victim* within the media foregrounded the Harper Conservatives' ideas of human trafficking and strengthened public support for securitization and the policing of migration. Both Durisin's and Heynen's (2015) analysis, and De Shalit's, Heynen's and van der Meulen's (2015) work, emphasize the influence of government decision-making on the trafficking narrative presented in Canadian media. According to these two studies, the Canadian federal government under Stephen Harper had been actively molding the dominant human trafficking discourse in the media in support of their agenda.

In the U.S., Girish Gulati (2011) conducted a content analysis of human trafficking articles in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* between 1980 and 2006. Most of the articles (60%) published during this period were the direct result of some official government action or event. Furthermore, 44% of articles cited information obtained from government officials and policymakers: official press materials, personal interviews, and second-hand government accounts were most common. The second most used source was NGO representatives that were directly affiliated with the "anti-trafficking policy community" (Gulati, 2011, p.370). The third and fourth most frequently cited sources were law enforcement personnel including prosecutors, defence attorneys, border agents, and police (18%), followed by representatives of the United Nations (8%). In conclusion, Gulati suggests that the news is influenced by policy; it legitimizes the political agenda while marginalizing any alternative perspectives.

In a follow-up to Gulati's (2011) analysis of U.S. media, Rachaelle Sanford, Daniel Martinez, and Ronald Weitzer (2016) conducted a content analysis of human trafficking articles

published in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* during 2012 and 2013. Consistent with Gulati's (2011) findings, an official government action or event remained the most common reason for a media report (63%). The use of quotations from government officials and policymakers also remained consistent, appearing in 43% of all articles. However, this follow-up analysis found that law-enforcement and court personnel were the second most cited source (41%). The authors suggest that these results indicate "*an increase in reliance on official sources*" (p.147, emphasis theirs) since the time of Gulati's analysis: from 63% to 84%. Furthermore, there has been a heightened emphasis on sex trafficking in the media since Gulati's study, which suggests that articles continue to reflect and reproduce the dominant trafficking narrative. The authors maintain that one likely reason that these newspapers echo this narrative is that elites working for these papers support the government's agenda.

Similarly, in Anne Johnston's, Barbara Friedman's and Autumn Shafer's (2014) analysis of sex trafficking news coverage in major U.S. newspapers, they found that the views of 'official trafficking sources'—such as policymakers and law enforcement officials—overwhelmingly dominated the media. The authors argue that it is impossible to know why these types of experts are regularly chosen; however, they state that what is clear is that the sources who "spoke the loudest, had the most compelling stories, or those who were most easily accessible" almost certainly ensured media coverage (Johnston, Friedman & Shafer, 2014, p. 431). Furthermore, spikes in news coverage of sex trafficking in the U.S. corresponded to national and international trafficking related legislation. These spikes occurred in; June 2009, when the U.S. State Department released the annual Trafficking in Persons Report; in September 2009, during the federal Human Trafficking Awareness Week; and, January 2009, when legislation was passed in Providence to close a loophole that kept brothels open. This study from the U.S. supports the

suggestion that federal policy decisions have affected what is said in the media and who has been framed as the expert.

Finally, Lauren Martin and Annie Hill (2019) conducted a content analysis of human trafficking media in relation to Super Bowl games in the U.S. between 2010 and 2016. They found that, of the total 76 articles, ‘authoritative sources’ overwhelmingly described security measures and policing (N=47), rescuing victims (N=33), anti-trafficking campaigns (N=34), legislative changes needed (N=28), and social services (N=24). These ‘authoritative sources’ included congressmen, law enforcement (such as state attorney generals and police departments), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. According to Martin and Hill, these sources used the authority of their position to speak about arrests, and commonly repeated earlier claims about the assumed (and uncorroborated) link between large public events and increased sex trafficking. These sources exclusively conflated commercial sex with trafficking, creating media stories that “amplified the voices of people calling for action against ‘Super Bowl sex trafficking’” (p. 23).

The scholarship noted above collectively supports the assertion that the government is developing a particular human trafficking narrative, which is then reproduced in the media and (presumably) absorbed by the public. The following section highlights researchers that suggest that the narrative present in the media is shaped by individuals and groups within the public. For the following authors, social movements effect what is presented in the media, which in turn has an impact on policymakers in the state apparatus.

Media as a Product of Claims-Makers in the Public

According to Sarah Cha (2018), “as the narrative around human trafficking has evolved, policy shifts have also naturally occurred” (p.6). For Cha (2018), it is groups of people within the Canadian public who are influencing policy and legislative change; “since the ways we think and

talk about a subject influence and reflect the way we act in relation to that subject, discourses shape policy” (p.6). The messages become embedded within media reports which help to forward a particular social initiative and bring its narrative to the forefront.

Sarah Hunt (2016) analyzed Canadian media coverage leading up to the 2010 Vancouver Olympics. Discussions of sex trafficking among NGOs, community groups, and support services working in the gender-based violence sector increased dramatically during this time. There was growing concern within Vancouver NGOs and feminist community groups that the influx of visitors would increase the demand for sex workers, which would correspond to a rise in human trafficking. These initial fears were picked up by the media which resulted in a proliferation of Canadian coverage the year leading up to the Olympics about the exorbitant number of *good* Canadian women and girls who were at risk of being forced into human trafficking. Hunt argues that advocates began spreading this information based on their own interests (or concerns), regardless of a lack of empirical evidence. Once it reached the media and the public was receiving this warning message *en masse*, a panic ensued which in turn fueled future sensationalized media stories on the issue and led to increased securitization of the event. Consequently, there were no reports of trafficking as a result of the Vancouver Olympic games.

Amy Farrell and Stephanie Fahy (2009) conducted an analysis to examine how human trafficking has been framed in U.S. print media between 1990 and 2006. They looked at 2,462 newspaper articles in the U.S. that dealt specifically with the topic of human trafficking. Three main frames emerged: a human rights frame, a crime and criminalization frame, and a national security frame. What began as a human rights issue, transformed into one of national security after the September 11th terrorist attack in 2001. Although the frames through which human trafficking had been depicted have corresponded with changes in official political response,

Farrell and Fahy (2009) caution that social problem definitions in the media are not simply reflections of political policies. Instead, the media provides a “vehicle” through which anti-trafficking stakeholders convey claims to the public and legitimize particular problems. They state that competing claims-makers “manipulate images of a problem to legitimize particular responses at particular moments” (p.623). Accordingly, claims in the media have helped generate “broad popular understanding” (p.618) of human trafficking.

Finally, Dina Haynes (2014) argues that the misrepresentation of human trafficking can be a strategic decision by certain groups and NGOs in the U.S. Haynes examined the ways in which celebrity involvement in human trafficking narratives by NGOs influenced legal and policy responses. Celebrities working with NGOs manipulated the narrative to suit particular donors or a wider audience, “seemingly without regard to reliable data or research already underway” (Haynes, 2014 p.29). When an issue is presented as one only affecting migrant labourers or as an outcome of globalization, it received little public attention or funding. When the issue was reframed, however, as “sex trafficking,” “modern day slavery,” and “sex exploitation,” involvement burgeoned, media flocked to the issue, and financial contributions increased drastically (Hanes 2014 p.29). According to Haynes, celebrities and the media are most interested in ‘sexy’ issues; that is, those that involve sex, those that are exciting, horrifying, or voyeuristically appealing. These stories are used in the media to cast the activist as the hero and the reader as rescuer. Due to a lack of expertise, celebrities involved in anti-trafficking work tend to proffer stereotypes, provide generalizations, and rely on emotional pleas. Thus, sensationalizing the human trafficking narrative is an instrument used by various groups to receive increased attention by the media, and better resources overall. According to Haynes (2014), celebrities get involved in anti-trafficking work for a variety of reasons (e.g. they feel it

is their duty or in order to make money), and oftentimes their objective aligns well with that of the media. Ultimately, she claims that certain groups have the ability to frame an issue in a way that will attract the most media attention and thus public support. Lepp (2002) suggests that Canadian media has been employing a similar tactic. Canadian media outlets have consistently framed sex trafficking through a lens of “horrific stories” (p.3). However, Lepp states that it is unclear who are the experts in Canada spreading this narrative to the media.

Concluding Reflections

Based on the literature presented in this chapter, it is clear that there are two perspectives on the construction of the contemporary human trafficking discourse: the narrative is produced for and by the federal government, or, it is a product of broader social movements. Although work has been done on the Harper government’s use of morality in their decision-making, this perspective has yet to be applied to other potential claims-makers in Canada. As such, this thesis aims to fill this gap in the research, by analyzing all experts quoted in Canadian media on human trafficking between 2008 and 2018. Furthermore, the media will be examined as a claims-maker in its own right in order to determine the extent to which they influenced the trafficking discourse. The following chapter will present the theoretical lens used for this analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework: The Social Construction of Moral Panics

The point of departure for this thesis is social constructionism theory, which examines the development of shared understandings. Social constructionism is concerned with how meaning is jointly constructed through coordination between individuals, and then widely accepted by society. The analytic lens deployed in this thesis is grounded in Malcolm Spector's and John Kitsuse's (1987) theory on constructing social problems – what they call the Natural History Model. This chapter will start by discussing the process of claims-making as an integral aspect of social problems creation. I will then be building a conceptual framework that draws on the works of Howard Becker (1963/1973), Stanley Cohen (2011/1971), Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda (2010), Erving Goffman (1974), and Robert Benford and David Snow (2000). Spector and Kitsuse (1987) state that the success of the claims-making process is dependent on three aspects: the power of claims-making groups, the nature and variety of claims, and the mechanisms used to press the claim. These ideas will be unpacked in this chapter, by first laying out the Natural History Model of social problem creation and then focusing on the first stage of claims-making activity. This chapter is organized around this claims-making process and will be drawing on the work of the aforementioned social movements authors to do so.

The Natural History Model

To explain the process through which social problems emerge, Spector and Kitsuse reformulated and built on Fuller and Myers' (1941) natural history model¹⁶ laying out four stages to the process:

¹⁶ According to Fuller and Myers (1941), “social problems do not arise full-blown commanding community attention and evoking adequate policies and machinery for solutions.” Each social problem goes through dynamic phases of “becoming” and “passes through the natural history stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform” (As seen in Spector and Kitsuse, 1987, pp. 130-131).

Stage 1: Groups attempt to assert the existence of some condition, define it as offensive, harmful, or otherwise undesirable, publicize their assertions, stimulate controversy, and create a public or political issue over the matter.

Stage 2: Recognition of the legitimacy of these group(s) by some official organization, agency, or institution.

Stage 3: Re-emergence of claims and demands by the original group(s); or by others expressing dissatisfaction with the official response.

Stage 4: Rejection by complainant group(s) of the agency's or institution's response and development of activities to create alternatives as responses to the established procedure.

(p. 142)

Spector and Kitsuse drew on the work of Howard Becker in the construction of this model. The first stage is what Spector and Kitsuse (1987) maintain is the formative stage and the one we are concerned with in this chapter. This stage can more succinctly be described as the process of claims-making, which will be explored in the following sections.

The Process of Making Claims

The social problems process begins with a group attempting to change some social behaviour that they collectively see as undesirable (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987). By asserting their grievances, individuals and groups are making claims about this behaviour. These claims-making activities, central to the emergence of a social problem, draw attention to a social issue the group intends to change. People making claims “often express indignation, phrasing their claims as demands for more equitable, orderly, humane, or convenient arrangements” (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987, p. 86). Claims-making is always an interaction between a claimant and another party they are trying to convince. All those involved in this interaction (perhaps unknowingly) participate in

the process of defining a social problem: protest groups; officials to whom these complaints are directed; members of the media; members of the helping professions; and at times, even social scientists.

Spector and Kitsuse (1987) contend that social problems activities are shaped by value judgements, as values lead people to experience conditions as offensive. They suggest that there are two ways people become involved in claims-making activities: as an interest group, or as a value-oriented group (what they refer to as a disinterested group). When those who perceive themselves to be the victims of the (alleged) social problem are the claims-makers, they are referred to as interest groups. Thus, interest groups have something to gain from changes to the social problem in question. Alternatively, some groups may become involved in claims-making activities through “moral indignation” (p. 87). As an example, the authors point to efforts to decriminalize homosexual acts in the 1970s:

The Gay Activists Alliance is involved in legislative processes as an interest group, while legal, church, and other organizations in support of such legislation do so on disinterested, principled grounds. (p. 87)

The aspects most critical during this stage of social problems activity are “the ways that complaints are raised, and the strategies used to press claims, gain publicity, and arouse controversy” (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987, p. 142). Not all groups are able to transform their claims into social problems. The ability to do so pivots on three aspects: the power of claims-making groups, the nature and variety of claims, and the mechanisms for pressing the claims. These are unpacked further in the following sections.

I. Power of Claims-Making Groups.

First, “the ability of a group to realize demands it makes on other groups, agencies, and institutions” is integral to the success of a claims-making group; to this end they must be able to mobilize membership, constituency, money, discipline, and organization (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987, p.144). Having these components does not in itself explain the success or failure of a group in pressing its claim. Instead, a group must be able to expend its resources to support their claim and learn how to mobilize these components. For instance, a group may have a lot of money and the support of high-ranking political officials; however, if they do not spend their money or speak with their political allies, they will not be able to advance their claim and their power lessens. According to Stanley Cohen (2011/1971), a successful mobilization by value-oriented claims-makers – those whom are influenced by their moral indignation – can result in *moral panics*. A moral panic is a wide-reaching fear that society is threatened by some evil (Scott, 2014). Cohen suggests that throughout history, societies have been subjected to periods of moral panic when a condition, episode, person, or group of people become defined as a threat to societal values.

Indeed, central to moral panics are the activities of what Howard Becker (1973/1963) refers to as *moral entrepreneurs*; those individuals or groups who seek to influence society to adopt a norm. In doing so, they define a particular behaviour as a threat to societal values and press for its acceptance. Thus, social problems are often defined largely by the claims-making activities of moral entrepreneurs. Becker (1973/1963) describes one type of value-oriented claims-maker: *the moral crusader*, who is not satisfied by the existing rules of society “because there is some evil which profoundly disturbs him” (p.148). Accordingly, these moral crusaders typically believe they are driven by a “holy mission,” for example “the person who wants to

suppress vice and sexual delinquency” (Becker, 1973, p.148). Becker (1973/1963) contends that moral crusaders encourage the adoption of their values because they believe it could be better for others; they want to help those they view as “beneath” them to do and be “better” (p.149). In short, moral crusades are started and led by those with relative privilege; thereby combining the authority of their position in society with the authority they derive from the perceived legitimacy of their moral position.

According to Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda (2010), both Becker (1973/1963) and Cohen (2011/1971) changed the conversation on social problems. They did not ask *why* certain social disturbances occurred, and instead “asked why mainstream society *reacted* to these disturbances, and on the *scale* it did” (p. 23). Goode and Ben-Yehuda summarize five segments of society that Cohen described as necessary to a moral panic: the press; the public; agents of formal social control (e.g., law enforcement); lawmakers and politicians; and action groups. First, the media handles the events in question with “exaggerated attention, inflating incidents, distorting accounts and stereotyping characters and behaviours” (p.23). Thus, the media itself is acting as a claims-making group in the moral panic creation. Second, the social problem must resonate with the public and cause some level of concern. Third, the actions of the social control culture must demonstrate that a moral panic is taking place. As such, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010) state that society will feel they are faced with a “clear and present danger,” which creates public attitudes about what law enforcement ought to be doing about the perceived threat (p.25). Fourth, parliamentarians jump into action, calling for stiffer penalties for the anti-social behaviours in question. Although some politicians may acknowledge the claims are exaggerated, the dominant mood is to align with social groups “against the devil and on the side of angels” (p.26). However, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010) state that what is important is not the nature of

the target but the side they choose and what they are against. This *symbolic alignment* represents one defining quality of the moral panic. And lastly, moral panics will generate appeals, campaigns, and “fully fledged action groups” (p.26) led by moral entrepreneurs which are established to deal with the new threat. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010) conceptualized Cohen’s (2011/1971) five elements as five measurable criteria for determining the emergence of a moral panic. These are discussed below.

Elements for Defining a Moral Panic. Building from the work of Becker (1973/1963) and Cohen (2011/1971), Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010) present five elements that characterize a moral panic. These elements provide the researcher with a framework for defining the presence of a moral panic in society. These are concern, hostility, consensus, disproportionality, and volatility.

1. **Concern.** For a moral panic to exist, there must first and foremost be a heightened level of concern over the behaviour of a certain group or category, and the consequences of that behaviour on one or more sectors of society. The authors suggest that this should be manifested and measurable in concrete ways, such as through “public opinion polls, public commentary in the form of media attention, proposed legislation, number of arrests and imprisonments, and social movement activity” (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2010, p. 37). Thus, widespread anxiety is felt and expressed in a variety of measurable actions.
2. **Hostility.** Second, there must be an increased level of hostility toward the group or category perceived as engaging in the behaviour in question. Members of this group are portrayed as the enemy of respectable society; “their behaviour is seen as harmful or threatening to the values, the interests, possibly the very existence, of the society,

or at least a sizeable segment of that society” (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2010, p.38).

Thus, Goode and Ben-Yehuda state that a division is made between “us” – the good, decent, respectable people – and “them” – the deviants, bad people, undesirables, criminals. This is a moral play of good vs. evil.

- 3. Consensus.** To classify as a moral panic, there must be substantial widespread agreement or consensus – either in the society as a whole or within a segment of society – that the threat is real. It does not need to be universal or even make up a literal majority. Goode and Ben-Yehuda suggest that moral panics are a matter of *degree*; consensus can grip members of a given group or community but be lacking in society as a whole. Ultimately, there is group and regional variation in the eruption of moral panics.
- 4. Disproportionality.** An implicit assumption in moral panics is that those opposing the behaviour perceive the problem as more sizeable than it actually is; both in the number of individuals affected, and in the threat level. Goode and Ben-Yehuda state that within moral panics, the dissemination of figures is extremely important, and most numbers cited by claims-makers are wildly exaggerated.
- 5. Volatility.** Lastly, Goode and Ben-Yehuda maintain that, by their very nature, moral panics erupt fairly suddenly. Moral panics may become *institutionalized* (Cohen, 2011/1971), wherein the moral concern results in social movement organizations, legislation, enforcement practices, informal interpersonal norms, or practices for punishing transgressors. Just as quickly as they erupt, they also vanish. Sometimes lying dormant and later reappearing. However, the intense panic that occurs is not

sustainable over the long term, and thus moral panics are often contained to a period of time.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010) conclude that a moral panic is when a concern over a putative threat deemed immoral or inappropriate by some becomes a phenomenon. Thus, a moral panic can be located and measured in a fairly unbiased fashion based on the appearance of these five criteria.

II. The Nature and Variety of Claims.

So far, we have examined how claims-makers, if able to mobilize their resources, can incite a moral panic over the condition they perceive to be undesirable. We now turn to the second element of Spector and Kitsuse's (1987) process of claims-making, which involves a group's experience. Spector and Kitsuse state that a group's experience with the alleged social problem will affect the nature of the claims they make. For instance: the vaguer the claim, the less able the group will be to assign responsibility and affix a target for their complaints (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987). Therefore, they suggest that how a problem is presented is important to its success. Erving Goffman's (1974) concept of frames helps make sense of how people interpret and communicate their experiences. Goffman suggests that frames are guiding references which allow people to define social situations. People build a series of mental frames throughout their lives, which are then used to make sense of the world. Frames are deployed by individuals to classify their experiences, understand their significance, and communicate their experiences to others. Framing can manifest in thought (interpreting reality) or in interpersonal communication (communication of frames between actors).

Goffman's (1973) concept of frames helps us understand how meaning is made and expressed in interactions, but how does this work with the creation of social problems at a

societal level? Robert Benford and David Snow (2000) expand on Goffman's frame analysis and provide insight into the use of framing in social movements. These authors contend that framing processes have become "a central dynamic in understanding the creation and course of social movements" (Benford & Snow 2000, p.612). Although many social scientists have theorized on social movements – thus resulting in varying definitions – Mario Diani (1992) suggests that nearly all share three criteria: "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity." Taking a *movements-as-demand* approach to social movements, one can see social movements as a series of demands "in the name of a social category that lacks an established political position" (Gillan, 2020, p. 302). In line with Spector and Kitsuse (1987) and Goffman (1974), social movement theorists state that it is the interactions between actors making demands that constitutes the identity of a social movement (Gillan, 2020; Benford & Snow, 2000). We now turn to consider the strategies and tactics used by moral entrepreneurs within social movements to share their beliefs with the public and gain support for their claims.

The Three Stages of Framing. Robert Benford and David Snow (2000) demonstrate how framing techniques can be utilized to insert an issue into the public conversation. According to these authors, framing processes within social movements include three separate components. Diagnostic framing states the problem in a clear and concise way. This answers the question, *what is the problem?* When applying diagnostic frames, there is a belief that what is currently being done in society is wrong, and the group takes it upon itself to offer a solution and a plan to implement said solution. Prognostic framing offers this solution to the problem. These frames answer, *how do we solve the problem?* Lastly, motivational framing is action oriented and answers, *how can we enact change to achieve our solution?* Combined, the individuals receiving

these messages first have to agree with the diagnostic frame, believe in the prognostic frame, and then feel compelled to act on the motivational frame.

The process of applying these three frames is what Kevin Gillan (2020) refers to as ‘direct action,’ which involves a larger set of interlinked practices: “experimentation with social forms, the generation of alternative perspectives, the governance of conduct, the intervention in socio-political environments to establish and consolidate alternatives, and the demonstration and diffusions of preferred ways of life” (p. 311). Such practices, Gillan states, are collective attempts to generate social change, which are embedded in larger social movements. Therefore, frame analysis and social movement theory provide a basis to understand how claims are successfully disseminated and adopted by the public in order to enact social, political, and/or cultural change.

III. The Mechanisms for Pressing Claims.

The final aspect that Spector and Kitsuse suggest is important to the claims-making process, is the channels that are used to disseminate a claim and achieve visibility. In particular, “the way the press and other media are handled are important to the trajectory of any social issue” (Spector & Kitsuse, 1978, p.145). The authors state that knowledge and expertise in holding the attention of the mass media is a necessary, and “may be crucial in transforming private troubles into public issues and controversies” (p.145). According to Donilee Loseke (2017), the mass media remains one of the major players in the creation of social problems. Mass media players can become claims-makers in two ways. First, *primary claims-makers* refers to those journalists creating a story about an alleged social problem. Alternatively, *secondary claims-makers* are those who repeat and disseminate claims made by others. Loseke states that the work of the media is especially important, as they provide the largest possible audience for

claims-makers. Because media is so widely available, claims presented by the media have the ability to influence public opinion. However, the media is also able to translate claims, thus influencing the narrative. This influence of the media has been shown to be important to moral panics.¹⁷

Indeed, Cohen (2011/1972) examined the role of the media in moral panics. He contended that the body of information from which public opinion is derived is received second hand. Thus, the information has already been processed and filtered by the media; subjected to alternative definitions:

The media have long operated as agents of moral indignation in their own right: even if they are not self-consciously engaged in crusading or muckraking,¹⁸ their very reporting of certain ‘facts’ can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic. (Cohen, 2011, p.10)

What results from this concern is a shift in public perception about what values need to be protected. Thus, the preconditions for new social problem definitions are present and “there is a change in the public designation of deviance”¹⁹ (Cohen, 2011/1971). The media leaves behind a general feeling of unease which is “consciously exploited” by moral entrepreneurs to gain support for their claims (Becker, 1968, p.10). Furthermore, Cohen states that the mass media devotes a large amount of space to deviance and antisocial behaviours; which acts as a main source of information about society’s definition of right and wrong. Loseke (2017), Cohen (2011/1971), and Becker (1973/1963) demonstrate how the media cannot avoid acting as claims-

¹⁷ Although there has been a rise of social media, which gives individuals in the public greater influence over dominant discourse, mainstream media continues to play an integral role in the dissemination of news.

¹⁸ To search for and expose a real or alleged scandal, corruption, or the like. Especially in politics.

¹⁹ Cohen studied deviance and the concept of deviance amplification within moral crusades. This process includes the media providing an increasing number of reports on a deviant/antisocial behaviour or some ‘undesirable event’ leading to a moral panic.

makers, as they are the mechanism through which the majority of claims are passed. Regardless of whether reporters are explicitly participating in a moral crusade, they have the ability to determine which narratives are told, how they are told, who speaks, when they speak, and how much they speak. Ultimately, the media holds considerable influence in the information that is absorbed by the public.

Concluding Reflections

The conceptual framework developed in this chapter assists us in understanding how social problems are created through the process of claims-making. Moral entrepreneurs are central to claims-making activities, and at times can act as moral crusaders. These moral crusaders have the ability to create moral panics, wherein a particular behaviour is deemed a threat to social values. A group that has significant resources (funds, a large constituency, and the ability to organize), will be more likely to successfully transform their claims into a panic; which is then amplified by the media, whom are themselves acting as claims-makers in the process. The following chapter will now describe the methodological approach used in this thesis to examine the emergence of human trafficking as a social problem in Canada.

Chapter Three

Methodology: An Explanatory Critique

Methodologically, this research was based in critical discourse analysis (CDA). Thus, this section will begin with a discussion of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Social context is central to CDA, which provides a way of thinking about the creation and usage of language in society. As such, this method is well-suited to a social constructionism study. This chapter will then go into the procedural approach that was adopted for this research. Norman Fairclough's (2012) *explanatory critique* is a model of CDA which has been adapted for this thesis. This method is part of a critical social analysis of language, which teases out the relationship between discourse and the social context within which it is delivered. The remainder of the chapter lays out the methods that guided this research.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is the study of language in use; the meanings we attribute to language and how this is influenced by context, time, and space (Gee & Handford, 2012; Fairclough, 2012). Discourse is defined as the use of language in communication, either written or spoken. Adrian Blackledge (2012) states that CDA focuses on relations between discourse and other social processes and dynamics, including power relations, ideologies, institutions, and identities. The nature of these relationships varies according to time and place. As such, the 'situated meaning' of language needs to be established through analysis (Gee & Handford, 2012; Fairclough, 2012). To study the situated meaning of discourse, a close examination of the context within which that text is placed and created is required. Norman Fairclough (2012) argues that there are three theoretical underpinnings within CDA: first, CDA views language as a social practice; second, it takes a particular interest in language and social contexts, as it is a crucial aspect of making sense of

changes and transformations in societies; and third, that language is not meaningful on its own, but gains this meaning through the definitions certain people apply to it. Thus, individuals or groups in society have the ability to influence the meaning of terms based on that group's perceived legitimacy or authority on a subject. This section has provided a brief overview of CDA, which constructs the basis for analysing language in this thesis. The following section will now turn to the practical framework employed for conducting this critical discourse analysis.

The Explanatory Critique

For this thesis, the methodology on a whole was interpretive and qualitative, rooted in an inductive approach (Hood, 2007). This was appropriate because little research has been done on human trafficking discourse in Canadian media. As such, I was engaging in exploratory research (Stebbins, 2001).²⁰ The coding process was done in NVivo and was inspired by the principles of grounded theory. Specifically, Glaser's and Strauss' (1967) *comparative analysis*, which builds and refines coding categories as researchers become more immersed in the data. The researcher engages in ongoing comparative analysis throughout each of these cycles – both within and outside their data. Thus, codes emerge from the data that were not imposed *a priori*. The resulting theory of this thesis was developed inductively from the data rather than tested by it and was continuously refined and checked by new emerging information. The method used for this research is a variant of Fairclough's (2012) *explanatory critique* for CDA, which I formulated in

²⁰ According to Robert Stebbins: “*Social science exploration* is a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life. Such exploration is, depending on the standpoint taken, a distinctive way of conducting science—a scientific process—a special methodological approach (as contrasted with confirmation), and a pervasive personal orientation of the explorer. The emergent generalizations are many and varied; they include the descriptive facts, folk concepts, cultural artifacts, structural arrangements, social processes, and beliefs and belief systems normally found there” (2001, p. 3).

two stages: first, I focused on the language of the social problem; second, I related the language to broader social contexts. These will be described in the following sections.

Stage 1. The first stage of the explanatory critique focuses on identifying a social wrong and constructing an object of research based on this wrong. For this thesis, the ‘social wrong’ is human trafficking and the object of study is the discourse that informed, shaped, and was used to legitimize this framing in Canadian society. Thus, Canadian print media was chosen as a means to analyse this discourse because it is a widely accessible method of communicating with the public. The data source for this research was a collection of open-source print articles published in Canada between 2008 and 2018. This time period was selected for several reasons. First, a 10-year span was a sufficient length to view patterns in the language over time. And second, the middle-point of this period (2014) was important for the Canadian human trafficking discussion, because the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* was created that year which was the culmination of the *Bedford* case making its way from Ontario Superior court to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Indeed, in 2008 three sex workers – Terri-Jean Bedford, Amy Lebovitch, and Valerie Scott – argued that the sex work laws at the time were unconstitutional under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. They challenged three *Criminal Code* provisions prohibiting the operation of brothels, criminalizing living off the avails of prostitution, and prohibiting communication for the purpose of engaging in prostitution (s.210, 212(1)(j), and 213(1)(c) of the *Criminal Code of Canada*, RSC, C-46). In 2010, Justice Susan Himel of the Ontario Superior Court of Justice found that the provisions in question prevented sex workers from taking proper precautions to ensure their safety which impinged on their s.7 Charter rights (the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance

with the principles of fundamental justice).²¹ The government appealed, and the case was then brought before the Ontario Court of Appeal on March 2012. The Court of Appeal affirmed Himel's decision that two of the three impugned provisions were unconstitutional: the prohibition on common bawdyhouses and living off the avails.²² The appellate court, however, differed on the communication law and ruled that it was constitutional. On June 13, 2013, the *Bedford* case was heard by the Supreme Court of Canada. Their decision was released on December 20, 2013, wherein they found all three laws unconstitutional. The laws were struck down and the federal government was given 12 months to introduce new sex work laws. The Harper Conservatives responded with Bill-C36 (*Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*), which became law in November 2014.²³ These new laws follow the same approach as the ones that were repealed, in that they criminalize the purchase of sex, but not the sex workers who sell it. Thus, most of the activities related to sex work remain illegal, making it difficult for sex workers to ensure their security. Therefore, by looking at the years prior and post 2014, I was able to view how the human trafficking discourse was shaped over time and influenced by this wider social context.

The articles used for this analysis were collected using the *Factiva* databank through the University of Ottawa online library. To ensure a wide scope of results, the aggregated search query applied was ("sex work" OR prostitution OR brothel OR trafficking OR prostitutes). These terms were selected since a link between sex work and trafficking has been identified in earlier research. The Canadian newspapers that were included were the Toronto Sun, the Toronto Star,

²¹ Hurich, P. (11 September 2013). Too Much Water in the Garden? Vertical Stare Decisis in *Bedford v. Canada*. *The Court*. <http://www.thecourt.ca/too-much-water-in-the-garden-vertical-stare-decisis-in-bedford-v-canada/>

²² Bacal, M. (28 June 2012). *Bedford v. Canada 2012: Challenging Prostitution Laws One Battle at a Time*. The Court. <http://www.thecourt.ca/bedford-v-canada-2012-challenging-prostitution-laws-one-battle-at-a-time/>

²³ Ontario Women's Justice Network (1 October 2015). *Sex Work Laws Unconstitutional: Canada (Attorney General) v. Bedford, Supreme Court of Canada*. <https://owjn.org/2015/10/sex-work-laws-unconstitutional-canada-attorney-general-v-bedford-supreme-court-of-canada-2013/>

the Ottawa Citizen, the Ottawa Sun, the Globe and Mail, and the National Post. These were selected because they highlight both the provincial (Ontario) and national conversations. An important player to take into account when looking at Canadian newspapers is PostMedia: an American-based media conglomerate that owns the majority of Canadian news outlets.

PostMedia has been critiqued for directing its publications to be conservative and right-leaning.²⁴

There are only two Canadian national newspapers: the National Post (owned by PostMedia), and the Globe and Mail (owned by The Woodbridge Company, which is slightly more centre).²⁵

Including both ensured a range of voices and positions. These national papers included articles from all provinces and territories, which was important as I did not have the capacity to include all provincial local newspapers in this research. Turning now to Ontario, there are 31 daily newspapers in the province; 26 of which are owned by PostMedia, 3 by Torstar in Toronto, 1 by Continental Newspapers in Thunder Bay, and 1 francophone paper owned by the Groupe Capitale Média. The overrepresentation of PostMedia publications made it significantly more difficult to add unbiased or left-leaning newspapers. Thus, I included Toronto Star (which is owned by the left of centre Torstar), whereas the other 3 are owned by PostMedia. Nonetheless, this collection is as close to representative as I could be of the newspapers currently available in Ontario and Canada.

Once the articles were collected, I conducted a preliminary scan to remove all the articles that did not discuss *human* trafficking (e.g. drug trafficking, weapons trafficking, baby trafficking). This resulted in 404 articles. The remaining articles were uploaded into NVivo. Once in NVivo, further articles were removed that were deemed irrelevant. These included: articles that mentioned human trafficking, but it was not the focus of the article; articles on child-

²⁴ <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/national-post/>

²⁵ <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/the-globe-and-mail/>

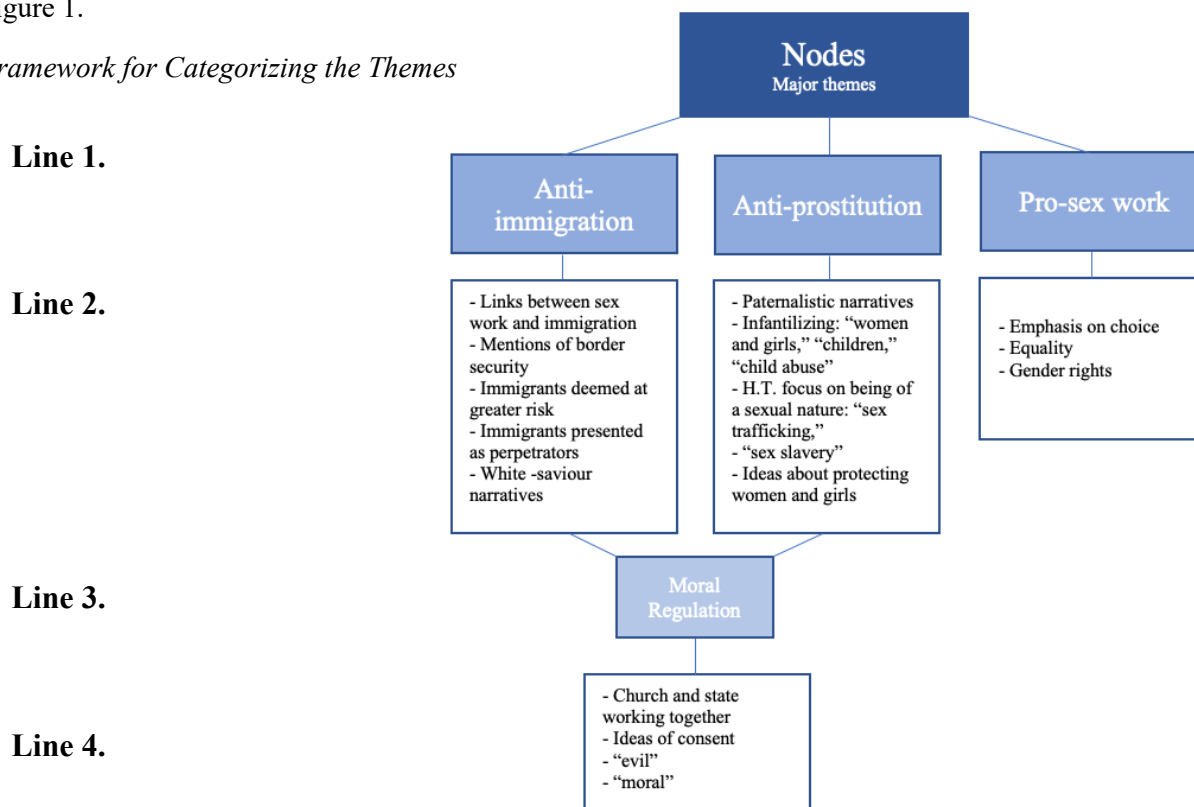
prostitution/child sex-trafficking; court briefs; and letters to the editor. After this process, 154 articles remained. Throughout this process, usefulness was gauged by the content of the articles. In this sense, greater importance was placed on the comprehensiveness of the articles rather than including all articles that mentioned human trafficking.

Stage 2. The second stage of the explanatory critique involved first carrying out analyses of texts. This can be divided into two steps:

Step 1: Coding. Once the data was compiled the coding process began. Macro level patterns were identified based on the earlier work of authors in this field. As can be seen in figure 1, the macro themes of ‘anti-immigration,’ ‘anti-prostitution,’ and ‘pro-sex work’ (line 1) were determined based on the findings of prior research (De Shalit & van der Meulen, 2017; De Shalit, Heynen & van der Meulen, 2015; Grantham, 2017; Roots & De Shalit, 2015). These macro themes provided the framework for the coding structure, with some examples (line 2) of what other authors have identified as the language used within each of these themes. I was interested in the findings that emerged from the U.S. about the presence of morality within human trafficking discourse (e.g. Bernstein, 2010; Weitzer, 2006; Zimmerman, 2010). To this end, I added another macro theme (line 3) based on the research of these scholars, along with some examples of the language they had identified (line 4). Thus, I was able to build off of the work that had already been done, while exploring new ways of interpreting the language.

Figure 1.

Framework for Categorizing the Themes



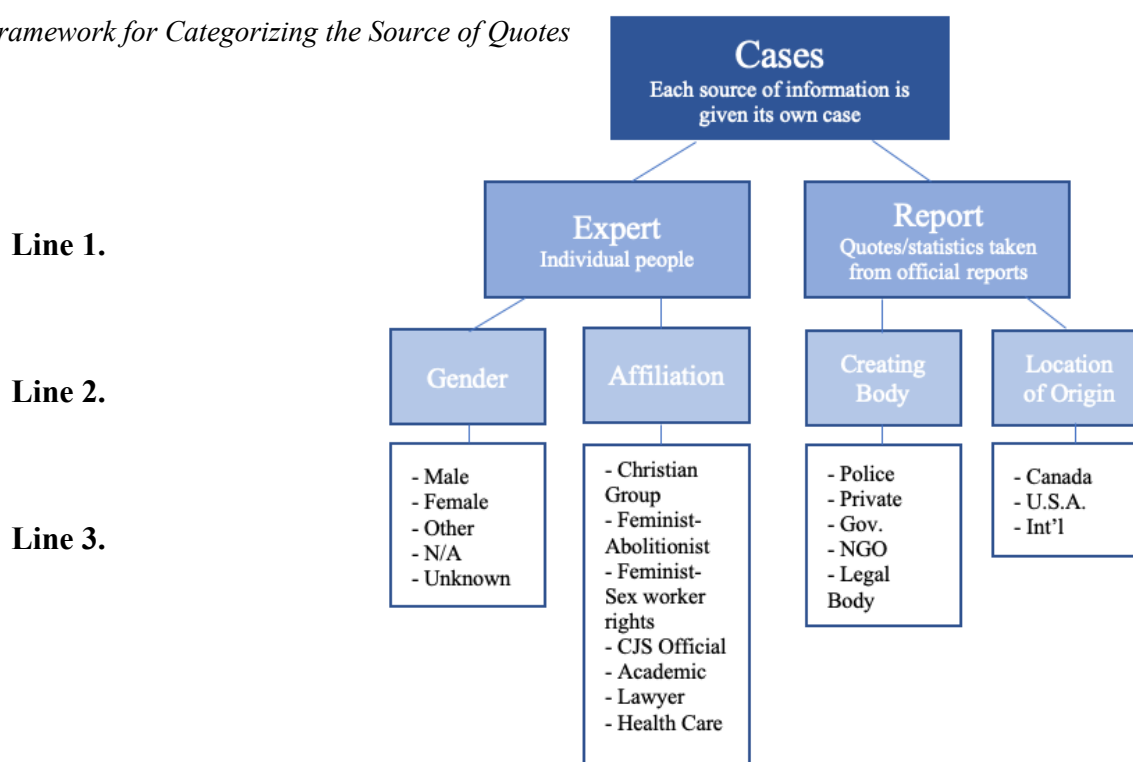
The goal in looking at these four themes was to have a framework from which to centre my findings; which would either corroborate, oppose, or expand on earlier findings about human trafficking discourse. To analyse the texts, I went through each article manually and categorized all quotes into these four macro themes. Throughout this process, micro themes began to emerge which I then coded as 'child nodes' under the 'parent nodes' (macro themes). See Appendix 7 for the full code book of my findings. As new patterns emerged, I went back to re-code earlier media articles, thus coding, re-evaluating, and recoding was an ongoing process

I was also interested in looking at who was speaking about human trafficking. As such, I created cases in NVivo for each person who was quoted in the articles. This way, I was able to code for the content of the message and the source of the message simultaneously. Figure 2 provides a depiction of the coding framework used to track the source of the quotes. This was

divided by expert and report (line 1), which were then further categorized by gender and affiliation (for experts) and creating body and location (for reports) (line 2). Line 3 provides the final categories within each of these branches. These categories were chosen so that I could best identify the intersectional power relations at play within the discourse. The following section will now describe the collection of articles that were analysed for this thesis.

Figure 2.

Framework for Categorizing the Source of Quotes



Description of the Archive. The terms most frequently used across the articles were ‘prostitution’ (1,115 times), ‘sex’ (1,056 times; ‘sex work’ 97 times, ‘sex trade’ 243 times), ‘trafficking’ (1,032 times; ‘sex trafficking’ 68 times), and ‘women’ (698 times; ‘women and girls’ 47 times, ‘young women’ 56 times). Only 7 articles spoke about trafficking for other types of labour than sex work. When cross-referencing the use of the term ‘girl’ by the main groups of

experts, police officers were 98.1% likely to use the term, politicians were 85.29%, mainstream feminists 80.55%, and alternative feminists 9.5% (amount of total quotes wherein ‘girl’ was used as opposed to ‘woman’).

Of the 164 human trafficking articles analysed, the individuals who were most frequently cited as experts were mainstream feminists (N=84), police officers (N=54), alternative feminists (N=39) and politicians (N=34).²⁶ The groups that were the least cited were Evangelical Christians (N=6) and information providers such as lawyers and health care workers (N=9). The year with the most articles was 2014, which coincides with the 2013 *R v. Bedford* decision and the subsequent discussions regarding the new *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*. Key terms associated with international human trafficking (‘international’ and ‘foreign’) peaked in 2012 and 2013, whereas ‘domestic’ reached its peak in 2015 (see Appendix 1 for a chart of key term usage by year). After 2015, the terms ‘international’ and ‘foreign’ were no longer used, and ‘domestic’ dropped off in 2016. In the subsequent years, human trafficking articles only used the terms ‘prostitution’ and ‘pimp’ when discussing human trafficking in the media. Furthermore, there was a spike in the use of the term ‘prostitution’ in 2010 when referring to human trafficking. This coincides with the release of the RCMP Human Trafficking in Canada Report, the *Bedford* Ontario Superior Court ruling on prostitution laws, the launch of the RCMP’s anti-trafficking Blue Blindfold campaign,²⁷ and a push from the federal government in 2010 to remove erotic ads from Craigslist.

²⁶ These groups will be described in a following section.

²⁷ The Blue Blindfold Campaign was organized by the RCMP in collaboration with Canadian Crime Stoppers. The campaign identified the sex trade as a main cause of human trafficking, which included tv commercials of a woman dancing around a pole surrounded by men in blue blindfolds, while the voiceover says: “While we enjoy, we forget who gets hurt.”

https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2010/09/07/feds_launch_human_trafficking_awareness_campaign.html

Step 2: Social Analysis. Once the coding was complete, I compared the results to the social context. This included: researching human trafficking events in Canada during the time period; looking into individual experts; and, reading various human trafficking/sex work reports published between 2008 and 2018. I began this process by looking at the Conservative government's Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletters, which they published from 2012 to 2016.²⁸ Within these newsletters, the federal government advertised various local, provincial, and national events relating to the anti-trafficking movement. From here, I was able to follow the hyperlinks to the direct source and find further information about the anti-trafficking events. I did similar investigating of individual human trafficking experts, by looking into their backgrounds and prior anti-trafficking work. Throughout this process, I was uncovering evidence of relationships between claims-makers and discovering pivotal moments within the anti-trafficking movement. I was able to tease out connections between individual claims-makers and groups, which led me to discover key moments in the creation of human trafficking as a social problem. Some themes that arose from this second stage required further research that I had not anticipated. As such, during this stage I went back and did more research on the lesser known macro theme, moral regulation. This was unexpected but perhaps foreseeable, due to the lack of prior research done on moral regulation within Canadian human trafficking discourse.

Concluding Reflections

This chapter provided an overview of the methodological framework that informed this research, detailed the procedural methods I used to collect the findings, and presented the archive. Critical discourse analysis formed the basis through which I interpreted the human trafficking discourse. As mentioned, social contexts affect the creation and usage of language

²⁸ Public Safety Canada (October 2012). *Canada's Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter, (1)*. <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/hmn-trffckng-nwsltr-2012/hmn-trffckng-nwsltr-2012-eng.pdf>

and thus must be considered alongside the discourse in question. An inductive approach provided an avenue to explore the usage of this discourse, through constant cycles of discovery and questioning. As such, Fairclough's explanatory critique offered procedural steps to follow within this framework, which I was able to adapt to CDA. The following chapter will lay out the findings of this coding process.

Chapter Four

Canadian Perspectives on Human Trafficking

This chapter will now present the findings of the coding process. The findings of this chapter centre around the claims-makers involved in the human trafficking narrative by presenting the various individuals quoted in the media as experts on the topic of human trafficking. In looking at the quotes of these individuals, three perspectives became evident: violence against women, religious/moral, and human rights. The claims made by individual claims-makers will be situated within these three overarching perspectives. This chapter will unpack these perspectives and identify the tactics that emerged within each one. This will lay a foundation for the analysis in the next chapter, wherein these claims will be established in relation to the broader social context in which they were made. This chapter will begin by presenting the four main groups of claims makers quoted in the media: police officers, politicians, mainstream feminists, and alternative feminists. We will then turn to look at the three perspectives evident in each of their discourses, as described above. Within each of these perspectives, particular tactics emerged which will be discussed below.

Human Trafficking Experts

The four groups of experts most prominent in the media were the mainstream feminists, police officers, politicians and alternative feminists.

1. The grouping of mainstream feminists included individuals who have been identified in earlier literature as abolitionist feminists, second wave feminists, and radical feminists. Experts in this group were anti-trafficking activists, academics, and self-identified victims of human trafficking. The most prominent voices in this group were (from most quoted to least) Natasha Falle, Tania Fiolleau, and Timea Nagy – three self-identified

victims of human trafficking turned anti-trafficking activists; Benjamin Perrin, professor of Law at the University of British Columbia and the Conservative government's leading expert on human trafficking; and, Helen Roos, anti-trafficking activist and former Chair of the Ottawa Coalition to End Human Trafficking.

2. Police officers was a group consisting of municipal police officers, provincial police officers, and RCMP officials. The main voices within this group of experts were (from most quoted to least) Thai Truong, detective with York Region's Police vice squad; Michael Hay, Chief of Police with York Region; and, Nunzio Tramontozzi, detective with Toronto Police.
3. The grouping of politicians included Members of Parliament (MPs), Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs), and Cabinet Ministers. The most cited individuals in this group of experts were (from most quoted to least) Peter MacKay, Conservative MP and Minister of Justice and Attorney General between 2013 and 2015; Joy Smith, (now former) Conservative MP and anti-trafficking activist; and, Laurie Scott, Conservative MPP in Ontario and anti-trafficking activist.
4. While not as often quoted or as prominent there was a competing narrative offered in the media by a grouping I have categorized as alternative feminists. Alternative feminists are those who took an opposing stance to human trafficking than that put forth by mainstream feminists (and by extension, police and politicians). Members of this group included sex workers' rights activists, academics, and current or former sex workers. The experts most quoted from this group (from most quoted to least) were Chris Bruckert, Criminologist at the University of Ottawa; Emily Symons, Chair of POWER - Prostitutes of Ottawa-Gatineau Work Educate and Resist; Cecilia Benoit and

Chris Atchison, both Sociologists at the University of Victoria; and Frédérique Chabot, a member of POWER.

The following section will discuss the perspectives expressed by all four groups of experts in their human trafficking claims.

Categorizing the Perspectives of Claims-Makers

The following sections will break down the three perspectives expressed by these claims-makers: the violence against women perspective, the religious/moral perspective, and the human rights perspective. Since the work of claims-makers is deeply influenced by value systems, these perspectives assist in uncovering the attitudes that shaped the claims of these groups of experts. Within each of these perspectives, specific tactics were identified. Certain quotes have been chosen that best represent these tactics; for a longer (but non-exhaustive) list of the quotes analyzed see Appendix 5.

I. Violence Against Women Perspective. The violence against women perspective is rooted in the belief that sex work (whether consensual or not) is a form of gendered oppression. Thus, the claims of individuals expressing this perspective are influenced by a desire to eliminate the oppression of women. Primarily, claims-makers expressing this perspective seek to regulate and control the sex trade to some degree, with the stated goal being to prevent human trafficking. This perspective has been noted in the body of literature that supports human trafficking as a social problem (see Chapter 1: The Contemporary Human Trafficking Narrative). Similarly, earlier Canadian scholars have identified this perspective in the discourse of Canadian politicians in their use of anti-prostitution language (e.g., Jeffrey, 2005; Maynard, 2015; Grantham, 2017; Roots & De Shalit, 2015; Sharma, 2003; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007). The current research expands on these findings and suggests that mainstream feminists and police officers also

expressed this violence against women perspective, which was instrumental to the creation of the dominant human trafficking narrative. Furthermore, some values within this perspective have been labelled as ‘abolitionist’ by earlier scholars (e.g., Bernstein, 2010; Jeffreys, 2009; Kempadoo, 2015; Roots & De Shalit, 2015). However, as will be demonstrated, prostitution-abolition did not emerge as the goal for the majority of experts in this group; instead, the stated goal was for control and regulation of the sex trade to prevent gendered exploitation. In this coming section we first examine four tactics that emerged as characteristic of these claim-makers – relying on vague statistics, appealing to extreme cases, constituting women as passive, and the pervasive threat to middle class families – before turning to consider their desire for increased surveillance and regulation

Vague statistics. This research found that mainstream feminists are the most likely to use vague statistics in their claims including, for example, exaggerating numbers and referring to a research study without providing a source. For instance, The Aboriginal Women’s Action Network of British Columbia suggested the following:

Legalizing brothels will only increase the number of prostitutes. With an estimated 90 per cent of prostitutes having been forced into the sex trade, increasing the number of prostitutes is not a good idea. Research shows that the vast majority of prostitutes have been trafficked or sexually victimized in their homes or suffer from drug addiction.

(Ottawa Citizen, 4 February 2008)

Similarly, Tara Teng (former Miss Canada and anti-trafficking activist) alluded to the number of women who have been forced into sex work in Canada when she claimed that, “[as many as] 98% of the women don’t want to be in the industry and it’s the fastest growing industry in the world” (*Ottawa Sun*, 21 August 2011/2). Terms such as ‘estimated’ and ‘as many as’ suggest

that the statistics these experts are providing are not exact figures; as such they allow a certain amount of ambiguity in their claims, creating space for the statistics to be an exaggeration while being presented as facts. Furthermore, the Aboriginal Women's Action Network and Tara Teng point to 'research' without giving any clues about which research they are referring to.

Alternatively, police officers were more likely to rely on their own experiences as opposed to providing statistics. In cases where there were statistics, the police officers' personal experiences appear to have taken precedence over the numbers. As was found with mainstream feminists, the rare times statistics were presented by the police, they were preceded by the term 'estimate.' These findings are consistent with those of earlier Canadian scholars (e.g. Grantham, 2017; Roots and De Shalit, 2015; Roots, De Shalit & van der Meulen, 2015) who have identified the use of vague and misleading statistics by politicians in the Harper Conservative government. However, the findings of this study show that the term 'estimate' was used almost exclusively by police officers and mainstream feminists when making claims about human trafficking. This suggests that mainstream feminists and police officers were more likely to use vague statistics to support their arguments than were politicians.

Appeals to Extreme Cases. Police officers, politicians, and mainstream feminists all used extreme stories and personal anecdotes within their quotes. As Haynes' (2014) research in the United States demonstrates, the media is most interested in stories that are exciting, horrifying, or voyeuristically appealing. Though Haynes was referring to celebrity involvement in the media, this study found that police officers, mainstream feminists, and politicians in Canada who put forth extreme stories were rewarded with significant media attention. For instance, self-identified victim of trafficking, Casandra Diamond, provided the following anecdote to the media:

I worked with a girl many years ago in the sex trade who had broken a rule according to her pimp, then disappeared for about 3 ½ to four months. And when she finally turned back up we asked what had happened and she said her pimp took her to a hotel room where he broke both of her legs. (*Toronto Star*, 18 May 2015)

In a similar account, Timea Nagy, who identifies as a former prostitute, recounted the following:

One girl was [a drug dealer's] slave until she was 15 and then she broke free from him. But by then, her ribs, her legs and nose were broken and unfortunately, that's the typical story behind every Canadian trafficking case. (*Toronto Sun*, 16 September 2012)

And in one final example, Natasha Falle, who identifies as a former prostitute, had said in the media that “women have been whipped with heated coat hangers or been stripped naked and forced to drink from toilet water while wearing a dog collar” (*National Post*, 20 August 2016).

The use of extreme cases was also used by police officers. For instance, Detective Michael Hay of the Toronto police force stated:

Some of these girls that we've come across haven't eaten in days, haven't slept in days, don't know what city they're in ... have been beaten, abused. It's a horrific thing.

(*Globe and Mail*, 2 May 2017)

These narratives are similar to those that Daniel-Hughes (2019) identified in the quotes of Evangelical Christian women in the U.S. Alternatively, politicians focused on the process of coercion and tended to use far less graphic imagery within their claims. This can be seen when Steven Blaney (Minister of Public Safety from 2013 to 2015) suggested that, “sometimes it can be a young girl who falls in love with an individual and who is then pushed into prostitution – it can be as horrible as that.” (*Globe and Mail*, 10 December 2013). Indeed, politicians frequently

spoke about girls (as opposed to women) being forced into prostitution. This will be discussed in the following sections.

Constituting Women as Passive. The language of mainstream feminists, police, and politicians both implicitly and explicitly constituted women as passive. We see this in the language deployed; the terms “prostituted,” “lured,” “coerced” or “coaxed” – conveying the idea that women in the sex trade do not make their own choices, they are only acted on – were ubiquitous. As former Miss Canada, Tara Teng, stated, “we need to see these people not as prostitutes but as prostituted” (*Ottawa Sun*, 21 August 2011/2).

Sometimes the inference of lack of agency was much more explicit. For example (now former) MP Joy Smith went as far as suggesting that sex workers’ mental stability is undermined and, as a consequence, their ability to act eroded:

They develop Stockholm syndromes, where they get attached to their perpetrator.

They get almost like they are brainwashed. There’s no way out. They get despondent.

And it’s very dangerous for them. (*National Post*, April 2014).

There was also a great deal of infantilizing language in the claims made by politicians, police officers, and mainstream feminists; this included using ‘girls’ instead of ‘women’ or using ‘women and girls’ in conjunction. This unifying of ‘women and girls’ (or ‘women and children’ more generally) works to infantilize women while simultaneously reinstating male domination and power.

Pervasive Threat to Middle Class Families. The focus on girls and innocent children plays out in other ways as well. Police officers, mainstream feminists, and politicians asserted that since sex trafficking is a huge (but unrecognized) issue affecting Canadian neighborhoods and that our ‘daughters’ are at risk of being lured into sex work (and, so the narrative goes,

become trafficking victims). This is evident in comments like that of Toronto detective Nunzio Tramontozzi:

These people are animals. It's a big problem and people don't understand what's going on in Toronto. These pimps are recruiting girls out of high school and middle school. They are predators and master manipulators. They see the vulnerable side to these girls and exploit it. (*Toronto Sun*, 13 December 2016)

These sentiments are echoed by politicians, almost word for word. Politicians made it explicit that Canadian children are the most vulnerable to local sex trades. For instance, Laurie Scott (MPP in Ontario and human trafficking activist) claimed that, "these young women, girls really, underage girls and children, are being forced into sex work in our own cities and towns, and they really are the girls next door" (*Ottawa Citizen*, 14 December 2015). In these scenarios, politicians, police officers and mainstream feminists were tying the Canadian sex trade to ideas of abuse of children. In doing so, they were highlighting a level of passivity in sex work.

Importantly the message being conveyed is not only that sex trafficking is pervasive but that it is so ubiquitous that anyone's daughter (read middle class girls) are at risk. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is the repetition of the term 'girl next door,' first by politicians and then police officers. Laurie Scott is first quoted using the phrase in 2015. The phrase is then identified in quotes made by police officers in 2016. Later in June 2016, Scott proposed a bill in Ontario called *Saving the Girl Next Door* (Bill 158, Ontario, 2016), which would have allowed the enforcement of protection orders against traffickers and the inclusion of human trafficking under the sex crime provisions of the criminal code. Scott repeatedly used the phrase "girl next door" in media quotes leading up to her presentation of the bill. During this time, police officers

in Ontario began using the phrase as well. It appears that Scott's repetition of the phrase in Ontario led to its widespread adoption by Ontario police officers.

Calls for Increased Regulation and Surveillance. The claims-makers quoted above do not only use tactics they also put forth solutions. Arguing for increased surveillance is found in quotes suggesting that the sex trade needs to be monitored by the police in order to rescue and/or protect vulnerable victims. Politicians in this study were likely to use language that aligned with the Harper Conservatives' securitization agenda. This is consistent with what previous Canadian scholars identified as the Harper Conservatives' anti-trafficking discourse; which increased state power, enhanced restrictions on immigration, and encouraged the criminalization and surveillance of the sex trade (e.g., Durisin & Heynen, 2015; Grantham, 2017; Jeffrey, 2005; Lepp, 2002; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007). However, this research found that police officers were most likely to make these claims, followed by politicians and then mainstream feminists (see Appendix 2).

In presenting this solution, mainstream feminists and politicians primarily spoke about a need for increased funding to police services to tackle human trafficking. The goal for these resources was to increase surveillance of the sex trade, by either promoting policing measures such as police blitzes²⁹ or to facilitate police monitoring of websites like Backpage and Craigslist. For instance, an article quoted Benjamin Perrin (Law Professor, University of British Columbia) and Rob Nicholson (Minister of Justice and Attorney General from 2007 to 2013) as experts on the topic of sex ads on Craigslist (*Ottawa Citizen*, 19 December 2010). Perrin was appointed Special Advisor to Harper during his time in office and worked extensively on the

²⁹ 'Police blitzes,' also referred to as 'police raids,' 'knock and talks' or 'police stings' is the practice of police officers responding to ads and setting up meetings with sex workers by posing as 'Johns.' The biggest sex trafficking police blitz in Canada is called Operation Northern Spotlight, which includes the organization of police forces across Canada. ONS began with the first blitz in January 2014, with the most recent being in October 2018.

Conservative anti-trafficking projects. As Benjamin Perrin claimed after the federal government succeeded in taking sexual ads off the site, “[Craigslist was] the predominant way that people were selling victims of human trafficking in Canada” (*Ottawa Citizen*, 19 December 2010). In response, Rob Nicholson confirmed that, “our government was concerned that such advertisements could facilitate serious criminal offences, such as living off the avails of child prostitution and trafficking in persons” (*Ottawa Citizen*, 19 December 2010). The consensus among mainstream feminists and politicians was that ongoing surveillance was necessary to ‘protect’ women in the trade and ‘rescue’ those that were inevitably exploited by these sites.

Police officers commonly referred to these practices as ‘proactive policing.’ According to police officers, seeking out ‘potential victims’ of sex-trafficking’ through Craigslist (and later, Backpage) and police blitzes was necessary, because: “You have to be proactive or you’re not going to get these cases. You can’t wait for the girls to come in and bring the case to you” (Thai Truong, *Ottawa Citizen*, 17 June 2014). There is an unstated assumption that human trafficking prevention falls under the purview of police officers, which is encouraged by the comments made by politicians and mainstream feminists advocating for police funding.

In addition to arguing for the policing of the sex industry, mainstream feminists claimed that increased collaboration with the police could lower incidents of human trafficking. For example, on several occasions, mainstream feminist experts spoke about working with the police and expressed their support for proactive policing practices. For instance, following the outrage of sex workers to the first Operation Northern Spotlight blitz, Helen Roos (OCEHT) responded:

There’s a lot of forced sex work out there; we know that. We cheer Ottawa police on. Go for it. If it’s a bit of an inconvenience for some who want to be there, so be it. (*Ottawa Citizen*, 28 January 2014).

This collaborative and supportive approach speaks to carceral feminism, wherein mainstream feminists conform to conservative ideas of securitization and criminalization (see Bernstein, 2010). This research found that politicians, mainstream feminists, and police officers all claim that stricter sanctions on the sex trade, tougher enforcement by the police, and increased collaboration will help prevent human trafficking. In short, it would appear that carceral feminism is embraced by those holding a violence against women perspective in Canada.

II. Religious/Moral Perspective

We now turn to consider the moral regulation perspective. Although all claims are shaped by values, certain individuals are influenced by their moral indignation of a certain behaviour (Cohen, 2011/1971). Thus, individuals holding this position constitute what Spector and Kitsuse (1987) referred to as a disinterested group. The moral regulation perspective is rooted in the belief that certain behaviours go against society's moral code and thus must be regulated for the betterment of society. This aligns with Becker's (1973/1963) definition of moral entrepreneurs, wherein a group seeks to eradicate a condition they see as causing significant moral corruption to society. Thus, those expressing the religious/moral perspective are likely acting as moral entrepreneurs in the anti-trafficking movement.

Within this study, the religious/moral perspective was present throughout the claims made by politicians, mainstream feminists, and to a lesser degree, police officers (henceforth, referred to as the grouping of police, politicians and mainstream feminists – PPM). Language of morality and the influence of religious ideas has not yet been investigated in relation to human trafficking discourse in Canada. However, this research finds parallels with the work of Doherty and Harris (2015), Zimmerman (2010), Desyllas (2007), and Bernstein (2010) in the United States. The following sections will demonstrate the tactics that fall under the religious/moral

perspective: affirming the sanctity of sex, employing the good girl trope, presenting a happy ending, and warning of the risk of social decay. These will be described below.

The Sanctity of Sex. Human trafficking claims that fall under the religious/moral perspective drew attention to the idea that sex is sacred. These experts appeared to base their claims in the belief that sex should be private and occur only in the context of monogamous relationships. This research found that the government's moral vision is evidenced by their proclivity to reinforce restraints on sexual behaviour (see Prince, 2010). Further, it appears that this strategy was used by mainstream feminists and police officers, as well. Indeed, these experts expressed a desire to keep sexual behaviours out of public spaces, and relatedly, as private as possible. This can be seen when Signy Arnason (The Canadian Centre for Child Protection) worries about the normalization of sexual ads on Backpage, and when Daisy Kler (Vancouver Rape Relief) suggests that prostitution is not legitimate (*Globe and Mail*, 12 April 2018; *Ottawa Citizen*, 4 February 2008). We see this explicitly in the Salvation Army's prostitution talk sheet: "The sexual relationship is a gift from God to be treated with love and respect – not something to be sold or bought."³⁰ Thus, Christian morality seeks to place legal restrictions on sexual behaviours within society that are deemed to be against God's moral law, such as prostitution. This idea that sex is sacred and should thus be kept private was expressed in the quotes all those in the PPM group, and not just politicians, as had previously been found.

Good Girl Trope. Claims-makers in the PPM group routinely presented victims as innocent girls from middle-class homes, coerced into the sex trade by pimps. This was often expressed by drawing attention to a woman's background before entering the trade, highlighting

³⁰ Living Counter Culturally: Prostitution Talk Sheet (2012). The Salvation Army. https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/sites/default/files/uploads/20171101tsa_talksheet8_prostitution2017.pdf

the idea that even ‘good girls’ from ‘good homes’ can become victims of human trafficking. This tactic echoes one previously mentioned in the violence against women perspective - Pervasive Threat to Middle Class Families. However, the Good Girl Trope is highlighted by language of morality. For instance, embedded in this narrative is a subtext that only uneducated, poor, morally corrupt women would willingly choose to be in the sex trade:

I thought, ‘I’m too good for that, I’m too educated, my family loves me, I’ll never be like those girls from the streets.’ And then it happened to me. (Jasmine [self-identified victim of sex trafficking], *Toronto Star*, 23 November 2012)

Because a large proportion of the anti-trafficking activists were formerly in the sex industry, there is an apparent need to frame the fact that their participation in an activity they are now advocating against was outside of their control. Thus, members of the PPM group went to great lengths not only to affirm that anyone is vulnerable, but that women and girls are commonly forced into the trade:

As difficult as it may be to believe, these girls could be your daughter... What begins as a boyfriend-girlfriend progresses to increasing control, until these women are treated as slaves. (Sergeant Mark Benallick, *Toronto Star*, 14 June 2012)

The reliance on imagery of innocence is particularly important to this narrative, which can be seen by Benallick’s use of ‘girls’ and ‘daughters’ in the above statement. It is also interesting to note that Benallick uses this language of purity in the first part of the narrative – when the hypothetical female is in a ‘boyfriend-girlfriend’ relationship – but switches to ‘women’ in the second half when the female is (hypothetically) involved in the sex trade.

Happy Ending. The Good Girl Trope is often accompanied by a Happy Ending, wherein the rescued victim described in detail how she had become an upstanding citizen since leaving

the sex trade. Self-described victims of human trafficking tended to speak about how they had changed their lives after getting out of the trade. There were many comments made about women escaping the trade and turning their lives around (including becoming church goers) – implicitly suggesting that only upon leaving the sex trade were they able to become good (moral) citizens:

She (Jasmine) beamed through tears as she explained how she joined a church, found help, and is now a happily married mother of two returning to school to become a midwife.

(Jasmine, *Toronto Star*, 23 November 2012)

Here we see echoes of the Christian martyrdom ideal, wherein the women who have successfully escaped the sex trade take it upon themselves to help other victims who may be in the same position. The word ‘martyr’ in Christian tradition means ‘witness.’ In early Christianity, the apostles were ‘witnesses’ of what they observed in the life of Christ, as well as what they had learned from his teaching. However, Jesus’ apostles were not ordinary witnesses; they were exposed to grave dangers which brought them a greater understanding and a larger mission.³¹ These ideas are reflected in certain quotes, where women speak of having gone through the atrocities of human trafficking in the sex trade, but through God, have been able to find a greater purpose and direction:

She (Tania) promised God that if she got her kids back, she would devote her life to saving women from prostitution. She won her case and she kept her promise. (Tania Fiolleau, *National Post*, 3 August 2011)

While accepting that their future will be devoted to helping others, these former prostitutes require a way to reconcile their past behaviours. Ironically, since the narrative frames those in

³¹ Demarco, D. (2002). *Of Neighbours and Infidels: The Meaning of Martyrdom for Christians and Muslims*. Lay Witness Publications.

the sex industry as victims we also see *redemption scripts*,³² wherein those with deviant or criminal pasts seek out a redeeming outcome from past behaviour; it is a way to distance the current self from past behaviours, while asserting an individual's inherent goodness. With this redemption script also comes a desire to make up for the past and give back to society. For the mainstream feminists advocating anti-trafficking in Canada, there is a strong focus on God and the Christian Church in their narratives. As seen above, Tania Fiolleau promised God to devote her life to saving women from prostitution. Similarly, Jasmine found her way out by joining a church. In the majority of instances where former sex workers became anti-trafficking activists, they claimed to do so for God (see Appendix 3 for a full list of experts and their public assertions regarding their Christian values). This is what has been referred to as the 'traditional script' that has drawn Evangelical Christian women to anti-trafficking work; within this rhetoric, girls become rehabilitated so that they can take up their rightful position as the moral wife and mother (Daniel-Hughes, 2019). The Happy Ending is necessary for the overall story, to show that once the Good Girl has been rescued, she can once again become a good *moral* woman.

Warning of the Risk of Social Decay. Kyle Swan³³ provides further insight into the link between Christian ideas of morality and societal harm. Swan suggests that following God's moral law includes avoiding harms to the individual, to society, and to spirituality. Furthermore, "biblical Christians are committed to thinking that any violation of the moral law is morally wrong in as much as it is forbidden by God," and "it would be disobedient to God not to attempt to pursue coercive policies that reflect God's will" (p.409).

³² Maruna, S. (2010). *Redemption Scripts and Desistance*. Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory. SAGE

³³ Swan, K. (2007). Law, Liberty, and Christian morality. *Religious Studies*, 43: 395-415. Cambridge University Press

This view that society would be harmed if sex work became normalized was evident in the claims of politicians. Key policymakers on the human trafficking and sex work agendas – Peter MacKay, Joy Smith, and Stephen Harper – claimed on numerous occasions that sex work is “degrading,” “dehumanizing,” and harms individuals involved and Canadian communities as a whole. Politicians are the group of experts that were the most likely to draw attention to these harms on Canadian communities. For instance, as early as 2010, Stephen Harper was quoted as saying, “the government’s position is very clear... We believe that the prostitution trade is bad for society” (*National Post*, 3 December 2010). This argument is then repeated by MacKay and Smith, adopted by police officers, and was made a central component of Bill C-36 (*The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*). To borrow from controversial conservative Barbara Kay, prostitution became framed as “one of those social toxins that never goes away” (*National Post*, 3 August 2011). A further investigation into the framing of sex work as “a social toxin” will be presented in the following chapter.

These findings are in line with those of Zimmerman (2010), who identifies the use of religious language and theological doctrine in human trafficking quotes made by U.S. politicians. However, this research confirms Malloy’s (2013) findings that the Harper Conservatives were more guarded in referencing religion than their neighbours to the south. Instead, it appears that those in the PPM group were more discreet in their appeals to morality, by instead discussing the harms caused by sex work on society.

III. Human Rights Perspective

The human rights perspective is presented in opposition to the violence against women and religious/moral perspectives. The human rights perspective is grounded by a belief that all individuals have the right to make choices about their bodies, lives, and general wellbeing. This

perspective emerged in the media as a response to the discussion that developed on sex trafficking around the *Bedford* decision. Of the individuals associated with an accredited academic institution (N=21), 71% expressed the human rights perspective in their claims, compared with those academics who took a violence against women stance. Perhaps due to the high percentage of academics in this group, these experts were significantly more likely to rely on legitimate statistics and draw from empirical research. The tactics that emerged within this group of claims-makers were, encouraging the right to security, emphasizing agency, highlighting that sex work is labour, and distinguishing between human trafficking and sex work. These tactics will be discussed below.

Right to Security. The most prominent tactic used in the claims made by those in the alternative feminist group, was to bring attention to the multiple ways in which anti-trafficking efforts jeopardized sex workers' safety. This group of experts highlighted the increased violence that sex workers endured due to existing sex work laws. For instance, Naomi Sayers (Indigenous lawyer and sex work activist) claimed that:

Efforts meant to fight human trafficking often call more violence into sex workers' lives...

You have to wonder who police are helping when you hear about sex workers being surveilled, harassed and threatened with deportation because of human trafficking initiatives. (*Ottawa Citizen*, 5 February 2016)

Alternative feminists suggested that these laws, which were meant to protect sex workers, were doing the opposite. In particular, the PCEPA would likely lead to further instances of violence and exploitation. As Chris Bruckert (Criminologist from the University of Ottawa) stated, "the sad thing is that ... the most marginalized sex workers are going to be at greater risk and they're going to get hurt, and they're going to get killed" (*National Post*, 28 April 2014). These experts

argued that forcing sex work underground and making it less visible will only result in more abuses. Clients will be less willing to report abuses they may witness out of fear of criminal repercussions, and sex workers will be forced to use less secure avenues to communicate with clients due to that same fear.

Emphasizing Agency. To counter claims by those in the PPM group wherein women were framed as passive, alternative feminist experts highlighted that sex workers have agency. The argument that sex work leads to sex trafficking depends on the criteria that the majority of (if not all) sex workers are coerced. As Joyce Arthur of First Advocates (Feminists Advocating for Rights and Equality for Sex Workers) stated, “it’s a double standard, a paternalistic view that women have to be protected from themselves. It’s very insulting.” (*Toronto Star*, 10 October 2010). Thus, emphasizing agency in the sex trade appeared to be a key tactic in the claims made by alternative feminists. In one such instance, Chris Atchison (Sociologist at the University of Victoria) drew from his research study on sex work clients:

What we’ve found from the data is when it comes to workers, clients and their interactions, sex workers set the terms and conditions of the service. Clients come to them and say, ‘Here’s what I’m looking for.’ A sex worker then says, ‘I’m either willing or unwilling to provide that.’ The longer the exchange goes on, the less likely that we’re going to see conflict and the more likely we’re going to see increased sexual safety between partners. (*National Post*, 24 September 2014).

In a more straight-forward manner, former sex worker and current anthropologist, Petra Östergren (from Sweden), explained this concept to a Canadian anti-trafficking reporter:

‘Some people prefer to be outside the system. Prostitution gives them a way to survive without social capital, or cultural capital or financial.’ But why? Isn’t it better to go to computer school? ‘Maybe they don’t want to.’ (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014).

Furthermore, experts in the alternative feminist group referred almost exclusively to women, thus refraining from infantilizing language such as ‘young’ and ‘girl.’ In doing so, the issue of children being at risk by the sex trade is made irrelevant to their argument. In focusing on the rates of consenting adult sex workers and clients, alternative feminists did not engage with the conversation that claimed children were being forced into the sex trade.

Sex Work as Labour. By using the term ‘sex work’ instead of ‘prostitution,’ alternative feminists were drawing attention to the fact that selling sexual services is a form of labour. Alternative feminists appear to strategically use the term ‘work’ when speaking about the sex industry and promoted labour rights for sex workers. In describing his research with sex workers, Mikael Jansson (Swedish Criminologist) noted that, “they talk to us about the amount of control they have over their situation. They have a lot more control over the timing of their work, the pace of their work, than journalists” (*National Post*, 24 September 2014). In a similar comment the following year, Cecilia Benoit (Sociologist from the University of Victoria) claimed that, “rates of workplace violence for sex work are actually lower than they are for several other professions, including emergency room nursing” (*National Post*, 9 May 2015). In one final example, a former sex worker had said after the termination of temporary work visas for exotic dancers:

These dancers are not victims of human trafficking, as the government claims. These girls want to be here working and making money to send home. Many don’t understand why

they're being penalized. They work hard and pay taxes and do everything that is asked of them. (Nicole, *Ottawa Sun*, 17 June 2012)

Emphasis on the term 'work' also assisted in opposing the representation of the sex trade as a space of criminal activity. As Anton van Wijk (Dutch Criminologist) stated, "criminalizing prostitution always establishes illegal and criminal activity. The Swedes criminalize what should be a regular profession" (*Ottawa Citizen*, 3 December 2011). Indeed, alternative feminists suggested that the sex industry should be seen in similar terms to any other business. Were this the case, alternative feminists argued people in the trade would be granted the appropriate labour rights to ensure their safety and well-being on the job.

Distinguishing Trafficking from Sex Work. A final tactic that emerged amongst claim-makers in the human rights perspective, was the insistence on a distinction between sexual exploitation and sex work. To challenge assertions made by those in the PPM group that sexual exploitation is inherent in the sex trade, alternative feminists often differentiated the two. In doing so, they did not claim that exploitation does not exist, however, they suggested that sex work itself is not exploitation. As Chris Bruckert explained:

We know there is exploitation. That is what we are concerned with – finding strategies for sex workers who want to leave and strategies to ensure those who want to stay are protected. (*Ottawa Citizen*, 3 December 2011)

In doing so, alternative feminists opposed preventative policing measures and the PCEPA, by claiming that these would only increase the likelihood that exploitation can occur within the trade. As Frédérique Chabot (POWER member) contended:

Sex worker rights groups across the country have expressed concern about the tactics used by anti-trafficking groups and police forces, which cast sex workers as mere collateral damage in

the fight against exploitation. When the women who are being targeted indiscriminately in raids framed as a way to find victims of exploitation express feeling intimidated and harassed, it is appalling that it is not recognized as the red flag it is. (*Ottawa Citizen*, 10 February 2014)

Indeed, alternative feminists emphasized the paradox that anti-trafficking practices were intended to identify exploitation, yet they were themselves causing it. In another instance, AnnaLise Trudell (manager of education at Anova Shelter and Women's Centre in London, Ontario) pointed to the police's use of Backpage to track sex workers. Trudell stated that the practice makes sex workers feel unsafe, despite it being under the pretense of protection and prevention. She goes on to say of the platform, "what can happen within it can be harmful, and what can happen within it can be empowering. You've actually thrown them both out by doing this" (AnnaLise Trudell, *Globe and Mail*, 12 April 2018). Thus, the distinction between 'exploitation *in* the trade' and 'the trade *as* exploitation' was one repeated by alternative feminists to counter arguments that sex work is synonymous with human trafficking.

Concluding Reflections

The findings of this current research corroborate what had previously been found in Canada, wherein the dominant human trafficking discourse was critiqued for being patriarchal and anti-prostitution. Further, these findings support the works of Prince (2015) and Malloy (2013) who have found that the Harper Conservatives' policymaking was influenced by a moral vision in which they sought to reinforce moral and legal restraints on behaviour. However, these findings offer a more in-depth look at the trafficking discourse that emerged between 2008 and 2018. The current study suggests that the human trafficking narrative in Canada was highly influenced by both a violence against women perspective and a religious/moral perspective. These findings show that those who held these perspectives were police officers, politicians, and

mainstream feminists; whereas prior Canadian research on the human trafficking discourse has focused on politicians (specifically, the Harper Conservative government). The following chapter will further explore these groups and the perspectives that influenced their claims, by situating them within a broader social context. In particular, we will look at how these two perspectives overlapped and what impact this had on the human trafficking narrative.

Chapter Five

The Emergence of a Moral Panic

Based on the findings from the previous chapter, this analysis will demonstrate how a moral panic around human trafficking emerged in Canada. To this end, this chapter will be shaped by Erich Goode's and Nachman Ben-Yehuda's (2010) five criteria for defining a moral panic. While presenting these five criteria, this chapter will explore how members from the police, politician, and mainstream feminist (PPM) groups of experts successfully applied two of the three aspects of the claims-making process of the Natural History Model as proposed by Spector and Kitsuse: mobilizing their resources and establishing the nature of the claims. Since the media has been shown to play an integral role in moral panics, there will be a separate chapter dedicated to the media as a claims-maker. In that upcoming chapter – Media Manipulation of the Narrative – the third and final aspect of the claims-making process will be considered: the mechanism for pressing the claim. This chapter will demonstrate how certain claims-makers within the PPM group acted as moral crusaders. Furthermore, these moral crusaders were able to form an Unofficial Christian Coalition to press their claims in the public.

As such, using Benford's and Snow's (2000) framing techniques, this chapter will demonstrate how these moral crusaders of this Unofficial Christian Coalition were able to have their claims resonate with the public and gain widespread support. A discussion of the social context in 2014 will follow, which is integral to the study of social problem construction (Benford & Snow, 2000; Spector & Kitsuse, 1987). Here, three key moments of the human trafficking narrative will be discussed: The Supreme Court *Bedford* decision, the upsurge of religious conferences, and victim identification training programs. This chapter will close with a discussion on the Nordic Model as presented in the media. The Nordic Model discussion and the

subsequent adoption of the PCEPA mark the end of the moral panic (Cohen, 2011/1971; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2010), as well as the beginning of Spector's and Kitsuse's second stage of the social problems process. As such, this is the natural conclusion for this analysis.

Anti-Trafficking Moral Crusaders

Guided by the work of Spector and Kitsuse (1978), Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010), Cohen (2011/1971), and Becker (1973/1963), this section is not asking *why* human trafficking may have been occurring at the time, but why mainstream society *reacted* the way it did to the concept of human trafficking. Indeed, this research is not concerned with whether or not human trafficking existed between 2008 to 2018; instead, this chapter is interested in the creation of human trafficking as a perceived legitimate threat in Canada. Did human trafficking suddenly 'erupt' as a social problem? If so, does it meet the criteria for a moral panic? To answer these questions, I will discuss the findings as they fit within Goode's and Ben-Yehuda's (2010) five criteria for defining a moral panic. As such, the following sections will demonstrate that certain experts acted as moral crusaders to first claim human trafficking was a social problem, and then create a moral panic within the public.

1. Concern. The first criteria states that, for a moral panic to exist, there must be a heightened level of concern over a behaviour or condition, and the consequences of this on society. Based on the number and the content of articles published between 2008 and 2018 on human trafficking, we can surmise that human trafficking was a concern in Canada. To understand why it suddenly became a concern, we must first look at the claims themselves; what was the real concern of those in the PPM group that was being expressed through their claims? In applying the three framing techniques of social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000) we can identify how the social problem was framed by those in the PPM group: first, the diagnostic

framing of the social problem was that the sex trade was contributing to increased incidents of domestic human trafficking. The prognostic framing then was that the sex trade needed to be regulated and controlled to prevent human trafficking. Lastly, motivational framing of the anti-trafficking movement was that Canada needed stricter sex work legislation to depress the Canadian sex trade, and thereby reduce incidents of domestic human trafficking. Looking at these three frames together, we can identify that sex work itself is the problem; indeed, human trafficking provided legitimation for abolishing sex work. Benford and Snow suggest that these framing techniques are used to insert an issue into public conversation. As such, the framing of human trafficking as the problem (and not sex work) allowed the claims about sex work to resonate with a larger fragment of society. In particular, given that sex work laws had been deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, it is unlikely that framing sex work itself as the issue would have had similar widespread support, given the socio-political climate of the day.

2. Hostility. The second criteria of a moral panic requires an increased level of hostility toward the group or category deemed a problem. In doing so, members of this group are perceived as harmful or threatening to the values of society. Thus, not only were Canadian-born women and children deemed at-risk by this new threat, but so were society's values on the whole. This hostility emerged as sex work became the 'enemy' of respectable Canadian society. Indeed, as we saw in the previous chapter, the immorality of sex work is central to the level of hostility directed toward the trade. Here, we see another dichotomy of 'us' vs. 'them' form: 'us' being the good, decent, respectable Canadian citizens; 'them' being the sex industry (and those that support it). The claims made by those in the PPM group expressed that the sex trade is harmful and threatening to societal values, as we saw in the previous chapter. In particular, ideas of Christian morality emerged within these quotes. This begs the question, *how* and *why* were

Christian ideas of morality influencing the human trafficking discourse in Canada? In order to investigate why the claims of those in the PPM group were steeped with Christian ideas of morality, further analysis was done into the backgrounds of experts within these groups. The goal for this section was twofold: first, to determine *how* these individuals came to be known as human trafficking experts in the media. Second, to unearth evidence that would suggest *why* they became anti-trafficking claims-makers to begin with. These questions are addressed in the following section.

The Unofficial Christian Coalition

Although Christian groups were not one of the main groups of experts cited in Canadian human trafficking media, their influence over the dominant discourse was nonetheless noted. One article in particular (*Toronto Star*, 15 July 2014) spoke to the overrepresentation of Evangelical Christians called to speak before the Conservative-dominated Senate Justice Committee on the PCEPA. Some of these experts were from explicitly Christian groups (e.g., Julia Beazley from the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada), whereas others represented mainstream feminist groups but identified as Christian (e.g., Michelle Miller from REED, an anti-trafficking group whose mission is inspired by the quote, “What does God require of you? To act justly, to love kindness, and walk humbly with your God.”).³⁴ The overwhelming majority of the experts the journalist was naming as Evangelical Christians in this article, were also quoted as human trafficking experts in other Canadian media articles. Thus, this article from the *Ottawa Sun* was used as the starting point for my investigation into the backgrounds of experts in the PPM group.

³⁴ REED, Our Mission: <https://embracedignity.org/what-we-do/>

The findings of this investigation are presented in Appendix 3, which provides a comprehensive list of experts that have been identified as Christian, delineated by: those who spoke before the Justice Committee as sex work experts, those who were interviewed in the media as human trafficking experts, and those who did both. This comparison is important, as it demonstrates the strong link between anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking positions. So much so, that being an expert in sex work appears to inherently suggest they are also an expert in trafficking.

Furthermore, there is a clear link between anti-trafficking experts and Christianity. For instance, former Special Advisor to Stephen Harper and the Conservative government's self-proclaimed human trafficking expert, Benjamin Perrin, has stated that, "[t]he same Jesus who I follow laid his hands on lepers when no one else would even come near them. Are more professing Christians willing to similarly love and care for people...?"³⁵ Furthermore, prominent Canadian feminist anti-trafficking activists Jared Brock, Casandra Diamond, Katarina MacLeod, Natasha Falle, Shae Invidiata, Tania Fiolleau, and Trisha Baptie (among others) have all stated on separate occasions that their anti-trafficking work is guided by God and Jesus Christ (see Appendix 3 for specific examples). The previous chapter demonstrated how these experts' claims are associated with martyrdom and redemption scripts, which align with these ideas of Christian morality.

Indeed, this research found that 24 of the 75 witnesses called to speak before the Senate Justice Committee on the PCEPA had publicly declared that their anti-prostitution work is informed by their Christian values. Of these 24 Christian-identified experts, 11 were also cited in the media as human trafficking experts. Furthermore, this research identified 12 other human

³⁵ Killian, C. (18 February 2020). 'Overdose:' A book for every politician in Canada. *The Tyee*. <https://thetyee.ca/Culture/2020/02/18/Benjamin-Perrin-Stands-Up-For-People-Who-Use-Drugs/>

trafficking experts cited in Canadian media as holding Christian values who were not called as witnesses before the Senate Committee. In total, 23 experts cited in the media have expressed Christian affiliation and have stated that they have framed their understanding of human trafficking through a Christian lens (see Appendix 3). These 23 experts are from the PPM group and include the most cited sources in the media: Joy Smith, Laurie Scott, Benjamin Perrin, Natasha Falle, Tania Fiolleau, Timea Nagy, and Victor Malarek.

Moreover, direct connections between these 23 individuals can be seen in instances where they stated that they have collaborated on anti-trafficking projects: David Batstone, PACT-Ottawa, and the Canadian Religious Conference (*Ottawa Citizen*, 23 March 2009); Walk With Me Canada (Timea Nagy) and the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (*Toronto Star*, 7 July 2014); Laurie Scott and Katarina MacLeod (*Toronto Star*, 18 May 2015); and Laurie Scott and Timea Nagy (*Toronto Sun*, 8 January 2016). Furthermore, Joy Smith boasted that her report, *The Tipping Point*, had garnered support from the following individuals/groups: Helen Roos, The Native Women's Association of Canada, Timea Nagy, the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, Melissa Farley, and Benjamin Perrin (*Ottawa Citizen*, 13 February 2014, 18 June 2014; *National Post*, 21 March 2014).

This research found that an intertwining of mainstream feminism, policymaking, and Christian doctrine is evident in the dominant Canadian human trafficking narrative. Numerous scholars have already identified this to be the case in the United States (Bernstein, 2010; Daniel-Hughes, 2018; Desyllas, 2007; Doezema, 2010; Doherty & Harris, 2015; Gulati, 2010; Weitzer, 2006; Zimmerman, 2010). However, while Bernstein's work demonstrates how feminist groups, Christian groups, and politicians have their separate reasons for advocating the abolition of prostitution but collaborated to reach a common goal; in Canada, prominent mainstream

feminists and policymakers have all been identified foremost as Christians, and together have been a unified force in advancing their shared Christian mission.

3. Consensus. The third criteria for Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2010) definition of a moral panic involves widespread agreement or consensus of a social problem. This criterion is difficult to ascertain, particularly by looking at media articles. Nonetheless, there is evidence of mass consensus among the PPM group of experts. Because, as we saw in the previous chapter, they utilize the same tactics within their claims. As was mentioned above, the PPM group held the majority of those speaking about human trafficking in the media. This begs the question, what was happening in a broader social context at this time to encourage a large group of people to claim that human trafficking was a legitimate threat? There were three key moments leading up to 2014 which likely had an effect on this consensus-building stage: the *Bedford* Supreme Court decision, a series of Canadian human trafficking conferences, and trafficking victim identification programs. Although not an exhaustive list of potential ways consensus was built, these three moments appear particularly important for the widespread adoption of human trafficking as a social problem. These events are discussed below.

a) The Conservative Response to the *Bedford* Decision. As has been mentioned throughout this thesis, the Supreme Court *Bedford* decision and the resulting PCEPA had a strong influence on the human trafficking narrative between 2008-2018. In 2013 and 2014, there was a visible increase in human trafficking articles which appear to be a direct correlation to this decision. This sub-section will be looking specifically at the political climate in Canada at this time, which may have been a precipitating factor for a moral panic. The decision was made two years prior to the end of Stephen Harper's term as Prime Minister. Earlier that year, in March 2013, Justin Trudeau had been appointed

leader of the Liberal Party and early polls in Canada showed that support for the Liberals surged once led by Trudeau.³⁶ The polls continued to show this pattern throughout 2013 and 2014. Furthermore, Stephen Harper himself had a known, longstanding issue with the Trudeaus; which appeared to be echoed by long-time Canadian conservatives. As a former co-worker of Harper's said of the anxiety surrounding the second-generation Trudeau potentially leading the country:

You have to remember that for a lot of people like Stephen and a lot of conservatives, Pierre Trudeau's time in Canada was like a revolution. It overturned a lot of the things they loved about Canada. Not just the economic things. But some of the traditional things: the monarchy, the military. It really cut deeply to the psyche of a lot of conservatives.³⁷

Thus, Justin Trudeau was a symbol of this revolution against tradition led by his father some years earlier. Furthermore, Justin Trudeau was framed as the "anti-Harper."³⁸ Trudeau and his Party were vocal about plans to legalize marijuana and they held a strong stance on women's rights to abortions: two decisions which were already further left than Canada had ever been.³⁹ The values of Canadian conservatives during this time were being threatened by this new Trudeau Liberal Party, which was likely only exacerbated by the Supreme Court decision that the sex work laws of the time were unconstitutional.

³⁶ (16 April 2013). Polls show Justin Trudeau Liberals far ahead. *Toronto Sun*. <https://torontosun.com/2013/04/16/poll-shows-justin-trudeau-liberals-far-ahead>

³⁷ (21 March 2014). The Trudeau complex: How Harper's attacks on Liberal dynasty could be a double-edged sword. *National Post*. <https://nationalpost.com/news/politics/the-trudeau-complex-how-harpers-attacks-on-liberal-dynasty-could-be-a-double-edged-sword>

³⁸ Clark, C. (18 October 2014). In the 2015 election lead-up, Trudeau positions himself as the anti-Harper. *The Globe and Mail*. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/in-the-2015-election-lead-up-trudeau-positions-himself-as-the-anti-harper/article21154844/>

³⁹ Smith, C. (5 June 2014). Justin Trudeau is the only hope for sex workers. *The Georgia Straight*. <https://www.straight.com/news/87081/justin-trudeau-only-hope-sex-workers>

It would appear to be a general conservative consensus that their values and morals were under attack. Social movements are defined by connections between individuals, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity (Diani, 1992). It can be surmised then, that Canadian conservatives were presumably feeling threatened of losing their traditional values to new Liberal policies. In the midst of this feeling of unease amongst conservative Canadians, the *Bedford* decision – which effectively decriminalized prostitution – would have taken on heightened significance as further evidence of a slide into immorality; fertile ground for Christian conservatives to stoke a panic through their claims and build consensus on the anti-trafficking front. In particular, amongst Conservative politicians.

b) National Religious Conferences. We will now turn to the second important event, which was a surge in (religion-based) human trafficking conferences across Canada between 2008 and 2015. These events are outlined in Appendix 4. The first evidence of this in the media was in 2009, when American Evangelical Christian, David Batstone, arrived in Ottawa to speak about his book, *Not for Sale*:

After his presentation, Batstone told the Citizen he had scheduled the Ontario tour and Canadian visit to coincide with the launch of slaverymap.ca – an online tool created by students [and led by Benjamin Perrin] at the University of British Columbia and the Not For Sale campaign to track human-trafficking cases in Canada – as well as the second reading of Conservative MP Joy Smith’s private member’s bill to establish mandatory minimum sentences of five years for anyone found guilty of trafficking someone under the age of 18. (*Ottawa Citizen*, 23 March 2009)

Two years later in 2011, the Alliance Against Modern Slavery hosted a conference, with keynote speakers being: a representative from the Christian charity Ratanak Intl, Reverend Jamie MacIntosh (founder of the International Justice Mission), Joy Smith, Benjamin Perrin, and Glendene Grant (mother of sex trafficking victim, Jessy Grant). The following year, Rev. Jamie MacIntosh and the International Justice Mission hosted the 2012 Justice Summit; the speaker list included Rev. MacIntosh, Joy Smith, Brian McConoghy of Ratanak Intl, Shae Invidiata, Timea Nagy, and a representative from the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. That these conferences were attended by those identified as Christian human trafficking experts (as well as other Christian representatives) supports the idea that individuals within the Unofficial Christian Coalition were building a consensus that human trafficking was a social problem. We can also see that, in building this consensus, there was a strong Christian influence within their claims. Furthermore, through these conferences, the Unofficial Christian Coalition was able to communicate and disseminate their claims about human trafficking to large numbers of people and groups within Canadian society.

- c) **Trafficking Victim Identification Programs.** The final event leading up to 2014 which could have aided in building a consensus on trafficking, was the emergence of training programs to help police and others identify victims of human trafficking. In 2013, *Train-the-Trainer* programs became popular across Canada. In these programs, mainstream feminist groups provided training sessions for police officers (and other groups they believed could come into contact with trafficking victims) on how to identify victims of human trafficking (see Appendix 4 for a list of these programs). Furthermore, the mainstream feminists providing the trainings have been identified as part of the

Unofficial Christian Coalition. For instance, PACT-Ottawa and St. Joe's Women's Centre delivered human trafficking training to over 250 frontline workers in Ottawa over 2013 (see Appendix 4). Eventually, they became known as The Ottawa Coalition to End Human Trafficking (OCEHT), and they continued to give free training to frontline workers up until 2016. The training was called 'Responding to Trafficked Persons' and focused on sex trafficking. For instance, in the interview questions provided for officers to determine whether a person was trafficked, the first one read, "Have you ever exchanged sex for food, shelter, drugs, or money?" (OCEHT, 2016). Furthermore, within their indicators of exploitation, they provided the following:

Anxiety; depression; poor hygiene; substance use; wears clothing that is inappropriate; distrusts authorities; engages in sexual activities in exchange for food, shelter, drugs or other basic necessities; has few items of clothing (usually of the type associated with sex work); signs of unprotected sex. (OCEHT, 2016)

Finally, the OCEHT training suggested looking for trafficking through "street/online prostitution, residential/commercial-front brothels, stripping, truck stops" (2016).

Looking at these training modules, it is clear that sex work was being framed to participants *as* human trafficking. Ideas related to the violence against women and religious/moral perspectives were being disseminated to various social groups throughout Ontario, thus expanding the PPM group's adoption of their claims and building consensus across societal groups that human trafficking was a social problem.

Similar training programs emerged throughout 2014; all led by mainstream feminists from the Unofficial Christian Coalition. For example, Timea Nagy hosted the *What's My Role? Advanced Human Trafficking Seminar* for over 70 law enforcement

officers and 40 social service providers in Hamilton, Ontario. Although documents from the session were unavailable, it can be presumed that the information Nagy shared is similar to what she shared at the religious conferences and in the media. Both the OCEHT's and Nagy's training programs were advertised and encouraged by the Conservative federal government in their Human Trafficking Newsletters (see Appendix 3). As such, one final example that speaks to the collaboration between governments and the Unofficial Christian Coalition came in the form of a training video for the Government of Alberta's official trafficking training. It was created by Jared and Michelle Brock (Red Light/Green Light, Hope for Sold), and includes commentary from Joy Smith, Benjamin Perrin, Victor Malarek, Michelle Miller (REED and Canadian Baptists of Western Canada), Brian McConoghy, Sue Todd (Linwood Ministries), Sister Nancy Brown, Naomi Baker (Canada Fights Human Trafficking), and Joel Oosterman (former Conservative House of Commons Chief of Staff).

Throughout these examples, we see that the same individuals who appear as human trafficking experts (and in particular, those who have been identified as Christian) in the media are the ones leading training sessions, thereby disseminating their value-laden claims to a wide audience. Furthermore, we can see the consensus grow across various levels of society: religious groups, mainstream feminist groups, politicians, police services, provincial governments, and federal government. As was demonstrated with the content of the OCEHT training, it appears that the same perspectives held by the PPM group that were present in the media, were being shared within these training sessions. During this period, the vast majority of human trafficking training programs were being created and disseminated by the Christian moral crusaders, whereby they were able to expand their constituency by building consensus across other social

groups on human trafficking and sex work based in their violence against women and religious/moral perspectives.

4. Disproportionality. Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2010) fourth criteria for defining a moral panic is the assumption that the social problem is more sizeable than it is. The authors state that within moral panics, the dissemination of statistics is extremely important, and are usually misrepresented by claims-makers. Indeed, in making claims about the social problem of human trafficking, this research has found that those within the PPM group of experts tended to inflate statistics or provide vague and misleading information. This strategy has been discussed in the previous chapter, and thus will not be presented again here. For a full list of the exaggerated claims within the media, see Appendix 5.

5. Volatility. The last of Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2010) criteria is that moral panics erupt fairly suddenly, and then disappear just as quickly. Indeed, we have seen how there was a sharp increase in articles in 2014, which suggests that it was at this time that the moral panic took off. In tracking the articles, the drastic increase is followed by a steady decline in 2015. However, Goode and Ben-Yehuda state that, while the panic can disappear, it also has the ability to make very lasting change. Cohen refers to this as *institutionalization*, wherein the moral concern results in legislation, enforcement practices, and new punishment practices which become embedded in our social institutions. Indeed, the moral panic around human trafficking led to Christian values of the religious/moral perspective and feminist values of the violence against women perspective being embedded in Canadian sex work laws through the PCEPA. To demonstrate the development of this narrative, this sub-section will present the discussion of the Nordic Model in the media as a case study.

The Case of the Nordic Model

We can conceptualize the push for the Nordic Model as evidence of social-problems activity, in which particular members of the PPM group (including, those from the Unofficial Christian Coalition) suggested the Nordic Model was the only viable solution to human trafficking. The first mention of the Nordic Model in the articles analyzed came in 2010, when Diane Matte of La Concertation des luttes contre l'exploitation sexuelle (CLES) presented the model as an option for Canadian sex work law (*Toronto Star*, 10 October 2010).⁴⁰ The Nordic Model is used to refer to the Swedish model of sex work legislation. In Sweden, prostitution is viewed as violence against women. Thus, Swedish law criminalizes the purchase of sex and (ostensibly if not in practice) decriminalizes those selling sex. Less than a month after Matte's comment on the Nordic Model, the term appeared in the media a second time. This time by Cleta Brown, counsel for the conservative Canadian Federation of University Women (*Ottawa Citizen*, 19 October 2010). And then silence – there was no mention in 2011 or 2012 in any human trafficking articles of the Nordic Model.

The term reappeared in articles starting June 2013. In order to understand this re-emergence, we turn to consider once again an important social event that was taking place that month: the *Bedford* trial in front of the Supreme Court. In a press release on the CLES website dated May 1st, 2013,⁴¹ they stated that they received notice that the Women's Coalition for the

⁴⁰ CLES' mission statement reads that it is a coalition for women who were in the sex industry who now denounce the sex industry, and that they believe that human trafficking feeds the sex industry across the world. CLES further states that prostitution is not a job, and even less so a freedom or right, and is instead an absence of choice for all women. CLES is a founding member of the Women's Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution and the Coalition to Abolish Prostitution International (CAP), which include Christian groups in their membership, such as: Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, Awaken US!, Institute of Our Lady of Mercy, and the National Board of Catholic Women. A list of CAP's members can be found here: <http://www.cap-international.org/activity/letter-from-85-ngos-calling-on-ilo-standard-setting-committee-to-refrain-from-using-language-of-sex-work-or-sex-workers-in-the-ilc-conclusions-on-ending-violence-an/>

⁴¹ <https://www.lacles.org/la-coalition-des-femmes-pour-labolition-de-la-prostitution-obtient-la-permission-d'intervenir-devant-la-cour-supreme-du-canada#more-1427>

Abolition of Prostitution (WCAP; which includes, Vancouver Rape Relief, Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, CLES, and other mainstream feminist groups) would be an intervener in the Supreme Court case. They further stated that, while the Attorney General would be “defending the status quo” for sex work legislation (full criminalization), the WCAP would be presenting a third option to the Supreme Court: the Nordic Model. After the trial was presented before the Supreme Court, Julia Beazley wrote an opinion piece also supporting the adoption of the Nordic Model in Canada (*National Post*, 17 June 2013). However, in their statement as intervener in the *Bedford* trial earlier that month, Beazley and the Evangelical Fellowship called for the full criminalization of all prostitution-related activities.⁴² In short, we see a shift in the claims made by Beazley and the Evangelical Fellowship over the course of just one month. This is important, as we can see a clear adoption in the language used by mainstream feminist groups by a prominent Canadian anti-trafficking Christian group.

By the end of 2013 (at least some) Conservative politicians were on board, with Joy Smith taking the lead in championing the Nordic Model (*National Post*, 21 December 2013). In January and February 2014, Smith was quoted in five more articles promoting the Model.⁴³ These quotes came prior to the release of Smith’s report, *The Tipping Point*,⁴⁴ that recommended the adoption of the Nordic Model in Canada as a strategy to prevent human trafficking. Joy Smith’s message on sex work in the media was the following:

Our country has to recognize that this is Canada’s oldest oppression – not profession. It’s nothing but violence against women. Plain and simple. No matter how you paint it. We have

⁴² https://www.scc-csc.ca/WebDocuments-DocumentsWeb/34788/FM085_Intervener_Evangelical.pdf

⁴³ Also during this time, former-Minister-turned-filmmaker Jared Brock (director of Red Light/Green Light), Farzana Hassan (author and human rights activist), and Heather Mallick (mainstream feminist author and columnist) all voiced their support for the Model.

⁴⁴ Full access to the report can be found here: <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/46632230/the-tipping-point-mp-joy-smith-feb-12-2014>

to target the johns, the traffickers, the people who buy sex and go after trying to make money off of innocent victims. (*National Post*, 28 April 2014)

Between April 2014 and the first reading of the PCEPA in June 2014, Peter MacKay is quoted seven times promoting the Nordic Model in Canada; Joy Smith is quoted twice more and Jared Brock once more. Throughout all these claims of the Nordic Model as a preventative tool against human trafficking between 2010 and 2014, less than half of the articles offered a competing narrative or critique (44%). After July 7th, 2014, the Model was not mentioned again.

In summation, the narrative began in 2010 with the claims of two prominent mainstream feminists in Ottawa, whom already had ties to Christianity and Christian groups (see Appendix 3). After Matte and other mainstream feminists claimed that the Nordic Model would curtail domestic sex trafficking, we can see the Model gain support from the director of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada: a group which has known ties to the Harper Conservatives (Warner, 2012). There was then a sharp increase in human trafficking articles during 2014. Over the next few months, Joy Smith released her report and we see an increase in mentions of the Nordic Model by mainstream feminists, self-identified Christians/Christian groups, and politicians (specifically, Joy Smith and Peter MacKay) leading up to the first reading of the PCEPA.

The Nordic Model, while discussed only a couple of times prior, suddenly became the focus of human trafficking articles in 2013. This drastic increase suggests that a panic around human trafficking and the sex trade quickly evolved from the claims of Christian human trafficking experts. This panic then expanded throughout the first half of 2014, so that various groups in society were now claiming human trafficking to be a social problem. From this, the Christian moral crusaders were suggesting that the solution to this threat was the Nordic Model – thus, control and regulation of the sex trade. Just as quickly as the panic evolved, it devolved;

which we can see in the decline of human trafficking articles in 2015 to 2018. Nonetheless, these Christian morals became institutionalized in the adoption of the PCEPA.

Concluding Reflections

The first two stages of Spector's and Kitsuse's natural history model include the claims-making process and the recognition of the social problem by some official institution. As such, this chapter has focused on the claims made by the majority of human trafficking experts (PPM group) within the Canadian media. In particular, this chapter has examined how the discourse around human trafficking in Canadian media demonstrates a moral panic, which evolved out of the claims-making activities of moral crusaders: The Unofficial Christian Coalition. By looking at the claims that police officers, politicians, and mainstream feminists were making about human trafficking, we can see how and why they were rooted in ideas of moral regulation and anti-oppression. Indeed, a group of 23 human trafficking experts within the PPM group have been identified as allowing their understanding of trafficking to be influenced by their Christian morals. This chapter has explored the socio-political context through which this panic emerged. Although it was not possible for this research to examine all of the potential triggers for this panic, three that seem particularly relevant were the *Bedford* decision, an increase in national religious conferences, and Train-the-Trainer programs. This chapter has ended with a discussion of the Nordic Model in Canada, which shows the beginning stages of the official recognition of the Canadian government of human trafficking as a social problem, through the process of adopting the PCEPA.

Chapter Six

Media Manipulation of the Narrative

The media played an integral role in the creation of human trafficking first as a social problem, and then as a moral panic. The previous chapter has demonstrated how the claims made by Christian moral crusaders led to a moral panic against human trafficking. However, the media influenced the narrative by controlling two important elements: *What story was being told*, and, *who was telling the story*. As such the media acted as both primary and secondary claims-makers (Loseke, 2019). These two elements will be addressed in the following sections.

Media, The Creator

Based on the evidence of this research, it appears that some journalists were instrumental in determining which human trafficking narrative was disseminated to the public. In doing so, the media were implicated in the social problems process as primary claims-makers (Loseke, 2019). Primary claims-makers within the media were those reporters and journalists who conveyed their own values on human trafficking. This was usually done in the form of editorials and opinion pieces. Therefore, these journalists did not provide quotes from experts. Between 2008 and 2018, there were 20 editorials written by journalists on human trafficking. Of these, 75% expressed both violence against women and religious/moral perspectives, versus 25% who took a human rights perspective. These statistics suggest that the Canadian media provided more space to those who held a violence against women and religious/moral perspective.

Between these two groups of journalists (the 75% versus the 25%) there appeared to be a clear distinction between the sources of their information. For the 75% who reproduced the violence against women and religious/moral perspectives, references were made exclusively to those within the Unofficial Christian Coalition (see Appendix 3). Barbara Kay mentioned

Benjamin Perrin's book, *Invisible Chains*, and his report, *Oldest Profession or Oldest Oppression?*; Tania Fiolleau's book, *Souled Out*; Tara Teng's and Tania Fiolleau's *Ignite the Road to Justice Mission*; and, Joy Smith's *The Tipping Point* (*National Post*, 29 September 2010, 6 October 2010, 3 August 2011, 21 December 2013). Further, two other articles by different journalists referred to Melissa Farley's *Violence Against Women* study (Jerry Agar, *Toronto Sun*, 31 December 2013; Warren Kinsella, *Toronto Sun*, 12 January 2014). Alternatively, those who took a human rights position referred to the Supreme Court *Bedford* decision, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a letter signed by 300 Canadian academics denouncing the Nordic Model, and a graphic novel called *Paying for It* by Chester Brown, a sex work client (Alan Shanoff, *Toronto Sun*, 29 June 2014; Anthony Furey, *Toronto Sun*, 21 December 2013, 1 March 2014, 7 June 2014; William Watson, *Ottawa Citizen*, 15 July 2014).

Based on the tactics used by the majority of journalists (i.e. those who expressed both the violence against women and religious/moral perspectives), they appear to have engaged in the emergence of the moral crusade against human trafficking alongside the Unofficial Christian Coalition. The tactics will be discussed in the following sections.

Violence Against Women Perspective

In taking the violence against women perspective, journalist claims-makers constituted women in the sex industry as passive, used vague statistics, presented exaggerated hypotheticals, shifted the focus from international to domestic trafficking, and emphasized a need for increased surveillance. However, journalist claims-makers were most likely to construct women as passive, followed by presenting exaggerated hypotheticals, and relying on vague statistics (see Appendix 2). This section will focus on these three key tactics.

In constructing women as passive, journalist claims-makers often denied that women in the sex trade have choice and relied on the compound ‘women and girls.’ For instance, Barbara Kay of the *National Post* asserted that, “such women, neither autonomous nor opportunistic, are victims of circumstances who haven’t the luxury of choice” (*National Post*, 6 October 2010). In a similar example, Heather Mallick of the *Toronto Star* wrote:

I understand the economic argument and in unequal times, I know that ambitious people can do better than working at McDonald’s but truly, is it better to sell meat or be the meat? No one should feel driven into that decision. Accepting prostitution isn’t good for us, or for prostitutes. There’s no future in it, and the present is vile. (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014)

In one final example, feminist journalist Farzana Hassam drew comparisons between sex work and human trafficking in the following passage:

They lack the skills or opportunities to take up other work, so they are either driven by necessity to sell sex or are trafficked by others who find this a profitable business. Some of them are trafficked into Canada. Legalizing the industry may cause it to proliferate, and legitimize all the travesties that occur in the ‘oldest’ profession. (*Toronto Sun*, 21 February 2014)

This final quote is interesting as it highlights the diversity in positions within the anti-oppression perspective. Although Hassam makes a distinction between sex work and trafficking, she nonetheless claims that sex workers are “driven by necessity” thereby implying they would not otherwise choose this line of work. Thus, Hassam’s assertion falls within the violence against women perspective because she is claiming that women are “driven” into the trade; not that they are choosing this line of work. In all these examples, the journalist claims-makers either explicitly state that sex workers do not have choice in their profession, or it is implied by, for

example, likening sex workers with “meat” to be sold. Furthermore, these journalist claims-makers employed infantilizing language, for instance, when Kay stated that “prostitution is harmful to girls and women” (*National Post*, 21 December 2013). The proclivity to combine these two tactics – highlighting a lack of choice and referring to ‘women and children’ – was also evident in a comment made by *Ottawa Sun* reporter, Charles Adler, after sharing a story about sex trafficking:

That's just the blatant cases of exploitation, not the everyday exploitation that takes place for most prostitutes. Pimps are human traffickers too, and legalizing brothels makes it easier to buy and sell women and children through the back door. (*Ottawa Sun*, 30 March 2012)

While this passage is clearly infantilizing, Adler’s use of the term ‘most’ demonstrates another common trend among journalist claims-makers. When acting as primary claims-makers, they made vague reference of ‘most’ instead of reproducing actual statistics. For example:

Most women cannot be said to ‘choose’ a line of work they have been forced into, and find so disgusting, most of them need drugs to numb their misery (assuming they weren’t addicts beforehand). (Barbara Kay, *National Post*, 3 August 2011)

The term ‘most’ was used repeatedly, as were its synonyms (e.g., many, the majority, multiple) to imply that the number of women forced into sex trafficking was high, despite a lack of statistical evidence. Indeed, evoking the trope of sex worker as mentally ill that we have already seen in the statements of Joy Smith, Benjamin Skinner opined of sex workers that, “many experienced blackouts and memory loss, complicating depositions against their traffickers. Most suffered depression; some tried to kill themselves” (*National Post*, 3 July 2008).

Finally, it appeared as though these journalist claims-makers were referring to sensational hypotheticals to support their claims; likely due, in part, to the aforementioned lack of statistics.

For instance, Kay drew a link between grocery shopping and sex work:

Now our society is divided between traditionalists and moral relativists who regard prostitution as, in the Court of Appeal's affirmation, a 'lawful commercial activity,' presumably like grocery stores, even though violence, drugs and sexual abuse of minors do not go hand-in-hand with the sale of avocados, while they are invariable components of the sex trade, legal or otherwise. (*National Post*, 30 January 2014)

Through this passage, Kay was presenting an exaggerated hypothetical at the same time as she implied that "violence, drugs and sexual abuse of minors" are inevitable conditions of sex work.

In a similar comment, Mallick suggested that sex work was comparable to sitting on a knife:

'Sex work' sounds nice in theory but try living the life. The idea that spending one's days and nights being entered, tugged, slammed, prodded and mauled – in other words sex but not in a fun way – is mundane strikes me as absurd. It's like sitting on a knife instead of a chair and pretending you're just as comfortable. (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014)

Again, Mallick was drawing an exaggerated hypothetical and implying that violence is unavoidable in the trade – through the dramatized terms "entered, tugged, slammed, prodded and mauled." These over-exaggerated metaphors – comparing sex work to purchasing avocados or sitting on a knife – are particularly interesting, as neither journalist has experience as a sex worker, nor did they, it would appear, interview any sex workers for their articles. Given the lack of statistics, no quotes from sex workers, and no experience working in the trade, these claims can safely be characterized as purely speculative. It would seem that journalist claims-makers had a good understanding of which anecdotes would be compelling to readers. Thus, they

provided dramatic details in order to demonstrate that sex work should be viewed as socially undesirable; while simultaneously masking the missing statistics or real experiences of Canadian sex workers.

This section has provided an overview of the strategies used by journalist claims-makers that fall under the abolitionist position to human trafficking. In their editorials and opinion pieces they utilized the same strategies as those in the PPM group of experts. The following section will now turn to the passages of journalist claims-makers which fell within the moral regulation perspective. Similar to the abolitionist strategies, journalist claims-makers tended to use the same strategies as PPM experts within this perspective.

Religious/Moral Perspective

The same group of journalist claims-makers discussed above, also employed tactics in the religious/moral regulation perspective. The main tactic that emerged in the statements of journalist claims-makers in this perspective was to evoke the sanctity of sex. In doing so, they pointed to sex work as being a harm to society and used terms such as ‘degrading’ to describe the trade. As was seen with those in the PPM group, sex work was framed as being a threat to Canada’s values and society as a whole. Indeed, according to Charles Adler, “prostitution is not a profession - it's an affliction” (*Ottawa Sun*, 30 March 2012). In one instance, Heather Mallick spoke about this threat of sex work in Canada:

Think about it. Toronto could end up with brothels. So could Kamloops and Gimli, imagine that. No, think about it harder. The house next door – or the condo one thin wall away – could legally welcome men buying sex, you’d have to share the elevator with them, your children would pass them in the street. (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014)

These types of statements suggest that legal sex work is some sort virus that, if left unchecked, could seep through your walls and into the very fabric of society. In other cases, journalist claims-makers used terms such as ‘degrading,’ ‘shameful,’ and ‘dehumanizing’ when discussing the sex trade. For instance, Kay described ‘prostitution’ as “a dehumanizing and morally degraded behaviour” (*National Post*, 6 October 2010). In another of her articles, Kay suggested:

The danger to prostitutes will continue, because the kind of men who frequent prostitutes and the kind of men who control them don’t have a lot of respect for them on the whole. Nor should they. Being a prostitute is a shameful, indecent activity, and any sex worker who demands respect as a matter of course is fooling herself. She is not respectable. (*National Post*, 29 September 2010)

In 2013, Kay speculated on the lives of sex workers when she stated that they are “so disgusted by what they do, they become drug addicts to numb the pain of their shame” (*National Post*, 21 December 2013). Mallick drew a similar conclusion when she stated that, “prostitution is degrading and damaging. We should try to end it, even if that turns out to be not entirely possible. Canada is better than this” (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014). Mallick then endeavoured to bolster her claim with the following speculation:

Sex is our moment of greatest vulnerability. We are naked forked animals and we do things at the fork. We strip and show ourselves to each other, lost in the moment, hoping we won’t be mocked. We kiss. Prostitutes generally do not kiss. Most women set a certain limit beyond which, when they are working, they will not go. They dehumanize themselves slightly, distancing themselves from what is done to them. If they didn’t, they couldn’t survive. It would be too raw. It would be too much like real sex, fork to fork. (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014)

In the above statement, we can see Mallick differentiating “real sex” from the “dehumanizing” sex within the trade. There appears to be a distinction here between good and bad sexual behaviour, which is reminiscent of the laws of Christian morality. Most notably, the belief that “sex is a gift from God to be treated with love and respect – not something to be sold or bought.”⁴⁵ In her editorial – after interviewing people in Amsterdam, Sweden, and Berlin – Mallick concluded that, “the Nordic Model is the best for Canada ... because I yearned to get back to a country that says that people shouldn’t have to massively degrade themselves for money” (*Toronto Star*, 31 May 2014). In this statement, the use of the term “shouldn’t” suggests that Mallick viewed her role – Canada’s role – as directing the behaviours of the morally inferior. It is the perceived duty of the moral crusader to encourage the adoption of their values so that those beneath them (in this case, the sex workers) can be better citizens. Indeed, Mallick’s (as well as other claims-making journalists) preferred method to do so is by adopting the Nordic Model.

Although there were significantly fewer journalists who acted as moral crusaders than other experts, they nonetheless appeared to use their position within the media to share their values. Having access to a wide audience and knowing how to express claims that resonate in the public makes them important to the success of a social problem (Spector & Kitsuse, 1968). Thus, these journalist claims-makers played an invaluable role to the success of the moral crusade. We now turn to look at how the Canadian media acted as secondary claims-makers.

⁴⁵ Living Counter Culturally: Prostitution Talk Sheet (2012). The Salvation Army.
https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/sites/default/files/uploads/20171101tsa_talksheet8_prostitution2017.pdf

Changing the Narrative

In acting as secondary claims-makers, the media determined which experts were quoted, how much space given to each expert, and how the experts were presented. As mentioned in Chapter 3, The Explanatory Critique, mainstream feminists were the largest group of experts quoted in the media, followed by police officers, alternative feminists, and then politicians. However, when looking at the number of times individuals from each group were quoted, mainstream feminists were the most represented (N=351), followed by police officers (N=298), politicians (N=191), and finally, alternative feminists (N=141). These statistics suggest that the media provided more space to those who expressed violence against women and religious/moral perspectives. Moreover, a gendered dimension was explicit, wherein 77% of police officers and 58% of politicians quoted were male, whereas 100% of those who identified as human trafficking were female. In short, the media was actively creating a narrative of women needing to be rescued and protected by police officers and politicians.

In looking at the content of these articles, it appears that the media had a role in shifting the focus of the human trafficking discussion. Although research has shown that human trafficking has been perceived as a growing issue in the Canadian public for the past two decades, a specific concern emerged during the period of study. This ‘new’⁴⁶ conception of human trafficking first relied on differentiating *domestic* trafficking from *international* trafficking, and second, on suggesting that domestic trafficking was more prevalent than

⁴⁶ The exact timeline for the emergence of ‘domestic trafficking’ is difficult to establish. The UN included the term in their 2012 Global Report on Human Trafficking, in which they stated they were measuring it since 2007. In Canada, there was a focus on immigration and trafficking until approximately 2012, when the National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking stated that, in Canada, “over 90% of cases involve domestic trafficking; the remaining, less than 10% involved people being brought into Canada from another country” (p.8). Further research is required into this term.

international trafficking.⁴⁷ Here we see a shift from a preoccupation with international law, foreign policy, immigration law, and border security to focusing on the domestic sex trade. In this sense, the threat shifted from ‘them’ – Asian and Eastern European women coming into Canada – to ‘us’ – Canadian women and girls being forced into prostitution. Indeed, there was a clear transition in 2013 away from international human trafficking and toward domestic incidents. This research found that international trafficking featured prominently up until 2012; in 2012 we see the highest use of the term ‘foreign’ in relation to human trafficking (see Jeffrey [2005] for this phenomenon in the U.S. following the 9/11 period). Not only did the term ‘foreign’ peak in 2012, but the term ‘pimp’ more than doubled (from 6 to 15) between 2011 and 2012. This increase in the terms ‘foreign’ and ‘pimp’ suggests a strong link between the concepts of immigrant women and the sex trade. Indeed, between 2008 and 2012, the media focused on women from abroad, particularly from Eastern Europe, being coerced into the sex trade in Canada. Other forms of human trafficking (such as, for unpaid labour) were only mentioned in seven articles (0.04%), and all of these were before the Supreme Court *Bedford* decision in 2013.

The aforementioned shift in the media discourse occurred in 2013 and 2014. There was a sharp increase in articles published on human trafficking in 2014 (from 17 to 44) and the average use of the term ‘prostitution’ per article increased from six in 2012, to nine in 2013, and then 11 in 2014. As we have seen, discussions surrounding the *Bedford* decision emerged in 2014 and debates over the Nordic Model became central to human trafficking articles. At this time, terms linked to international trafficking stopped appearing in the media, and instead the terms ‘sex

⁴⁷ The National Strategy to Combat Human Trafficking defines domestic vs. international trafficking. International: Involves someone, who in the process of being trafficked crosses an international border, regardless of the victim’s immigration status. The legality or illegality of border crossing in this case is irrelevant. Domestic: Is the phenomenon in which all stages of trafficking occur within Canada regardless of the victim’s legal status. Vulnerable, economically challenged and socially dislocated sectors of the Canadian population represent a potential pool of domestic trafficking victims (RCMP, 2012).

trafficking' and 'pimp' increased dramatically (see Appendix 1 for a complete list of important terms and their usage over time). The narrative before 2014 claimed that:

Thousands of women are being coerced into joining a thriving Canadian sex trade that almost never results in any criminal charges, according to the RCMP... Foreign women are often lured to Canada with promises of legitimate jobs. (*Globe and Mail*, 14 September 2010).

The following passage demonstrates a shift in 2013, where we began to see the inclusion of domestic trafficking alongside international trafficking:

Human trafficking conjures up images of Thai teenagers brought to Canada to work as prostitutes, massage parlour attendants or strippers. But human trafficking victims don't have to be smuggled across oceans or provincial boundaries. Victims can be moved from Toronto to Mississauga, from one hotel to another. (*Toronto Star*, 5 October 2013).

Throughout 2013, the idea of domestic trafficking grew until the concept of international trafficking all but disappeared from the media: "In North American cities such as Ottawa, the bulk of human trafficking is domestic" (*Ottawa Citizen*, 4 February 2014). This transition in focus suggests a strategic shift in the language used in human trafficking articles.

The increase in articles that were published in 2014 suggests that the Canadian media was amplifying the moral panic by stoking fear within the public (Cohen, 2011/1971). Moral panic amplification inundates the public with information about a social problem which gives the impression that it is suddenly at catastrophic levels. Furthermore, the media commonly misrepresented the information in these articles. Oftentimes, articles would say 'human trafficking' in the title or within the first paragraph, and then transition to only use 'sex trafficking' in the remainder of the article. The way the information was being conveyed implied

that these forms of sexual violence are inherent in the sex trade and that sexual assault is itself human trafficking. During this period, the experts who were most quoted included Joy Smith, Peter McKay, and Jared Brock; all members of the Unofficial Christian Coalition. Although the period following the *Bedford* decision and leading up to adoption of the PCEPA was particularly glaring, the media had been making this choice since 2008. Indeed, the Christian moral crusaders were quoted more frequently than any other group of experts. Although they were a group of 23 individuals, they were quoted 279 times as human trafficking experts between 2008 and 2018. For comparison, there were 39 alternative feminist experts in the media, and they were quoted 141 times during this time period. This suggests that the moral-based Christian narrative was given more credence by the Canadian media than any competing narratives.

Concluding Reflections

In this chapter we saw that the media was central to the creation, dissemination, and amplification of the human trafficking moral panic. In doing so, the media acted as both primary and secondary claims-makers. In both cases, the media has the final say in which narrative is shared with the public and who is telling the story. For this research, the media appears to have acted as moral crusaders by taking a reproducing the narrative of the Unofficial Christian Coalition position and by choosing to amplify the voices of others in the Coalition, while (perhaps unintentionally) silencing alternate perspectives by denying them both legitimacy and discursive space.

Conclusion

Moving Forward from a Moral Crusade

This thesis examined the dominant discourse on human trafficking as it was presented in the Canadian media between 2008 and 2018. These findings demonstrate the various claims-makers that participated in the emergence of human trafficking as a social problem. These claims-makers can be categorized by three social groups: police officers, politicians, and mainstream feminists. Claims-makers from within these groups appear to have acted as moral crusaders, thereby leading a crusade against trafficking and sparking a moral panic in the public. A notable number of these crusaders have been identified as having ties to Christian ideas of morality, which appear to have shaped their understanding of human trafficking; most notably, ideas about regulating sexual behaviours. Therefore, this study suggests that these 23 moral crusaders, from different social groups, formed an Unofficial Christian Coalition and were instrumental in tying the sex trade to ideas of human trafficking. This link likely played a facilitating role in the adoption of a modified and watered-down version of the Nordic Model of sex work laws in Canada (PCEPA).

Using newspaper articles as a data source for this analysis, it became evident that the media assisted in this social problem making process. In acting as primary claims-makers, journalists took advantage of their platform to share their personal values on the topic. While looking at these opinion pieces and editorials, the same perspectives and tactics emerged as were expressed by the police, politicians, and mainstream feminists. As such, the majority of journalists aligned with these experts, assisting the Unofficial Christian Coalition consensus building process. As secondary claims-makers, reporters were able to choose who to quote, how often to quote them, and how to present the quotes. In these instances, the media provided more

space to the quotes of police officers, politicians, and mainstream feminists. Furthermore, the media appeared to favour the 23 Christian moral crusaders by quoting them more than any single group of experts. It is important to note that there were no politicians speaking on behalf of the alternative feminists in the media. This is not to say that there are not (or were not) any politicians who disagreed with the Conservative's PCEPA; instead, this suggests that the media chose not to include these voices.

The blatant lack of journalistic objectivity and oversight which emerged from this research is particularly troubling. All but four daily newspapers in Ontario are owned by the same right-leaning American conglomerate (PostMedia), who also own roughly half (38/77) of all daily newspapers in Canada, thus reiterating the same narratives across the country. It is evident based on the findings of this research that journalists are not reporting objectively on the topic of human trafficking in Canada. Instead, the vast majority of journalists supported and reproduced the narrative that was being shared by the Unofficial Christian Coalition. For some (i.e. Barbara Kay) it was clear that their moral values aligned with those of the Coalition. For other journalists, it was not as immediately apparent; in particular, when they were acting as secondary claims-makers. In these instances, the reader was receiving the UCC's message more often than they were any competing narrative because of the journalists' writing and editing choices.

Further, the very presentation of the narrative in the media likely had an effect on how readers were processing the information. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the media presented the narrative of the Unofficial Christian Coalition first as the leading story of the article. In instances when there was a competing narrative included, it was almost exclusively relegated to the last paragraph of the article. There was very little information in support of the

alternate narrative, nor was there legitimate discussion between the two ideas. Thus, aside from simply seeing more information about the UCC narrative, the public was receiving a message that the alternative narrative was not worthy of further consideration. By constantly being subjected to the final few sentences, the alternative narrative was cast aside by journalists as only a footnote in the conversation.

This research contributes to our overall understanding of how human trafficking is discussed in Canada, and by who. There has been significant research from the United States exploring the creation and use of the human trafficking discourse, however, it is an area that remains under-developed in Canada. The aim for this research was to build from what has been done in Canada, and to broaden the discussion by asking who, aside from the government, has been influencing the dominant human trafficking narrative. Indeed, earlier research has focused almost entirely on the Conservative government's anti-trafficking narrative. The current findings suggest that the narrative in Canada is indicative of yet another moral crusade in a long line of political movements planted in conservative values and Christian morality, for instance: alcohol temperance in the 1920s (Bradburn, 2018), the War on Drugs under Brian Mulroney in the 1980s (Maynard, 2017), and the fear of juvenile delinquency in the 1990s (Schissel, 1997), to name a few. However, what is interesting about the human trafficking moral panic, is that its success is due in large part to actors *outside* the government.

Although the strategic placement of particular individuals within the Conservative government appeared invaluable (primarily, Joy Smith and Benjamin Perrin), the discourse was shaped and disseminated by moral crusaders within the public and through the media. What is particularly striking about this Unofficial Christian Coalition, is that specific high-ranking political officials (including the Prime Minister himself, Stephen Harper, Joy Smith, Peter

McKay, and Benjamin Perrin) took advantage of their positions to enact a highly paternalistic, reductive, and harmful policy based on a specific religious vision. Indeed, this legislation was not the work of the Conservative government; instead, it was the aligning of influential decision-makers with Christian and social conservative anti-trafficking activists to advance a shared Christian moral perspective. They were successful in institutionalizing their morals within Canadian legislation through the PCEPA.

Furthermore, by targeting sex trafficking specifically, the Unofficial Christian Coalition was making it clear that women were their object of concern. Through constant comments about rescuing women, protecting young girls, and avoiding harm to society, the Unofficial Christian Coalition made women in the sex trade their subjects of anti-human trafficking projects. By examining these comments in relation to ideas of Christian morality, it became evident that the anti-trafficking movement was rooted in a desire to keep women and sex in their place; that is, in the nuclear home. This resulted in a piece of oppressive legislation aimed at keeping women within the socially acceptable confines of a heterosexual monogamous relationship. Steeped in moral and patriarchal ideas, the PCEPA was the culmination of a strategic crusade against sex trafficking aimed at restricting women's freedom.

Recommendations for Future Research

Tracing the human trafficking discourse has provided insight into the dominant narrative that has influenced a variety of social control instruments; including, policing practices of both sex work and human trafficking, sex work legislation, and human trafficking policies and procedures (such as, the *National Human Trafficking Action Plan*). This research has opened a space to investigate the lasting impacts of the claims made by these moral crusaders. Thus, further research can be done into the post-2015 period. Specifically, in analysing the effects of

new leadership within federal government on the regulation of sex work and human trafficking. During the completion of this research study, the Liberal government had released its update⁴⁸ to the Conservative government's *National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking* (which had expired in 2016). As such, further investigation is required to examine whether the Liberal government has lived up to their promise of addressing the PCEPA or, if the patterns created by the moral crusaders in 2014 continue to shape our dominant human trafficking narrative today, and by association, our sex work legislation.

⁴⁸ Public Safety Canada (2019). *National Strategy to Combat Human Trafficking 2019-2024*. <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/2019-ntnl-strtg-hmnn-trffc/index-en.aspx>

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Appendix

Appendix 1.

Progression of key terms from 2008 to 2018 by article usage and total word count.

		Traffick*	Prostitution	Pimp*	Domestic	International	Foreign
2008	<i>By article:**</i>	6	6	3	2	3	1
(N=6) †	<i>Word count:</i>	31	64	4	2	3	1
2009	<i>By article:**</i>	12	11	4	1	5	3
(N=12) †	<i>Word count:</i>	116	39	5	1	5	4
2010	<i>By article:**</i>	15	15	7	-	-	1
(N=15) †	<i>Word count:</i>	70	111	20	-	-	1
2011	<i>By article:**</i>	10	10	4	1	1	2
(N=10) †	<i>Word count:</i>	68	73	6	1	1	2
2012	<i>By article:**</i>	15	15	7	3	2	4
(N=15) †	<i>Word count:</i>	72	88	15	3	2	23
2013	<i>By article:**</i>	20	17	8	2	3	4
(N=20) †	<i>Word count:</i>	98	169	35	6	4	6
2014	<i>By article:**</i>	44	44	31	2	3	3
(N=44) †	<i>Word count:</i>	230	484	90	3	5	5
2015	<i>By article:**</i>	21	15	15	4	3	3
(N=21) †	<i>Word count:</i>	148	47	49	8	6	4
2016	<i>By article:**</i>	11	8	8	1	-	-
(N=11) †	<i>Word count:</i>	93	27	37	1	-	-
2017	<i>By article:**</i>	7	5	5	1	-	-
(N=7) †	<i>Word count:</i>	102	9	21	3	-	-
2018	<i>By article:**</i>	3	1	2	-	-	-
(N=3) †	<i>Word count:</i>	3	4	9	-	-	-

† Total number of human trafficking articles that were analysed for the purposes of this paper per year.

** Total number of articles per year that utilized the key term.

Appendix 2.

Comparison of major tactics within the anti-oppression and moral regulation perspectives.

	Mainstream Feminists	CJS Officials	Politicians	Christian Groups
	N=	N=	N=	N=
<i>Anti-Oppression Perspective:</i>				
Women as Passive	75	75	44	7
Vague Statistics	75	73	26	7
Appeal to Extreme Cases	48	23	7	2
International Trafficking	18	18	13	9
Sex Work as Inherently Exploitative	45	19	41	7
Focus on Sex Trafficking	60	68	41	8
Increase Surveillance	28	106	33	-
<i>Moral Regulation Perspective</i>				
Sanctity of Sex	17	5	14	4
Happy Ending	14	1	1	-
Good Girl Trope	11	11	7	-

Educating the Non-Believer	10	7	12	2
Church and State	9	-	3	7
NIMBY	6	14	6	4

Appendix 3.

Canadian Human Trafficking Experts and Sex Work Experts whom have Christian Affiliation

<i>Expert:</i>	<i>Organization or Affiliation:</i>	<i>Evidence of a Christian perspective on their approach to human trafficking:</i>	<i>Bill C-36 Hearing:</i>	<i>Media Expert:</i>
Benjamin Perrin	Former advisor to Stephen Harper, author of <i>Invisible Chains</i>	“The same Jesus who I follow laid his hands on lepers when no one else would even come near them. Are more professing Christians willing to similarly love and care for people...?” ^{vi}		✓
Brian McConoghy	Ratanak International	Describes itself as a Christ-Centred organization: “We believe that Jesus Christ is our source and guide in all we do.” ⁱⁱⁱ	✓	
Casandra Diamond	BridgeNorth	BridgeNorth’s first value is “Faith: We believe freedom comes through the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.” ⁱⁱⁱ	✓	✓
David Batstone	Not for Sale	“They need help from people of every vocation working together to free the captives. This is the message I am taking to Christian colleges: Use your vocation for God’s service – everywhere is a mission field. How will you respond to slavery?” ^{iv}		✓
Deborah Pond	U-R Home	A faith-based, grassroots organization part of a Newmarket, Ontario-based church. ^v	✓	
Ed Smith	Freedom Catalyst, Shared Hope Intl, War Against Trafficking Alliance	Freedom Catalyst’s mission: “Motivated by the dynamic love of Jesus to seek justice and defend the cause of the oppressed.” ^{vi}	✓	
Georgiale Lang	Church of Vancouver	Author for Church of Vancouver, counsel to Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and member of the Evangelical Broadway Church in Vancouver. ^{vii}	✓	
Glendene Grant	Mothers Against Trafficking Humans	Keynote speaker at the Anglican Women’s Network Human Trafficking Conference 2014, Ignite the Road to Justice Mission Tour 2011. ^{viii}	✓	✓
Glendyne Gerrard	The Christian and Missionary Alliance	“The Alliance is an Evangelical Protestant denomination within the holiness movement of Christianity.” ^{ix}	✓	
Gwendoline Allison	Church of Vancouver	Identified as being part of the “local Christian community who take anti-trafficking seriously.” She “spoke with Deacon Pedro Guevara-Mann of Salt and Light Media in an hour-long video.” ^x	✓	
Heather Dukes	Women’s Connection	“Northern connection is the place where we come together to share, pray, and encourage. And we are going to grow together, fight for each other and serve the lost. We are going to live as women who are the hands and feet and heart of Jesus.” ^{xi}	✓	
Hilla Kerner	Vancouver Rape Relief	VRP “teams up” with a Pastor from Tenth Church at the Montreal Massacre Memorial Jan. 2015. The VRP “weaves seamlessly with the church’s emphasis on social justice; it has been working to	✓	✓

		help Canada rewrite its prostitution laws in an effort to protect the victims of sex trafficking.” ^{xii}		
Jacqui Linder	Chrysalis	“I was born and raised a Catholic even though I don’t go to church on a regular basis but having a sense of sacred purpose helps me keep the light lit in the darkness. It is not just my survivor mission but the highest form of prayer in action.” ^{xiii}	✓	
Jared Brock	Hope for Sold	“With a background in ministry and marketing, Jared is the creative force working behind the scenes via web and social media, and on-stage at conferences and speaking engagements.” Jared is now the author of <i>A Year of Living Prayerfully</i> . ^{xiv}	✓	✓
John Cassells	SIM Canada (Serving in Mission)	“Convinced that no one should live and die without hearing God’s good news, we believe that He has called us to make disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ in communities where he is least known.” ^{xv}	✓	
Jolene Stowell	All Saints Community Centre	Jolene founded and runs the sex workers’ drop-in program at the church. ^{xvi}		✓
Joy Smith	Former MP, the Joy Smith Foundation	“Basically everything I’ve ever done has been based on the faith I have in God... And I’ve always called upon God to give me direction on what to do.” ^{xvii}		✓
Julia Beazley	Evangelical Fellowship of Canada	“God calls us to care for the vulnerable. He commands his people to ‘seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, plead for the widow (Isaiah 1:17-18). God sees and hears the suffering of the oppressed: he does not ignore the cry of the afflicted’ (Psalm 9:12b).” ^{xviii}	✓	✓
Karen Hamilton	Canadian Council of Churches	“It is a tragedy that so many of us know so little about this practice that is akin to slavery. It is an ancient abuse of God’s beloved ones but it is also so modern, so much a part of our contemporary time and place.” ^{xix}		✓
Katarina MacLeod	Rising Angels	RA has partnered with Defend Dignity and the EFC in townhalls to oppose prostitution. Former prostitute Katarina MacLeod, who regularly speaks to police diversion programs or “john” schools, has posted that in 2011 she “embraced the Christian faith and gave control of her life over to God . . . and consistently seeks God’s direction in her work.” (TS, 15 July 2014).	✓	✓
Kate Quinn	CEASE: Centre to End All Sexual Exploitation	CEASE was born out of Edmonton City Centre Church Corporation (now E4C) and Catholic Social Services. ^{xx}	✓	✓
Keira Smith-Tague	Vancouver Rape Relief	<i>See Hilla Kerner</i>	✓	
Larissa Crack	Women’s Connection	<i>See Heather Duke</i>	✓	
Larissa Maxwell	Deborah’s Gate, Salvation Army	“Our vision is to give back to these women what has been taken away from them.” She then quotes Joel 2:25, where God, through the Old Testament prophet, promises: “I will restore to you the years that the locust has eaten.” ^{xxi}		✓
Laurie Scott	Ontario MPP	Scott was among the 58 MPPs on June 12, 2008 who voted in favour of beginning each Assembly meeting day by reciting the Lord’s Prayer, followed		✓

		by another prayers, verse, passage, or moment of silence. ^{xxii}		
Linda Smith	Freedom Catalyst, Shared Hope Intl, War Against Trafficking Alliance	“As Christian abolitionists we believe trafficking survivors deserve the opportunity to be restored to dignity and purpose... As Christian leaders we seek to inspire change by informing and empowering activists, providing strategic guidance to local shelter and service partners, and influencing policy makers and first responders.” ^{xxiii}	✓	
Marina Giacomini	Servants Anonymous Society (Now, the Service Anonymous Foundation)	“The SA Foundation is a Christian organization that delivers programs that are based on the principles of servanthood, personal recovery and community. Our long-term objective is that no person be enslaved by, or trapped in the sex trade.” ^{xxiv}	✓	
Melissa Farley	<i>Nefarious: Merchant of Souls</i>	<i>Nefarious: Merchant of Souls</i> is 2011 documentary about sex trafficking presented from “a Christian worldview.” Collaborators include Victor Malarek, Melissa Farley, Kajsa Whalberg, and other Christian missionaries.		✓
Michelle Brock	Hope for Sold	Michelle writes on her website: “When I was twenty, I learned about human trafficking at the Catalyst conference in Atlanta, driving me to write and make documentaries. I’m also a Christian.” ^{xxv}	✓	
Michelle Miller	REED (Resist Exploitation, Embrace Dignity)	REED says it “seeks to end trafficking and sexual exploitation and strengthen the anti-trafficking movement through a comprehensive approach to change in the radical tradition of Christ.” ^{xxvi}	✓	✓
Natasha Falle	Sex Trafficking Survivors United, Sextrade101	“Today God has brought me to my purpose in life... Today I give my energy to rescue others from prostitution. I am a director of a ministry that helps girls to get out of the sex trade.” ^{xxvii}	✓	✓
Peter MacKay	Minister of Justice and Attorney General, 2013-2015	Self-identified as Presbyterian. MacKay has made many comments about attending Church and the importance of it. ^{xxviii}		
Shae Invidiata	Free-Them	“If you believe we are all created by God, every person is a brother or sister of God. I can remember sitting in my room... I had this burden to obey. There was this call that I really felt God saying to me, these are my daughters, and no one is there for them.” ^{xxix}		✓
Tania Fiolleau	Save the Women Ministry Intl	“Tania was changed by the redemptive power of Jesus Christ and she is now a Global advocate against human trafficking.” ^{xxx}		✓
Tara Teng	Joy Smith Foundation	“Her advocacy work has helped to pass new laws in Canada that protect victims of human trafficking... Tara works in the intersection of faith and feminism, justice and embodiment.” ^{xxxi}		✓
Terrilee Kelford	PACT-Ottawa	PACT-Ottawa offers a weekly prayers meeting “to come together to pray for the trafficked people.” The director of education attends a conference at the Vatican “looking at how to concretely implement the Pastoral Orientations on Human Trafficking of the Church.” ^{xxxii}		✓

Timea Nagy	Walk With Me Canada	“Canada gave me a second chance, and I did not take it for granted. I wake up every morning for the last 18 years and thank God for letting me be a part of the most amazing nation the world has ever seen.” ^{xxxiii}	✓	✓
Trisha Baptie	Exploited Voices Now Educating	Trisha Baptie has said her “life is based on two things: one, a truth – Jesus loves me; and one thing he said – take care of the poor, widows and orphans.” ^{xxxiv}	✓	✓
Victor Malarek	Author of <i>The Natashas</i> and <i>The Johns</i>	“I’m a very spiritual person. I think about fighting the fight. I think I’m put here with a sword in my hand to do something good, but I think that all came from my early years (growing up as a Ukrainian Christian) and I still have it.” His work is identified as “so evangelical. It’s profoundly Christian.” ^{xxxv} (see also <i>Melissa Farley</i>).		✓

Appendix 4.

A collection of key moments in 2008 - 2018 that highlight the Unofficial Christian Coalition

<i>Human Trafficking Expert Involvement:</i>		
March 20 th , 2009	Not For Sale Presentation	American Evangelical Christian David Batstone gave a presentation in Ottawa, jointly hosted by PACT-Ottawa and the Canadian Religious Conference. Batstone said he scheduled the Ontario tour to coincide with the launch of Benjamin Perrin’s <i>Slavery Map</i> , as well as the second reading of Joy Smith’s Bill C-268 (OC, 23 March 2009).
September 24 th , 2010	Release of 100 Huntley Street’s Report on Human Trafficking	Featured in the report: Timea Nagy, Naomi Baker (Christian abolitionist, Canada Fights Human Trafficking), Joy Smith, Rochelle McAlister (Salvation Army). ^{xxxvi}
October 16 th , 2010	Honouring Heroes Award Ceremony	Brian McConaghy, Natasha Falle and Timea Nagy were honoured by Joy Smith for their work on her bill C-268. ^{xxxvii}
October 30 th , 2011	Free-Them Birthday Fundraiser	Featured speakers included Timea Nagy, RCMP Constable Lepa Jankovic, MP Terence Young, Joy Smith, and Shae Invidiata. ^{xxxviii}
January 28 th - 29 th , 2011	Alliance Against Modern Slavery: Benefit Concert and Inaugural Conference	Speakers included Lisa J. Cheong (Ratanak Intl.), Rev. Jamie McIntosh (Founder of International Justice Mission Canada), Joy Smith, MP Glen Pearson, MP Peggy Nash, Benjamin Perrin, Glendene Grant, among others. ^{xxxix}
March 24 th , 2012	Loretto Sisters Human Trafficking Conference	Hosted by the Loretto Sisters of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Speakers included Joy Smith, mainstream feminists Diane Redsky, and Rev. Jamie McIntosh. ^{xl}
May 5 th , 2012	International Justice Mission Canada’s Justice Summit	Speakers include Joy Smith, Rev. Jamie McIntosh, Brian McConaghy, Shae Invidiata, Timea Nagy, Don Hutchinson (Director, Centre for Faith and Public Life, Evangelical Fellowship of Canada), Stan Burditt (Founder of Men Against Sex Trafficking). ^{xli}
February – March, 2013	Train-the-Trainer Program	PACT- Ottawa and St. Joe’s Women’s Centre delivered human trafficking training to over 250 frontline workers in Ottawa. ^{xxxix}
April 23 rd , 2013	What’s My Role? Advanced Human Trafficking Seminar	Walk With Me hosted over 70 law enforcement officers and 40 social service/health care providers for a 1-day conference on preventing human trafficking. Participants received Walk With Me’s manuals ‘The Game: Domestic Sex Trafficking’ and ‘The Mindset of a Human Trafficked Victim.’ ^{xxxix}

April 2013	TruckSTOP Launch	PACT-Ottawa, along with ACT-Alberta and Defend Dignity, provide over 300 CDs and other material to truck drivers and frequent travellers on how to recognize human trafficking. ^{xxxix}
May 10 th , 2013	Freedom Gala 2013: A Night to Combat Human Trafficking	The Tipping Point announced by Joy Smith, keynote speaker was Victor Malarek, Glendene Grant was a special guest. The event was organized by the Salvation Army. ^{xlii}
June 19 th , 2013	Town Hall Meeting, Etobicoke. New Prostitution Bill: What does it really mean?	Speakers include Joy Smith, John Cassells, and Jasmine from Sextrade 101. ^{xl}
September 14 th , 2013	4 th Annual Free-Them Walk for Freedom	Honoured guests included Joy Smith, Lepa Jankovic, Timea Nagy, Katarina MacLeod. ^{xliii}
October 18 th , 2013	Human Trafficking Forum	Organized by Defend Dignity and the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. Featured speaker was Katarina MacLeod. ^{xl}
October 18 th – 19 th , 2013	Right Here, Right Now Conference	Speakers: Joy Smith, Detectives Tai Truong and Peter Casey, Bridget Perrier (Sextrade 101), Casandra Diamond, Deborah Pond, Jared Brock, John Cassells. ^{xliv}
December 5 th and 6 th , 2013	The National Experiential Women's Roundtable, Canadian Women's Foundation	Present were mainstream feminists Diane Redsky, Barbara Grosse, Jolene Stowell, Timea Nagy, and Kate Quinn. ^{xlv}
2014	Enslaved and Exploited: The Story of Sex Trafficking in Canada.	A short video created by Jared and Michelle Brock of Hope for Sold for the Government of British Columbia, as part of their official human trafficking training (Human Trafficking: Canada Is Not Immune, 2 nd Edition). The video includes the participation of Joy Smith, Benjamin Perrin, Michelle Miller (Canadian Baptists of Western Canada), Brian McConoghy, Sue Todd (Linwood Ministries), Sister Nancy Brown, Christian abolitionists Naomi Baker (Canada Fights Human Trafficking) and Joel Oosterman (former House of Commons Chief of Staff), and Victor Malarek. ^{xlvi}
November 14 th , 2014	International Anglican Women's Network, Canada Human Trafficking Conference	Speakers included Joy Smith, Glendene Grant, Sister Nancy Brown of Covenant House, Reverend Terrie Robinson, and RCMP Corporal Jassy Bindra. Information from Benjamin Perrin's Invisible Chains highlighted. ^{xlvii}
February 21 st , 2015	Our Sweet Tooth for Justice, Magdalene House Society	Hosted by Magdalene House Society, which is part of the Canadian Religious Conference and collaborates with Catholic Social Services in Red Deer, Edmonton. Speakers included mainstream feminist Kate Quinn and MP Joy Smith. ^{xlviii}
April 2015	Restored: A Journey to Freedom	Hosted by Partners International Canada, a Christian ministry charity. John Cassell sat on a panel with Katarina MacLeod. ^{xlix}

Appendix 5.

Expert quotes divided by tactic.

Mainstream Feminists	Police	Politicians	Media
<i>Women as Passive</i>			
“Nobody says they wanted to be there [in the sex trade]. Everyone is there for a lack of choice – they’re former foster children who aged	“Pimps have the ability to spot vulnerable girls in a crowd at a bus station or on a downtown street and instantly know which ones can be	“More vulnerable girls are being lured into sex work the longer Premier Kathleen Wynne takes to crack down on human traffickers.” (Laurie	“Such women, neither autonomous nor opportunistic, are victims of circumstances who haven’t the luxury of choice”

<p>out of the system, they've got addictions... they're poor. The main common denominator is low self-esteem and hopelessness." (Casandra Diamond, TS, 23 September 2016). "I didn't know I was being trafficked. They were making me use drugs so I wasn't in the right mindset. That's what human traffickers do. That's how it works." (Virginia, OC, 10 June 2017). "We need to see these people not as prostitutes but as prostituted. (Tara Teng, OS, 21 August 2011/2). We wish to decriminalize those caught in prostitution and criminalize those who harm others with this cruel trade in women." (Lee Lakeman, GAM, 13 June 2013). "A former sex-trade worker speaking at a John school: You're the cause. The pimps, they're the problem. The women, we are the tragedy." (Unnamed woman, OC, 19 June 2014/2). "It's violence against women. You're not anti-sex if you're anti-prostitution. I am for the Swedish model of law, which criminalizes the demand and decriminalizes the women." (Trisha Baptie, GAM, 22 May 2009). "Prostitution cannot eliminate rape when it is itself bought rape. The connection between rape and prostitution is that women are turned into objects for men's sexual</p>	<p>manipulated with promises of affection." (Mark Benallick, TS, 5 October 2013). "The more we dig into the circumstances of the sex trade, the more we see there's usually a vulnerability of some kind involved." (David Correa, TSun 8 August 2017). "A lot of people say, 'Why don't these girls just leave? I mean, the door is open.' But what people don't understand is the level of coercion and power the pimps have over [the girls]. They're beaten, their families threatened. They have no ID, no phones, no money. It's total control." (Paul Johnston, OC 16 June 2014). "Girls are courted, treated to some luxuries and believe their pimp loves them back. However, the good days don't last very long. The control and the direction starts, and then the violence starts." (Peter Casey, TSun, 20 February 2014). "Prostitution and human trafficking share the same hallmarks – control, exploitation and threats." (Mark Benallick, TSun, 25 June 2012). "These people are animals. It's a big problem and people don't understand what's going on in Toronto. These pimps are recruiting girls out of highschool and middle school. They are predators and master manipulators. They see the vulnerable side to</p>	<p>Scott, TS, 8 January 2016). "MacKay insisted the Conservative plan ... will deter or coax prostitutes and their clients out of the business." (Peter MacKay, TS, 7 July 2014). "Ms. Smith said more than 90% of prostitutes are 'lured' into the sex trade and become victims who are 'held captive by beatings' and 'have no place to go.' 'They develop these Stockholm syndromes, where they get attached to their perpetrator. They get almost like they are brainwashed. There's no way out. They get despondent. And it's very dangerous for them.'" (Joy Smith, NP, April 2014). "The victims really are the girls next door, contrary to the popular belief that human trafficking victims are from offshore." (Laurie Scott, TS, 14 December 2015). "We [the Swedish government] believe it's an issue of human rights. The sellers of these women are using another person (as a slave) and the ones being sold are subjected to trauma and violence." (Elisabeth White, TS, 30 September 2010). "Our country has to recognize that this is Canada's oldest oppression – not profession. It's nothing but violence against women. Plain and simple. No matter how you paint it. We have to target the johns, the</p>	<p>(Barbara Kay, National Post, 6 October 2010). "The danger will continue, the pimps will still control the desperate girls and society as a whole will think less of itself" (Barbara Kay, National Post, 29 September 2010). "Prostitution is harmful to girls and women" (Barbara Kay, National Post, 21 December 2013). "I understand the economic argument and in unequal times, I know that ambitious people can do better than working at McDonald's but truly, is it better to sell meat or be the meat? No one should feel driven into that decision. Accepting prostitution isn't good for us, or for prostitutes. There's no future in it, and the present is vile" (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014). "They lack the skills or opportunities to take up other work, so they are either driven by necessity to sell sex or are trafficked by others who find this a profitable business. Some of them are trafficked into Canada. Legalizing the industry may cause it to proliferate, and legitimize all the travesties that occur in the 'oldest' profession" (Farzana Hassan, Toronto Sun, 21 February 2014). "So pimps are now OK in the eyes of the law as long as we call them 'drivers' or 'bodyguards' or 'support staff,' just to help us all feel better about the world's oldest form of exploitation? Have you ever met a nice pimp, one who's up for mentoring and fostering personal development?" (Charles Adler, Ottawa Sun, 30 March 2012).</p>
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use; they can be either bought or stolen. A culture in which women can be bought for use is one in which rape flourishes.” (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, TSun, 12 January 2014). “Legalizing prostitution and living off the avails, you’re giving pimps the legal authority to exploit women and children in Canada.” (Shae Invidiata, TSun, 15 April 2012). “The man will likely introduce drugs into the relationship and the girl may not have to pay for them at first. But eventually, the bill comes due and she is asked, then told, to do certain things. Pretty quickly, any pretence is gone, and the girl is working in the sex trade.” (Michele Anderson, TS, 5 October 2013). “Bland says human trafficking in Eastern Ontario tends to involve young men who use romantic deception, blackmail or violence to coerce young women into the sex trade. They often prey upon their need for money, security and love.” (Cynthia Bland, OC, 10 June 2017).

these girls and exploit it.” (Nunzio Tramontozzi, TSun, 13 December 2016). “I’m not going to sugarcoat things today. What we’re saying is the pimps and traffickers are here. And we don’t want you to fall prey.” (Rob Heitzner, GAM 25 March 2017).

traffickers, the people who buy sex and go after trying to make money off of innocent victims.” (Joy Smith, NP, 28 April 2014). “No model will ever make prostitution a safe endeavor.” (Peter MacKay, TSun, 5 June 2014). “Women involved in prostitution are controlled by violence pimps and traffickers.” (Joy Smith, OC, 13 February 2014). “The overall issue, the overall struggle, is to protect children and the vulnerable from sexual exploitation or human trafficking.” (Chris Bentley, TS, 19 December 2010). “For many centuries since the instigation of ‘the world’s oldest profession,’ there has been a debate about the best way to reduce the prevalence of prostitution and the forced female slavery that it incurs.” (Jimmy Carter, OC, 28 December 2013). “(Dechert) emphasized the government’s intent is to protect children from being exposed to prostitution or being recruited ‘in school bathrooms.’” (Bob Dechert, TS 15 July 2014). “These young women, girls really, underage girls and children, are being forced into sex work in our cities and towns, and they really are the girls next door.” (Laurie Scott, OC, 14 December 2015). “You think it doesn’t happen and our Canadian

“That’s just the blatant cases of exploitation, not the everyday exploitation that takes place for most prostitutes. Pimps are human traffickers too, and legalizing brothels makes it easier to buy and sell women and children through the back door” (Charles Adler, Ottawa Sun, 30 March 2012). “Let us remember that this debate is not all about the rights of women who choose to sell their bodies. The rights of women, many of them children, who do not choose to be prostitutes but are forced into it, are also very much at stake” (Mohammed Adam, Ottawa Citizen, 3 July 2014). “Prostitution is not a job like any other. It can’t possibly be: One person pays to use another’s body for his own gratification” (Janet Begnall, OC, 4 February 2008). “Slavery is a situation that inspires its sufferers to justify it in order to explain their own existence. This need is particularly acute with the deep shame of sex slavery. Any woman who has been raped once knows the tremendous ‘internal resources,’ to use Gorgeag’s term, necessary to repair a shattered psyche. For those who are raped regularly and repeatedly, psychic will mutate into something unrecognizable. Natasha had no life skills beyond mere survival; she knew no male affection short of rank exploitation” (Benjamin Skinner, NP 3 July 2008)

public thinks it doesn't happen with ordinary Canadian girls, but it does. It's actually gone under the public radar screen." (Joy Smith, NP, 11 April 2008).

Vague Statistics

<p>"[As many as] 98% of the women don't want to be in the industry and it's the fastest growing industry in the world." (Tara Teng, OS, 21 August 2011/2). "Legalizing brothels will only increase the number of prostitutes. With an estimated 90 per cent of prostitutes having been forced into the sex trade, increasing the number of prostitutes is not a good idea. Research shows that the vast majority of prostitutes have been trafficked or sexually victimized in their homes or suffer from drug addiction." (Aboriginal Women's Action Network in B.C., 4 February 2008). "According to Free-Them, 27 million people worldwide is 34.1 million (dollars) and 80% of those are women and children. Human trafficking is a \$32-billion a year industry." (Shae Invidiata, TSun, 16 September 2012). "When you legalize you're going to see an increase in demand for paid sex. There's never going to be enough willing 'workers' and so therefore traffickers and pimps, because it's so lucrative, will take it upon themselves to find supply however they need to do that. We've met so many girls</p>	<p>"Human trafficking is the quickest-growing crime in the province (of Ontario) ... Police estimate there are thousands of sex slaves across the province." (Toronto Police, TS, 23 September 2016). "An RCMP spokeswoman estimates there are nearly 350 illicit massage parlours operating in Montreal and many more in the suburbs." (RCMP, GAM, 19 November 2013). "It's a very big issue, but a lot of people aren't aware of it because it happens behind closed doors." (Damien Laflamme, OC, 10 June 2017). "The Mounties estimate there are nearly 350 illicit massage parlours in Montreal and many more in the suburbs." (GAM, 10 December 2013). "Toronto police say 95 percent of underage victims they have found were sold on the site." (GAM, 2 May 2017). "He estimates that of all the escort ads on Backpage in his city, at least 25 percent of the girls and women are being trafficked." (Michael Hay, GAM 2 May 2017). "Police say the average age of victims is falling – last year, 61 per cent of them were between the</p>	<p>"The harm caused by prostitution to women, girls and vulnerable populations has been well documented by women's and First Nation's organization." (Joy Smith, OC, 18 February 2014). "The growing problem of girls as young as 12 or 13 forced into sex work by human traffickers needs to be tackled." (Kathleen Wynn, TS, 14 December 2015). "(Scott and Coe) called for a provincewide task force that includes additional funding to help more of the estimated 30,000 Canadian girls and young women forced into prostitution." (Laurie Scott and Lorne Coe, TSun, 8 January 2016).</p>	<p>"Most women cannot be said to 'choose' a line of work they have been forced into, and find so disgusting, most of them need drugs to numb their misery (assuming they weren't addicts beforehand)" (Barbara Kay, National Post, 3 August 2011). "Media nonjudgementalism and benevolence help the approximately 10% 'high-track' prostitutes and escorts for whom the right to run brothels and advertise makes work easier, but does nothing – or even hurts – the most vulnerable girls and women" (Barbara Kay, National Post, 3 August 2011). "How many prostitutes would proudly claim that they chose this life for themselves? It's done out of desperation and most prostitutes dream of getting out. Most need drugs or alcohol to numb the misery in which they've found themselves. Most prostitutes start hooking in their teens, sometimes younger. Ontario has, in effect, legitimized child abuse" (Charles Adler, Ottawa Sun, 30 March 2012). "The women endured insomnia, nightmares, hallucinations. One girl whose owner broke her leg always had the impression that someone was chasing her. Many experienced blackouts and memory loss, complicating depositions against their traffickers. Most suffered depression; some tried to kill</p>
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who've ended up being that supply and it's not a good life." (Jared Brock, TSun, 3 June 2014).

"Modern-day slavery is out of control. From what I see working on the front lines it is getting worse... it is really exploding" (Katarina MacLeod, TS, 18 May 2015).

ages of 14 and 17, with the youngest just 13 – and that both the recruitment and advertising of girls is increasingly done online." (GAM, 25 March 2017).

"There is not a massage parlour or strip club – not an adult entertainment club in the region of Peel – that is not housing a victim of human trafficking." (Detective Mike Viozzi, GAM, 27 March 2010).

"Police who busted an alleged international human trafficking ring that lured Eastern European women to Toronto and forced them into prostitution say they strongly suspect as many as 10 other victims connected to the ring are 'hidden' in the area." (NP, 16 January 2008).

"Hundreds of young women and girls are coerced into doing this on any given day, police from several Ontario and Quebec communities say." (OC, 16 June 2014).

"Members of Ottawa's human trafficking team estimate they have about 40 traffickers on their radar and those numbers are quite conservative, sources say." (OC, 16 June 2014).

"There is not a massage parlour or strip club – not an adult entertainment club in the region of Peel – that is not housing a victim of human trafficking." (Mike Viozzi, GAM, 27 March 2010).

"The RCMP noted that such (massage) parlours

themselves." (Benjamin Skinner, NP, 3 July 2008).

are a gateway for moving human trafficking victims into prostitution.” (RCMP, GAM, 19 November 2013).

Appeal to Extreme Cases

“One girl was [a dealer’s] slave until she was 15 and then she broke free from him. But by then, her ribs, her legs and nose were broken and unfortunately, that’s the typical story behind every Canadian trafficking case.” (Timea Nagy, TSun, 16 September 2012).

“I worked with a girl many years ago in the sex trade who had broken a rule according to her pimp, then disappeared for about 3 ½ to four months. And when she finally turned back up we asked what had happened and she said her pimp took her to a hotel room where he broke both of her legs.” (Casandra Diamond, TS, 18 May 2015).

“Falle says women have been whipped with heated coat hangers or been stripped naked and forced to drink from toilet water while wearing a dog collar.” (Natasha Falle, NP, 20 August 2016).

“Family members are threatened with violence or coercion. One pimp went to his prostitute’s sisters’ high school and raped her to exact revenge against a girl in Toronto, seven years ago.” (Natasha Falle, TSun, 25 June 2012/2).

“Totten has heard stories of women’s hair being

“One pimp in a recent case decided to increase a girl’s dependency on him by slashing her Achilles’ tendon. When he realized there would be repercussions, ‘he took her downstairs and left her by a dumpster, like a pile of garbage.’” (Nunzio Tramontozzi, TSun, 13 December 2016).

“These victims, many of them have psychological and physical damage as a result of this. Some of these girls that we’ve come across haven’t eaten in days, haven’t slept in days, don’t know what city they’re in ... have been beaten, abused. It’s a horrific thing.” (Michael Hay, GAM, 2 May 2017).

“But street prostitution brings violence, drugs, money-laundering, social disturbances, local neighborhood women and girls being approached. It is paying for rape.” (Kajsa Whalberg, TS, 31 May 2014).

“[If Ontario relaxes sex work laws] programs such as John Schools will be shuttered, residents will not be able to file police complaints of prostitution around their homes, and a massive underground industry will be instantly legalized with no regulation, let alone parliamentary

“Sometimes it can be a young girl who falls in love with an individual and who is then pushed into prostitution – it can be as horrible as that.” (Steven Blaney, GAM, 10 December 2013).

“I’ve heard stories of girls being targeted at the mall food court, the parking lot at their high school or a house party they attended with friends... Young women are lured through personal relationships, systemically isolated from the family and friends, psychologically and physically abused by those who they trusted and in some cases loved.” (Laurie Scott, TS, 18 May 2015).

“Now our society is divided between traditionalists and moral relativists who regard prostitution as, in the Court of Appeal’s affirmation, a ‘lawful commercial activity,’ presumably like grocery stores, even though violence, drugs and sexual abuse of minors do not go hand-in-hand with the sale of avocados, while they are invariable components of the sex trade, legal or otherwise” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 30 January 2014).

“‘Sex work’ sounds nice in theory but try living the life. The idea that spending one’s days and nights being entered, tugged, slammed, prodded and mauled – in other words sex but not in a fun way – is mundane strikes me as absurd. It’s like sitting on a knife instead of a chair and pretending you’re just as comfortable” (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014).

“Young girls being coerced into trafficking their bodies? Women being traded like commodities, and beaten and battered and worse? Innocence being lost to dirty old men, who care nothing for anything except their own grimy desires? Who cares. The highest court in the land certainly doesn’t seem to care” (Warren Kinsella, Toronto Sun, 12 January 2014).

“Would legalization improve the often gruesome, short lives of sex trade workers when it comes to violence?”

chopped off and hot curling irons being inserted in their vaginas.” (Mark Totten, NP, 20 August 2016).

reflection.” (Michael Morris, NP, 23 November 2010).

Apparently not” (Jerry Agar, 31 December 2013). Anyone who thinks it is hyperbole to describe sex trafficking as slavery should look at the maimed face of a teenage girl, Long Pross. Glance at Pross from her left, and she looks like a normal, fun-loving girl, with a pretty face and a joyous smile. Then move around, and you see where her brothel owner gouged out her right eye.” (Nicholas Kristof, NP, 5 January 2009).

From Global Pandemic to War at Home

“Watts says fully legalized prostitution will mean higher demand for hookers and ‘increased trafficking from countries where women are more vulnerable.’” (Diane Watts, TSun, 22 December 2013). “Though many believe human trafficking involves only foreign victims, young girls and women from Barrie, Kingston, Oshawa, Mississauga and across the GTA are increasingly victimized.” (Michele Anderson, TS, 27 May 2014). “While some people associate trafficking with foreign women brought into Canada, research shows the vast majority of these victims are our own children, from Canada.” (Bruce Rivers, TS, 29 January 2015). “This is a public safety issue. Trafficking across Canada is a huge issue impacting women and girls in our communities.” (Megan

“It is alleged that three of those women, who range in age from 21 to 41, were victims of human trafficking. ‘They ate, drank and slept in the room they worked in,’ alleging the women were expected to perform sexual acts 24 hours a day, seven days a week for several weeks. They came to work in the massage industry, having answered ads in foreign countries that promised good money.” (Dave Schening, NP 11 September 2009). “Thousands of women are being coerced into joining a thriving Canadian sex trade that almost never results in any criminal charges, according to the RCMP... Foreign women are often lured to Canada with promises of legitimate jobs.” (Police general, GAM, 14 September 2010). “That is the greatest misconception about human trafficking. That it’s all about foreigners. Most of these girls are from small Canadian

“A former mayor [in Amsterdam] has stated that the enormous business of more than \$100 million annually has been largely taken over by East European crime syndicates that are not only trafficking women but also illegal drugs.” (Jimmy Carter, 28 December 2013). “Foreign workers are lured to Canada with the promise of legitimate jobs but the women are then forced to work in brothels. Finley said organized crime networks have been facilitating the entry of women from former Soviet states into strip clubs and escort services in both the Toronto and Montreal area.” (Diane Finley, TS, 5 July 2012). “Why would we grant visas to girls that we have a strong suspicion are going to end up under the thumb of a criminal gang being exploited and trafficked?... We’re not going after the women – we’re protecting them from what they might not know will happen to

“While the human auctions, whipping houses and slave-catchers have disappeared from the U.S., slavery is still alive and well there and around the world. You will even find it here in our own backyard. Just last month, a Richmond Hill man was convicted of human trafficking. He had forced a young woman into prostitution against her will, taking every penny she earned at gunpoint” (Jerry Agar, Toronto Sun, 12 February 2012). “While more than half of those slaves are found in Asia and the Pacific, it is a global scourge involving 161 countries as sources, transit points or destinations for slavery’s victims. And you will find about 11% of those slaves in industrialized countries, including Canada” (Jerry Agar, Toronto Sun, 12 February 2012). “Canada’s first human trafficking conviction involved a 13-year-old Canadian girl, who was being bought and sold on Craigslist by men in the GTA. That’s one example of why Canada is developing a reputation as a sex tourism

Walker, GAM, 2 May 2017).
 “I found out one of my neighbours in the community down a few houses from me – her daughter was trafficked at 14 years old – and friends of mine that I already knew, they had cousins and sisters that had been trafficked. This wasn’t some distant problem anymore.” (Tara Teng, OS, 21 August 2011/2).

towns, or broken homes, or else they just took a wrong turn. And some pimp got a hold of them.” (Mike Viozzi, GAM, 27 March 2010).
 “Human trafficking conjures up images of Thai teenagers brought to Canada to work as prostitutes, massage parlour attendants or strippers. But human trafficking victims don’t have to be smuggled across oceans or provincial boundaries. Victims can be moved from Toronto to Mississauga, from one hotel to another.” (Mark Bennallick, TSun, 25 June 2012).
 “This is a Toronto problem, an Ontario problem. Everyone thinks it’s not happening here, but it is.” (Joanna Beaven-Desjardins, TS, 14 December 2015).

them when they get to Canada.” (Jason Kenney, NP 6 July 2012).
 “Foreign nationals brought in to work in sex-trade-related businesses are particularly at risk of being exploited and abused. Denying these businesses access to temporary foreign workers will help protect vulnerable individuals by keeping them out of these situations.” (Diane Finley, TS, 5 July 2012).
 “Canadians have told us that they want to stop foreigners coming to Canada to work in the sex trade. They [the Opposition] have voted against every piece of legislation we’ve introduced to stop exotic dancers who are vulnerable to exploitation from entering Canada... To anyone who wants to go underground, we have a simple message: Don’t do it. We will find you. We will kick you out.” (Alexis Pavlich, OS, 17 June 2012).
 “Significant progress has been made over the past year, but much work remains to be done on the despicable crime of modern-day slavery in Canada.” (Steven Blaney, GAM, 10 December 2013).
 “Women and girls forced into the sex trade will get more resources when they escape the world of modern-day slavery.” (Peter MacKay, OC, 18 June 2014).
 “[The Blue Blindfold Campaign is] going to help address one of the vilest crimes imaginable,

destination for perverts and pedophiles from around the world. Canada used to mean freedom for escaped slaves. Too often, we’re now the place where slavery starts, not where it ends” (Jerry Agar, Toronto Sun, 12 February 2012).
 “Any debate on prostitution must take into account this is a worldwide, multi-billion-dollar industry. It stems from poverty and is therefore inherently exploitative” (Farzana Hassan, Toronto Sun, 21 February 2014).
 “The business model of forced prostitution is remarkably similar from Pakistan to Vietnam -- and, sometimes, in the United States as well. Pimps use violence, humiliation and narcotics to shatter girls' self-esteem and terrorize them into unquestioning, instantaneous obedience.” (Nicholas Kristof, NP, 5 January 2009).

that of human trafficking – a crime that is often referred to as modern-day slavery.” (Vic Toews, TS, 8 September 2010).
 “It’s in our backyards and it’s time we woke up.” (Laurie Scott, TS, 8 January 2016).

Increase Surveillance

“She (Walker) estimates that about 60 per cent of the people her centre speaks with are tracking their daughters through Backpage. She thinks more enforcement is needed to tackle the demand side of the crime – the johns and pimps – and that Backpage ought to be shut down.” (Megan Walker, GAM, 2 May 2017).
 “[Craigslist was] the predominant way that people were selling victims of sex trafficking in Canada. It makes it much more difficult for (sex traffickers) to do business, which is a good thing.” (Benjamin Perrin, OC, 19 December 2010).
 “To end human trafficking, collaboration is needed between all services, including law enforcement, researchers and non-profit.” (Cynthia Bland, OC, 31 May 2016).
 “She said she is hearing of more and more women moving from hotel to hotel, in many cases not even knowing what city they are in. MacLeod agreed a specialized team in the justice system ‘fighting for these girls’ is needed.” (Katarina

“[Detective Michael Hay] estimates that of all the escort ads on Backpage in his city, at least 25 per cent of the girls and women are being trafficked.” (Michael Hay, GAM, 2 May 2017).
 “They [Backpage] are essentially enabling pimps to do their work. Almost 98, 99 per cent of all the people that we deal with, all the pimps use Backpage to advertise for the girls they’re running.” (Nunzio Tramontozzi, NP, 13 January 2017).
 “[Human trafficking] is clandestine in nature and therefore not easily detectable. It’s sometimes difficult to obtain co-operation from victims, so a proactive approach is necessary.” (Warren Coons, TS, 22 October 2015).
 “You have to be proactive or you’re not going to get these cases. You can’t wait for the girls to come in and bring the case to you.” (Thai Truong, OC, 17 June 2014).
 “The complaint driven ones [calls against the sale of sex] are obviously looked into. They’re never ignored. And then there is the one you may hear about, you get a

“Our government was concerned that such advertisements could facilitate serious criminal offences, such as living on the avails of child prostitution and trafficking in persons.” (Rob Nicholson, OC, 19 December 2010).
 “I’m pleased that they [Craigslist] appear to be doing what we asked them to do. The main concerns we had were that children or the vulnerable would be targeted for sexual exploitation or human trafficking... This is a step, it’s not a solution. We’re working on many fronts. We’ve got the police and the Crowns working together to see if there are additional strategies we can employ.” (Chris Bentley, TS 19 December 2010).
 “We need to send resources to law enforcement and to the justice system so there is a concentrated team that works throughout the province, because these girls are trafficked widely throughout the province on a daily basis.” (Laurie Scott, OC, 14 December 2015).
 “Police are ‘barely scratching the surface with the resources they’ve got. It needs a

“These women don’t need the ‘harm reduction’ of legal enablement. They need rescue. Their plight would only worsen with legalization, because it would discourage efforts to save them” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 6 October 2010).
 “But what about the truly vulnerable? The women lured into the industry under false pretenses. The drug addicts. The sex slaves. The child prostitutes. Eliminating some of the tools that allow the police to crack down on these horrible abuses isn’t the right way to go. All this decision does is normalize prostitution and makes enforcement of the more heinous crimes it breeds even more difficult” (QMI Agency, Toronto Sun, 21 December 2013).

<p>MacLeod, TS, 18 May 2016). “There’s a lot of forced sex work out there; we know that. We cheer Ottawa police on. Go for it. If it’s a bit of an inconvenience for some who want to be there, so be it.” (Helen Roos, OC, 28 January 2014).</p>	<p>whisper and you go have a look. It’s definitely not shuffled away by any means. It’s still a crime, and it’s not victimless.” (Alex Belgrade, NP, 7 May 2011). “If you go looking for it [human trafficking], you’re going to find it.” (Paul Johnston, OC, 16 June 2014). “It is illegal to obtain sexual services for money regardless of where it’s taking place in Canada. Officers in the unit are going after the pimps, to stop exploitation of people in the sex trade.” (Glenn Burchart, TS, 2 May 2018).</p>	<p>co-ordinated effort with dedicated resources.” (Laurie Scott, TS, 14 December 2015). “We talked about having the rules more aggressively applied. The Criminal Code can apply, but we think also adding tougher regulations with stiff fines can ensure we cover all the angles.” (Denis Coderre, GAM, 19 November 2013). “Smith also calls for mandatory minimum sentences for anyone convicted of human trafficking, and she wants restrictions on bawdy houses without criminalizing prostituted women.” (Joy Smith, OC, 13 February 2014). “The key to the relative success of Sweden’s approach is to prescribe punishment for those who own and operate the brothels, control the women, and also the male customers who provide the profit motive... There is little doubt that public exposure in a trial and the imposition of a heavy fine or jail time for a few men who are prominent citizens or police officers who were buying or profiting from the sex trade would be extremely effective... Canada would do well to consider the approach chosen by Sweden.” (Jimmy Carter, OC, 28 December 2013).</p>
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Sex work as Immoral

<p>“The problem is, when it’s [sex ads] so overtly publicly available, we’re contributing to its normalization. And that unto itself is an</p>	<p>“The fact that some [prostitutes] operate on a diminished moral capacity does not mean it will invalidate the criminal law from</p>	<p>“Prostitution must be eliminated because it dehumanizes and degrades humans and reduces them to a commodity to be bought</p>	<p>“Prostitution, while a permanent, ineradicable and arguably even necessary accessory to communal life, is an ignoble line of work and inherently unworthy of</p>
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enormous problem.” (Signy Arnason, GAM, 12 April 2018).
 “The proposal for a network of legal brothels ‘entrenches prostitution as legitimate, and therefore legitimizes pimps and traffickers.” (Daisy Kler, OC, 4 February 2008).
 “I really hope that this disgusts you, ‘cause it disgusts me. We are repulsed and can’t wait for it to be over.” (Unnamed Victim Speaking at John School, OC, 19 June 2014/2).
 “That was the day I was completely cut off from everybody. My family was ashamed of me, my friends were ashamed of me. I had nothing left.” (Jasmine, OC, 4 February 2014).
 “The system failed me again. I wasn’t being judged as a loving mother, trying to protect her children. I was being judged as a prostitute.” (Tania Fiolleau, OS, 21 August 2011/2).

applying to them.” (Michael Morris, GAM, 14 June 2013).
 “If Canada adopts a model of decriminalizing sex buyers, prostitution will explode. It will become like the Netherlands. The sex buyers will require more and different types of weirdo sex and new varieties and services. It would be a big mistake.” (Kajsa Wahlberg, OC, 3 December 2011).
 “Images of U.S. rapper Snoop Dogg with two women in collars and chains were introduced to show how popular culture glorifies pimp. ‘Is this a good message?’ Det. Heitzner asked. Kids shook their heads. ‘I agree with you – it isn’t a good message.’” (Rob Heitzner, GAM, 25 March 2017).

and sold. Legalizing prostitution is a direct attack on the fundamental rights and freedoms of women, girls, and vulnerable people.” (Joy Smith, OC, 28 December 2013).
 “No model that involves full criminalization or legalization will ever make prostitution a safe endeavor. There will always be an inherent danger in this degrading activity.” (Peter MacKay, OC, 5 June 2014).
 “It is our (Conservative government’s) intention to make illegal the purchase of sexual services or the communication for the purposes of purchasing sexual services of any person, anywhere, anytime, in Canada, in the light of day, in the darkness of shadows, inside or outside, wherever you can think of in Canada, up a tree, down a rabbithole, in a beaver den. We’re going to go after those purchasers and tell them this is not a right.” (Bob Dechert, TS, 15 July 2014).
 “The government hopes to protect those who are most vulnerable by going after the perpetrators, the perverts – those who are consumers of this degrading practice.” (Peter MacKay, OC, 5 June 2014).
 “No model that involves full criminalization or legalization will ever make prostitution a safe endeavor. There will always be an inherent danger in this degrading

social respect” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 6 October 2010).
 “I’m taking the opportunity to call prostitution a dehumanizing and morally degraded behaviour now, because I think my right to do so may want long continue” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 6 October 2010).
 “We’ve already seen in a previous ruling how superficially the court deals with ‘harm’ when it comes to our social fabric” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 29 September 2010).
 “The danger to prostitutes will continue, because the kind of men who frequent prostitutes and the kind of men who control them don’t have a lot of respect for them on the whole. Nor should they. Being a prostitute is a shameful, indecent activity, and any sex worker who demands respect as a matter of course is fooling herself. She is not respectable” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 29 September 2010).
 “Of course realists, front-line workers and those women who have managed to escape the soul-scarring degradation that marks the far-more lower track of prostitutes have nothing but contempt for this fairy tale” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 21 December 2013).
 “But that is the life of prostitutes. So disgusted by what they do, they become drug addicts to numb the pain of their shame” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 21 December 2013).
 “Think about it. Toronto could end up with brothels. So could Kamloops and Gimli, imagine that. No, think about it harder. The

activity.” (Peter MacKay, OC, 5 June 2014).

“We believe that the prostitution trade is bad for society. That’s a strong view held by our government and I think by most Canadians.” (Stephen Harper, NP, 3 December 2010).

“[The government is] exploring all possible options to ensure the criminal law continues to address the significant harms that flow from prostitution to communities, those engaged in prostitution and vulnerable persons.” (Peter MacKay, NP, 9 April 2014).

“There’s a problem out there. Courts are going to make the 3,000 illicit places in the city legal. People in the community are going to say ‘What are you going to do about it?’ I want ‘em out of Ward 7. I wan’t ‘em out of communities.”

(Giorgio Mammoliti, NP, 7 May 2011).

“The government was exploring all possible options to ensure the criminal law continues to address the significant harms that flow from prostitution to communities, those engaged in prostitution and vulnerable persons.” (Peter MacKay, NP, 9 April 2014).

house next door – or the condo one thin wall away – could legally welcome men buying sex, you’d have to share the elevator with them, your children would pass them in the street” (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014).

“Peppr.it [an app for sex workers in Europe] refers to its buyers as ‘gentlemen.’ I suggest to her that in Canada we refer to such men as ‘losers.’ We send them to ‘john school’ (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014).

“I believe the Nordic Model is the best for Canada, not just because I felt unwell in a Berlin brothel parking lot – I still do when I think of it – but because I yearned to get back to a country that says that people shouldn’t have to massively degrade themselves for money” (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014).

“Sex is our moment of greatest vulnerability. We are naked forked animals and we do things at the fork. We strip and show ourselves to each other, lost in the moment, hoping we won’t be mocked. We kiss. Prostitutes generally do not kiss. Most women set a certain limit beyond which, when they are working, they will not go. They dehumanize themselves slightly, distancing themselves from what is done to them. If they didn’t, they couldn’t survive. It would be too raw. It would be too much like real sex, fork to fork” (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014).

“Prostitution is degrading and damaging. We should try to end it, even if that turns out to be not entirely

possible. Canada is better than this” (Heather Mallick, Toronto Star, 31 May 2014). “Transferring the crime and any moral shame from them to the johns and pimps may reduce violence against prostitutes by putting potential clients in fear of prosecution” (Farzana Hassan, Toronto Sun, 21 February 2014). “Prostitution is not a profession -- it's an affliction” (Charles Adler, Ottawa Sun, 30 March 2012). “Our prostitution laws shouldn't be legitimizing the sex industry. Canadian law and Canadian enforcement should focus on helping prostitutes get out completely, helping them find new lives instead of digging an even deeper hole of despair” (Charles Adler, Ottawa Sun, 30 March 2012).

Happy Ending

“She (Tania) promised God that if she got her kids back, she would devote her life to saving women from prostitution. She won her case and she kept her promise.” (Tania Fiolleau, NP, 3 August 2011). “She (Jasmine) beamed through tears as she explained how she joined a church, found help, and is now a happily married mother of two returning to school to become a midwife.” (Jasmine, TS, 23 November 2012). “She (Riley) now works in harm reduction, is a lioness of a mother, and wanted her name used in this story because, she said, she is reclaiming

“She (Tania) should know, as she herself not only worked as a prostitute – an acrimonious custody battle left her broke and desperate – but eventually ran several brothels before reinventing herself as a dignified member of mainstream life” (Barbara Kay, National Post, 21 December 2013).

her history as her own.”
(Tara Riley, TS, 5
October 2013).

“I’m trying to rebuild
myself. I’d like to help
other girls who have
been through the same
thing.” (Virginia, OC, 10
June 2017).

Good Girl Trope

“I thought, ‘I’m too
good for that, I’m too
educated, my family
loves me, I’ll never be
like those girls from the
streets. And then it
happened to me.”
(Jasmine, TS, 23
November 2012).

“Riley grew up in an
affluent home in the
Beaches. She even had
her own telephone line –
which made it easy for
her exploiter to court
her, and which is why,
as a mother herself now,
she pays close attention
to her daughters’
cellphones.” (Tara Riley,
TS, 5 October 2013).

“Although Ms. Falle
sees herself as a survivor
of human trafficking,
she never fit the
stereotypical Canadian
kid running away from
an abusive home. You
can tell that her wit and
self-assuredness aren’t a
recent development. She
says she’s always seen
herself as ‘one step
ahead of the game.’”
(Natasha Falle, GAM,
27 March 2010).

“She promised God that
if she got her kids back,
she would devote her
life to saving women
from prostitution.”
(Tania Fiolleau, NP, 3
August 2011).

“Think it couldn’t
happen to your daughter?

Tramontozzi says the
girls who are victimized
are from every segment
of society and include
the daughters of doctors,
lawyers and police
officers. And they are
young... This crime
doesn’t discriminate. It
could be the girl next
door.” (Nunzio
Tramontozzi, TSun, 13
December 2016).

“If you think your postal
code will protect your
kid, you’re kidding
yourself. We have had
cases with the children of
doctors, lawyers, police
officers and teachers.

When you talk about
human trafficking,
people think of shipping
containers on a boat
coming from somewhere
far away. No. I’ve never
seen one case like that.
Victims are the regular
girl next door.” (David
Correa, TSun, 8 August
2017).

“As difficult as it may be
to believe, these girls
could be your daughter...

What begins as a
boyfriend-girlfriend
progresses to increasing
control, until these
women are treated as
slaves.” (Mark Benallick,
TS, 14 June 2012).

“On the anti-prostitution Olympics campaign: We’re doing this very strategically as a grassroots campaign, not as some sort of a mass media campaign, so that we can really educate people and engage people in meaningful change in their community.” (Michelle Miller, GAM, 22 May 2009).

“I would rather just change my name and move and have nobody know what I did, but the reason I’m doing this is because God called me to do it and he wants me to educate people and let them know what really goes on.” (Tania Fiolleau, OS, 21 August 2011/2).

“We are survivors and activists, spreading the real truth about prostitution and human trafficking. We dispel the myths.” (Bridgett Perrier, TSun, 25 June 2012/2).

“Nobody has ever walked in here before and said, ‘I’ve been trafficked,’ Stowell says... But the women she works with eventually understand that they have been exploited – even if it takes time to arrive at that realization.” (Jolene Stowell, TS, 5 October 2013).

“In Toronto, the Special Victims Unit is focused on helping women out of prostitution and into safety. Rather than arrests and charges, as was once the protocol, they now try to educate and assist, urging women help prosecute their pimps.” (Toronto Police, TS, 5 October 2013).

“We need to get the word out to educate schools, parents, teachers about this. Knowledge is our greatest tool.” (Nunzio Tramontozzi, TSun, 13 December 2016).

“[The anti-prostitution tool kit] is part of the work that the Human Trafficking National Coordination Centre [RCMP] in Ottawa which has produced a slick package of videos, pamphlets, posters and parent-help sheets to build awareness among kids as young as 13.” (RCMP, TS, 23 November 2012).

“This is a call for awareness, a call for social change. There has to be a growing awareness of fighting against forced labour and sexual exploitation.” (Steven Blaney, OC, 29 September 2014).

“Education is definitely lacking. There is a reason [human trafficking] got to epidemic proportions... what is needed is training on how to identify a perpetrator – what they look like, what they do. And what they do is very subtly. It is a gigantic manipulation... the perpetrators come off as the victim’s friends. They don’t come off as bad guys or bad women.” (Joy Smith, TSun, 28 July 2015).

“Durham Region police now have seven detectives working the human trafficking beat, becoming a ‘leader’ in the province in trying to rescue girls and educating high school students and hotel and motel operators about it. (Laurie Scott, TS, 8 January 2016).

Thanks to them [celebrity helpers], people are finally becoming aware of it. They’re afraid to do as much as they used to do. They’re like rats, scurrying back into their hole when the spotlight is on them.” (Joy Smith, TSun, 14 December 2016).

“Smith’s proposal also calls for resources for anyone wanting out of the sex trade industry, plus a national awareness campaign that

emphasizes how prostitution is harmful to women and the most vulnerable sectors of society.” (Joy Smith, OC, 13 February 2014).
 “Smith is calling for a national education program to make Canadian realize that prostitution is a form of violence against women.” (Joy Smith, NP, 28 April 2014).

Church and State

“(REED) says it seeks to end trafficking and sexual exploitation and strengthen the anti-trafficking movement through a comprehensive approach to change in the radical tradition of Christ.” (REED, TS, 15 July 2014).

“Teng, a 22-year-old student at Trinity Western University, a Christian school in Langley, B.C., was crowned Miss Canada last January and has vowed to make human trafficking her crusade...Teng is pushing for a national strategy to combat human trafficking in Canada. She met Prime Minister Stephen Harper last October and discussed the idea with him.” (Tara Teng, OS, 21 August 2011/2).

“After his presentation, Batstone told the Citizen he had scheduled the Ontario tour and Canadian visit to coincide with the launch of slaverymap.ca – an online tool created by students at the University of British Columbia and the Not For Sale campaign to track human-trafficking cases in Canada – as well as the second reading of Conservative MP Joy Smith’s private member’s bill to establish mandatory minimum sentences of five years for anyone found guilty of trafficking someone under the age of 18.” (David Batstone, OC, 23 March 2009).

Appendix 6.

List of Canadian Media Articles

<i>Ottawa Sun</i>	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	<i>National Post</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Toronto Sun</i>
OS, 1 September 2011	OC, 1 October 2010	GAM, 10 December 2013	NP, 11 September 2009	TS, 10 October 2010	TSun, 1 March 2014

OS, 1 September 2011(2)	OC, 10 February 2014	GAM, 10 July 2014	NP, 13 January 2017	TS, 12 August 2015	TSun, 11 February 2014
OS, 17 June 2012	OC, 10 June 2014	GAM, 12 April 2018	NP, 14 December 2015	TS, 12 December 2015	TSun, 12 February 2012
OS, 21 August 2011	OC, 10 June 2017	GAM, 12 June 2009	NP, 16 January 2008	TS, 12 December 2015(2)	TSun, 12 January 2014
OS, 21 August 2011(2)	OC, 10 June 2017(2)	GAM, 13 June 2013	NP, 17 June 2009	TS, 14 December 2015	TSun, 13 December 2016
OS, 30 March 2012	OC, 12 December 2013	GAM, 14 June 2013	NP, 17 June 2013	TS, 14 June 2012	TSun, 14 December 2016
OS, 31 August 2011	OC, 12 November 2014	GAM, 14 September 2010	NP, 20 August 2016	TS, 15 December 2015	TSun, 15 April 2012
	OC, 13 February 2014	GAM, 17 June 2009	NP, 21 December 2013	TS, 15 July 2014	TSun, 16 September 2012
	OC, 14 December 2015	GAM, 18 January 2013	NP, 21 March 2014	TS, 15 May 2014	TSun, 19 February 2016
	OC, 14 March 2008	GAM, 19 November 2013	NP, 21 March 2014(2)	TS, 16 January 2008	TSun, 2 February 2015
	OC, 15 June 2013	GAM, 2 May 2017	NP, 23 November 2010	TS, 18 January 2008	TSun, 20 February 2014
	OC, 16 June 2014	GAM, 22 May 2009	NP, 24 September 2014	TS, 18 May 2015	TSun, 21 December 2013
	OC, 17 June 2009	GAM, 24 October 2013	NP, 25 June 2009	TS, 19 December 2010	TSun, 21 December 2013(2)
	OC, 17 June 2014	GAM, 25 March 2017	NP, 28 April 2014	TS, 19 October 2010	TSun, 21 February 2014
	OC, 18 February 2014	GAM, 27 March 2010	NP, 3 August 2011	TS, 2 May 2018	TSun, 22 December 2013
	OC, 18 June 2014	GAM, 28 January 2014	NP, 3 December 2009	TS, 2 November 2015	TSun, 23 April 2015
	OC, 19 December 2010	GAM, 28 June 2013	NP, 3 December 2010	TS, 22 April 2015	TSun, 23 April 2015(2)
	OC, 19 June 2014(2)	GAM, 7 July 2017	NP, 3 July 2008	TS, 22 October 2015	TSun, 25 June 2012
	OC, 19 March 2009		NP, 30 January 2014	TS, 22 September 2012	TSun, 25 June 2012(2)
	OC, 19 October 2010		NP, 30 September 2010(2)	TS, 23 November 2012	TSun, 26 April 2015
	OC, 20 August 2015		NP, 4 June 2014	TS, 23 September 2016	TSun, 28 July 2015
	OC, 20 June 2014		NP, 5 June 2014	TS, 24 August 2013	TSun, 28 July 2015(2)
	OC, 23 March 2009		NP, 6 July 2012	TS, 27 May 2014	TSun, 29 December 2013
	OC, 24 October 2009		NP, 6 October 2010	TS, 29 January 2015	TSun, 29 June 2014
	OC, 26 February 2012		NP, 7 May 2011	TS, 30 January 2013	TSun, 3 June 2014
	OC, 28 April 2014		NP, 9 April 2014	TS, 30 June 2016	TSun, 31 August 2011

OC, 28 December 2013	NP, 9 July 2014	TS, 30 September 2010	TSun, 31 December 2013
OC, 28 February 2014	NP, 9 May 2015	TS, 31 May 2014	TSun, 5 June 2014
OC, 28 January 2014		TS, 31 October 2010	TSun, 7 June 2014
OC, 29 April 2011		TS, 5 July 2012	TSun, 7 June 2018
OC, 29 January 2014		TS, 5 October 2013	TSun, 8 August 2012
OC, 29 September 2014		TS, 7 July 2014	TSun, 8 August 2017
OC, 3 December 2011		TS, 8 January 2016	TSun, 8 January 2016
OC, 3 July 2014		TS, 8 September 2010	
OC, 3 October 2016			
OC, 30 April 2009			
OC, 31 July 2014			
OC, 31 May 2016			
OC, 4 February 2008			
OC, 4 February 2014			
OC, 5 February 2016			
OC, 5 July 2012			
OC, 5 June 2014			
OC, 5 March 2015			

Appendix 7.

NVivo Codebook – Nodes

Name	Description	Files	References
Anti-immigration		1	1
Global trade in humans	Focus on the global/international aspect of human trafficking	34	58
Immigrant women and girls	Focus on immigrant women and girls as victims of trafficking	35	59
Modern-day slavery		24	40
Racism	Insinuating that a certain race is more prone to HT victimization and/or perpetration	5	12
Us vs. Them	Canada as distant and different than the	8	10

Name	Description	Files	References
	Other, coming in and causing disturbances		
Anti-prostitution		4	5
Appeal to extreme cases	Saying prostitution isn't safe because of these extreme cases	69	155
Focus on sex trafficking		115	295
Forced prostitution		80	159
Happy Ending	An anecdote to show how women have changed their lives around once they "escaped" sex work- They become good, upstanding citizens.	12	21
Increase Surveillance	Increases in surveillance and sanctions on sex workers under the guise of protection	84	242
Infantilizing	Women often linked with girls, viewed as vulnerable, in need of protection and rescue	121	369
Sex slavery		38	62
Sex work as inherently exploitative		85	225
Vague Statistics		108	305
Women as passive		113	395
Causes	Various causes that are cited as leading to HT. Example: women taking drugs, women as naive/lured, organized crime, migration	2	6
Boyfriend	The idea of women falling into a trap by their "so called boyfriend"	33	79
Childhood trauma	Insinuating that a rough upbringing leads women to prostitution and thus more vulnerable.	26	41
Drug use		50	78
Gang affiliation		16	21
Incarceration	Spending time in jail- either the pimp or the victim. Or, a past history with criminality	3	4
Large Social Events	Such as sporting events (the Olympics, FIFA World Cup), concerts, music festivals	7	20
Marginalization		11	11
Migration as the cause		32	55
Organized Crime		21	28
Overrepresentation of Indigenous Women		22	27

Name	Description	Files	References
Pornography		4	6
Poverty		31	47
Sex trades as cause of HT	Referencing sex trades in relation to criminality, and human trafficking in particular	88	204
The Internet	New social media sites, new technology	34	65
Tourism		5	8
TV and Movies		1	2
Un-educated		14	16
Moral regulation		0	0
Biblical references		3	4
Church and State	Religious groups working with the government	12	27
Educating the non-believers	The Bible speaks of the moral and spiritual instruction of believers and of children in particular. "The purpose of Christian education is the directing of the process of human development toward God's objective for man: godliness of character and action. It bends its efforts to the end "that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim. 3:17)."	40	57
Good Girl Trope	Imagery of the good white girl from a middle-class upbringing falling prey to the evil pimp.	35	55
NIMBY	Not in my backyard, fear of prostitution entering their neighbourhoods, prostitution become normalized.	37	63
Nomenclature of evil	Using terminology to evoke a sense of right and wrong, hints to use or moral position	19	27
Sex work as immoral		50	99
Traditional values	Drawing links to what has traditionally been the status quo	35	56
Other forms of HT		14	22
Pro- sex work		7	16
Infringing on human rights		23	38
Right to security		39	90
Sex work as labour		28	60
Sex work laws as misogynist	Pointing out how the laws are written to target women, limit their choices, control	12	18

Name	Description	Files	References
	their bodies, and put sanctions on their choices.		
Sex workers have agency	Sex workers being portrayed as having agency and the abilities to make calculated choices about their lives/wellbeing.	29	49
Sexual exploitation	Recognition that there's a difference between human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and sex trafficking	33	48

ⁱ <https://theyee.ca/Culture/2020/02/18/Benjamin-Perrin-Stands-Up-For-People-Who-Use-Drugs/>

ⁱⁱ <https://www.ratanak.org/about/>

ⁱⁱⁱ <https://www.bridgenorth.org/our-vision-mission-values.html>

^{iv} <https://www.westmont.edu/calling-christians-stop-slavery-once-again>

^v <https://openparliament.ca/committees/justice/41-2/41/deborah-pond-1/only/>

^{vi} <https://www.freedomcatalyst.ca/>

^{vii} [https://churchforvancouver.ca/debunking-the-myths-about-canadas-prostitution-law/](https://churchforvancouver.ca/debunking-the-myths-about-canadas-proposed-prostitution-law/)

^{viii} <https://www.anglican.ca/wp-content/uploads/Human-Trafficking-eBook.pdf>

^{ix} <https://www.cmacan.org/>

^x <https://churchforvancouver.ca/human-trafficking-should-be-an-election-issue/>

^{xi} <https://womensconnection.ca/>

^{xii} <https://world.regent-college.edu/profile/tenth-church-open-and-vulnerable>

^{xiii} <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2017/03/26/news/guyana/trauma-survivor-turned-psychologist-takes-anti-human-trafficking-crusade/>

^{xiv} Redlightfreenlightfilm.com

^{xv} Sim.ca

^{xvi} <http://allsaintstoronto.com/our-programs/>

^{xvii} <https://chvnradio.com/news/joy-smith-receives-distinguished-christian-leadership-award>

^{xviii} Evangelicalfellowship.ca

^{xix} https://www.councilofchurches.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/CCC_HumanTraffickingInCanada_English2014_FINAL.pdf

^{xx} <http://www.ceasenow.org/about/history/>

^{xxi} <https://salvationist.ca/articles/salvation-army-barista-program/>

^{xxii} http://www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive/elections/2011/platform/prayer/prayer_sm.htm

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- xxiii <https://sharedhope.org/about-us/our-mission-and-values/>
- xxiv Safoundation.com
- xxv Hopeforthesold.com
- xxvi Embracedignity.org/what-we-do/
- xxvii <https://www.christianity.ca/page.aspx?pid=13739>
- xxviii <https://canadianchristianity.com/nazanin-afshin-jam-peter-mackay-marriage-3005/>
- xxix <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=80yeeHVdQPk>
- xxx <https://shelovesmagazine.com/2012/tania-fiolleau-once-a-brothel-madam/>
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- xlviii <https://www.reddeeradvocate.com/uncategorized/magdalene-house-set-to-open/>
- xlix <http://sunarchives.sheridanc.on.ca/blog/2015/04/16/the-dark-world-of-human-trafficking/>