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POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES**

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**Reading Between the Lines:
A Case Study of British and Canadian National News Coverage of Sex Trafficking**

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**Reading Between the Lines:
A Case Study of British and Canadian National News Coverage of Sex
Trafficking**

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**Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
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**Department of Sociology and Anthropology
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Abstract

Current scholarship on migrant sex work warns us to avoid viewing female migrant sex workers as either passive “victims” of male dominated trafficking schemes or ruthless villains who chose prostitution and illegal migration. This thesis concentrates on the print media in two democratic states, Canada and the United Kingdom in order to investigate how the public is being educated on migrant sex work. Specifically, this thesis analyzes representations of female migrant sex workers in news articles published by the British newspaper *The Guardian*, and the Canadian newspaper *The Globe and Mail*. A total of 100 articles are selected by keyword search from the years 2000-2008. They are analyzed by using frame analysis. Overall, this thesis concludes that the audiences of *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* are provided with a partial account of who migrant sex workers are and how or why they end up in the sex trade.

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Introduction: Sex Trafficking and Civil Awareness

Introduction: A Two-fold Research Problematic

This thesis attempts to study the possibility for citizens of two western countries, the United Kingdom and Canada, to become educated on the topic of sex trafficking through the news media. Specifically, this thesis aims to expose what citizens in the United Kingdom and Canada will learn about migrant sex workers if they obtain their information from two large newspapers in those countries, namely *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom and *The Globe and Mail* in Canada. Thus, the topic that is under investigation in this thesis has two components. First, this thesis is interested in the issue of “migrant sex work”. Second, it is interested in newspaper representations, as the information provided by newspapers allows ordinary citizens to educate themselves about migrant sex work and the related phenomenon, sex trafficking, in their daily lives.

In the remainder of this introduction, I will first explain this two-fold research problem and its relevance. In the next section, I will outline my personal motivation for choosing and methodologically approaching this topic. I will also state the goals of this thesis and specify my research question. Next, I will sketch out the research strategy and methodology. The last section of this introduction will provide a short overview of the thesis structure.

While “sex work” is often referred to as “the oldest profession the world”, “migrant sex work” – at least in its international form -- has been identified as a fairly recent phenomenon of increasing importance (Cameron and Newman 2008, Monzini 2005; 2).

Specifically, research on social, economic and political factors which connect it to forced migration, slavery like conditions, and sex trafficking is relatively recent (Cameron and Newman 2008, Monzini 2005, Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002).

A number of complexities surround national and international reaction to migrant sex work including whether or not the females have been forced, tricked or sold into the sex trade. As well, if the migrant sex workers are participating in illegal sex work, or if prostitution is illegal, are also factors which influence government reaction. Adding to this level of complexity is the age of migrant workers, often being minors, which further complicates criminal and immigration policy implementation. While the documented experiences and stories of migrant sex workers may generate a sense of compassion and outrage by most who hear them, the situation of migrant sex work and its relationship with sex trafficking and sexual slavery have not yet been eliminated. Determining who holds responsibility for the welfare of those migrant sex workers who are found by authorities to be illegal migrants or illegally working as sex workers is greatly determined by how the phenomena is being defined. Both the UK and Canada are countries run by a democratically elected government. As such, allocating responsibility for migrant sex workers and their experiences is very much dependent upon public reaction and awareness of the topic.

This thesis addresses the topic of migrant sex work by studying the way it is presented in the mainstream media, specifically newspapers. The news media is a crucial factor in educating its audiences of the major topics, debates and discussions taking place in national and international settings. Indeed, the question of public awareness is important as politicians sometimes rely on media to execute certain “spins” on public events or issues

(Reese et al., 2004: 36). As a result, the messages which these political actors transmit can influence audience reaction. In this case of sex trafficking and migrant sex work, public awareness could allow the emergence of pressure groups which might help improving the situation of migrant sex workers. Because the news media has such an array of forms and reach, this research project will focus specifically on national newspapers.

Various scholars have addressed the issue of globalization, poverty, organized crime, police corruption and government apathy as acting as the foundation which allows for sex trafficking and exploitation of migrant sex workers to exist and grow. While the significance of these various factors is great, so is the impact of citizens' knowledge and understanding of the problems and issues surrounding migrant sex work. Hence, this thesis' focus on the media and its contribution (or not) to educating a wider public about the topic of migrant sex work. Put differently, while the factors that enable migrant sex work to exist dominate the academic literature on sex trafficking, this thesis, instead, focuses on media coverage of sex trafficking and the representations of the female migrant sex workers in two large newspapers.

Motivation, Goals and Research Question

In this research project I address the issue of public awareness and understanding of the complexities which surround migrant sex work and its ability to both morally and physically maim the workers involved. I chose to examine the news media coverage of sex trafficking and the frames used to describe migrant sex workers because I want to see what sort of representations are used to inform audiences of the phenomenon. With the academic

literature of sex trafficking indicating that this phenomenon affects many countries in the world, I want to understand just why I, a student with a background in human rights and a frequent newspaper reader, had known so little about the phenomenon and its severity.

It is important to note that the production of news is as much an important factor in understanding news media coverage, as is analysing specific news texts. There are many methods of analysing the news media, for example, comparing the newspaper text with government documents could allow for the relationship between media influence on the government, and government influence on the media to be highlighted. However, for this thesis, I wanted to exclusively focus on the amount of news coverage, and the representations of the female migrant sex workers. Therefore, I set forth to study just how the news media is covering, or not covering, the topic. With academic literature suggesting that sex trafficking has not only become very frequent in Europe but is also quite vividly researched (Monzini 2005: 25-28), I chose to compare a national Canadian newspaper with that of a European country, namely United Kingdom. The United Kingdom was selected specifically, as it is both a transit and a destination country for migrant sex workers entering Europe (Kelly and Regan 2000: 19). I specifically chose to compare the coverage of this issue in Canada's *Globe and Mail* newspaper and in *The Guardian* in the UK because both are left-wing daily national newspapers. Analysing the news coverage of these two newspapers in two very different countries will allow me to examine the questions of *how* and *what* the audiences are being informed of about sex trafficking. It will not allow me to answer *why* there seems to be little civilian pressure on the government to enact change. Analysing representations that are used to describe the migrant sex workers in the media, will allow me to show a) how the two countries news media are informing readers of

trafficked or voluntary migrating sex workers, and b) what this newspaper coverage is telling the reader about larger issues regarding sex trafficking, and the involvement of women from abroad in the Canadian and British sex work. In summary, the purpose of this thesis is to shed light on the significance of newspapers in shaping and projecting particular portrayals of migrant sex work through the use of “frames” to describe the females involved. This research project will look specifically at the “frames” used by *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail* in their reporting of the topic of migration for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

As such, my research question is geared to address what is being told to the media audiences and how this information fits into larger debates and discussion of the phenomenon of sex trafficking. Specifically I address the following question: How are the females who work in the migrant sex trade framed by the news media?

Research Design

The best way to answer this research question is to conduct a case study. A case study allows for a thorough and intimate examination of a social phenomenon. In my study, it allows me to connect the analysis of newspaper representations of migrant sex workers to broader issues of gender inequality, sex crimes, media coverage of minorities and of immigration (Yin 2002: 13; Edwards and Talbot 1999:50). In selecting two newspapers and by focusing on the same time period for each of them, a case study will allow for a close comparison between both papers. It will thus enable me to conduct a detailed analysis of differences and similarities of their ways to educate the public about migrant sex work.

For this project I chose to examine *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* for specific reasons. I chose to use *The Globe and Mail* because it is a Canadian national

newspaper, known for its fairly progressive, left-of-centre news coverage (Clow 1993:41, 42). The UK national newspaper *The Guardian* was selected for analysis in this research project because of its similarities to the Canadian newspaper; *The Guardian* considers itself a left wing national newspaper (Guardian 2009).

I selected my keywords “sex slave”, “sex trafficking” and “human trafficking” as a result of the academic literature which referred to those who were trafficked or went abroad to work as migrant sex workers. The different key words reflect different academic arguments and research on the topic of sex trafficking. The relationship between these three keywords will be examined further in Chapter 2.

While the migrant sex trade does involve both males and females, much more research and concentration by academics, policy leaders and government officials has been placed on women and children, particularly young girls as they make up the majority (ILO 2009, Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002: 2-5). Therefore, this research will focus solely on the female migrant sex workers, including both women and young girls.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis has eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 will review the academic literature in which I will examine what exactly sex trafficking is. In this chapter I will outline the larger debates which are found in sex trafficking literature. The context which allows sex trafficking to exist contains many areas of social problems and issues of inequality well known to academics and researchers in the fields of Sociology and Women’s Studies. As such, these underlying issues will be discussed in this section as they

have a fundamental impact on situating the complexity and critical need for sex trafficking education to become an international priority.

Chapter 3 of this thesis consists of a theory section which will discuss the impact of media representations, particularly on areas pertaining to sex trafficking; vulnerable groups such as women, minorities, and immigrants and the impact this has on national affairs and harmony. The theories presented will also be used to highlight the role of the media in its representation of female migrant sex workers. Incorporating these theories allows the research to address how education on the topic can be critical for the fates of the migrant sex workers in two ways; to allow for reintegration of these women into mainstream society or for their fates to be one of deportation, shame and more abuse.

Chapter 4 will explain the design and methodology of the research project in detail. It will provide a nuanced description of the purpose of the research. In this chapter, I will explain why Canada and the UK were chosen as countries to be studied. I will also explain how I analyzed the news articles, how I selected the news articles and discuss the process of finalizing my data selection. This chapter will also describe the method of framing which I use to analyze the texts.

Chapters 5 and 6, are my empirical chapters. In Chapter 5 I present the UK's national newspaper *The Guardian* and its representations of female migrant sex workers in its news articles. In my empirical analysis, I identified three dominant themes with respect to the *Guardian's* coverage of migrant sex workers. These themes are *illegal migrant*, *legitimate victim and led by deceit*. The analysis in Chapter 5 will show that the frames used for representing females in the sex trade correspond to these particular themes.

Chapter 6 is similar to Chapter 5 in that it presents the results of my empirical analysis. Here, I will describe the representations of women in Canada's national newspaper *The Globe and Mail*. In this second empirical chapter I will also compare the findings from Canada's national newspaper to those of the UK newspaper. This comparison will identify the relationship between the differential use of these two particular frames, *illegal migrant* and *legitimate victim*, with the academic literature on sex trafficking within the UK and Canada.

In contrast to Chapters 5 and 6, which remain fairly descriptive, in Chapter 7 I provide a critical in-depth discussion of my research findings. I also offer a number of conclusions which can be drawn from the differences and similarities of the two newspaper coverage's, linking them to the larger sex trafficking debates explored in my the literature review conducted in Chapter 2.

The final chapter of my research project will be a conclusion where I will restate the purpose of my study, and situate my findings according to my hypothesis. In this conclusion I will incorporate my research study and its findings to larger sex trafficking debates, research and both national and international initiatives to combat the phenomena. This section will act as a final summary of what I have found in my study and the significant of these findings in future research and the national actions of both Canada and the UK in their attempts to address sex trafficking and illegal migration.

Chapter 2: Unravelling the Concept of Sex Trafficking

Introduction

The current crisis of the international sex trade may be a new area of concern for some, but in reality this phenomena is not new to human beings and its debates have been lingering in women's groups, sex workers and political discussions for years (Weitzer 2007; Monzini 2005; Doezenia 2000).

Domination over women and children has long been a characteristic of some men. One such form of male dominance and power over women which has long resulted in irreparable damage to generations of women and children is sexual assault and abuse (Engerman et al., 2001). For centuries, the power of the law and its enforcement, community justice and aid have all been determined and assessed by men, leaving women and children who have been the victims of sexual assault, abuse and rape with little means of help or justice (Engerman et al., 2001). In many countries, it was not perceived as a form of assault if a man took what he wanted from a woman or child because they were the property of his or of some other man, but in no way were they viewed as equal or worthy of the same justice or rights of men (Engerman et al. 2001). Marginalized and placed in an even weaker position were those who were of non-white skin colour. Often, for their ability to escape sexual assault or abuse at the hands of white men was tolerated if not encouraged, leaving little a woman or child could do to protect herself (Engerman et al., 2001). No one would hear their experiences or view them as important or legitimate.

Within the last century, the rights of women have grown and developed so parallels of treatment and equality have arisen between men and women in many nations and regions around the world (Inglehart and Norris 2003). However many scholars today argue that one area where the treatment of women is still in a stage of primal and inadequate understanding is the field of work made up by sex workers and prostitutes (Weitzer 2007; Barton 2006; Bruckert and Parent 2004; Doezema 2000; Meyers 1997; Bullough and Bullough 1997; Pheterson 1989). The debates surrounding sex work and prostitution have been around for a long period of time. They involve moral tensions, racial profiling, stereotypes, injustice, discrimination and persecution (Weitzer 2007; Doezema 2000; Meyers 1997).

Trafficking of individuals is defined by the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2003) as follows:

“trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs; (UN, Protocol 2000:Article 3(a)).

This definition acts as a foundation from which this thesis extends. It is necessary for the purpose of this thesis, to clarify ongoing debate on the overall structure of sex trafficking: not all women or girls who end up in situations of sexual slavery were trafficked in the common notion of the term, as discussed in the above UN protocol. Rather some individuals who end up in sexual slavery may have willingly taken a job offer that involved their employment in the sex industry. However, they often did not anticipate the full extent of the

“services” they would be forced to perform (Stephen-smith and Sachrajda 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2004; Langevin and Belleau 2000; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000). Similarly, not all women or girls who end up as sex slaves were “kidnapped” violently by traffickers or pimps. In fact, many desperate females originally sought out smugglers in order to take advantage of employment opportunities or life expectations in more equal and wealthy countries abroad (Cameron and Newman 2008; Monzini 2005; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Kyle and Koslowski 2001; Reginald and Salt 2000). In these cases women or girls may have viewed the risks of illegally migrating abroad as one which was outweighed by a perceived ability to achieve a more equal, rights based and self sufficient life for themselves and their families. That being said, it is also important to remember that women or girls who are perceived to have “willingly” left home to find sex work abroad, may have been forced to make this decision in order to survive or to enable the survival of her family (Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Belser 2005; Adams 2003; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Lim et al., 2002; Kyle and Koslowski 2001).

In order to better illustrate the complexity of this current phenomenon of migration for sex based employment, this chapter will first discuss “sex trafficking”, as it is most commonly referred to and lay out the foundations as to why research on this topic is so pressing. The chapter will then provide a literature review of the research and academic publications relating to the topic of sex trafficking. It will provide an overview of the research on the trafficking of women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation including the factors which influence or provide ground for this phenomenon including,

North- South disparity, gender inequality, and influences for increased female (illegal) migration.

Source Countries

Sex trafficking as is understood in today's academic literature increased in the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, which allowed poverty, despair, and few employment opportunities to create an ideal environment for desperation to quickly spread:

In no time, the economies of the new republics collapsed and the social safety nets that had provided a minimum standard of living for the bulk of the population were torn to shreds. Security and inequality became relics of the past. With the social structure in disarray, families broke down. Children were abandoned in the street. Husbands sought solace in the bottle and alcoholism became an epidemic. Violence against women and children soared. And through it all, the women were left to pick up the pieces (Malarek 2004: 2, 3,).

The access to previously “untouchable” white women and the destitute situation in the newly independent states, generated an increase in the international movement of the migrant sex worker from this area (Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004). For example, after the fall of the Soviet Union, poverty, unemployment, and gender discrimination swept through the states which were now struggling to become independent and to manage on their own. Despite high literacy rates and incredibly high levels of education of women in these Eastern European countries, corruption, discrimination and sexism blocked their entry into meaningful and decent wages in the employment sector (Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). As jobs were scarce, and sexism high, women were left to stay home and try to survive on their partners wages, or find bottom of the barrel jobs which paid little and

gave no benefits for themselves or their families (Waugh 2006; Gozdziaik and Collett 2005; Malarek 2004). Researchers have explained that with no money coming into the household, or not nearly enough to provide a promising life for themselves and their families, many women tried to find employment outside of their countries in order to send money home to their family, friends or to escape debt (Stephen- Smith 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Hughes 2000). Young women watching the poverty and discrimination grow found they had no choice but to leave their home whatever way possible in order to escape a bleak lifestyle which awaited them should they stay (Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). The desperation coming from the women of these Eastern European countries provided traffickers with a situation where they had no difficulty in finding easy targets for their schemes of profiting millions of dollars by feeding new flesh into the international sex trade (Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000; Langevin and Belleau 2000; Kelly and Regan 2000).

Research conducted by academics and non-governmental organizations have identified traffickers as a number of different types of agents: in some cases they are family acquaintances who sell a female relative to an organized crime ring. In other cases the agent is an individual who decides to start their own trafficking network, profiting from kidnapping or forcing a female into a foreign sex market. Often the women and girls are sought, trafficked and put into sex work by renowned organized crime rings whose specialty lies in human smuggling, drug or weapon trade (Bruckert and Parent 2002). Some examples of these groups include Albanian gangs smuggling women from the Balkan areas to other regions of Europe and abroad, the “Snake Heads”, a Chinese organized crime group, and various African criminal groups (Waugh 2006; 195-196; Malarek 2004: 190-191; Monzini,

2005: 104-105). Research studies, police reports and non-governmental organizations have determined that Albanian gangs as well as the Chinese “Snake Heads” are two examples of the most brutal and dehumanizing groups in how they deal with female migrant sex workers (Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Monzini 2005).

Many women and girls from Eastern Europe have no money or assets which would allow them to afford or attain the proper visas and documents required to leave their home and enter another country to work legally. Knowing this traffickers posing as employment agencies, friends of friends, and other various camouflages offer to get the necessary documents for young women and girls if they agree to pay a fee or “work off” their debt (Stephen- Smith 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Kelly and Regan 2000). However, the documents presented are often forged or fake and confiscated from the women and girls once they arrive in the new countries (Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Masika 2002; Kyle and Koslowski 2001; Langevin and Belleau 2000; Appleyard and Salt 2000). The literature exposes how jobs as waitresses, live - in caregivers, domestic workers, and strippers are some of the advertised opportunities which the women and girls think they are signing up for. Early in their travels the females learn that this is not to be the case (IOM 2009, IOM 2008; Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004 Masika 2002). Confiscation of documents, brutalization, rape, beatings, psychological abuse, torture and threat are commonly administered on the young women and girls to make them fearful of their employers and submit to the exploitation ahead, no matter how degrading or harmful (Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Beeks and Amir 2006; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Appleyard and Salt 2000). Accounts from former migrant sex workers who found themselves trafficked,

explain how many traffickers instilled into the young women and girls a fear of the police and authorities: first of all because they did not have their proper documents and could be deported; secondly, because often police and other authorities were aiding in the trafficking or were clients of these new sex workers (Cameron and Newman 2008; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Malarek 2004).

Examining the increase in academic and non-governmental research on the matter, it is evident that while changes in Eastern Europe may have created a rise in European sex trafficking, a number of other regions exist which have similar trafficking schemes as those in Eastern Europe. They too have become areas of increased academic and NGO study (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Stephen- Smith 2008; Kelly and Ryan 2000; Monzini 2005). Academic literature demonstrates that various levels of poverty, discrimination and little or no opportunities for employment either encourage or force women and girls to go abroad, as this was being (thought of as) the only option to ensure survival (Cameron and Newman 2008; Malarek 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Langevin and Belleau 2000). With the ability to rein in enormous sums of money and an abundant supply of women and girls, many regions in Asia and Africa have also become major “source countries” where females are sought for sex trafficking (Laczko and Gozdzia 2005: 77; Cameron and Newman 2008; Masika 2002). According to the literature many African states are home to both large and small scale trafficking operations. Civil war, violence, inequality and tyranny have created a location where women and girls are perceived as a means to an end, be it control, humiliation in front of enemy tribes, clans or political groups. As such they become sex slaves to rebel groups, victims of systemic rape, or are trafficked abroad for sex work in foreign lands including Europe, North America, and neighbouring African states

(Laczko and Gozdzia 2005; Malarek 2004; Masika 2002; Human Trafficking 2006; Masika 2002).

Similarly, certain areas of Latin America with regionally high levels of poverty, and influential organized crime rings have become known to academics and human rights groups as having allowed for trafficking rings to take roots:

The structural variables of trafficking in Latin America are related to the historical processes of poverty, economic crises, state dependence on developed countries and scarce opportunities for human development in local and national spheres. Corruption and the proliferation of networks of transnational organized crime are compounded by the structural variables, which have very powerful economic ramifications (Cameron and Newman 2008; 209).

Furthermore, South-East Asia has also become a well established sending and receiving country of migrant sex workers. In some countries specifically, there is an abundance of females who are trafficked either abroad for sex work or filtered into the countries' own renowned sex tourism industry:

Asia constitutes a region often described as a hub of trafficking in persons, particularly for the purpose of sexual exploitation...In Thailand and the Philippines, connections have been made in the (mostly feminist) literature between trafficking for sexual exploitation and prosperous sex tourism....Cambodia has more recently become subject to attention for a more specific sex tourism, namely that of *child* sex tourism... (Laczko and Gozdzia 2005; 203).

Areas in South- East Asia have become well documented areas of study and analysis in the sex trafficking literature. This is due to the region's enormous sex tourism industry, and lack of initiatives set in place to protect children and stop the child sex trade (Cameron and Newman 2008; Laczko and Gozdzia 2005; Brown 2001).

As can be noted, the descriptions of the extent of sex trafficking in the four regions listed above, Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America and South-East Asia, offer some interesting similarities in terms of backgrounds and underlying patterns which allow for the

multimillion dollar illegal sex trade to thrive. Specifically, there are a number of socio-economic factors which allow for these different but similar regional sex trafficking schemes to exist. The literature on sex trafficking specifically underlines the impact of four factors pertaining to the thousands of women and girls who make up migrant sex workers: namely poverty, gender inequality, discrimination, and violence.

The research and literature which exists examining the phenomena of sex trafficking provides readers with the possibility to understand that the existence of sex trafficking, and its reliance upon young women and girls - of whom many have initially been forced or coerced into entering the migrant sex trade - involves a global resistance to change on a number of key factors. The international changes which would need to be addressed in order to allow women and girls to make informed decisions about entering the migrant sex trade include: gender norms and values; migration push and pull factors; exploitation and funding towards social and economic programs primarily relied upon by women and girls (Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Lim et al., 2002). Presently, these factors remain unaddressed by the international community. This allows women and girls to remain in a position where survival instincts push them into situations where they can be exploited locally and internationally by more powerful men- and sometimes other women (Lim et al., 2002).

Destination Countries

While the regions of Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and South- East Asia, are well known as “source countries” of migrant sex workers, there is an equal abundance of well known “destination” countries, from which the demand for migrant sex workers

originates. A destination country is a country where migrant workers seek to travel to in order to obtain work and/or sell their services. In the context of this thesis a destination country is a country where a migrant sex worker is traveling to in order to meet the demands by the citizens of that country who seek the services of foreign sex workers.

Many countries in the wealthier northern and western region of the world have become demanding in their acquired taste for foreign sex workers. In many of these countries, the ability to fill vacant sex work jobs has become a challenge due to advancement of women's rights in these countries, and improved gender equality on several fundamental levels: political, social, economical and judicial (Lim et al., 2002). Countries which are well known to be destination countries include Great Britain, France, Italy, United States, Canada, and Sweden (Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2002; Langevin and Belleau 2000). These countries although known as areas offering women freedom, rights and equality have become home to thousands of trafficked and / or exploited migrant sex workers. Although facts and figures regarding the number of illegal foreign sex workers found in these regions are subject to much academic and legal debate, there are estimates provided by national governments and international agencies. Due to the differential treatment given by various countries to the definitions of trafficking, the statistics and what they represent vary greatly. For example, in Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police estimates from 600-800 individuals are trafficked into Canada annually (Gozdziak and Collett 2005, Bruckert and Parent 2004). Interestingly, NGO reports claim the number of trafficked persons to be much higher, namely at a level of around 16,000 annually (Stewart 2005). Estimates provided in the 2006 US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report state that approximately 14,500 to

17,500 individuals trafficked into the US each year (Human Trafficking. Org: United States of America 2001-2006; US State Department 2006). Another country that is considered a highly welcomed “destination country” for trafficking rings, particularly for areas of sex work and forced labour (US State Department 2009), is the United Kingdom. The organization Anti-Slavery reports that the UK government has approximately 5000 trafficked persons within the country at any given time (The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group 2010).

While these examples offer only a glimpse into various domestic situations of human trafficking, they do give insight into the profound level of complexities which surround identifying and therefore managing human trafficking.

Choices, Solutions, Causes

While the factors of, poverty, gender inequality and violence, are the basis of some of the debates found in much of the sex trafficking literature, some authors are more adamant about certain details of the trade, such as the issue of choice, the solutions, and the causes. These three areas: choices, solutions and causes, are markers of strong differences in the academic literature surrounding sex trafficking. The authors Malarek (2004, 2009) and Hughes (2005), for example, argue for the abolition of prostitution. Prostitution is seen as one side of a major area of study and analysis of sex trafficking. They argue that in no way prostitution or sex work in any environment or circumstance is free of force. Hughes refers to all women as “victims”, and Malarek argues that sex workers are the victims of “sex terrorism”; whose actions and services are thus a means of “survival sex”:

...I have concluded that prostitution is the world's oldest form of *oppression*. No group in society is so victimized, so brutally terrorized and abused, as the women and children who are trapped in the vicious cycle of prostitution.....What we are witnessing today is nothing less than international sex terrorism against women and children at the hands of men...(Malarek 2009: xii, xiii).

While Malarek explores the scope of international sex trafficking, with emphasis on Eastern Europe, he only briefly touches on the impact of policy, instead forming his arguments regarding prostitution to be based on morals. Hughes goes further in placing enormous blame on sex trade policies and prostitution laws in destination countries. She argues that banning sex work would significantly help end sex trafficking:

By tolerating or legalizing prostitution, the state, at least passively, is contributing to the demand for victims. The more states regulate prostitution and derive tax revenue from it, the more actively they become part of the demand for victims (Hughes 2005: 8).

Similar to Malarek's perspective, the authors Hochschild and Ehrenreich argue that the absence of state and police proactive attitude towards helping women and girls found to be illegally entering and working in the sex trade, allows traffickers, pimps and exploiters to go unpunished. These authors argue that the economic, sexist and racist discrimination which allows for women to fall prey to trafficking schemes are only part of the problem. Rather, they state that the men who purchase the sexual services and many government's liberal punishments for those who exploit these migrant sex workers drive the demand further. Hochschild and Ehrenreich explain how the shift in western work dynamics has allowed for the "feminization of migration" to become a necessary component to the continued way of life for many westerners, particularly men:

...while working mothers are doing somewhat less housework than their counterparts twenty years ago, most men are doing only a little more. With divorce, men frequently abdicate their child-care responsibility ties to their ex-wives. In most cultures of the First World outside the United States, powerful traditions even more firmly discourage husbands from doing

‘women’s work.’The men in wealthier countries are also, of course, directly responsible for the demand for immigrant sex workers- ...new immigrants often take up the least desirable work, and, thanks to the AIDS epidemic, prostitution has become a job that fewer women deliberately choose (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002: 9).

The ways in which migrant workers have become a means of many western families livelihood, has allowed for abused and exploited migrants to fall between cracks in protective migration, criminal and rights based policies. Thus, allowing exploitation to be instead part and parcel of many migrant’s experiences in western nations.

The writings of author Doezema (2000) represents a different argument in the sex trafficking literature, one which focuses instead on description and the means in which common discourse on migrant sex work reflects a conservative view of female physical and mental liberties. Specifically, Doezema argues that the present understanding of sex trafficking stems from the hyped up notion of “white slavery”. This term was initially discussed in the early twentieth century, where white women of middle and upper classes were to remain within the rigid confines of patriarchal discourse to ensure they were protected (Doezema 2000: 24). Doezema argues that today’s hysteria surrounding sex trafficking is a continuation of this understanding of white slavery, and those women who fall outside of these patriarchal confines of “proper behaviour” are regarded as deserving abuse, humiliation, rape, assault and beatings which may result in sex work (Doezema 2000: 28 – 29). The arguments put forth by Doezema (2000) are also taken up by author Weitzer (2007). He discusses the implications which arguments such as Hughes’(2004) and Malarek’s (2004, 2009) have on not only the women who are involved, but all women, as it disallows any say in determining the acts which their body may or may not be used for. Weitzer criticizes the arguments by these researchers, who regard prostitution and sex work

as having no ability to promote equality or legitimate decision making by the females involved. He examines the impact which ‘moral crusaders’ have on impacting political and public awareness of sex trafficking and the implications of this on the women who find themselves in sex work and prostitution.

This crusade rejects the very concept of benign migration for the purpose of sex work, since prostitution is defined as inherently exploitative and oppressive. Instead, the more nefarious term “sex trafficking” (borrowed from the equally insidious “drug trafficking”) is applied to every instance of relocation to a destination where the individual sells sex. The issue of worker agency is central to the research literature on the sex industry, and the evidence shows variation, rather than uniformity, in the degree to which workers feel exploited versus empowered and in control of their working conditions.⁴² Workers do not necessarily see themselves as victims lacking agency. Instead of viewing themselves as “prostituted,” they may embrace more neutral work identities, such as “working women” or “sex workers.” Some prostitutes make conscious decisions to enter the trade and do not feel that their work is degrading or oppressive (Weitzer 2007: 253).

Scholars such as Doezema (2000), Weitzer (2007), Waugh (2006) and Monzini (2005) as well as some non-governmental reports have explained that it is imperative that the current discourse surrounding sex trafficking no longer generalize or use freely the word “victim” to describe every individual who is participating in the international sex trade (Weitzer 2007, Monzini 2005, Doezema 2000). These researchers argue that solely referring to all women and girls who are involved as “victims”, allows the common stereotype that all participants were kidnapped, tricked or sold into the trade to become dominant (Weitzer 2007; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Doezema 2000). By continuing with the image of “victim”, these authors argue, the research neglects the fact that there are many women who actively decide to travel abroad to seek work but who may still end up in the sex trade. They also point out that there are women who knowingly applied to work as a sex worker in a foreign country but did not understand or were not informed of the treatment and exploitation that their traffickers or smugglers would inflict upon them (Cameron and

Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004). Weitzer, Doezema, Waugh and Monzini stress that regarding all participants as “naive women” and “girls” who were tricked into this trade quickly neglects the fact that for many women around the world-- who find themselves in dire situations of poverty, inequality, abuse and corruption—having the opportunity to travel abroad, no matter the kind of opportunity, is the only way to escape a life of misery (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Weitzer 2007; Langevin and Belleau 2000; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000). As well, the constant imagery of the “typical” victim increases the abuses of those who are not considered not “legitimate victims”; it also fosters the continuation of a naive or even harmful “good girl”, “bad girl” dichotomy (Weitzer 2007; Doezema 2000; Meyers 1997).

These authors further explain that if laws which are in place were to adequately deal with prostitution and sex work as a profession it would ensure the safety of these women. These authors explain that if laws-- instead of labelling women for their profession – would focus on true equality of opportunity, then sex trafficking would not be an issue (Weitzer 2007; Monzini 2005; Doezema 2000, 2002). Women would know they were protected. Thus, there would be no need for abused or exploited women to fear police as they would not be committing an illegal act by selling sex. If the state instead of deporting these migrant sex workers, supported those who were abused or exploited, then women would have no need to be afraid to speak up against their exploiters.

While these various arguments in the research are significant, one aspect of the debate which is missing is that of the importance of the public knowledge and awareness. In the debates mentioned above, with the various levels of disagreement, a common argument

is the need to expand analysis and study beyond the women, to include state resolutions, the men who purchase sexual acts, the exploiters, and the legal system. However, one area that is usually neglected by current academic literature is that the importance of public knowledge about migrant sex work. The discussion by academics and NGOs, as outlined above, tends to keep the arguments and debates of sex trafficking in a legal and political realm. While this is important, it would be helpful to find more scholarship that would draw attention to the possibility of action and demands by ordinary citizens and pressure groups, to promote justice and rights for migrant sex workers in the “destination countries” .

Representations of Women

Much sex trafficking research explains that in order to change the experiences and severe maltreatment of women and girls in the migrant sex trade there needs to be a global shift in gaze towards these female labourers (Cameron and Newman 2008; Weitzer 2007; Waugh 2006; Belser 2005; Malarek 2004). Research on sex trafficking, migration, sex crimes and women in the news media, argue that the representations given of the women or girls has an impact on audience understanding of her experiences. The literature explains that public representations of the migrant sex workers often include: whores; tricked by a deceitful employment opportunities abroad; illegal migrants; sex slaves; legitimate victims who are to be viewed as completely innocent of their being placed in the migrant sex trade (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Monzini 2005; Belser 2005; Bruckert and Parent 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Hughes 2000; Langevin and Belleau 2000; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina et al., 2000; Appleyard and Salt 2000; Meyer 1997). The discourse

and its implicit assumptions about the character, moral nature or innocence of the women or girls change drastically when a different adjective or title is given to her situation (Weitzer 2007; Doezenia 2000).

The sex trafficking literature as well as the literature dealing with the representation of women in the media uses three different ways to describe the women involved in the sex trade: as being illegal migrants, being tricked by deceit, and as being innocent victims of circumstance (Weitzer 2007; Monzini 2005; Doezenia 2000). These three types of representations of women are frequently discussed in the academic literature. Scholars point to the ability of media representations to sway government support and public resources to help the women and children caught up in the sex trade through rehabilitation programs and legal rights to remain in the country they have been found in (Stephen- Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Monzini 2005; Bruckert and Parent 2004; Malarek 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Doezenia 2000; Kelly and Regan 2000). The use of these “frames”- a term that will be explained in detail further below- is also significant as it can create a hostile environment for these women and girls, especially if they are found illegally working in the migrant sex trade. For those found illegally working in the sex trade the consequences could mean deportation or criminal charges. In the cases of those women and girls who are deported, research indicates they are often re-trafficked, threatened by traffickers, or are shunned by their communities for having been a sex worker, forced or not (Stephen- Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Schauer and Wheaton 2006; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2004; Langevin and Belleau 2000; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina et al., 2000; Kelly and Regan 2000).

The fluctuation in frame and image of the women and girls matters greatly as it can be the difference between being treated as a dignified human being, or being discarded and simply removed as nothing more than an object (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Weitzer 2007; Monzini 2005; Doezema 2000). The frames used in the discussions, news stories, and academic literature are of importance not only to the women who work in the migrant sex trade, but to all women as it can push forward the foundations of feminism; rights, equality, freedom, or it can mean a step back towards inequality.

As mentioned above, three ways of describing the women or girls in the sex trade have been identified in the academic literature. In the section below, I will describe these representations in detail.

Frames of Women in the Literature

Legitimate Victim

Some authors refer to women or girls involved in the sex trade as “legitimate victims”. A “legitimate victim” according to much academic research is one which cannot be held at all responsible for the experience or situation of maltreatment and abuse (Meyer 1997). Doezema addresses the notion of the innocent trafficked female in a comparison to “white slavery” discourse, a term which the author explains below:

The archetypical ‘white slave’...was suitable for public sympathy...because of her youth and innocence. This ‘innocent victim,’ over 100 years older but not a day wiser, makes her reappearance in contemporary ‘trafficking’ stories. As in white slavery narratives, her ‘innocence’ is established in a number of ways: through stressing her lack of knowledge of or willingness to accede her fate; her youth-equated with sexual unawareness and thus purity; and/or her poverty (Doezema 2000: 34).

The “white slave” as discussed by Doezenia, mostly involves children whose innocence is assumed and who could have no recognizable influence in determining or structuring their experiences of sexual exploitation (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004). Often in the sex trafficking literature, children are viewed as “legitimate victims” as they are often kidnapped, drugged or sold to traffickers or pimps without any understanding of their situation (Doezenia 2000). As Doezenia argues in the above quotation, one of the most critical signifiers of a “legitimate victim” is often the age of the victim. Describing the age of the female when she was exploited allows audiences to understand that the child had no means of controlling what happened to her, a factor which legitimizes her innocence (Weitzer 2007; Berman 2003; Doezenia 2000).

Illegal Migrant

Other studies frame women and girls as “illegal migrants” or unwanted foreigners (Monzini 2005; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Kelly and Regan 2000). As Cameron and Newman describe:

Victims are often treated as criminals (prostitutes or illegal aliens) by the legal system because governments do not wish to consider people who willingly enter for illegal work to be trafficking victims (Cameron and Newman 2008: 6)

Women and girls described as “illegal migrants” often include description of immigration policies or police concern in the influx of illegal persons to the society at large. In conveying these larger issues of national security, a sense of panic is created, thereby allowing for arguments of swift deportation to be presented as justifiable to the audience (Weitzer 2007; Waugh 2006; Lim et al., 2002; Doezenia 2000). A woman who is portrayed as an “illegal migrant”—as opposed to being viewed as “legitimate victim”—is conveyed to

the reader as being fully aware on her journey to the foreign sex market of the lifestyle of migrant sex work. Berman describes the use of the illegal migrant representation as part of the criminalization view of the sex trafficking:

Criminalization thus primarily seeks to create further, more restrictive laws and to dissolve international trafficking networks; assistance to women who have been trafficked tends to be secondary or is understood to occur through arresting criminals...Criminalization also delimits the forms of assistance available for trafficked women to deportation...Deportation returns women 'home', where, it is assumed, they properly belong. In other words and irrespective of whether or not a woman has been trafficked, once she is positioned in the discourse as the victim of a crime, the decision about how to respond is always already present: deport her (Berman 2003:42,43)

Limited sympathy is offered to the women who fall under this type of representation.

Led by Deceit

The image of women portrayed as being coerced or "led by deceit" reflects the idea that these women or girls knew they would be working in the sex industry, but did not know the degree of exploitation or the types of services they would be forced to endure or "offer" (Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002). Weitzer expands on the notion of being "led by deceit" as he highlights the underlying factors influencing these women's travels abroad:

Some women do not understand the terms of the contract or fully appreciate the impact of debt bondage or how difficult it can be to pay off the debt. Some facilitators alter the terms of the agreement after transit or renege on specific promises. In this scenario, the woman's initial consent is compromised by subsequent, unexpected job requirements. Other workers have little prior awareness of the specific working conditions or risks involved in sex work in the new locale. For those who sold sex in their home country, working conditions in the destination country may be far worse... (Weitzer 2007: 454).

This type of representation also includes women or young girls who accepted a job offer abroad, or paid to be smuggled or trafficked abroad, under the assumption they would be employed in legitimate work including day care, waitressing and/or as domestic servants,

but who for reasons such as debt bondage ended up in the sex trade (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Appleyard and Salt; Langevin and Belleau 2000; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000; Kelly and Regan 2000). When this type of representation is used, often the reader is led to feel some sympathy for the women for having believed they were going to fulfill a dream, or escape poverty or corruption. However, this representation is often paired with that of the “illegal immigrant” reminding the audience that this individual is still illegally in the country, despite any possible abuses or exploitative experiences.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main findings in the academic literature. I have also shown that there are three types of representations of women in the sex trade—“legitimate victim”, “illegal migrant” and “led by deceit”. These representations will later be used to assess the coverage of migrant sex workers in the newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail*. Introducing the methodology of frame analysis, in Chapter 4, I will elaborate upon these representations and show that they constitute “frames” that are used in both newspapers to characterize the females at stake. But first, I will address the issue of media representation itself. In the next chapter, Chapter 3, I will discuss academic literature which examines the significance of studying the news media and its impact on public knowledge and opinion on certain topics. This chapter will examine women in the news media, particularly on topics of minorities and sex crimes in the news media and the ways in which women are portrayed in the context of these larger topics.

Chapter 3: Media Representations

Introduction

The news media are an essential aspect of life to many individuals as they allow for individuals to remain in constant awareness of the changes and events in the world around them. The various forms of media including newspapers, magazines, television, radio broadcasting, and the internet, have created an atmosphere where it has become nearly impossible to disengage from the media. With such an enormous role the media have also become a major area of scrutiny by various researchers including academics, as well as minority and political groups.

The ways in which media educate audiences on important events and issues, has becomes a highly controversial topic. Academic literature has taken interest in examining just what and how news media are informing audiences of topics, particularly those which are politically controversial. For example, researchers have identified the representation of minorities in the main stream media to be an area of much concern. The evaluation and analysis of the representations of minorities in the news media is an important area of research, and is for many reasons. In particular, the news media have the ability to define, shape and influence how audiences view a social issue, and how they then interact with fellow citizens.

This chapter will begin by examining the role of the news media in providing audiences with up-to-date news information. Then I will discuss what makes a story

newsworthy, and examine the relationship between media and minorities, women, violence and sex in the media.

The News Media: Keeping Audiences “In the Know”

The news media have become a constant in the public as they have become so easily accessible through different technologies including television and radio programs, newspapers, magazines, and internet sites. Today news is constantly circulating, with twenty-four hour news channels, stations broadcasting newscasts every eight hours, special news programs on television and radio, both which are accessible through the internet throughout the day for those who have access. By means of these technologies, news media inform audiences of what is happening in their community, country and the world (Couldry et al., 2007; Bruns 2005; Fleras 2001; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Van Dijk 1992). Academic literature on news media explain how the media act as filters in sorting through day to day events and in producing a compact and comprehensible stories for audiences to engage with. Literature on news media highlights a number of areas of concern regarding story selection and the impact which this has on audiences. Fleras and Kunz touch on the issue of selection in their analysis of minorities in Canadian news media:

In theory, the mainstream media in modern democratic societies are expected to reflect diverse viewpoints, maintain some degree of neutrality and objectivity, and provide equitable access to everyone. In reality, the mainstream media appear to do the opposite when minorities are involved. By circulating mainstream- dominated discourses, metaphors, images, symbols, meanings, and unstated assumptions and subtexts, the mainstream media are known to select those race-related incidents deemed newsworthy (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 1).

This statement addresses a number of common areas of analysis in news media research: identifying the significance of sources, the definition of a newsworthy story, and how these decisions influence and shape audience understanding of the groups and events within their society and around the world (Couldry et al., 2007; Bruns 2005; Fleras 2001; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Van Dijk 1992). A journalists selection for who he or she interviews and whose statements are included in the news piece are important because depending on the status of this individual in the society, audiences may be greatly influenced by their statements, or they may not pay attention at all. For example, the inclusion of political officials, government representatives or police officers, all of whom are regarded as “important” and “influential” actors in a society. The inclusion of their statements in a news piece will therefore have a more substantial effect on the audience’s interpretation and understanding of a particular group or topic.

Newsworthy Stories

In order to understand news media and its effects on the public, one needs to understand what the news media are. Researchers argue that the main objective of a news medium is to stay in business, to make a profit (Kuhn 2007; Greer 2003; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000). As a result of this underlying economic need, the news media should not be considered as a passive and totally objective entity whose purpose is to simply inform audiences of the “truth” (Braithwaite 2009; Kuhn 2007; Bruns 2005; Greer 2003; Reese et al., 2001; Fleras and Kunz 2000; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000;

Van Dijk 1992). Greer identifies the impact of elites in allowing news agencies to stay informed and therefore remain in business:

The production of news is restricted by a wide range of organizational constraints. Principal among these are the limitation of resources (human, financial, technological) and the requirement to routine news-making, so that what is essentially a 'commodity' may be systematically and efficiently manufactured...In order to cope with deadlines and demands, reporters are forced to reply to a significant extent on dominant social and political institutions- the elite establishment groups in society- for routine access to a significant volume of reportable information.. (Greer 2003: 27).

The need to remain in business is identified in the literature to have an influence on the news selection. It requires that news stories are going to grab public attention.

According to Hackett and Gruneau (2000), some key elements to a newsworthy story include:

...timeliness relevance to an ongoing topic or theme; political significance; consistency with journalists' expectations or conversely novelty, shock or scandal; drama, clarity and unambiguity; conflict; negativity (harm, threat, death, destruction); scope or scandal of impact; human interest; and the involvement of individuals especially celebrities and power holders (Hackett and Gruneau 2000: 35).

With this exhaustive list it would seem appropriate to assume that journalists are given an abundant amount of leniency in determining which events or stories they will work on to present to their audience. Contrarily, researchers argue that due to the need for business, managerial staff, editors, and news media ownership steer journalists in one particular direction over others. The impact of this steering has a direct influence on how a story is read, how the audience understands and interprets the major aspects of the story and the relationship between this story and the lives of the audience. Audiences are looking to the media to provide them with an up to date and summed up account of an event or issue. Therefore, what audiences digest from a news source is critical to their overall understanding of the variables involved in that story.

Another crucial component to a newsworthy story revolves around the sources (Bullock 2007; Alat 2006; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Meyers 1997; Schwartz 1997; Van Dijk 1992). Who is mentioned or quoted in a story is vital for determining if that story is newsworthy or not. In order for a story to be regarded as legitimate or truthful, utilizing sources which are understood as truthful or legitimate to the audience is important. As Hacket and Gruneau (2000) explain:

Legislatures, government offices, city hall, police departments, courts, business corporations and other bureaucracies all turn out a regular reliable volume of frequently self-serving but credible and easily accessible stories (Hacket and Gruneau 2000: 39).

Many of the sources outlined by Hacket and Gruneau have public relations representatives who work on allowing a press to gain access to stories or to obtain insight into a particular event, which may be of interest or significance to the audience. However these statements which the news media attain are produced in a manner which will only highlight the good of the company, business or department which issues it. Not wanting to tarnish a relationship between the journalist acquiring information from these sources, journalists and editors will provide readers with stories that focus on the statements made from these sources. This supports the notion that the quotes or statements made by these sources are legitimate. By structuring stories in such a way as to encourage audiences to view statements made by these sources as truthful and legitimate, the audience is subtly being encouraged to view alternative accounts or statements on the same topic as less legitimate or relevant, as their positions in society are not being regarded by the news media as being as prestigious and trustworthy (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 2001; Van Dijk 2000). Research indicates that by relying on these authoritative and influential sources, the news media allow for events or groups within a society to be given less media spotlight.

Sometimes sources from other groups and actors are placed as opposition to seemingly more legitimate sources. Hacket and Gruneau explain the significance of the placement or, on the contrary, of the exclusion of certain sources over others by referring to the theory of “spiral of silence”:

...the press (and other media) have the ability to focus public attention on some people, events or issues and away from others. By doing that, mainstream media help to set the agenda for both public discussion and government’s policy decisions....One notable theory of such omissions proposes that the media can contribute to a ‘spiral of silence:’ people who hold viewpoints that are excluded in the media tend to become reluctant to express them for fear of social isolation or ridicule. The result is that ‘those views which are perceived to be dominant gain more ground and alternatives retreat still further’ (Hacket and Gruneau 2000: 220)

This quote explains how the current methods of news media gathering and producing has a selection model which enables minorities, immigrants, women and, controversial social issues to be poorly represented or ignored in the news media (Couldry et al., 2007; Bruns 2005; Fleras 2001; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Meyers 1997; Schwartz 1997; Van Dijk 1992) . As noted above by Hacket and Gruneau (2000), this “selection model” has the effect of marginalizing minorities to be perceived to be different from the majority.

Media and Minorities

It is this conscious selection of stories and framing of a story that researchers have labelled media as being “gatekeepers” (Bruns 2005; Reese et al., 2001). “Gate keeping” as discussed in academic literature refers to the ability of media to incorporate only certain stories, therefore blocking others from entering the realm of the newscast (Bruns 2005). In selecting a particular kind of story, the news media has been criticized for promoting the

status quo: white dominance, Eurocentric views to remain persistent and are reflected positively throughout mass media coverage (Bullock 2007; Alat 2006; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Meyers 1997; Schwartz 1997; Van Dijk 1992). Fleras and Kunz explain this form of narrow focused news development in their description of mediacentrism:

Under mediacentrism, reality is routinely and automatically interpreted from a media point of view as natural and normal while other perspectives are dismissed accordingly...According to this perspective on thought control, the collection, organization, and distribution of media information has had the effect (or consequence) of promoting one perspective to the exclusion of others (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 54).

This criticism of media as “gatekeepers” and as being focused on keeping the majority pleased has resulted in an outcry by groups who fall outside of the status quo and by academics and researchers. Unfortunately, this outcry does not yet include the representations of migrant sex workers in the media.

Media research has highlighted the area of minority coverage in news media to be cause for concern. The literature indicates a correlation between stereotypes, discrimination, minorities and the news media in many diverse societies (Bullock 2007; Alat 2006; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Meyers 1997; Schwartz 1997; Van Dijk 1992). Scholars such as van Dijk, Bruns, Hacket and Gruneau, Sloan and MacKay argue that the presence of “gate keeping” in news production allows for unnoticed discrimination. They fear that certain forms of profiling are silently filtered into the news. Van Dijk’s (1992) analysis of European news media explains that the level of incorporation of minorities in the daily news is minimal at best:

Conversely, many topics that are routinely covered for white actors and institutions, such as

economic and financial life, political organization, social issues, culture and especially everyday racism, are systematically under-reported when minority or immigrant people or organizations are involved as main actors. Finally, many topics in the press that could be covered as they are for whites, tend to be irrelevantly culturalized. In Europe it is quite common that minor problems or conflicts are attributed to the presumed cultural background of ethnic news actors (Van Dijk 1992: 45).

This type of minority exclusion is also common in other regions, such as Canada, where minority representation is referred to as “shallows and rapids” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 78). According to Fleras and Kunz, media representation of minorities takes two forms:

What the mainstream media do to minority women and men is best described in terms of a ‘shallow and rapids’ treatment. That is, under normal circumstances, minorities are ignored or rendered irrelevant by the mainstream press (‘shallows’). Coverage, however, is situated within the context of crisis of calamity, involving natural catastrophes, civil wars, and colourful insurgents (‘rapids’). When the crises subsides, mainstream news media interest diminished accordingly until the next crisis comes along (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 78, 79).

The ability for minorities to be available for input or discussion only in certain stories is further addressed by authors Miller, Fleras and Kunz, and Van Dijk in reference to what these stories are saying about the minority groups and how these messages allow for white privilege to remain intact in policy and federal decision making. The selectiveness of news media to only incorporate minority groups when it is convenient or in a major crisis situation can be viewed as dangerous: it means that problems which are real and threatening to the survival of these groups both physically, socially and culturally are not deemed important for the broader public knowledge. For example, Van Dijk (2000) points out that choices are made in relation to topics such as immigration and minority inclusion which have the effect of keeping minority groups in particular political and social discussions:

Interestingly, whereas there are a large number of types of topic in the press, news about immigrants and ethnic minorities is often restricted to the following kinds of events: New (illegal) immigrants are arriving. Political response to, policies about (new) immigration. Reception problems (housing, etc.). Social problems (employment, welfare, etc.). Response of the population (resentment, etc.). Cultural characterization: how are they different? Complications and negative characterization: how are they deviant? Focus on threats:

violence, crime, drugs, prostitution. Political response: policies to stop immigration, expulsion, and so on. Integration conflicts (Van Dijk 2000: 38).

The absence of minority groups in the news media sends a message to the broader public, namely that the issues and events which take place in the lives of these other groups are not important enough to be featured in the news. Secondly, when a news story does take place which incorporates a minority group the use of sources such as police departments, government officials, and judicial members often works to steer the messages of the story, as these sources, stated above, are given more legitimacy than the minority members themselves. Van Dijk (2000) explains the impact and influence of minorities used as sources in a story:

What one would expect, and what one indeed finds, is that in general, even in ethnic news, minorities are quoted less, and less prominently than (white) elites. If sources are quoted, we may also expect that those are selected that confirm the general attitudes about the group in question. Minority representatives will seldom be allowed to speak alone: a white person is necessary to confirm and convey his or her opinion, possibly against that of the minority spokesperson (Van Dijk 2000: 39).

Scholars have noted that when it comes to particular stories concerning minorities, there tends to be a pattern in how these groups are represented in the coverage, Fleras and Kunz outline one example of this pattern in a Canadian study:

Minorities are usually framed as: a) misrepresented by being refracted through a white male stream gaze (b) denounced as social problems and outsiders that are eroding Canada's social fabric (c) criticized as freeloading 'others' in contrast with hard working and law aiding (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 79)

These three representations of minorities in the Canadian media target various categories of minorities, including female minority members and immigrants. Research on news media reporting also highlights the underlying messages made by media regarding immigration policy and initiatives. As the above segment from Fleras and Kunz demonstrates, representing minorities in these common forms, gives positive reinforcement

to national legislation which limits immigration access, and tightens migrant access to resources such as work visa's and renewals.

Women in the Media

Much of the critical news media analysis has stated that European and North American news media tends to be Eurocentric, placing great value on the members of the majority group and their background and beliefs (Bullock 2007; Alat 2006; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 2001; Hacket and Gruneau 2000; Van Dijk 2000; Meyers 1997; Schwartz 1997; Van Dijk 1992). To further expand on the impact of this type of news casting, Fleras and Kunz explain that while some audience members may be aware of this imbalance of perspective in the news stories, the majority are led to believe that the news media presents events and issues as they are actually happening:

Media construct realities by 'naturalizing' our perception of the world as normal rather than conventional and constructed, while stereotyping other world views as invisible or problematic. Media messages combine to 'naturalize' contemporary social arrangements as acceptable and inevitable rather than self-serving social constructs by (a) representing dominant interests as universal and progressive rather than particular and parochial, (b) denying contradictions such as those related to capitalist production and distribution, and (c) naturalizing the present as 'common sense' (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 53).

What this means is that aside from visible minority or ethnic groups, women's issues are also placed at a disadvantage, due to the fact that much of Western politics and bureaucracies are dominated by men. Therefore, according to Fleras and Kunz and various scholars who address women in the media, the oppression and placement of women in contemporary society is maintained and legitimized through the mainstream media.

While news media trends and patterns are bound to be different from one country to another-- based on culture, belief and values-- Meyers explains how media research has demonstrated similarities in the coverage of Western news media:

Although news reporting and coverage are culturally specific, research in Britain indicated that there are perhaps more similarities within the news in Western, industrialized, democratic societies than there are differences (Meyers 1997: 21).

From this quote, would expect news coverage by Canada and UK news media to be similar in how they describe sex trafficking, and frame migrant sex workers. This assumption was used as a working hypothesis for my research. It is further supported by the fact that, as outlined at the beginning of this section, journalists are guided in their selection and production of news stories by understanding what makes an event newsworthy. It seems plausible to assume that the sex work is viewed as a “newsworthy issue” on both sides of the Atlantic. As a reminder, some of these aspects of newsworthy stories included: “shock or scandal, drama, negativity (harm, threat, death, destruction)” (Hacket and Gruneau 2000: 35). Van Dijk also outlined a number of common topics which focus on minorities, including: “Focus on threats: violence, crime, drugs, and prostitution” (Van Dijk 2000: 38). With regards to women, a major topic considered highly desirable to a reporter is sex crimes (Greer 2003; Schwartz 1997; Meyers 1997). Sex crimes include a number of newsworthy factors; scandal, shock, violence, and threat, therefore researchers argue analyzing news reporting on violence against women, including sex crimes, is significant. This will be further discussed in the next section

Women, Violence and Sex

Research on sex crime in the media examines a number of areas including types of assault, relationship between women and assailants, and police or political response.

Researchers studying women in the news share a similar argument with those who study minority news coverage, namely that arguments are made explaining how dominant ideologies or perceptions invade the news discourse. As Meyers explains:

Because coverage is rooted cultural myths and stereotypes about women, men, and violence, the links between sexist violence, social structures, and gendered patterns of domination and control are disguised. The result is that the representation of women who are the victims of sexist violence polarizes around the culturally defined 'virgin-whore' or 'good girl- bad girl' dichotomy so that women appear to be either innocent or to blame for their victimization (Meyers 1997: 8, 9).

The representation described by research of sexual assault victims in the news media exemplifies an attempt to maintain control over the liberties of women in society. Meyers (1997) further demonstrates this as she explains the media impact of this control:

By perpetrating male supremacist ideology and the myths, stereotypes, and assumptions that underlie it, the news ultimately encourages violence against women. News reports of women as victims of sexist violence act as both a warning to women and a form of social control that outlines the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and the forms of retribution that they can expect for transgression (Meyers 1997: 9).

The representations outlined by sex violence in the news media are not only detrimental to the female audience but further disadvantage minority women who are already stigmatized and marginalized by the news media as inferior and threatening. The images, representations or "frames", as argued in Chapter 2, which news reports provide of women who have been a target of violence or sexual aggression, are critical in influencing the audience perception of the significance of these acts and its effects on women. Bullock's analysis of domestic violence in Utah news media further stresses the relationship between

media reporting, use of sources and the impact on audience knowledge and understanding of the issues presented:

Research on agenda setting and framing effects would suggest whether and how newspapers cover domestic violence fatalities- including the frequency of coverage, labelling, information included (or omitted), and episodic or thematic focus- could make a difference in how readers view such deaths and what should be done about them...Based on past research it appears that the media tend to cover violence against women in ways that obscure questions about male/female power imbalances and reinforce the patriarchal status quo (Bullock 2007: 40).

Research on violence against women in the news reveals that crimes or acts of aggression are separated from larger debates of gender based inequality and discrimination (Bullock 2007, Alat 2006; Greer 2003; Meyer 1997; Schwartz 1997). Thereby, the news media separates the experience of the woman from being an issue of society to instead being an individual problem (Bullock 2007; Alat 2006; Meyer 1997; Schwartz 1997). In analyzing news coverage of violence against women in Turkey, Alat demonstrates the implications of blaming the woman for her experience of violence and sexual assault:

The myths widely accepted in American media are that women are victimized because of their careless behaviour and that nothing would happen to innocent women...also appear in Turkish press news reports. Grounding on these myths, men are conceptualized as having no control over their sexual desires or their irrational attraction to women. This leads to the idea that women should take the necessary precautions for their safety (Alat 2006: 307).

Western nations have increased political and judicial gender equality. However, despite these advancements, research on violence against women in the news media, reveals a setback to this advancement where females who experience violence or assault at the hands of men are not treated as victims of a crime or of patriarchal confines, but instead are themselves blamed for a man's actions.

Of particular interest for the research question asked in this thesis is how these patterns of news coverage affect the representations of specific groups of women who may

already face bias or marginalization in the news media; such as minority women, immigrants, and those who work in industries socially perceived to be promiscuous. One such group which is usually under –or misrepresented– in the news media, in political discussions, and sometimes even in discourses by human rights groups, is that of sex workers. Female sex workers and their representation in the media are an interesting phenomenon, because this category involved many debates and concerns: this notion of sex crime is a consistent undertone, the legitimacy of both prostitution and immigration is vehemently debated and re-assessed by different groups and, interestingly, by different media outlets. Sex workers raise a number of concerns from various groups because the women involved may be minors, illegal migrants, exploited by pimps or customers and have little access to help due to legal policy, and stigma. The relationship between sex work and sex crimes can change depending on how the women and their experience are portrayed to the audience by the news media. As mentioned above, the influence of the news media in their representation of a sex worker's experience or of the debate regarding sex work can greatly influence audience reaction or perception of the significance of the story, the sex worker(s) involved, and the outcome.

So far, in this chapter, I have discussed representation strategies and content selection in the mainstream media. In the last section of this chapter, I will briefly explain the importance of newspapers.

Newspapers

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the news media currently takes a number of forms: radio, television, internet, etc. Newspapers, with a rich historical background, remain

as integral part of today's news distribution (Kuhn 2007). Numerous media analysts argue that newspapers are one of the most important forms of news media as they are to be found everywhere; one does not need access to cable, internet or require a TV or computer to access the current information. Instead newspapers are accessible everywhere, catching headlines from the sale box, copies left on bus or subway seats, coffee shops, or in the newsstands. Newspapers offer the reader a tidy summary of a story or event and often provide pictures or captions to further inform the reader of the main arguments of the event. Today the influence and significance of newspapers is visible when one considers the vast array of newspapers which circulate; political newspapers, minority newspapers, specific genre newspapers, and student newspapers are just some of the widely circulating newspapers which can be purchased or attained daily by interested individuals. However, with such a wide variety of options, larger national newspapers have increased their circulation by venturing down different avenues to incorporate larger audiences. These avenues include online access via email, or simply going to the newspaper website, as well as setting homepages to offer the latest headlines by these large national news mediums. This creates the environment of newspaper bombardment, further surrounding individuals with "the latest" and "most pressing" news stories.

Conclusion

In summary, the selectiveness of news media has enormous influence on topics which affect specific populations. Countries such as the UK and Canada publically claim to provide equal opportunity for all citizens, and allow for different cultures to practice their beliefs and customs without systemic discrimination. Academic literature on news media in

these regions and the selective methods for presenting a story on minorities indicate a tension between public policy towards minority groups, and public media reporting on them.

In the next chapter, I discuss research on news reporting on the topics specifically related to sex trafficking, including women in the media, and minorities in the media. The chapter will also address the significance of frame analysis, and the methods which I use to analyse the articles.

Chapter 4:

Methodology: United Kingdom and Canada Case Studies

Introduction

Mentioned in Chapter 2, the context of sex trafficking differs greatly from one region to another based on knowledge, awareness, and perspective. The differences are clearly demonstrated in the academic literature, non-governmental reports and statistics, as well as in government statements and initiatives from two regions: Europe and North America. The differences range over a number of key areas including research, analysis, and political recognition. The amount of research, analysis and political acknowledgement of sex trafficking in Europe vastly outnumbers the amount cumulated in North America (Zhang 2007; Malarek 2004, Bruckert and Parent 2004; Langevin and Belleau 2000; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000). Europe with its accessible borders, flow of people for work, and travels for leisure from one country to another make migration a highly prominent topic for political and social discussions. In North America, on the other hand, the ability for people to flow across borders is less liberal, making it difficult for some to move easily back and forth from one country to the next. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, various regions of the world are better known as being source, sending, or receiving counties, with many being part of more than one category. Canada and the United Kingdom are interesting countries of analysis as both border the ocean and are large destination countries for migrants and travelers alike (Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2002; Langevin and Belleau 2000). With a rich historical background

including both political and social similarities these two countries offer an interesting comparative analysis of the context of sex trafficking within their borders.

In order to answer my research question, I have decided to conduct a case study. A case study allows for a thorough and intimate examination of a group, event or text and connecting the analysis to broader issues of gender inequality, sex crimes, media coverage and immigration (Yin 2002: 13; Edwards and Talbot 1999: 50). In selecting two news papers and focusing on the same time period, the case study undertaken here will allow for a close comparison between both papers including a detailed analysis of differences and similarities which may be found.

In this chapter I will examine the academic research and areas of concern regarding the extent of sex trafficking within the UK and Canada. Then I will how and why I chose to compare the UK and Canada for this thesis. Then I will discuss why I chose to examine newspapers, and in particular why I selected *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail* to be analyzed for this thesis. The remaining section of this chapter is where I will discuss how I selected the news articles to be analysed, and my methods of analysis. The final section of this chapter will examine current academic research on women in the news.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has long been a nation which builds its communities and citizenship in different lands, including Africa, Latin America, and North America, however when it comes to allowing some members of these commonwealth countries to live in the UK the discussion and tones which once “encouraged bountiful foreign citizenry” changes

(Stephen-Smith 2008; Waugh 2006; Anderson 2000; Kelly and Regan 2000; Anderson 1993). The academic research on sex trafficking in the UK largely relates it to migration, and obviously so. However, it is interesting that according to the academic literature, political discussions of sex trafficking within the UK tends to focus on two aspects of this phenomenon; illegal migration, and the debates of prostitution (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Waugh 2006). Thus, individual experience and federal apathy towards their survival are left out of the discussions, encouraging human rights abuses at the hands of authorities and those in places of privilege to go largely un- noticed. The ability to migrate and travel to work in neighbouring countries in the European Union is a relatively simple process, however when those travelling are members of poorer or disadvantaged families their ability to get the documents, work permits, or even have the educational background to work abroad poses a challenge to legal travel (Stephen-Smith 2008; Waugh 2006; Malarek 2004; Anderson 2000; Kelly and Regan 2000; Anderson 1993). Academic literature notes that many of the women and girls who end up as migrant sex workers on their way to the UK are from regions of the world which are known for having high numbers of migrant female workers who travel to Britain to find work. Bridget Anderson, a UK scholar has noted for years the UK authorities lack of response to the alarming rate of migrant domestic workers who remain hidden in homes due to lack of legal protection measures (Anderson 2000; Anderson 1993). Anderson, Waugh and other UK scholars have explained that many migrant workers who end up in the UK are poor or without proper documents, thus remaining at the mercy of their employers. If abuse, maltreatment or insufficient pay force these workers out of their place of employment, they become prey for immigration authorities searching for illegal migrants (Stephen-Smith 2008; Waugh 2006; Anderson

2000; Kelly and Regan 2000; Anderson 1993). As a result, those migrants who leave their employer or who run away from abuse may end up being forced to work in industries which are kept hidden from the public or police view. Accepting or seeking this secluded type of work, may be viewed as the only way for a migrant workers to avoid deportation or retaliation from their former employer.

In the above section I briefly discussed research on sex trafficking within the UK, the following section will examine sex trafficking research within Canada.

Canada

Canada, unlike the UK and other EU member countries is less easily accessible for persons from abroad to travel to. For one reason, to travel to Canada requires a lot of time and money, as travel requires airfare, connecting flights, travelling across more than one province, all which can be quite time intensive and expensive. As explained in Chapter 2, those who travel illegally via trafficking or smuggling are often doing so because attaining the measure required for legal travel are not possible for one reason or another (Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Masika 2002; Kyle and Koslowski 2001; Langevin and Belleau 2000; Appleyard and Salt 2000).

It is noteworthy that there is little research on the extent of sex trafficking within Canada (Gozdziak and Collett 2005; Bruckert and Parent 2002). However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, what research has been produced reveals low estimates of the numbers of individuals believed to have been trafficked for sexual purposes into Canada (Stewart 2005; Bruckert and Parent 2002). For a woman to be trafficked to Canada for sex work from

outside of the continent requires a lot of traveling, and planning by traffickers. However, with estimates from Canadian research conducted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police indicating lower numbers than NGO estimates, it generates questions as to how else a woman could end up in a sex trafficking ring in Canada. Similar to the UK, Canada offers an ideal work location for potential migrant workers. However, as noted by the International Organization of Migration (IOM 2009) and the International Labor Organization (Lim et al., 2002), the majority of migrant workers around the world are female, adding further complexity to the phenomena. In Canada, migrant labour is largest in three specific sectors; entrepreneur, agriculture and domestic work.

Despite having signed numerous international anti- trafficking treaties and conventions, as well as developing national laws and safety nets to try and control or limit the availability for traffickers to use Canada as a place to conduct business, the current migrant workers initiatives and programmes just cannot cope with the anti-trafficking push. In fact, what short-term temporary workers permits are doing is pushing women into finding ulterior modes to enter the country to work. These various modes of entry could lead her into very difficult and dangerous places, where she is not under the surveillance of the Canadian federal government, nor under the protection of the federal, provincial or municipal police jurisdiction. This sort of underground network she may use to enter Canada to work may very well lead her into exploitative and slave like working conditions, especially if her work is based inside homes, away from public view. Examples of these hidden employment options include domestic workers, live-in caregivers, and sex workers. Canadian immigration and prostitution legislation potentially place the migrant in a situation where she has few options in terms of seeking legal entry and legal work in Canada. The laws and

legislation geared towards “handling” illegal migrants are not put in place to listen to the reason as to why the migrant chose an illegal entry route as opposed to the legal temporary workers permits. Instead Canadian policies are geared toward deporting migrants home, where they may face shame, humiliation and again poverty. This allows the Canadian government to remove any blame or responsibility in aiding in the trafficking scheme, or of acknowledging the gender discrimination. It allows for the federal government to avoid having to acknowledge blind spots in immigration policies, which have created much difficulty for women from under developed areas of the world, an equal opportunity to enter Canada legally.

Compatibility

While the UK and Canada have differences in their methods of understanding and combating sex trafficking, their rich political and historical affiliations make these two countries fitting for a comparative analysis of the news media. Canada, once a colony of the United Kingdom, has adopted a number of traditions and federal operations which reflect the UK, including parliamentary organization of the Federal Government, courtroom operations, and political affiliations. While Canada is no longer under UK ruling, it continues to value the opinion and direction of UK politics, thus making the UK response to sex trafficking potentially influential for Canadian politics. As noted above and in Chapter 2, according to the academic literature, sex trafficking is much more prevalent in Europe, resulting in the development of EU initiatives to push countries to work together to address the phenomena. Up until the last few years, North American response to sex trafficking was non-existent, making it merely a witness to the European situation. With increased awareness of sex

2008; Kelly and Regan 2000). The Sexual Assault Act 1956 sections 22, 24; the Immigration Act, Abolition Act, and Criminal Justice Act are all examples of various legislation which, although not explicitly, deal with the ramifications and violations of trafficking(Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Kelly and Regan 2000).

Now that I have explained why conducting a case study involving the UK and Canada is relevant, I will discuss why I chose to analyse newspaper articles, and the role which newspapers play in public awareness and understanding of current events.

Newspapers

Grabbing the daily national paper comes as habit to many, flipping to the front pages of each section to gather what is understood to be informed, objective news, allowing for discussion of its contents with fellow citizens about the state of the country, region or world. However, digging into the formation of the news stories and the politics which surround the notion of ‘newsworthy’ and the objective, honest, and reliable newspapers have a somewhat less trustworthy feel to them.

As explained in Chapter 3, with the myriad of events, political speeches, and group demonstrations, the journalists are given quite a task of determining what the most important events to tell the audience are. The numerous stages that a news story goes through all impact what the news report will eventually look like and explain (Grossman et al., 2006; Fleras and Kunz 2000; Graber 1998). Some of the parties who are greatly influencing what is considered newsworthy include government officials and representatives, journalists,

editors and media owners, all of whom are deciding the specific news subject or topic and what it will offer to the audience (Graber et al., 1998:2).

Scholars argue that those who influence what is considered to be a newsworthy event or topic often enforce and maintain coverage which is neither diverse nor reflective of a democratic society. Rather these contributors ensure that the news reflects one aspect of a debate or event (Fleras and Kunz, 2000:1; Grossman et al., 2006: 359, 360). The argument that news should be presented to the audience objectively would mean that there is no underlying bias, and that flaws or negative images of political parties, policies are not hidden from the audience (Graber et al., 1998:3). The problem with this argument for objectivity is that news agencies and therefore audience members would still be relying on journalists to interpret the potential news story or event based on their own criteria of what is and what is not bias news coverage.

Because of this grey area where reporters, editors and their stories and references form the news of the day, researchers study the news media as a way of viewing and analyzing what gets passed on to the audiences and what the news is really saying about important matters.

With increased awareness of sex trafficking and continued development of policies and initiatives which address sex trafficking in both Canada and the UK, this thesis will examine the ways in which two national newspapers are portraying sex trafficking to its audiences. Relying upon the *Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian*, as the key newspapers this research will examine the frames of female migrant sex workers which are being filtered through to the wider national audiences.

Newspaper Selection

Due to Europe's advanced understanding and awareness of sex trafficking, as compared to North America, (Zhang 2007; Gozdziaik and Collett 2005; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2002), I wanted to compare a European national newspaper to identify any similarities or differences in news coverage given these significantly different levels of research and awareness. Without adequate knowledge of European languages, I was limited to analyzing an English language newspaper. The selection of a British national newspaper was not simply language specific, but, as previously mentioned also involved an understanding of the historical relationship between Canada and the UK through colonialism, and the present day relations between both countries.

For this project I chose to examine *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* for specific reasons. I chose to use *The Globe and Mail* because it is one of two Canadian national newspaper, and is known for its left of centre news coverage (Clow 1993; 41,42). Using a Canadian national newspaper is important for this research project because of its widespread coverage and accessibility. Specifically a national paper addresses issues from across the nation; unlike local or regional papers whose coverage is much more focused and whose content is much more geographically specific¹. *The Globe and Mail*, according to a

¹ Though I chose to examine *The Globe and Mail* for this thesis, the topic of migrant sex work is also covered by two other major newspapers in Canada: *The National Post* and *The Toronto Star*. Using the database *Factiva*, keywords sex trafficking, sex slave and human trafficking, and the time frame of 2000-2008, the search results identified that *The National Post* published a total of 138 articles and *The Toronto Star* published a total of 147 articles.

2009 report, had a circulation of approximately 315, 272 newspapers daily, along with widespread internet access to its issues (Canadian Newspaper Association 2010).

The UK national newspaper, *The Guardian*, was selected for analysis in this research project because of its similarities to the Canadian newspaper; *The Guardian* is also a left of centre national newspaper (Guardian 2009). *The Guardian's* circulation as of February 2010, is approximately 284, 514 daily newspapers (Guardian.co.uk, 2010).

Article Selection

In 2000, the United Nations introduced the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2003), both Canada and the UK signed this treaty in the following year. As a result of both countries adopting the UN Convention, the news articles selected will be in the time frame of 2000- 2008.

I searched for *The Globe and Mail* using the newspaper database: *Factiva*, which is accessible through The University of Ottawa library webpage. (Access to *The Globe and Mail's* website to select online archives requires a considerable fee; they cannot be accessed through The University of Ottawa library). When I typed in “sex trafficking” into the keyword search, having selected specifically for the database to search *The Globe and Mail* during the years 2000-2008, the results were a mere 16. I then went to the webpage of *The*

result of 538 articles, I decided to try and narrow my search to include only those articles which were printed in the section *UK News*, published by *The Guardian*. Narrowing my search field as I did, I was able to lower the number of articles from 538 to 118. Examples of other sections which I could have selected included *Society*, *World News*, and *Politics*. I specifically chose to examine the articles in the section: *UK News* because I wanted to locate articles which would focus on sex trafficking which were directly impacting or involving the UK government or citizens. Examples of other publications which I could have selected included *guardian.co.uk*, *The Observer*, *Society Guardian*, and *Guardian Weekly*. The *Guardian* webpage (free access to the newspaper's archives) allowed me to search for articles with much more precision than the database *Factiva*. With much higher numbers of news articles published by *The Guardian*, as compared to *The Globe and Mail*, this search option was chosen. Allowing to select by keyword and genre (e.g. exclude the sections of Feuilleton, Business, and Sports), this search option generated the more manageable number of relevant articles to analyze.

Further exploration of the extent of sex trafficking in Canada revealed that with little research and studies conducted by academics and federal agencies the literature which was available relied upon information from known cases of trafficking involving renowned organized crime rings and sheer brutalization and slavery experiences which the women involved were exposed to (Kyle and Koslowski 2001; Bruckert and Parent 2002; Langevin and Belleau 2000). As such the literature reflects a limited account of trafficking cases in Canada and focused on women and girls who had been trafficked regarding them as victims of coercion and deceit or kidnapping. Given the literature on both the Canadian extent of sex trafficking in Canada and in the UK, I tried the terms "sex slave" in the key word search for

both newspapers and came up with a more promising research outlook. Using this new search phrase, I found *The Globe and Mail* published 45 articles, while *The Guardian* had a much more manageable number than earlier attempts, with 101.

Using the articles collected under the key words “sex trafficking” and “sex slavery” alone, did not allow me to have enough articles to adequately analyze *The Globe and Mail*’s coverage of migrant sex workers. Therefore, I chose to try another search term, “human trafficking” to see if I could attain a few more articles. Using the keyword search “human trafficking” I was able to locate 100 articles in *The Globe and Mail*, of which only 5 were relevant. Using the same key word to search articles within *The Guardian*, I located 234. Those which were found using the keyword were either not related to sex trafficking, or had already been accounted for in the keyword search of “sex slave”, or “sex trafficking”.

The articles analyzed for this research project are not genre specific; instead all articles (news stories, editorials, comments, etc.) collected which relate to sex slavery, in the context of sex trafficking, are examined as they are part of a larger media discourse on sex trafficking.

I read all articles collected using the three keywords, to determine if the stories could be analysed. I kept only those articles which discussed sex trafficking in a way which would allow me to conduct a thorough analysis. Those which were not selected for analysis were those which only included a one or two line discussion of sex trafficking, or those where the content of the article was not based on sex trafficking, or migrant sex workers.

Of the total number of articles collected in *The Guardian* using all three keywords, only 67 were included in the analysis. The final number of articles used for analysis which

were collected from *The Globe and Mail* was 33. Figure 1: “Yearly Summary of *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail*” (see below) illustrates a yearly comparison of the news coverage used in the analysis. Interestingly, both newspapers had a number of articles written on sex trafficking and forced migrant of females for sexual exploitation during war. However, the frames used in the articles did not relate the experiences of the females with sex trafficking and were therefore not included in the analysis.

Academic literature has indicated that there is a correlation between sex trafficking and war, therefore an analysis of these articles and their impact on readers understanding of sex trafficking is included in Appendix 3, located after Chapter 8.

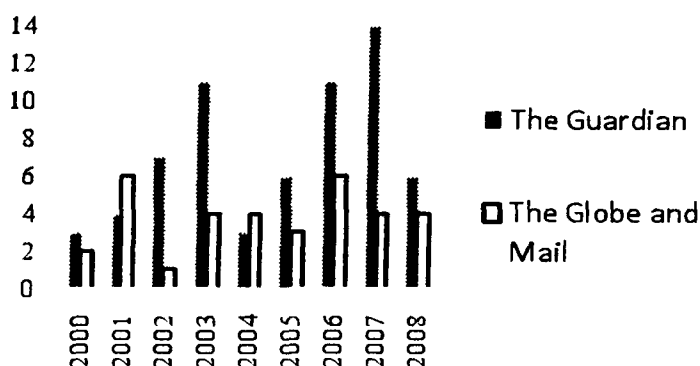


Figure 1: Yearly Summary of Globe and Mail and Guardian News Coverage (Horizontal Axis=year, Vertical Axis=number of articles)

Analytical Framework

As sex trafficking involves the violence of women, exploitation, sexual desires and demands, the literature on sex crimes as well as the literature on forced migration, trafficking and media representations are used as the foundation from which I determined a

number of “frames” used for my media analysis. In this section, I will then introduce the approach of “frame analysis”, and define four frames that will be predominant in the analysis.

The coverage by the news media on cases of sex trafficking either at an international or at the domestic level, show that, on the one hand, there is an increased awareness and eagerness to emphasize inequality and injustice which some girls and children are enduring. On the other hand, it also leaves one to question just why these journalists are finding such a topic to be news worthy. From the literature the topic of sex, is argued to be one which is considered to be newsworthy, as such it is important to identify what exactly the news reporters and editors are telling the readers about the topic or what they are not. Research questions which arise regarding the appeal of sex slavery in the news media include: What are the news stories telling the reader about sex trafficking as a phenomenon? What do the newspapers tell the readers about the women who are involved? Who are key informants used in the news stories? Do the stories draw upon literature on sex trafficking which indicates factors of global poverty, injustice, inequality and discrimination of women? The analysis of these articles, will seek to answer these questions, as they relate both to the framing of the migrant sex workers, and the information which audiences receive about the larger issues of sex trafficking.

In order to answer these research questions, I will situate my analysis within the theoretical framework of discourse and media studies as explained in Chapter 3. To reiterate, research on the news media has revealed that some of the largest areas of concern in terms of media coverage include: under reporting of minority groups, reliance and use of stereotypes,

moral panics, misinformation, specifically in relation to subjects of immigration, sex crimes, women, immigration and related policies and social identity, inequality, reasonable accommodation, equity policies (Tator and Henry, 2006, Fairclough 2003, Tator and Henry 2002; Van Dijk 1992). Given these findings in research studies of the news media, and the context of sex trafficking as is understood today, it is important to study the news to see if the UK and Canada are continuing to neglect domestic problems, stereotypes and allow national identity to rule the discourse in their national news reporting of sex trafficking.

Furthermore, literature on white slavery, sex crimes in the media, and sex trafficking have all repeatedly mentioned the “good girl”, “bad girl” dichotomy which plays a critical role in deciphering what a “real victim” looks like, and what makes her a “victim” over someone else. Importantly, some of the other components of news bias, including migrants, race, and region are all factors which are used in determining who a true “victim” is (Weitzer 2007; Doezenia 2000; Henry and Tator 2002). As I will show in Chapter 5 and 6, the issue of “victimhood” will be an important element of my analysis.

While this thesis concentrates on the media discourse, it is important to underline that the injustice of violent sex crimes towards women, does not simply exist within the news media, but is embedded within the Canadian and UK legal system and is a result of the present patriarchal structures and advantages which enable white, middle and upper class, men to continue to dominate, dictate, and greatly influence and control the lives of women (Meyers 1997, 35; Van Dijk 1993; Fairclough 2003).

Researchers who examine the phenomenon of sex trafficking have argued that not all women who enter the migrant sex trade do so because of coercion, or slavery induced force,

but rather do so out of necessity, as a means of gaining independence, reaching a western life, or in order to make quick cash to support their family (Waugh 2006; Monzini 2006; Malarek 2004; Bruckert and Parent 2002; Langevin and Belleau 2000). It will be interesting in my analysis to determine whether or not the newspapers have identified these differences in the reasons for why or how the females end up as migrant sex workers.

Frame Analysis

In order to best understand the questions of how the newspapers are presenting the topic of sex trafficking, this paper will use a qualitative analysis. This analysis focuses on themes or “frames” presented in the text and analyses how they are part of broader issues and social processes (Neuman 2006: 157). As mentioned previously, sex trafficking involves many social issues and incorporates debates and underlying concerns about the placement of women in society. As such, a qualitative analysis will be most useful for this form of research because it allows for a much more in-depth and interpretive study of text, allowing for the identification of hidden connotations and multiple meanings which are not obvious from simply reading particular words or phrases (Creswell 2003: 184).

In order to best analyze the data in the articles this thesis will use frame analysis to organize and examine the news articles. Frame analysis as originally developed by Goffman, refers to the notion that frames are a means of organizing, interpreting and understanding life (Goffman 1974: 21). In news media studies frame analysis is argued to be a useful means of analyzing and interpreting journalistic interpretation and meaning of a topic or event and its intentional use of a specific meaning or theme to the audience (Scheufele 1999:103).

Entman's explanation of the use of frames in communication texts reveals how the media influences and directs the audience in how to comprehend or discuss a topic or event:

Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location- such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel- to that consciousness (Entman 1993: 51, 52).

Understanding that the news media select some aspects of reality to promote a particular angle or aspect of a problem, as Entman argues, it would seem logical to use this frame analysis in order to identify how both *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail* frame the problem of sexual slavery and sex trafficking to the audience via the women and girls involved.

Frame analysis is often used to examine the relationship between the news media, its' achieved frames and the influence of government and policy (Benford and Snow 2000; Scheufele 1999; Martin and Oshagan 1997; Pan and Kosicki 1993; Entman 1993). As the topic of sexual slavery and sex trafficking are closely linked to immigration, humanitarian and gender inequality issues and debates, it would seem most appropriate to use a frame analysis approach to study these newspapers to gain a better understanding of the significance of the frames used to portray the women and children in order to gain perspective as to where these frames fit in terms of each government's objectives. Scheufele (1999) explains the definition of media frames as discussed by Gamson and Modigliani (1987): "...a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Scheufele 1999: 105). Given that sexual slavery and all its components involves debate surrounding gender roles and norms, national security, and human rights obligations,

evaluating the frames used to portray the women and girls involved in the this migrant sex trade will offer an interesting lead into the newspapers use of policy and government action towards this phenomena.

In order to be able to fully understand the news coverage given of sex trafficking, it is important to first identify some of the major problem areas which have been addressed by sex trafficking researchers. As mentioned previously, one of the largest problem areas is the notion of the “victimhood”: a “frame” is created about a seemingly naïve, young, tricked or coerced girl who has been forced into a slave like environment. Those who had been tricked or coerced unwillingly into to sex trade were viewed as “victims” and are treated as such by countries which they were in at the time of their seizure by authorities. However those who were understood to have travelled with the intent of entering the sex trade or who were former sex trade workers in their home countries were often simply deported, receiving little if any victim support from the country they were working in. This notion of “good girl”/ “bad girl” and the treatment associated with each title has been used by some countries in their deciphering of who may stay and receive aid, or who is simply viewed as an illegal migrant and sent back home. With research on sex trafficking explaining that some women enter the migrant sex trade as a means of financial security, freedom, or experience, it is important to examine who is used as a resource in the articles and what impact these sources have on revealing to the audience if the women in the story, or being discussed are victims or not. Similarly, who the journalist is including or not including in the news stories may be telling in terms of policy or regulations in place in the UK or Canada regarding illegal migration, prostitution and even societal norms and values.

Frames of Women

The articles will be analyzed using three frames that are used to portray the women and girls involved in the migrant sex work. The three frames have been gathered from sex crimes, and sex trafficking literature. Their usefulness was then confirmed in a number of preliminary analyses of the empirical material, particularly the newspaper coverage of *The Guardian*. These three frames are: *legitimate victim*; *illegal migrant*; *led by deceit*.

The definition of the frame of *legitimate victim* as used in this thesis means the female migrant sex worker is framed as having no choice in her journey into the foreign sex trade. She was sold, kidnapped, or otherwise physically forced into the sex trade through use of violence, or threats to her or her family. In this frame, the reader is led to feel sympathy for the female migrant sex worker discussed. Often times the frame of *legitimate victim* is used when the article discusses a child or young girl who was trafficked into a country to work as a sex worker.

The definition of the frame of *illegal migrant* as used in this thesis means that the female migrant sex worker is framed as having chosen to travel illegally into a different country to find work. While she may not have initially went to work in the sex trade, for reasons such as inadequate funds to pay smugglers, or get home, she ended up willingly entering the sex trade to support herself. In this frame, the migrant sex workers experiences good or bad while working in the sex trade abroad are a result of the choices she made. The reader is not led to feel any sympathy towards the migrant sex worker, and therefore her deportation is justifiable.

The definition of the frame of *female led by deceit* as used in this thesis means the migrant sex worker is framed as having agreed to move abroad with the help of organized criminals for a fee, and was given unrealistic or false understanding of what her job would be. For example she may have agreed to pay smugglers to get her into a foreign country, on their promise that she would be working as a waitress, exotic dancer, or nanny, for example, only to find out she would be a sex worker instead. In this frame, the migrant sex worker is portrayed as having willingly travelled abroad illegally, but not totally at fault for her experiences or exploitation she faced as a migrant sex worker. Often times, this frame generates some compassion or sympathy from the audience over the negative experiences which migrant sex workers may have experienced having been led by a deceitful job into a foreign sex market.

These frames are most commonly referred to in the academic literature and so it will be interesting to see if and how the news media uses these common frames and how this impacts the overall message or theme of the article. There may also be more frames emerging from the news articles. But this will be discussed in the empirical analysis described in Chapters 5 and 6.

Each newspaper will be examined noting the different depictions that are presented to the reader. Once all the depictions of the victims and the overall state of sex trafficking are collected from each article, these depictions can be analyzed to determine any patterns which may have emerged in the news coverage. This process will be conducted for each news paper separately and then compared with each other. When studying the use of frames, attention will be given to determining if the depictions change, how and when.

In the analysis of the frames it is important to examine whose views are being covered the most in the articles, whether it is the views of politicians, police, immigration officers, migrant sex trade workers, or women's aid groups. It is also important to determine if one group is being heard from when migrant sex workers are being depicted a particular way. Examining who is covered and with what frequency is important because it will influence the information that the readers are provided about sex trafficking. Of equal importance is examining whose view points or references are not included in the news coverage and what impact this has on the implications the news stories are giving the reader about sex trafficking and the women involved. Once these findings have been made, the research will be placed in the context of broader issues of gender inequality and sex crimes both in the media and in the context of UK and Canadian society.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the use of Canada and the UK in analysing sex trafficking in the news media. It described the impact of frames in news articles which describe minorities and women in the news media. In the following Chapter 5, I will examine the articles collected from *The Guardian* newspaper, and identify the frames used to portray the migrant sex workers. It will also offer some insight into the analysis of these articles, including some themes or discussions in the sex trafficking literature which were not found in the news articles.

Chapter 5:

UK News Analysis: Depictions of Female Migrant Sex Workers in *The Guardian*

Introduction

The significance of studying the UK national newspaper *The Guardian*, is that it can reveal the impact which mass media has on conveying particular messages and representations to the UK audience. Analysing news articles discussing the topic of sex trafficking is important as it allows for a comparison with what academics and researchers are studying and reporting about the topic. Comparing what is being said to the UK public, and what researchers report on sex trafficking within the UK, can allow for researchers to identify national and political agenda's for how they want to handle the situation, and by assessing how they inform the reader of it.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the UK acts as a destination and transit country for sex trafficking, according to both UK and NGO scholars (Lim et al., 2002, Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008). As explained in Chapter 2, this means that as a transit country, traffickers use the UK to travel through before reaching their destination country where the migrant sex workers are in demand. Being a destination country also, means that the UK has a demand for certain migrant sex workers, therefore while some sex trafficking rings simply use the UK as a travel venture, for others it is the final stop, where the females are put to work. While it is difficult for researchers to determine an exact number of trafficked migrant sex workers, due to the difficulties in locating and determining who is trafficked and who is not, the UK is estimated at having roughly 5000 (The Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group, 2010).

With academics and researchers having identified the push factors which allow for regions such as Africa and eastern Europe to dominate as source countries for migrant sex workers, it can be expected that *The Guardian* would identify these factors to the reader in order to allow them to understand just why and how these female migrant sex workers are able to come, and allow for an understanding of how sex trafficking rings are able to grow in operations within the UK.

In this chapter I will explain the ways in which *The Guardian* frames female migrant sex workers in specific contexts. I will discuss the use of specific frames to describe certain “types” of migrant sex workers.

Analysing and Organizing the Collected Articles from The Guardian

After sorting through the articles to identify which ones actually discussed sex trafficking and which did not, the final number of articles analyzed for this chapter was 67. Interestingly, the first search term, “sexual slavery”, generated 21 articles which addressed sexual slavery and trafficking of African women and girls by rebel groups and soldiers in areas of civil wars. These 21 articles, discussed the sexual enslavement of these females as being related to civil war and not sex trafficking, therefore 13 of them could not be included in this analysis. The articles are significant however, to the overall impression the reader would have on sex trafficking from Africa, and broader international sex trafficking, this significance will be discussed in the Chapter 7.

Having initially recognized three distinct frames in the sex crime, sex trafficking and news media literature which could be used to analyse the representations of migrant sex workers, the data was originally analysed according to these frames of *illegal migrant*, *led by deceit*, and *legitimate victim*. However, once analysing the news articles, it became apparent that these representations are often used when *The Guardian* discusses a specific context of sex trafficking. In particular, *The Guardian* often placed the context of sex trafficking according to geographical areas or source countries, specifically, Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia. A fourth area which *The Guardian* focused its discussion on was UK policy towards sex trafficking and national prostitution laws. While the research question was how female migrant sex workers are presented to the reader in the context of sex trafficking, these four central themes tended to determine the representations of the migrant sex workers and thus became central to organizing the data and analysis.

Eastern Europe

The articles collected within this theme were those where the women discussed were from regions of Eastern Europe, but one way or another ended up working within the UK sex industry as migrant sex workers. The news coverage of these stories totalled 25 articles, of the overall 67 articles collected from the *Guardian* during the 2000-2008 time frame. Specifically in these 25 articles the majority discussed the ways in which the women were treated, how they ended up in the UK highlighting extensively the illegal routes which they took, or the fees which they paid to find traffickers or smugglers. The majority of the articles also point out the battle the police face in trying to stop trafficking, locating

trafficking rings, and the illegal migrant sex workers. Below, I will show how the frame of the *illegal migrant* is constructed. I will also explain the ways in which this frame allows for the experiences of the migrant sex workers to go unheard. In this section I will describe how *The Guardian* uses the frame of *illegal migrant* to describe the majority of the migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe, and the influence this frame has on justifying deportation of the females, and promoting the reader to be sympathetic. Finally I will show that there is an implicit assumption when *The Guardian* talks about sex workers from Eastern Europe.

Many of the Eastern European focused articles, gave detail as to who brought the women into the UK, often pointing out for the reader what ethnicity or from what country the traffickers were from. This has the impact of bluntly explaining to the reader that this is a problem of “other” where foreigners are bringing in and causing immigration and criminal problems for the UK. For example an article published on Tuesday December 23, 2003, ‘*Ruthless’ Human Trafficker Jailed for 10 Years*, focused specifically on the criminal justice processing of a trafficker, Luan Plakici. The article focused on describing the history of Plakici, but avoids any discussion of the women involved, their history and their future having been trafficked into sex work, and caught by police and immigration officials as illegal migrants.

The following is an excerpt of the above mentioned article, demonstrating the detail given to the reader about Plakici.

An ‘immigration expert’ who smuggled more than 30 eastern European women into Britain for a life of violence and prostitution was jailed for 10 years yesterday. At the end of what is being hailed as a ‘groundbreaking’ police investigation, Luan Plakici, 26, was revealed to have made more than 1million from bringing ‘poor, naive and gullible’ girls and young women to the UK....

One of the women, whom he married, earned him €144,000 in less than two years, allowing him to build luxury homes for himself around Europe. One, in his native Albania, was described as a small palace. He drove a Ferrari Spider and a convertible BMW. When he was arrested he was found to have €204, 000 in the bank.

He is thought to have smuggled between 50 and 60 people into Britain over the past three years and operated brothels in London, Bedford, Luton and Reading.

Plakici was able to travel freely throughout Europe because he acquired a British passport in 1999 after arriving in the UK as an asylum seeker. He had been used as an interpreter by a number of law firms specialising in immigration and even took part in a BBC documentary about that field of work (*The Guardian*, December 23, 2003).

This section offers an example of the amount of detail given to the reader in order to inform them of the background of the trafficker. In explaining the money, cars, and homes that he had purchased using the money from the women he trafficked, the article focuses on the monetary means which the trafficked women accumulated for him. In focusing on the luxuries first, the reader is made to see his spending as the most mentionable aspect of his criminal behaviour, as opposed to the physical, emotional, psychological abuse and exploitation he enforced on at least 30 documented east European women. The article also mentions that one of his homes he purchases was in Albania, this is the first mention of where he was from, in doing this it conveys to the reader that this is an important part of who he is as a criminal, whereas the other homes he bought are only referred to as being “in Europe”. That he was from Albania, *The Guardian* portrays the “bad guy” in the story to be the foreigner who exploited poor women, it also labels him as being the sole trafficker in the scheme, removing his assailants both from outside and inside the UK . Further, in focusing most attention of the detail of Plakici’s travels and past work experience in the UK, the reader is forced to regard the ability of Plakci to exploit women as being a result of his own experiences and journeys and not as a result of UK policy, and the larger international scale of sex trafficking, particularly in exploiting women from Eastern Europe, as Plakici had. The

Guardian focuses on Plakici's scheme and portrays it as just that in the article, *his* scheme, not something which involved more than him:

Wood Green crown court, north London, heard that Plakici had run his business in a 'merciless' fashion, beating and kidnapping women and threatening to harm their families if they did not comply. He is thought to have smuggled between 50 and 60 people into Britain over the past three years and operated brothels in London, Bedford, Luton and Reading (*The Globe and Mail*, December 23, 2003).

In explaining it to the reader in this way the author is removing the UK demand side of sex trafficking, wiping the UK from any responsibility of the victimization of these women.

The article also describes different numbers of people he has illegally brought into the UK, the words smuggled and trafficked are used without differentiating. The descriptions of the women who pleaded against him do not really explain who they were, if and why they agreed to travel illegally, and what their future will be after testifying against Plakici. Instead the article simply describes them as "poor, naive, and gullible": "...Luan Plakici, 26, was revealed to have made more than €1m from bringing 'poor, naive and gullible' girls and young women to the UK" (*The Guardian*, December 23, 2003). The article's use of these three words to describe the state of the women pre-trafficked is not sourced by the author and signifies that this is someone else's observation, and may not be fact. It also symbolises possible glitch in the story, where the state of these women prior to England, was that they were unaware, but willing, as nowhere in the article does it say that they should have known otherwise. These three words have a huge impact in identifying for the reader Plakici's ability to take them from their homes into another country. However the article does not expand on just why this would impact the females.

At the end of the article, *The Guardian* mentions that police hope that the charges and arrest of Plakici will get more trafficked women to come forward to testify against their traffickers, but the article does not explain to the reader any further incentives for testifying, are the women who help, offered any help in healing from trauma's they endured while working as illegal migrant sex workers? Are the women given residency in the UK, or are they deported? As with other articles within the Eastern Europe theme, the women were not regarded as useful unless they help police find the traffickers, or they are simply deported. In the case of this article, by not explaining to the reader why some females would be tentative, it allows the audience to view any resistance towards police to be unjustified.

The excerpts of the article '*Ruthless' Human Trafficker Jailed for 10 Years*, included above, demonstrate that *The Guardian* feels it is important and newsworthy that details about the lifestyle and background of Plakici are included in the news article. However the news does not offer any detail to the women, there is no background as to their home life, or decision for leaving, and leaves them to be regarded by the reader as *led by deceit* into a foreign sex market.

Similar articles, such as *War on Albanian Vice Gangs* (April 25, 2003), *Six Men Convicted Over Sexual 'Slavery' Jailed For Up To 14 Years* (November 8, 2008), *Chance Escape Leads to Jailing of Lithuanian Sex Trafficker* (September 18, 2005), *Family Gang Jailed For Sex Trafficking* (December 2, 2005), also focused on describing for the reader the background and information about those arrested and charged for sex trafficking and omitted any mention of those who were trafficked. The article, *Chance Escape Leads to Jailing of*

Lithuanian Sex Trafficker, offered only a vague account of the experiences of those who were trafficked by the Lithuanian traffickers:

Police discovered the gang by chance in August 2003, when two of the women, Anna, 20, and 19-year-old Jurgita (not their real names) escaped. Neither Anna nor Jurgita spoke much English but their ordeals emerged through an interpreter. Both were conned into coming to the UK with the promise of jobs as waitresses or cleaners. But when they arrived they were met by Rita Larcenko and taken to a brothel in Knightsbridge, west London, run by Rahim and catering for mainly Chinese and Middle Eastern men. Jurgita was raped by Tai, who claimed he had the right to “break in the new girls”. A few months later, police found a third woman, known as Kristina, 19, who had also been cajoled into coming to Britain, and tricked by her former classmate Rita Larcenko into working in a brothel in Birmingham (*The Guardian*, September 17, 2005).

The article *Six Men Convicted Over Sexual ‘Slavery’ Jailed For Up To 14 Years* also largely ignores the experience of the female migrant sex worker involved: “Their Slovakian victim cried as she described being lured to Britain with the promise of a job in a pub at the age of 16. She told of being sold from owner to owner, raped, beaten and threatened” (*The Guardian*, November 5, 2008). These two excerpts demonstrate a link with the December 23, 2003, *Ruthless Human Trafficker Jailed for 10 Years*, where the impact of the crimes against the females are cut down to a few lines, where the statements come from police reports and not directly from the women themselves. In all three articles, *The Guardian* does not explain if the absence of direct statements from the women is due to police restrictions, or language barriers; however this information may have aided in providing the reader with more information about the severity of the situation. None of the three articles explain the how the arrests of the traffickers generate fear with the migrant sex workers who remain aware of the threats of retaliation by the traffickers for aiding in their arrests or simply for getting away. Literature on sex trafficking indicates that often times the women who do escape from traffickers who were abusive, are likely to be re-trafficked and often shunned by their community once they are sent back home (Stephen- Smith and Sachrajda 2008,

Cameron and Newman 2008; Waugh 2006; Monzini 2005; Lim et al., 2002; Masika 2002).

Yet the article does not explain if this is a factor for the women who were trafficked. *The Guardian* offers no indication or connection between the arrests of the traffickers and the future of the women.

As with the article entitled *Ruthless Human Trafficker Jailed for 10 Years*, the *Chance Escape Leads to Jailing of Lithuanian Sex Trafficker* and *Six Men Convicted Over Sexual 'Slavery' Jailed For Up To 14 Years*, articles also conveyed that it was these select individuals who were the sole contributors to the trafficking scheme. The articles do not explain to the reader if there was any UK involvement.

Other articles in the Eastern European theme express police difficulties in locating illegal sex workers, and the limited resources they have for locating brothels where trafficked women are known to be kept. Interestingly, in these articles, the women are framed as *illegal migrants*, a common frame used to describe these eastern European sex workers, where *The Guardian*, portrayed the females as having intentionally disobeyed UK immigration policies and illegally working within the UK. As discussed in the academic literature on sex trafficking and minorities in the news media, when the media discuss a minority issue, it is often done in a way which omits actual statements from members of the minority group and instead the issue is presented by police, and government officials in a way which serves their viewpoint (Van Dijk 1992, Fleras and Kunz 2001). Several article titles immediately place the reader's attention on the fact that they are illegal migrant's first, possible victim second. Of the twenty-five articles focused on Eastern European context of sex trafficking, six article headlines immediately identify the migrant sex workers as illegal

migrants: *Migrant Women Forced into Cheap Sex Trade*, (February 11, 2005); *Sex Slaves Trafficked to UK*, (May 30, 2000); *Prostitutes Imported into Slavery*, (May 30, 2000); *Foreign Bodies*, (February 20, 2001); *Immigrants Tell of Forced Prostitution and Slavery as Trafficking Gang is Jailed*, (November 2, 2005); *Home Office Defers Expulsion of Women held in Brothel Raid*, (October 3, 2005). These six article headlines are significant as in each one the fact the women are described as “imported, immigrants, trafficked, foreign bodies,” all terms and phrases which signify to the reader that she is above all an illegal migrant who is caught in a brothel raid, or trafficked into the UK sex trade. The first three titles listed above are especially interesting as they not only explain to the reader that the women were not UK citizens, but their profession is what is used to tell the reader who they are. In presenting the women as *The Guardian* does, it explains to the reader that the women were already involved in sex work before they arrived into the UK, which may signify to the reader that the migrants may have already known what was involved in the trade before they ended up in the UK sex trade, therefore again, removing some of the blame from the UK demand. However, while the terms may not immediately provoke a reaction from all audience members that the profession of the women prior to arriving in the UK in anyway impacts her experience while working in the country, the fact that it is in the title is critical as it may be the only section which some audience members look at. Academic literature on news media explains how article titles act as a bridge way into the article, attempting to catch the reader’s attention, particularly with minority groups such as these, the articles may use scandal to catch attention (Hacket and Gruneau 2000: 27). The description of the female migrant sex workers in these titles, are important and does have some significance to the way the reader is to interpret the story, if it didn’t, the author may not have bothered to put it

there, and instead could have had a title along the lines of “women sold into UK sex trade”. Writing the headline as it was, allows the reader to see that she is a sex worker first, woman, even human second and in doing this the reader is then encouraged to view the issue of deportation, if it is brought up, as legitimate, despite the demands for her services by UK men. For example, following the headlines of *Prostitutes Imported into Slavery*, and *Foreign Bodies*, the reader is immediately informed that these migrant sex workers are illegal migrants:

The toilet door shuts and she loiters on the landing between two sex flats in Soho, central London. Suspicion, fear, panic make her shout: “What you want” “Why” and “Busy now” in a heavily-accented voice, before slotting a key into the door with a notice advertising “The best sex in Soho”. She disappears, but her confusion echoes in the mutters to be heard inside the door.

The woman, young and quite beautiful, is just one of a growing number of eastern European women and other illegal immigrants working in the dark world that is the sex industry in London’s West End. She is just one part of a worrying facet that has changed the sexual landscape of the flats, massage parlours and call services that offer sex in the capital (*The Guardian*, May 30, 2000).

A second example of the impact which the title acts as a bridge into the frame of sex workers being *illegal migrants*, is in the article, *Foreign Bodies*, where the first paragraph states:

The flat in Soho’s Frith Street has been empty for a few hours, since police and immigration officers marched in and pulled out Irina, a prostitute from Kosovo, while she was servicing a client. At the same time last Thursday, nearby flats were raided and another 32 immigrant sex workers arrested. None has been charged with any criminal offence but three Albanian women and one Thai woman have already been deported. The rest have all made asylum claims (*The Guardian*, February 20, 2001).

Both articles titles, *Foreign Bodies* and *Prostitutes Imported into Slavery*, identify the migrants as sex workers first, and continue to identify these females by their profession in the beginning of the article. In doing this, it may become difficult for reader to view deportation as a bad choice for the government when deciding how to deal with caught *illegal migrant sex workers*.

While the *Guardian* provides the reader with some detail regarding the experiences of the migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe, the articles go back and forth in their presentation of these women, in some cases they are framed as *legitimate victims* of heinous abuses, where in other articles they are framed as *illegal migrants* who work willingly in the conditions which they are found when police raid these illegally run brothels.

The following five articles have been chosen to exemplify this diverse range of representations given to the eastern European migrant sex workers, they are typical of the frames of *legitimate victim*, *led by deceit*, and *illegal migrant*. The first two articles identify female migrant sex workers as *illegal migrants* who willingly chose to work in most often secured sex work, and are not identified as being exploited. For example, the first article *Foreign Bodies*, (February 20, 2001) demonstrates the misconception that all migrant sex workers are victims:

Twenty-two of the women removed are Kosovan, the rest are Albanian, Moldovan, Iraqi, Thai, Russian and Belarussian. Police say the swoop- the biggest ever in the sex industry's internationally famous square mile- was the culmination of months of intelligence gathering, but Judy laughs at that. "They have known some of these girls for years because they visit us regularly to check that everything is OK. I don't think this raid was down to them, it's not their style. This was an immigration job."

"Yes, there have been one or two who were here against their will," Judy admits, "but by and large we got rid of the pimps for them, threatened we'd shop them to the police if they didn't clear off."....

Judy says a lot of the women were asylum seekers, some with babies and young children "They were starving while they waited for their vouchers to come through and, like Irina, they ended up here because they didn't know any other way to make money to feed themselves and their kids. They didn't have drug problems like some of the English girls- they didn't even drink- and they sent hundreds of pounds home to their families."

While there is evidence that hard-core traffickers who force refugee women into prostitution have gained a foothold in other European countries such as Germany, the women who were raided in Soho support Judy's assertion that they were not coerced. Yes, many of them paid a trafficker to smuggle them into the UK, and yes, most started to sell sex reluctantly because there were few other options open to them, but there is no hard evidence to support the sex

slaves banner headlines. Nor is there much sign of their alleged slave masters- only women were seized in the raids (*The Guardian*, February 20, 2001).

Analysing the *Foreign Bodies* article offers a number of interesting findings. For instance, the main source for the article is Judy, the maid for the flats in Soho where she cleans, and maintains order and schedules of the sex workers clients. Throughout the article, Judy clearly identifies for the reader that the women willingly chose to be migrant sex workers, who entered the UK sex trade because they didn't have any other way to make money. Without providing much background about the economical and social situation in the areas these women come from, the reader, whose economy and job opportunity is not scarce, may think that maybe she didn't look hard enough, that there are plenty of other ways to make money, in a number of different sectors and industries. As discussed in Chapter 2, researchers have linked the social and economical instability throughout eastern Europe, and the resulting poverty and strain which the populations are dealing with, allow for sex trafficking be especially successful in locating female migrant sex workers from this area; however this is not discussed in the article as reasons which may have motivated the women to turn to the sex trade for money. Similarly, the article states that "they did not know" another way to make money, but if the author had mentioned that opportunity for this was very limited, if not impossible for many, the audience may have instead felt that it was not so much that these women did not know of other employment opportunities, but instead that there were none. This would have decreased the level of blame and ignorance placed on the female sex workers and instead could have created sympathy that this work was a last resource for them.

In the article, the maid Judy, states that while one or two of the foreign sex workers may have been held against her will, and that the women were able to “get rid of the pimps”. This statement is interesting as research and police reporting on sex trafficking has indicated that the use of threats, debt bondage and enslavement of the migrant sex workers by the traffickers make it extremely difficult to get rid of pimps (Malarek 2009, 2008, Waugh 2006). However, *The Guardian* did not explain this, and it allowed for the reader to interpret this statement as being the norm, that it is easy for women to simply get rid of their pimps if they don’t want them there. In doing this, the reader is left feeling that maybe the whole notion of a sex slave is one which is exaggerated, if as Judy indicates, it is easy for them to simply get rid of the “bad guys”.

It is interesting that the author for this particular article relies solely on the information provided by Judy, and does not include any statements or background information which would confirm or contrast with her information. In doing this, the reader is left with the idea that this must be true, that what Judy describes as the Soho sex trade industry, booming with willing foreigners who just didn’t look hard enough for other work, is exactly how it is. It is significant because it leaves the reader with the understanding that above all, the notion of sex slave is very much debatable, as is its existence in the UK, and it would allow for the reader to think that UK deportation policy is the right method of dealing with the workers.

The second article which frames the migrant sex workers as willingly travelling abroad illegally and entering the UK sex trade titled *Prostitutes Imported Into Slavery*, (*The Guardian*, May 30, 2000).

The numbers are now so great that Home Office research and police intelligence reports show that the women and the traffickers and pimps are moving into suburbs all across Britain. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 sex workers from eastern Europe have crossed the borders but in these past five years they have moved across the Channel, to become commodities in the London sex trade. Now, as the UK seems less of a challenge the sex workers are moving around.

.... "Up until recently we had not come across smuggled women. The majority of the women travelled overtly on completely false documents or their own documents. But of late we are getting an increasing incidence of Balkan women being smuggled here," said Inspector Holmes. "The women are not deceived about what they will do but about the conditions which they will have to do it. What the women contract into is effectively debt bondage. She will agree to pay so much money to the traffickers in arrears for her travel documents, means of travel, accommodation here."

Inspector Holmes and his officers have found that the main regions of origin are central and south America, east and west Africa, south-east Asia, anywhere in the former Soviet bloc and the Balkan region. "Currently, Thai women are paying anywhere between €15,000 and €25, 000. They are sold a package which is credible if it were true. Women are told 'we will get you in on a six month visa entitlement and you can pay that off in three months'. When she gets here reality kicks in. Immediately, her documents will be snatched. She will be taken to a safe house and from them it's all downhill. They say they must have forgotten to mention it is €175 for rent of the flat and €75 for the maid. So it's just loan-sharking. These women must be available for work and they must provide all services, including unprotected sex" (*The Guardian*, May 30, 2000).

The article introduces migrant sex workers to the reader as being illegal migrants, who according to the police statement have willingly paid smugglers to get them across. *The Guardian* refers to Home Office and police research on the development of eastern European migrant sex workers travelling across Britain as having spread, so there are now greater numbers of these migrant sex workers in the UK: "Now, as the UK seems less of a challenge, the sex workers are moving around" (*The Guardian*, May 30, 2000). This statement could be taken by the reader to mean that their movement is a problem for UK police and the Home Office. However missing again from the article is the reason why they are there, possibly supporting their family is why they chose to travel abroad, working in the sex industry in a different country is not the reason they left. Instead the opportunity to illegally travel to the UK to work in the sex trade is due to the demand for them, yet this

does not get mentioned in the article. This again separates the migrant sex workers as simply being illegal migrants, and not a commodity demanded by UK men. In this same article, *The Guardian*, explains the shift in the UK, where police are noticing more women who are unwillingly brought from other countries to the UK sex market. But, the focus of who these unwilling women are remains vague. The article discusses how much Thai women will pay to go illegally abroad, despite having just stated that police find the women end up forced into the sex trade, the article describes this force as being her fault, as she is unable to make enough money in other job sectors to pay back her travel fees. The final statement in the last paragraph indicates that the women are tricked into a situation of loan sharking. *The Guardian* leaving this message as the final discussion of just what is going on to the migrant sex workers, allows the reader to understand the problem as being one of a scam, which bad foreign organized crime rings are doing to foreign women. It abolishes any relationship between the reader, the migrant sex worker, and her experience in the UK sex trade.

The articles discussing eastern Europe as a focal point, frame the female migrant sex workers involved as largely *illegal migrants*, who willingly came abroad to work, and that either came to work in the sex trade, or ended up there by their own means. In these articles, *The Guardian* does not explain the background of the women discussed, there is no discussion of how old they were, their background, their family life at home, their economic or other reasons for travelling abroad, any mention of this is done through police statements or by the author of the article, removing any sort of actual voice of the women who are discussed.

Along with the frame of *illegal migrant*, *The Guardian* also uses the frame of *willingly entered the sex trade*, when describing migrant sex workers who chose to enter to the UK sex trade despite known risks of exploitation and trafficking rings. The frame of *illegal migrant* is used in combination with the frame of *willingly entered the sex trade* when describing women who travelled illegally into the UK knowing and willing to work in the sex trade. An example of this frame, is provided in the article, *Sex Workers Are A Soft Target In The Asylum Figures Battle* (*The Guardian*, June 22, 2006). Though this article also regards the migrant sex workers as illegal immigrants, the main frame use is willingly entered the sex trade. Significantly, in this article the author offers background into why some women might choose to willingly travel illegally into the UK to work as an illegal migrant in the sex trade:

...And despite media stereotypes of sophisticated networks of global mafiosi moving female commodities from place to place, many trafficked women are bought and sold by people they know, sometimes by family members. In off-street prostitution, there are far more women who have made a choice out of economic necessity than have been dragged into brothels kicking and screaming.

Overwhelmingly they loathe the work they do, but many have made the choice because they feel they have few other options. Most have children and families back in their home countries and arrived here on six-month visas believing that a cleaning or nannying job would pay them handsomely enough to send 90% of their salary back home. It didn't take them long to discover that they could barely feed and house themselves on cleaners' earnings and so many moved into far more lucrative sex work (*The Guardian*, June 22, 2006).

This article is typical of other articles which convey the frame of willingly travelled into the sex trade, where the migrant sex workers are not discussed in a way which would convey sympathy from the reader, but rather a sense of independence. Interestingly, while the articles explain that the migrant sex workers chose to enter the UK sex trade, as in this news article, *The Guardian*, explains that this job may not be their number one choice, but may be a more practical way of surviving and allowing her family back home to survive.

What is unique about this article is that the key source and author is Diane Taylor, who is an editor for a magazine printed by a charity which works with sex workers. The involvement of Ms. Taylor in an agency which deals with sex workers makes her account and description of the reasons as to why a migrant would choose to enter the sex trade realistic. As well, Ms. Taylor provides quotes from migrant sex workers themselves about the difference in pay and reasons for choosing the sex trade over other jobs, this is unlike other articles which discuss sex trafficking in the context of eastern Europe, which do not offer as much or any statements by sex workers themselves.

Related to the frame of *illegal migrant* who willingly entered the sex trade is the frame of *led by deceit*, which *The Guardian* often uses interchangeably with the frame of *illegal migrant*. As with the frame of *illegal migrant* who willingly entered the sex trade, the *led by deceit* frame is used when describing migrant sex workers who chose to illegally travel abroad to find work, though they may not have known they would be working in the sex trade, or who may have been deceived about the type of sex work they would actually be doing. An example of this frame is found in the article, *Immigrants Tell of Forced Prostitution and Slavery As Trafficking Gang is Jailed* (*The Guardian*, November 2, 2005).

...Like many trafficking victims, the computer graduate was lured to Britain by promises of a respectable, well-paid job in a hotel or restaurant but ended up in a brothel.

"I believed they would kill my family," she told the court, "I thought I hadn't a way out of this situation. I didn't think I had a life in front of me. I wanted to escape but everything was locked. We were locked up all the time. I was told I need to go with clients and I needed to do sex with them. I felt very bad. The first time I wasn't able to talk afterwards" (*The Guardian*, November 2, 2005).

In this section of the article, the migrant sex worker is framed as being one who was *led by deceit*, namely a deceitful promise of a job abroad, but which turned out to be a cover

for a life of sexual exploitation. Similar to the frame of *illegal migrant*, *The Guardian* does not offer the reader an extensive history of why the female who has an educational background in computers would decide to travel abroad to find work in a hotel or restaurant, rather than in her field. Though the migrant sex workers statement about her experiences may evoke some sympathy from the reader for her exploitation, if *The Guardian* had explained why she and others like her decide to travel abroad illegally, the frame of *led by deceit* would be more informative of the background forces which are encouraging young women and girls to take risks in illegal migration.

While the use of the frame *legitimate victim* is uncommon in articles describing eastern European sex workers, *The Guardian* does present a specific group of Eastern European migrant sex workers with this frame, those who are young girls or teens. For example, one article, *Raped, Beaten, Sold-A Child's View of Albanian Gangs' Vice Grip on Britain* (*The Guardian*, December 23, 2002), demonstrates that the young girl being discussed is a legitimate victim through the description of her abuses, and the police reaction to her story:

Anna was 16 when she ran away from her pimp and was rescued from the streets by Scotland Yard's clubs and vice unit. To officers the treatment she received from Mustapha Kadiu was shocking, but it had a familiar ring; he threatened her at knifepoint and said he was going to kill her whenever she failed to earn between 400 and 500 a day (she charged 30 for straight sex). Rather than hitting her- as bruising would make her less attractive to potential clients- he punished her by raping her repeatedly.

....In protective custody where Anna finally felt safe, she started to reveal details of her past. This led officers out of London to Romania, where she was born and grew up. When she was 12 a relative sold her for 600 to criminals in the former Yugoslavia who forced her into vice. Her journey from there to north London illustrates the slave trade of children from east to west Europe for prostitution (*The Guardian*, December 23, 2002).

In this article *The Guardian* offers a story for the reader of the abuses which Anna endured from her trafficker and the “shock” which police felt having heard it. The description of Anna’s journey from her home to north London, is one which generates a sense of compassion and sympathy for Anna, as she was only 12 years old when she was sold by a relative to a gang. Unlike the other frames of *illegal migrant* and *led by deceit*, the frame of *legitimate victim* as demonstrated in the article, *Raped, Beaten, Sold-A Child’s View of Albanian Gangs’ Vice Grip on Britain*, offered description of the experience by the victim herself, and not a second hand account of a police report. One of the most significant differences between this frame of *legitimate victim* and the *illegal migrant* and *led by deceit* found in the Eastern European articles is that it offers an explanation as to how Anna ended up as a trafficked migrant sex worker. Other articles with the frame of an *illegal migrant* or *led by deceit* do not offer the same type of explanation for how she got into the sex trade. The article states that Anna was “rescued” by the Scotland Yard club and vice units, a term which automatically conveys a sense that Anna was a victim; otherwise *The Guardian* could have chosen a word such as found, a word which evokes less sympathy for the individual in discussion.

In summary, within the theme of “Eastern Europe”, the frame *illegal migrant* was used most frequently in the articles under investigation. *The Guardian* only regarded children as *legitimate victims*, creating the impression that older teens and women tend to *willingly enter the sex trade* - an alternative version of the *illegal migrant* frame that was discovered when analyzing the empirical material. Coverage of sex trafficking in the theme of “Eastern Europe” was often missing the relationship between the economic and social strains which have affected the area, and the three frames of migrant sex workers.

Africa

There were thirteen articles which locate the issue of sex trafficking within the geographical area of Africa. In these articles, *The Guardian* focuses its attention on child trafficking, where children are sent from Africa to Europe to enter various illegal trades including the sex trade. The children are generally portrayed through the frame of *legitimate victims*, where migrant sex workers are represented as having been innocently sold and taken abroad to be prostitutes. Below I will explain the use of the frame of *legitimate victim* and the focus on African culture as a major source of blame for the exploitation of the female migrant sex workers.

The *Guardian* focuses much of the attention on the traffickers, trafficking rings, and cultural oppression which allows for the children to fall victim to traffickers, and remain victims once returned home. The articles do not identify the UK as the problem and instead highlights police efforts to track down missing children and their traffickers, ignoring the relationship between the UK demand side for these children and the African trafficking rings' willingness to comply. The article *Care Home Girls Being Exported As Prostitutes* (March 9, 2001), exemplifies *The Guardian's* omission of UK involvement in the trafficking of children for sexual exploitation, and the mention of the oppressiveness of Nigerian culture on women. The article also exemplifies the use of the frame of *legitimate victim* when used to describe a case of child sex trafficking.

More than 40 girls, some as young as 14, have gone missing from care homes in the last five years and been transported to Italy to work as child prostitutes, police fear. The teenagers had been flown into Gatwick from West African countries by human traffickers who use Britain as a transit point into Europe.

Ms Da Pra said: “They come here to escape from a disastrous social and economic situation in Nigeria, where women have a very low status- they are not even allowed to have their own money- and no prospects.”

The prostitution rings are run by Nigerian madams, often ex-prostitutes themselves, who will buy women for between 5,000 and 7,000 from the ‘sponsor’ who facilitates the girls’ entry to Italy.

Men play a minor role in the organization acting as drivers, collecting money and occasionally imposing discipline through physical force.

“Almost everything is run by the women,” Ms Da Pra said. “They are quite fearsome and perfectly capable of administering a beating” (*The Guardian*, March 9, 2001).

The article does not discuss in much detail who the girls are, or their story of how they got into the hands of traffickers, yet the article refers to them as girls, sold into child prostitution which conveys to the reader that they are defenceless children at the mercy of these Nigerian traffickers. It is interesting that *The Guardian* points out that the girls are kept under control due to their fear of voodoo practices. In the articles which focused on eastern Europe where migrant sex workers were framed as *illegal migrants*, the newspaper only offered description that the women were afraid of retaliation by their traffickers, however in this section the reader is given more background and why the girls are intimidated by their traffickers. In explaining more detail about why the girls are afraid the reader is persuaded to feel sympathy for the girls, particularly because they are young children. In addition to this, the reader is also made to feel sympathy for the children by regarding them as being inferior, uneducated, and culturally superior.

The article discusses at length Nigerian prostitutes in Italy, and explains who exactly is running the trafficking rings which supply Italy with these foreign sex workers. In comparison to the Eastern European coverage of sex trafficking, this article explains that women run the trafficking rings and it is they who enforce slave conditions onto the young

girls. In giving the reader more insight into the organization of the trafficking rings it allows the reader to gauge more of an understanding as to what exactly the young girls are up against if they try to get out. Significantly, the article explains that men play a minor role, which includes drivers, collecting money and occasionally physical discipline; however an interesting role which they play and was not included was that of the purchaser of the acts which these girls are brought in for. As well, it is interesting that the male role of collecting money and driving are regarded by *The Guardian* as minor roles when in fact these roles are what allow the trafficking operations to take place. In academic literature and research the driving of the women and girls to their destination points and collecting money were areas where abuse, exploitation and humiliation were prevalent (Malarek 2009, Waugh 2006, Monzini 2005).

This article included for the reader an explanation by Ms Da Pra, a charity worker, who explained that Nigerian prostitutes come abroad to escape social and economic oppression by a culture which gave women little or no value. In stating this, the reader is encouraged to feel more sympathy for the African girls discussed in the article, as they are presented as being in a lose-lose situation, where they are discriminated against at home, and abused and exploited abroad, both through the use of fear. Describing the African culture in this way, also allows the reader to feel better about their own culture.

As with the Eastern European women, *The Guardian* offers no indication of what will happen to those children who are found by UK police, will they be offered asylum or refugee status? Or will they simply be handed a plane ticket back to Nigeria? Instead of informing the reader of what will happen, the audience is left with the impression that this is

an overwhelming problem within the UK and that the authorities are doing well just to deal with it. It is interesting that there is no discussion by immigration, child care or political intervention on the situation, which would have indicated to the reader that this is a matter of national importance; instead the attention is placed on how will the UK police try and find the children and what the Italian authorities are doing to stop it. This absence allows the reader to regard the victimization of these children to be urgent only in order to catch those who are trafficking children into the UK and other countries. It does not allow the reader to view the victimization of these children as a national concern or requiring an effort on behalf of the UK public to change the situation.

A second article which exemplifies *The Guardian's* use of the legitimate victim frame, titled *Pregnant Girl Left in Street After Being Held Captive in Brothel*, July 2006, focuses on the experience of a young girl from Kenya who sought employment and safety in the UK but instead found herself exploited, abused and abandoned. Even the title conveys immediate sympathy from the reader about her experiences as a trafficked sex worker. It regards her as a “pregnant girl”, and explains how she was “held captive”, words which convey to the reader she was both young, and held against her will, images which create a sense of sympathy for the reader about her situation:

A pregnant teenager has been found abandoned on a city's street after suffering 'imprisonment, beatings and systemic rape', police said yesterday.

South Yorkshire police said the 16-year-old Kenyan girl was brought to the UK by people traffickers and appeared to have been abandoned in Sheffield after being driven from somewhere else in the country, probably London.

After hearing her story, officers issued an urgent appeal to the public to help catch those responsible for her ordeal.

....She told staff she had been offered work in Nairobi as a maid in London after her mother's death, but the men who met her in Britain took her to a brothel under threat of violence. Once there she was repeatedly beaten and raped to force her to work as a prostitute.

Detective Inspector Matt Fenwick, leading the inquiry, said: "She is still extremely distressed. All interviews have been conducted entirely at her pace, and she is now being looked after by specialist carers. The sequence of events that has emerged during those interviews is shocking and tragic. It involves imprisonment, beatings and systemic rape over a lengthy period."

....Appeals for information have gone out to taxi drivers, workmen and utility company staff in London who may have visited the property. Police said the girl was taken to Sheffield in a dark blue, two-door car with tinted windows (*The Guardian*, July 11, 2006).

Similar to the 2001 article, *Care Home Girls Being Exported as Prostitutes*, the *Pregnant Girl Left in Street after Being Held Captive in Brothel*, a sixteen year old pregnant girl is portrayed as a victim of all accounts of her experience as a migrant sex worker in the UK sex trade. Following the same discussion as the *Care Home Girls Being Exported As Prostitutes* article, the sources in the story describe sympathy for the girls and this sympathy remains throughout the rest of the article. The statement given by Detective Inspector Fenwick and his description of her care indicates that she is in a fragile state and requires special care and consideration. Throughout each paragraph, the girl is regarded as a victim of what happened to her, forced to offer sexual services to clients and physically punished if she did not. The girl is portrayed to the reader through the frame of a legitimate victim in these three sections specifically, as it discusses the urgency by police to find out where the girl was held, and to find those who forced her into the UK sex trade. It is also interesting that the word used to describe those who forced her to work as a sex workers are called 'captors', conveying that she was a prisoner, yet in the Eastern European articles those who ended up working in the sex trade, their pimps, traffickers, money lenders are not referred to as captors, which again differentiates for the reader the difference between the frame of a sex trafficking victim, an innocent female who was kidnapped or sold into the sex trade without

consent, as compared to an illegal migrant, who is regarded as someone who willingly travelled illegally, to work in an illegal job market abroad.

This article also presents another significant finding in that the villains in this article are those who captured and abused the 16 year old, not the men who frequented the brothel where she was forced to work. The police statements indicate concern and urgency in finding the brothel location and its occupants, but there is no discussion or account of the men who purchased the services of the young women whom are held against their will.

Also, while the reader is made to view this girl's situation as tragic there is no comment made by the police or the authority as to what will happen to this young girl after her statements are given, will she have the baby in the UK, thus allowing it UK citizenship? Or will she be sent back to Kenya before giving birth? Both are questions which would indicate a future for the girl, but these are also not answered or brought up by *The Guardian*, in avoiding these questions it's indicates that this is only a present problem, with a time limit, there is no thought given to her future. The absence of this topic from the newspapers subtly suggests to the reader that the future of these girls is not a UK problem, where they are victims at present, but their future is not of concern.

In summary, as mentioned above, the frame of a *legitimate victim* as used by *The Guardian* focuses mostly on African children, generating a sense of sympathy and even compassion from the reader towards the experiences. The articles selected to exemplify this frame, do so by demonstrating the ways in which *The Guardian* discusses the home life of the female migrant sex worker in discussion. Including mention of the home life, the restrictive and sometimes oppressive features of the African culture which the female

migrant sex worker may have faced at home, and the fact that most of the females discussed are children, frames the migrant sex workers to be legitimate victims. They were portrayed as *legitimate victims*, who were kidnapped or sold into a life of sexual slavery, trafficked into a foreign land to be sexually exploited by traffickers, pimps, and foreign men. The articles selected to demonstrate this frame exemplified the key features of this frame through their consistent use of police and government officials as key sources in the articles, and the urgency and eagerness to locate and arrest those who trafficked and sold the females into the migrant sex trade from Africa, all continue to frame the girls as *legitimate victims*. Academic literature on sex trafficking has indicated that often times migrant sex workers feel they cannot go to the police for help, because of the corruption within some police units, which actually participate in the trafficking rather than stop it (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008, Waugh, 2006, Monzini 2005, Malarek 2004) . Further, many trafficked migrant sex workers are told that the police will simply send them back to the traffickers, which allows for fear of retaliation by the traffickers and deter women from running to the police. The literature also indicates that there is a fear of deportation on behalf of the migrant sex workers, often instilled by the traffickers (Monzini 2005, Malarek 2004, Lim et al., 2002, Kelly and Regan 2000).

It is important to note that, compared to the frame of *illegal migrant*, where police and government officials locate the migrant sex workers to be regarded primarily as illegal entrants and requiring immediate deportation, the articles which frame trafficked migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims*, use police and government sources to place the females as victims and in some cases further demonstrate this by discussing the need for special care and future aid from the UK.

UK Policy

The third theme in the coverage of articles were those which focused on UK policy initiatives and legislation geared at migrant sex workers and sex trafficking. There were a total of twenty-four articles in total in this section, most focusing on the need for government to change or introduce new legislation which would work to end prostitution, largely regarding all sex workers, migrant and domestic, as victims in the trade, exploited by their pimps. The articles lack voices from migrant sex workers, and rely instead on police statements about the number of women involved and the situations which they face.

Of these twenty-four articles, nine focus on explaining the situation of sex trafficking within the UK, exposing to the reader facts and figures on the importing of foreign sex workers into the UK sex trade. The remaining fifteen articles highlight legislative changes and demand for government recognition that sex laws need to be changed to deal with trafficking. Below I will describe typical articles of the theme in more detail. In this section I will explain how through discussion of UK policy, the migrant sex workers are framed as *legitimate victims*, yet statements from government and police officials remind the reader that they are *illegal migrants*.

The nine articles which described the situation of trafficking within the UK, describe for the reader the abuses suffered and the victimization of the sex workers, particularly children. Often missing from these articles however is a sense of future for the migrant sex workers discussed, leaving the reader to be concerned only with the initial first contact and set up of the migrant sex workers in the UK sex industry.

The following article, *Children Smuggled into UK For Sex Abuse and Slavery* (*The Guardian*, June 12, 2007), explains a Home Office report on children smuggled into the country for sexual exploitation, and the author explains that the report is meant to help authorities to locate the children and free them of their circumstances, however missing from the article is any sort of indication of just what authorities will do with the children once they are found.

The trade in hundreds of children smuggled into the UK for sexual exploitation, drug smuggling, under-age marriage, street crime and domestic slavery was exposed last night in a government report. The Home Office-commissioned survey identifies 330 cases of suspected or confirmed victims of trafficking- most of them from China or from African- but warns of an 'unknown quantity' that have not come to the attention of authorities.

The true scale of child trafficking is believed to be far higher

Organized gangs, including some highly sophisticated criminal syndicates, are profiting from trafficking children as young as nine months old into the country. In the case of African victims the traffickers have been identified as white British nationals.

The report, which was produced by the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre Reveals:

- Concern over the safety of trafficked children placed in the care of local authorities. Over half of those in the study have gone missing, amid fears some have returned to their captors;
- Most of the victims are girls and most likely to enter the country through airports to supply the underground sex trade or to work as domestic servants (*The Guardian*, June 12, 2007).

The article demonstrates for the reader, a government awareness and concern over the smuggled children who enter its sex trade, and through the five points highlighted in the report, the children are regarded as victims of their traffickers, requiring much aid, safety and support for those who are saved from their situations of sexual exploitation. While the article mentions only once the involvement of UK citizens in the trafficking of some of the children, the author does not push this involvement any further to include those UK citizens

who are fuelling a demand for child sex workers. As well, the article portrays a sense of urgency by the report that something must be done immediately to help the children, but there are no recommendations of how to help the children once they are found, and if they will be sent back to their home countries, where the likelihood of re trafficking may be high, or if they will be allowed to stay in the UK. Unlike other articles which focus on Africa or Eastern Europe, there is little background information given about the children. The article, *Children Smuggled into UK for Sex Abuse and Slavery*, represents a common missing component in articles where the trafficked migrant sex workers are framed as legitimate victims, where there is no mention of how these migrant sex workers ended up in this situation or where and how their parents and families factor in to their experiences.

Similar to the articles focused on Eastern Europe and Africa, the “bad guys” in this same article are the three foreign gangs who are discussed after the reader is informed of the physical and sexual abuses and humiliation which the children are exposed to. As with other articles which use the frame of legitimate victim to describe the migrant sex workers, there is no mention or link made for the reader between UK involvement in the trafficking rings, or the exploitation of these victims. Particularly, this is seen in the same article *Children Smuggled into UK for Sex Abuse and Slavery*, where two white British national discussed at the beginning of the article as traffickers, simply disappear from the story and UK involvement in the trafficking rings is removed from the attention of the reader:

Organized gangs, including some highly sophisticated criminal syndicates, are profiting from trafficking children as young as nine months old into the country. In the case of African victims the traffickers have been identified as white British nationals (*The Guardian*, June 12, 2007).

This quote signifies to the reader to view the problem as one which simply took place in the UK, but was caused and involved foreigners. The “white British nationals” are not discussed in any of the other African legitimate victim framed articles, or in any of the other two frames used by *The Guardian*. Neither the frame of the illegal migrant nor the frame of led by deceit include mention of UK involvement in the trafficking ring.

A second article informing the reader of sex trafficking in the UK refers explicitly that all migrant sex workers are victims, and emphasises the need for the UK government to become more active in helping these victims. The article titled *Plight of London's Hidden Prostitutes Revealed* (*The Guardian*, August 20, 2004), offers a more liberal account of sex trafficking, explaining to the reader through quotes from authoritative sources that this is a serious problem, unknown in its severity to the public.

Superintendent Chris Bradford, head of operations for Metropolitan police's clubs and vice unit, warned that the issue was widespread within Britain and across western Europe. “We have been telling people about this for an awfully long time,” he said. “I would suggest every town in the UK has got a problem.”

...The study says that more funding is needed to help the police tackle the problem. It calls for greater support for women trafficked to this country, ensuring they have safe housing and are granted asylum if they cannot return home safely. But is also urges the government to tackle the problem of demand, including information within sex education lessons on the realities of prostitution, to educate men who buy sex about its effects on the women involved....

Supt Bradford said many women found it impossible to escape their pimps once they had arrived in the UK. “They can't speak the language; they've had passports and travel documents taken away from them,” he said. “They don't know what to do or who to see, and pimps tell them that they're paying the police, and that we will just return them if they come to us. They're not necessarily locked up, but there's the constant threat that they or their families will be 'sorted out'.”

Several of the women helped by the Poppy Project were re trafficked after their return to their countries of origin. One was sold by her father for a second time days after police returned her home (*The Guardian*, August 20, 2004).

The article is significant as it allows the reader more insight than in previous articles about what can happen to the migrant sex workers who are sent home after being caught by police as illegally working in the UK. What is interesting is the common language used to discuss this process, as opposed to the immigration jargon to describe the UK systematic handling of the illegal migrants, which is more common when *The Guardian* uses the frame of illegal migrant.

Similarly, unlike articles which framed sex workers as illegal migrants, this article frames the workers as victims, using terms such as “police returned her home”, rather than deported her to her home country, thus removing the force behind the UK’s swift replacement of these workers into their original countries. The article immediately explains to the reader that it was the girl’s father who placed her in danger and allowed her to be trafficked again, the *Guardian* removes blame from the UK immigration system and instead points to the girl’s father as the perpetrator, avoiding questioning or criticism of the UK policies as not offering protection.

While the article does explain to the reader that not all women are kidnapped and that some willingly travelled abroad under false pretences of the work they would be given, the author also explains an NGO report findings that the demand side must also be addressed through educating men who purchase sex about trafficked and abused women. This statement offers the reader a new area of thought in regards to sex trafficking, which is that those UK men who purchase the services of foreign sex workers become involved in identifying those who are held against their will. While this first group of articles referred to specific cases of sex trafficking, and blame the culture or family of the migrant sex worker

for her exploitation, the second group of articles looks more specifically at just the UK policy on sex trafficking.

The second aspect of the newspaper articles on UK policies are those fifteen where the *Guardian* discusses government political action, or lack thereof, in addressing policies surrounding and directly affecting sex trafficking in the UK. These articles explicitly regarded all women in the sex trade as *legitimate victims*, enslaved within the migrant sex trade, and often geared the articles in favour of ending prostitution as a whole. For example, one article *Police to Launch Intelligence Unit to Target Human Trafficking* (*The Guardian*, June 22, 2006), demonstrates the use of the framing migrant sex workers as victims, while also reminding the reader that it is an immigration issue:

In all, 12 children ages 14 to 17 were rescued from pimps during the operation. Half of the women were from EU countries and some have volunteered to return home without making a complaint, said a spokesperson for South Yorkshire police. The rest were being looked after by specialist agencies.

The unit was announced at Pentameter's final conference by the Home Office minister Vernon Croaker. He said: "This is an abhorrent crime that wrecks innocent lives. We still have a lot of work to do and we must not take our foot off the pedal."

Mr. Croaker also published a summary of more than 200 responses to the government's draft action plan on human trafficking. A significant number complained that the plan discussed trafficking only in terms of organized crime rather than as a human rights issue, with protection and assistance given to the victims....

Home Office officials are keen that the victims have time to consider helping with prosecutions. But they are also concerned that signifying up to the convention might provide a "pull factor" for immigration (*The Guardian*, June 22, 2006).

This section of the article mentions the police desire to locate more victims of sex trafficking, and includes a statement from Mr. Croaker a government official which also agrees that the pressure by police to locate trafficking victims must not decline. Interestingly, the article also exposes a strain in the Home Office's initiatives to combat trafficking, as the

article also states that the government is fearful of their actions to help victims, may create a “pull factor” for other immigration into the UK. In stating this, *The Guardian* creates a sense of division in how to adequately handle the victims of trafficking, on the one hand they are “victims”, but on the other they are “illegal migrants”. Both articles *Tories Want UK to Sign Charter For Victims of Trafficking*, and *Police to Launch Intelligence Unit To Target Human Trafficking*, discuss government debate and discussion over adopting legislation which would offer a period of recovery for women found to be victims of trafficking. As demonstrated through the selected sections of these two articles included above, the articles demonstrate the reluctance of the government to do this as it may cause pull factors for illegal migrants. In using this alleged fear as a deterrent for the government, the reader is left with the notion that while these migrant workers may have been abused they are after all illegal.

Interestingly, the articles which discuss the need to tackle the problem of sex trafficking, and to rescue the girls who are exploited, provide no recommendation or even discussion of making immigration policies sway in favour of allowing these women more opportunity in other sectors and granting more visas and permits to those who wish to relocate to the UK. The following article *Tories Want UK to Sign Charter For Victims of Trafficking (The Guardian, January 4, 2007)*, discusses the UK debate and concern over signing up for a European convention which would allow victims of trafficking to stay for a brief amount of time after having been rescued by police, in this reflection time, the victims decide whether or not they will help police and law officials in cases against the traffickers.

The Conservatives yesterday won rare plaudits from human rights groups when they told the government to sign up to a European convention which would grant victims of human

trafficking the right to stay in Britain temporarily. Ministers say it may attract illegal migrants, but have been in lengthy discussions on whether to sign with European colleagues (*The Guardian*, January 4, 2007).

This article frames the migrant sex workers, and other trafficked persons as victims of their pimps and traffickers. The article demonstrates a further division within the UK government on actions which would affect these victims, however as with the remaining articles which discussed the UK government action towards sex trafficking, there is no mention of amending immigration policies, changes which could allow for potential female migrants more legal access to work abroad, and less reliance upon illegal entry routes where they may be susceptible to criminal rings, and overzealous money lenders. What is significant about the article, *Tories Want UK to Sign Charter for Victims of Trafficking*, is the way that the final statement given by Conservative member David Davis, frames the migrant sex workers, and other trafficked persons as victims of their pimps and traffickers: “Mr. Davis said the problem of trafficking involved thousands of people brought to the UK under false pretences to work in the sex trade or for gang masters and other exploitative employers” (*The Guardian*, January 4, 2007). Mr. Davis’ description of those who are trafficked signifies another division in the articles on UK legislation, where the article incorporates the frame of the legitimate victim, with undertones of illegal migrant. As demonstrated through the selected sections of these two articles included above, the articles demonstrate the reluctance of the government to do this as it may cause pull factors for illegal migrants. In using this alleged fear as a deterrent for the government the reader is left with the notion that while these migrant workers may have been abused they are after all illegal.

A similar article *Sex Trafficking Victims Rescued by Police May Face Deportation* (*The Guardian*, October 4, 2007), further demonstrates a divide in the frames used by *The Guardian* when portraying to the reader whether the migrant sex workers are *illegal migrants*, or *legitimate victims*. The article regards the migrant sex workers as victims, but then reminds the reader that they are illegal migrants:

Some victims of sex traffickers rescued from prostitution in a new national police crackdown will face deportation, the home secretary, Jacqui Smith, said yesterday. Ms. Smith described sex trafficking as a 'modern-day form of slavery' but said she could not give an across-the-board guarantee that those rescued would not face deportation as illegal migrants.

Detectives think that as many as 100 brothels are operating in Cambridgeshire alone. The country's police say sex traffickers are luring women into the UK from eastern Europe, Africa and the far east with the promise of lucrative jobs. Pentameter 2 is the second enforcement operation to focus on trafficking. Last year, the first crackdown ended in 88 trafficked women from 22 countries being rescued and led to 232 arrests, with 134 people charged. It also led to the creation of the Human Trafficking Centre in Sheffield.

...Parameter 2 will focus on providing protection for victims who have been kidnapped, falsely imprisoned and raped and identifying the scale and nature of human trafficking in Britain.

Ms. Smith said that as part of Britain's programme of implementing the European convention against human trafficking, the operation would include a pilot scheme to formally identify victims as well as a 30-day "reflection period" before removal action as illegal entrants.

She said she wanted to protect and support victims, but the blanket guarantee that none would face deportation "would be likely to act more generally as a pull factor." She hoped asylum case workers would bear in mind their exploitation when deciding their futures (*The Guardian*, October 4, 2007).

This article explains to the reader through quotes from the home secretary that the UK wants to help victims of sex trafficking and explains the amount of effort and work the police have done to rescue victims from their exploitative work and revealing to the reader the victimization of these migrant sex workers. The statements also reveal an underlying theme that despite being victims, these are illegal migrants and must be sent back to their countries. It is interesting that while Ms. Smith describes the rescues by police, and the

generous attempts to provide these workers with a grace period for recovery before deportation, that *The Guardian* fails to link these rescues and removal actions with re-trafficking and re-victimization. The newspaper does not demonstrate for the reader that in first regarding them as victims and then illegal migrants, that the UK is simply setting these women up for potential re-victimization, as noted throughout sex trafficking literature (Cameron and Newman 2008; Laczko and Gozdzia 2005; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Masika 2002). This excerpt while lengthy is significant as it demonstrates a change in the tone of the article, changes which are not unique to this article alone, but which are present in other articles discussing sex trafficking legislation within the UK. These changes in tone of the article are demonstrated in the way *The Guardian* frames trafficked migrant sex workers as victims, yet the tone and discourse of the government sources provided in the article who discuss the government aid for the victims, use immigration and technical terms, which convey that the migrant sex workers are illegal migrants, not victims. For example, at the beginning of the article, Ms. Smith refers to the migrant sex workers as “victims of sex traffickers”, but later on in the article, Ms. Smith’s tone towards the migrant sex workers changes and the migrant sex workers are instead framed as illegal migrants when she is quoted as saying:

...Britain’s programme of implanting the European convention against human trafficking, the operation would include a pilot scheme to formally identify *victims* as well as a 30-day “reflection period” before removal action against *illegal entrants*” (*The Guardian*, October 4, 2007).

In this second quote by Ms. Smith, I have italicized the difference in the terms she uses, initially they are “victims” and then within the same sentence, this changes to “illegal entrants”. In differentiating between victim and then illegal entrant, the reader is left with

this notion that this is above all an immigration issue. The statements by Ms. Smith do not include any mention of the demand side of the migrant sex trade, which omits from the reader's attention that the migrant sex workers travelled illegally or were trafficked illegally because of opportunity which UK men generated.

In this same quote by Ms. Smith where she changes from regarding migrant sex workers as "victims" and then "illegal entrants", she also explains how the new programme which the UK is implementing to help trafficked migrant sex workers, will "formally identify victims". This ability for the programme to identify victims is left without explanation by Ms. Smith, as to how exactly police units will be able to differentiate between victims and other non-victim migrant sex workers. Neither Ms. Smith nor *The Guardian* expand upon what exactly those will be labelled as who are not "formally identified" as victims. Academic literature on sex trafficking has highlighted extensively that one of the key trouble areas for police and government units which focus on sex trafficking, is finding these trafficked migrant sex workers, and actually determining whether or not they are victims (Malarek 2009, Stephen-Smith 2008, Waugh 2006, Monzini 2005). As with other articles discussing UK sex trafficking policy, the article, *Sex Trafficking Victims Rescued by Police May Face Deportation*, explains to the reader the fear of the UK government that in providing safety and security to those who have been victimized as migrant sex workers may in effect be a "pull factor" for other illegal migrants. Again, this locates the issue of sex trafficking within the UK and the methods of detaining and deporting these migrant sex workers to be solely an issue of immigration.

In summary, the coverage of sex trafficking in the theme of “UK Policy” frames migrant sex workers as *illegal migrants* and *legitimate victims*. The use of government statements in the articles reflect arguments found in the literature on minorities in the news media. In the academic literature, statements given by government or police officials shape a story in a way which positively portrays the dominant group, while the minority group is regarded negatively (Van Dijk 1992). In the news articles in this theme, while the migrant sex worker may have been called a “victim” by sources, the statements given by police or government representatives would indicate that the reader should remember that above all these workers are illegal entrants.

Conclusion

According to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, the UK is advanced in its awareness of migrant sex workers within its borders, because of larger European knowledge and initiatives in dealing with migration legally and illegally. However the findings gathered from the *Guardian*'s news coverage suggest that this phenomenon is conservatively addressed as being largely as a problem of “others”, where the UK's main role in sex trafficking is simply trying to stop foreign people entering the UK and doing bad things to other foreigners. In restricting the context of sex trafficking within the UK to solely involving outsiders, *The Guardian* allows the issue of the demand of side of sex trafficking to be downplayed and instead it becomes a secondary issue, one which is not as important as the immigration violations which these migrants have participated in.

The Guardian's use of frames for migrant sex workers, *legitimate victim*, *led by deceit*, and *illegal migrant* tend to depend upon where the migrant sex workers come from. Specifically, the frame of *legitimate victim* is used when the migrant sex workers are children from countries within Africa. When the frame of the *legitimate victim* is used to describe African migrant sex workers, the articles include mention of the victim's home life, the struggles with her family or community, and the overall discriminative culture within her African community. In these articles, through the use of police and government sources, *The Guardian* identifies migrant sex workers through the frame of a *legitimate victim*.

Opposite of this frame, is that of an *illegal migrant*, which *The Guardian* uses to represent migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe. Unlike *The Guardian's* use of the frame of *legitimate victim*, the newspaper used two frames, that of an *illegal migrant* and an *illegal migrant led by deceit* interchangeably to describe the experiences of the Eastern European migrant sex workers. The frames which described these European migrant sex workers did not convey a sense of compassion from the reader as to the factors which may have provided the migrant sex workers with the incentive or drive to allow her to be illegally trafficked or find illegal work abroad. The factors which provided the readers with a sense of *why* and *how* a migrant worker found herself in the sex trade as explained for those framed as a *legitimate victim*, including background or home life of the migrant sex workers were not included when *The Guardian* framed the Eastern European sex workers as *illegal migrants*. The only exception to this exclusion of the history of the migrant sex workers was when the article specifically discussed a young girl or teen that was sold into the migrant sex trade.

As found in the academic literature, *The Guardian's* frames of *illegal migrant*, *led by deceit*, and *legitimate victim*, reflect a divide between knowledge and awareness of the extent

of the phenomenon within a country, and actions and policies aimed to address the victims and growth of sex trafficking. Where certain themes such as “UK Policy” and “Eastern Europe” largely frame the problem to be a component of immigration, articles centered on the African theme, refer to the problem more as a human rights issue.

As compared to countries such as Canada, whose news coverage may be expected to be more conservative due to less knowledge and awareness of the extent of sex trafficking within the country, one would have expected that the coverage of sex trafficking in a UK liberal newspaper would have offered the reader a more extensive understanding of the international and broader social, economic and political factors which influence sex trafficking in all areas not simply, Eastern Europe, Africa and in UK policy.

Chapter 6:

Canadian News Analysis: Depictions of Female Migrant Sex Workers in *The Globe and Mail*

Introduction

Research on Canadian sex trafficking demonstrates that Canada is in the early stages of understanding this phenomenon compared with other countries such as those in Europe, as only recently has sex trafficking become a documented issue (MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000; Langevin and Belleau 2000; Bruckert and Parent 2002). As discussed in Chapter 4, the lack of awareness has not meant a lack of initiative on behalf of the federal government in attempting to impose limitations on traffickers and their migrant sex workers. Rather, the Canadian federal government has adopted and altered their immigration and criminal legislation to include punishment to traffickers (Department of Justice 2008). While the Canadian literature on sex trafficking may be small, it does offer some insight into what can be expected in the news coverage of this topic. The literature on Canadian sex trafficking largely regards all those who are migrant sex workers as “victims” of sexual slavery, who are not willingly working in the sex trade, but who were forced due to various circumstances (Bruckert and Parent 2002; MacDonald, Moore and Timoschkina 2000).

However, with pressure from the United States, particularly following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the tightened immigration and border control between the United States and Canadian borders have caused governments to uphold a more suspicious gaze on immigrants and their desire to move or work in Canada. Therefore, while the literature on sex trafficking indicates all migrant sex workers are “victims”, the actions taken

by the Canadian government in addressing immigration figures also indicate some migrant sex workers may be regarded not as a “victim”, but as someone who is an “illegal migrant”, who willingly chose to travel abroad and work illegally in Canada.

Analyzing and Organizing the Collected Articles from The Globe and Mail

The total number of *Globe and Mail* articles used in this analysis was 33, of which roughly half frame migrant sex workers to be *illegal migrants* who willingly travelled illegally into Canada and may have intended to work in the Canadian sex trade or decided to become a sex worker once arriving. This frame is used when *The Globe and Mail* describes court cases of traffickers, and brothel raids throughout Canada. The frame of *illegal migrant* does not generate sympathy for the migrant sex workers and does not discuss possible reasons as to why she chose to enter the country illegally. Most often, the migrant sex worker is not given a voice in the article, any account of her story is told through someone else, such as a police officer, a government official, or a lawyer.

The remaining half of the articles framed migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims*, who may have been kidnapped or sold into the Canadian sex trade unwilling. *Legitimate victim* frame largely is used when discussing children who are sold into the sex trade, and when discussing Canadian sex trafficking policy. With this frame, the reader is presented with an image of a child being abused, sometimes offering a background of that child or the life struggles for she or her family in her home country. Many of the articles which frame migrant sex workers as *legitimate victim*, do so by referring to the females as victims. Statements from police and government officials included in the articles express that the

experiences of these trafficked migrant sex workers have made them victims of exploitation, and abuse at the hands of their pimps.

Unlike *The Guardian's* coverage, *The Globe and Mail's* coverage was not as geographically focused when discussing sex trafficking. Instead *The Globe and Mail* focused on two key contexts: first, national sex trafficking, including policy, and international sex-trafficking. Whereas my analysis of *The Guardian's* coverage was structured according to geographical and UK political themes, my analysis of *The Globe and Mail's* coverage will not be structured differently. Here, the frames of the migrant sex workers presented in the news articles, *illegal migrant* and *victim* are used to structure the analysis. The two frames were used to discuss both international sex trafficking and national sex trafficking. Since, for the sake of this analysis – and to answer my research question – the study of the frames is more important than the identification of themes, I have decided to structure this chapter according to the two dominant frames used by *The Globe and Mail*: *legitimate victim* and *illegal migrant*.

Illegal Migrant

There were fourteen articles which discussed the extent of sex trafficking within Canada, and largely portrayed it as a problem with *illegal migrants* and foreigners. This means the article present the issue of sex trafficking to be made up of migrant sex workers who are portrayed as *illegal migrants*, travelling illegally in hopes of finding work somewhere in Canada. The articles also describe the “bad guys” in sex trafficking, who exploit and traffic the migrant sex workers to be foreigners, whether or not they live in

Canada, the fact that they are from another country originally, is brought to the attention of the reader; subtly reminding them that the individuals involved are from somewhere else. For example, in 2001, *The Globe and Mail* published an article on a Thai girl who was taken from her home and trafficked to Canada where she was forced into the sex trade. The article, *Pimps Convicted in Thai Sex Ring* (*The Globe and Mail*, May 2, 2001), exemplifies the use of the frame of *illegal migrant* by *The Globe and Mail*, where the migrant sex worker is portrayed as being an *illegal migrant* who willingly or was tricked into travelling illegally into the country. This frame offers no sympathy for the migrant sex workers and the social, or economic factors which may have allowed them to decide to travel illegally to find work abroad are not discussed. In this article the audience is offered little discussion of the background of the girl, or how she was able to be lured into coming to Canada and ending up in the sex trade. Any discussion of her journey from Thailand to Canada is done through the statements of the Crown Attorney included in the article.

The jury heard that the complainant, who cannot be names, was recruited from a farm outside Bangkok by an elderly Chinese woman and brought to a Bangkok hotel in April. 1996. There, she and many other women were kept while an unnamed "boss" obtained false passports and Canadian visitor visas for them

She was accompanied to Toronto by the Chinese woman, who help on to her travel documents and then turned the papers and the woman over to Mr. Nabangxang.

He, in turn, sold the woman to Ms. Charatsenggroundgreuan, who took over custody of the travel documents. The complainant was told her papers would be held until she had sex for money with 350 men and handed the money over to Ms. Charatsenggroundgreuan.

"This was the sale of a human being," Mr. Barry said. "She had to perform as a sex slave."

Sgt Yuen said the complainant was one of 160 women rounded up in a Toronto Police crackdown on Asian massage parlours in 1998. Most returned home afterward, he said, and only a handful spoke to police. He said police cannot offer the women exploited in international sex rings any sanctuary or assistances with immigration claims, and he wants that changed. That would be up to the Immigration Department, he said (*The Globe and Mail*, May 2, 2001).

This description of the experiences of the young woman portray to the reader that she is an illegal migrant who was exploited, but remains above all else, an illegal migrant. For instance, the journey from Thailand to Canada, begins by describing how she was “recruited”, but does not explain to the reader what exactly that means. Was she offered a job in Canada in the sex trade or in another sector? Did she know she would be illegally working? How did the woman convince her to leave her farm? Had these questions been explained to the reader, it would have offered more information about the sort of treatment the girl received. Sex trafficking literature has expressed that traffickers from Asia can be quite violent with their migrant sex workers and may use threats of violence towards the females or their family if they do not comply (Waugh 2006; Laczki and Gozdzia 2004; Malarek 2004; Lim et al. 2002) Maybe the girl resisted at the hotel in Bangkok and was punished for it, or was threatened with violence towards herself or her family and this forced her to comply. The reader is not presented with this information which may have allotted some sympathy about her and the other “160 women rounded up in a Toronto police crackdown”. The woman who “recruited” the girl is described as an elderly woman, who simply brought this girl to Bangkok with her. Pointing out to the reader that the woman who took the girl to the city, was an elderly woman, allows the reader to interpret that since this was an older woman the young girl would have had a good chance at escaping if she had tried, if she really was taken against her will. The elderly woman, whose maturity, and wisdom in her years may have influenced the girl into going with her, however, there is no description of how the woman influenced or persuaded the girl to go with her, details which may have filled a gap of understanding for *The Globe and Mail* audience about why and how the girl ended up in Canada.

The young woman's experience is framed as being an *illegal migrant*, due largely to the description given by Sgt. Yuen of how Toronto police found the young woman, through a "round up", part of a "crackdown on Asian massage parlours". Using this language conveys to the reader that this is a foreign problem, as it clearly states, "Asian" massage parlours, and does not simply say massage parlours. As well, in using words such as "roundup", "crackdown", it implies this is a large problem, and that the police need to get out into the city and find all these illegitimate workers. Sgt. Yuen does not indicate if some of the 160 women who were "rounded up", were forced to work against their will in the sex trade or who had been tricked to working in the sex industry, or were trafficked from Asia. Leaving out these details may allow the reader to regard these women as knowingly

about the women, offering no account of how old the women were, how long they had been in Canada, or any form of identity. Their comments, experiences, identity is left completely out of the article, which removes any sort of doubt from the reader that they were just “illegal migrants”.

A second article which also demonstrated the use of the frame of *illegal migrant*, *Vancouver Man Charged with Human Trafficking; Case is First Under New Legislation Aimed at Those Who Import Women as Prostitutes* (*The Globe and Mail*, April 14, 2005), offers an interesting discussion of the extent of sex trafficking within Canada, casting doubt on the Canadian numbers on sex trafficking “victims”. This article which described the arrest of a Vancouver man who was charged in human trafficking, presents the reader with doubt that migrant sex workers are “victims”, and presents the possibility for the reader to doubt that sex trafficking exists in Canada, through the statements provided by the traffickers lawyer.

A Vancouver man was charged yesterday with human trafficking in the first case under new federal legislation designed to get tough on those who bring women to Canada to work as prostitutes.

Wai Chi (Michael) NG, 42, appeared in court and was charged with organizing the entry of two Chinese women into Canada in violation of the three-year-old Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.

Mr. Ng was also charged under the Criminal Code with procuring women for entry into Canada for the purposes of prostitution and living off the avails of prostitution.

The Vancouver police, the RCMP's border integrity immigration team and the Canada Border Services Agency indicated the charges reflect a significant step in the campaign against human smuggling.

However, immigration lawyer and policy analyst Richard Kurland said the authorities were inflating the importance of the charges.

“This is not human trafficking,” Mr. Kurland said in an interview.

“Human trafficking is in the Sudan, in the Middle East, where the woman are physically picked up, raped and treated like cattle, locked up. This is not the case in Canada,” he said....

However, despite the introduction of increased penalties, human trafficking is not a big problem in Canada, Mr. Kurland said.

“One is too many,” he said.

Canada is not dealing with a flood of women being brought into the country to work as prostitutes, he said.

Canada is at forefront of combating real human trafficking, he added, “but this is not it” (*The Globe and Mail*, April 14, 2005).

As with the May 2001 article, *Pimps Convicted in Thai Sex Ring*, the above excerpt identifies the migrant sex workers as *illegal migrants*. The article refers to the migrant sex workers coming to Canada in a way which does not convey to the reader that the traffickers force the women to come, or that they are victimized: “to get tough on those who bring women to Canada to work as prostitutes”. Referring to the women as being brought into the country to *work as prostitutes* does not indicate that there was any force behind the women coming to Canada. In fact, it offers the reader no knowledge of the journey or just how the migrant sex workers discussed ended up working in the Canadian sex trade.

The immigration lawyer’s statements allow the reader to question the legitimacy of the charges laid against Mr. NG. His statement that Canada is not dealing with floods of women coming into the country to work as prostitutes could be taken by the reader to mean that this just isn’t a problem in Canada that other types of human trafficking persist and are more important. The articles reluctance to include any statements, fact, or figures from police or research reports on sex trafficking within the country further allow Mr. Kurland’s statements to go unquestioned. While academic literature acknowledges that Canadian sex trafficking is not as large as in other countries, Mr. Kurland’s statements could provide the

reader with a notion that there is a “real” form of human trafficking where bad things really do happen to innocent people, but that what is going on in Canada and the story of trafficked migrant sex workers is not that kind of human trafficking. This statement could allow readers to believe that the type of human smuggling that goes on in Canada is not severe, that the stories of abuse, exploitation and sexual slavery are possibly exaggerated as they are not a form of “real human trafficking”.

A third article, *Police Forces Swoop on Massage Parlour* (*The Globe and Mail*, December 19, 2003), which focused on a police raid of massage parlours and body-rub businesses in Toronto identifies the need to locate foreign children and migrant sex workers whom are working in to Canadian sex trade. The article frames migrant sex workers as *victims* of their experiences as migrant sex workers, but also formally identifies them as illegal migrants:

In what is believed to be the biggest operation of its kind in Canada, police from Toronto and three outlying suburbs last night swooped in on hundreds of body-rub and massage parlours looking for children and illegal migrants forced into the sex trade. And they rescued at least two teenagers, one 16 and one 17, who were working in one of the establishments, and late last night had sealed off a York Region hotel room and arrested a man they allege was pimping the young women....

Toronto Detective Reuben Stroble, the operational head of last night’s project, said that young women, often underage, are tricked or lured into the prostitution racket just days after arriving in Toronto.

Many are runaways, he said, citing a recent case of two 16-year-olds from Barrie, north of the city, who came “for a party” promptly ran out of money and were within the week forced to “prostitute themselves all over the place—on the Net and in escort agencies.”...

And just as Det. Sgt. Gillespie had predicted at the briefing, the team found a classic example of an “illegal” detectives believe is effectively an indentured sex worker, a 32-year-old Vietnamese woman working in an unlicensed holistic house on Spadina Avenue in the city’s downtown Chinatown (*The Globe and Mail*, December 19, 2003).

In this article, the sex workers are framed as *legitimate victims* when the teens are described as having been “forced” into the sex trade, but then the article frames migrant sex

works in the opening paragraph as *illegal immigrants*, which signifies to the reader that this is their primary occupancy while in Canada, pushing aside their victimization. The notion of the illegal migrant is also presented to the reader when the article explains the Detectives assertions for finding the “classic example of an “illegal”. In presenting this statement to the reader in this way, the *Globe and Mail* encourages the reader to interpret that this example of the illegal Vietnamese sex worker is common, and not a “victim”, but an illegal entrant.

Another four articles follow the court cases of Asian traffickers who brought females to Canada to work in the sex trade: *Man Declared Not Guilty Of Human Trafficking (The Globe and Mail, June 22, 2007)*, *Trial Begins for Man in Human-Trafficking Case(The Globe and Mail, March 29, 2006)*, *Forced to Work as a Prostitute, Woman Testifies; “I was...used as a money-making tree,” Witness Tells Human Trafficking Trial(The Globe and Mail, March 30, 2006)*, *Sold as Sex Slave (The Globe and Mail, April 26, 2001)*. These articles framed migrant sex workers as *illegal migrants* and as with the above articles *Pimps Convicted in Thai Sex Ring (The Globe and Mail, May 2, 2001)*, *Vancouver Man Charged with Human Trafficking; Case is First Under New Legislation Aimed at Those Who Import Women as Prostitutes (The Globe and Mail, April 14, 2005)*, and *Police Forces Swoop on Massage Parlour (The Guardian, December 19, 2003)*, the women are not heard from unless through the voice of a policeman or lawyer. The migrant sex workers and their journey from their home country to Canada convey to the reader that the females knew they would be entering Canada to work in the sex trade. *The Globe and Mail's* use of the frame of *illegal migrant* often leaves out any discussion of the females experiences as a migrant sex worker and limits her story to being simply how she got to Canada, focusing on her trafficking route. Similar to *The Guardian's* use of the frame *illegal migrant*, *The Globe and Mail* does

not offer the reader any description of how the female was able to be persuaded to come to Canada, or why she sought assistance from smugglers to travel illegally into the country.

If the news articles had offered more of a voice to the migrant sex workers and included some important background information on the push and pull factors of migrant sex work, the reader may not have been geared to only view these females as illegal migrants, and may have instead felt some sympathy or empathy for the experiences.

Victim of Circumstance

The Globe and Mail frames migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims* in nineteen of the articles which focus on Canadian sex trafficking and international sex trafficking. These articles often describe young children and women who are kidnapped or sold into a life of sexual slavery and trafficked from their homes into foreign countries. One such article which frames migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims* focuses on a foreign case of sex trafficking in Cambodia. The article, *Cambodia Wide Open for Trade in Sex Slaves* (*The Globe and Mail*, July 25, 2002), exemplifies the use of the frame of *legitimate victim* found in other articles where the age, and lack of control are used to create the image of helpless females who cannot easily escape their exploiters. In particular, this article demonstrates the easy means by which trafficker's trade and sell, young Vietnamese girls into Cambodian sex markets.

In the dry season, the unpaved roads from the Vietnamese border to the Cambodian capital is a dusty but swift three- hour drive, favoured by human smugglers.

Girls as young as 10 are taxied across Vietnam to a deserted paddock or stretch of forest that straddles the border. A Brisk walk across the frontier to a second car follows, and the

Vietnamese imports are whisked off to the assorted pimps, mama-sans and traffickers that await them in Phnom Penh and beyond.

Even when the rivers of the Mekong Delta rise between July and September and Route 1 becomes more difficult, smugglers simply opt for high-powered speed boats to ferry teenage girls into a life of prostitution and slavery (*The Globe and Mail*, July 25, 2002).

This excerpt of the article exemplifies *The Globe and Mail's* use of the frame of *legitimate victim*. The girls are portrayed to the reader as being victims of traffickers and pimps through the description of some being as young as 10, as well as in explaining to the reader just how easy it is for traffickers to “whisk” the girls across the border. The article further frames these female migrant sex workers as victims by referring to their future with the pimps, mama-sans and traffickers as a “life of slavery and prostitution”, and at such a young age the reader understands that the girls would have no say, or understanding of what was going on, further evoking a view of these girls as being “victims”. Similar to the use of the frame of *victim* in *The Guardian* articles, *The Globe and Mail* focuses on the age of the girls. However, while *The Guardian* offered the reader background into the young migrant sex workers, explaining or offering insight into her home life, her struggles in the past, and linking the experiences with her family, or her culture and her eventual placement in a foreign sex market, *The Globe and Mail* does not offer this information to the reader. In *The Globe and Mail*, there is no information about the parents, or family of these young girls who are framed as *legitimate victims*.

A second article which exemplifies the use of the frame of *victims* is one titled, *The World's Children, Abused For Sex*, (*The Globe and Mail*, December 20, 2001). This article examines the use of children in sex trafficking and sex markets around the world, it offers the reader a look at child victims of sexual exploitation with a sense of urgency to change it.

A global conference in Japan this week is grappling with a problem that has defied easy solution for decades now: how to stop the sexual exploitation of children. The challenge is daunting. Poverty, lack of education and family violence drive children to prostitution. Inadequate laws, poor policing and a lack of social services make the problem difficult to combat.

Sexual exploitation of children-prostitution, trafficking and pornography- is a truly international phenomenon. Horrifying stories of children in poor countries being sold into sexual slavery should not make anyone in the wealthy world complacent...

Pimps, recruiters and those who traffic in children continue to operate freely. In many countries, they face little or no police scrutiny. In others, the penalties are modest enough that they are factored in as a cost of doing business, and do not deter the perpetrators. Laws passed in many countries to charge adults for have sex with children abroad have proved almost impossible to enforce. No one, for example, has been prosecuted under Canada's 1997 Criminal Code amendment....

In many countries, child sexual exploitation is interlinked with a myriad of social and family problems. These cannot be fixed quickly. But it is also true that the status quo rarely changes without strong action. Those who find child sexual exploitation abhorrent have a responsibility to provide this unwavering pressure for change (*The Globe and Mail*, December 20, 2001).

The *Globe and Mail* demonstrates throughout this article that children are *legitimate victims* in cases of sex trafficking, explaining that they have no say ending up in a foreign sex trade. As with other articles which *The Globe and Mail* frames migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims*, this article, *The World's Children Abused For Sex*, discusses that these are children who are facing exploitative treatment and abuse at the hands of those who need to be punished. However, what is unique about this article is that the author takes time to explain to the reader that there is a relationship between social, economic and political stability and child sexual exploitation. This is something which does not come up in other articles which discuss children who are trafficked and sexually exploited. It is also interesting that this article demonstrates the need for countries to take a more active and serious manner in which they handle those who exploit children, this is another first for *The Globe and Mail*, where they specifically state an area where Canadian policy is allowing for

more harm and victimization of those who are trafficked for sexual exploitation.

Along with articles which focused on cases of international sex trafficking, *The Globe and Mail* also framed migrant sex workers as *victims* when discussing Canadian awareness about sex trafficking. A 2008 article, *RCMP to Re-Examine Number of Sex Slave Victims in Canada* (*The Globe and Mail*, April 14, 2008) discussed the RCMP's need to re-examine the context of Canadian cases of sex trafficking in order to better come to terms with how to amend it. Through the articles discussion of known Canadian statistics of sex trafficking cases, the sources used including police, government officials and NGO workers demonstrate to the reader that the female migrant sex workers discussed are victims.

The sex slave market in Canada is feared to be much larger than existing official estimates, which has prompted authorities to recount the number of victims in the country....

Ms. Smith pointed out that the RCMP's figures coming mainly from arrest reports which can provide a misleading snapshot of the situation.

"When NGO's are saying 15,000, these are the people that take care of the victims," she said.

United Nations tallies suggest that 2.5 million people worldwide, including about 1.2 million children, are involved in forced labour through global trafficking.

The RCMP have noted several cases where Canadian girls have been taken abroad and sold.

One activist, who says he has spend the past two years interviewing victims and pimps, says there is a particular demand for Quebecers....

"The street gangs can recruit but they need contacts with larger organized crime networks to sell the girls," Mr. Bernard said.

The Mounties acknowledge they had difficulty putting a number to trafficking victims in Canada.

"In the beginning we didn't know if we had cases here," said Constable Magdala Turpin, a human-trafficking investigator based in Montreal. "We didn't know what the problem was" (*The Globe and Mail*, April 14, 2008).

This article frames migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims* who are regarded as being innocent in their plight into the Canadian sex trade. What is interesting in this article,

and is present in other articles which frame the migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims*, is that *The Globe and Mail* identifies for the reader through terminology that those who are trafficked for sex are victims. For example, the following sentence from the above excerpt clearly describe the migrant sex workers as victims: “The sex slave market in Canada is feared to be much larger than existing official estimates, which has prompted authorities to recount the number of victims in the country”. In this sentence the migrant sex workers work in a “sex slave market”, using the term slave, automatically conveys the notion of someone who is held against their will, controlled by someone else, open to exploitation. Similarly, a second sentence: “When NGO’s are saying 15,000, these are the people that take care of the victims,” also states that the sex workers are victims, who need to be “taken care of” by professionals after their experiences as victims of the sex trade. A final sentence demonstrates to the reader that the RCMP, officially view those who are trafficked into sex work in Canada to be victims: “The Mounties acknowledge they had difficulty putting a number to trafficking victims in Canada”. These sentences clearly demonstrate for the reader that the Canadian viewpoint on migrant sex workers is that they are victims. The indication by authoritative figures that the women are victims indicates to the reader that if these respectable sources, such as police and government representatives regard the females as victims, it must have some legitimacy to it.

One component to this article, *RCMP to Re-Examine Number of Sex Slave Victims in Canada*, which makes it vastly different from all of the other articles collected from *The Globe and Mail* is how it identifies a new area of sex trafficking in Canada, where Canadians are bought and trafficked abroad to be sold into sex trades. This is interesting specifically because research on sex trafficking within Canada has shown little insight into this aspect of

sex trafficking within either Canada, where Canadians are trafficked abroad to foreign sex markets.

The frame of *legitimate victim*, as used by *The Globe and Mail*, demonstrates that the migrant sex workers were forced into the Canadian sex trade by foreign trafficking networks. The sources used in these articles clearly convey to the reader that some migrant sex workers are forced into sexual slavery, unlike the frame of *illegal migrant*, where the females chose to leave their home country and work in the Canadian sex trade. *The Globe and Mail* kept any discussion of larger social, or economic factors which would allow for females to be trafficked for sexual exploitation abroad to be limited to discussion of international sex trafficking. Articles which examined Canadian sex trafficking awareness did not offer much insight for the reader into factors which allow traffickers to regard Canada as a destination country.

Conclusion

The coverage of sex trafficking as presented by the *Globe and Mail* reflects earlier findings in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, where research indicates Canada's knowledge and understanding of sex trafficking is relatively new and very much still developing. Specifically, the problem of sex trafficking is regarded throughout the news coverage as not yet being a Canadian issue, but rather is portrayed as being an issue of foreigners exploiting other foreigners. Aside from Canadian police and government officials being involved in arresting traffickers, and creating policies to deal with sex trafficking, the rest of Canada is not connected to this issue

Similar to *The Guardian's* coverage of sex trafficking, *The Globe and Mail* does not examine the demand side from Canadian men for these foreign women. The absence of this Canadian demand for migrant sex workers could have allowed the reader to regard the fate of the migrant sex workers as not just one of deportation, but one which is the responsibility of the Canadian government, as it was Canadians who created the demand and purchased the services of these migrant sex workers.

The coverage of sex trafficking in *The Globe and Mail* is reflective of Canadian sex trafficking literature, which does not offer a wide array of information about where the majority of the migrant sex workers are coming from, why the migrant sex workers are coming to Canada, and who is involved in the trafficking rings. Academic literature on sex trafficking in Europe has explained that often time police, border officers and government officials are involved in the trafficking rings, making money by acting ignorant to the trafficked women at the border, or taking a cut of money from traffickers to ignore what is going on (Monzini 2005, Malarek 2004, Lim et. al 2002). However, *The Globe and Mail* coverage does not expand on how the trafficking rings operate, if they rely solely on outside help, or if the trafficking schemes include Canadians. While academic literature has indicated that a large number of females who are trafficking for sexual exploitation are from Eastern Europe (Waugh 2006, Kelly and Regan 2004, Masika 2002, Kyle and Koslowski 2001) , *The Globe and Mail* coverage does not offer any discussion of this, neither in articles which discuss international sex trafficking, nor in articles which examine sex trafficking within Canada.

The overall approach to *The Globe and Mail* coverage of sex trafficking, presents the readers with an understanding that while sex trafficking does exist within Canada, it does not involve Canadians, and it is not a large or escalating problem. The articles do not present the reader with a sense of urgency in needing to address trafficking, and it does not place any responsibility for the exploitation of these migrant sex workers on Canadians. Instead, the coverage acts as more of an overview of sex trafficking within Canada, detailing RCMP statistics and government policies to deal with the traffickers and migrant sex workers, offering the reader an understanding of what is happening, rather than what needs to be done.

Chapter 7: Similarities and Differences

Introduction

As discussed throughout this thesis, the impact of daily newspapers on audiences is immense, for some it is their only account of national and international events. The fact that newspapers are easily accessible through print and electronic format means that more and more people can access media information, allowing newspapers to be even more influential to a wide audience range. For many people what they quickly read in the newspaper may stay in their thoughts for only a short amount of time before they forget it amidst the rest of their daily tasks and priorities. Therefore, it is important to assure that what they are reading in the news media, and possibly taking as “real”, is reflective of what is actually going on. With the topic of sex trafficking already being one which sparks debate between liberal idealists and conservative idealists over issues of prostitution, analyzing stories from two fairly liberal newspapers was a deliberate choice, as this coverage should allow for a less restrictive and broader representations of female migrant sex workers.

As mentioned previously, the representations of female migrant sex workers in the news is an important aspect of studying sex trafficking. Not only does it allow researchers and human rights advocates to have a broader understanding of a regions’ media representations of the subject, it also allows for more insight into ways forward. Since sex trafficking relies on the existence of a demand of foreign sex workers, and despite cases of abusive and damaging treatment of the migrant sex workers by pimps and traffickers, it continues to grow in size. The fact that the demand for these workers stems from common

citizens in both Canada and the UK, signifies the importance in finding out just how these citizens are being informed about the topic.

Individually, the two newspapers offer the reader differing descriptions of the female migrant sex worker, but they also share some representations. Both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* represent female migrant sex workers in three common frames as: *victims*, *led by deceit*, and *illegal migrant* (willingly entered the migrant sex trade). The context and use of these three representations offers insight into larger immigration, gender and patriarchal debates within these two countries. While this thesis was looking for how female migrant sex workers are represented to the reader in the context of sex trafficking in the media, two distinct subthemes were identified. The first subtheme is that of an absence of the demand side for migrant sex workers. *The Guardian* does not inform the reader that while there may be three distinct “types” of these migrant sex workers, there is a reason why they come, there is a reason why some “choose” to enter a foreign sex market, and why some crime rings kidnap, coerce or threaten young girls and women into sex markets in the UK and Canada. If there was no demand side, there would be no illegal migration of sex workers, no trafficking of females, no exploitation of women and children. This connection is missing from the news articles. This absence evokes a message that it is not a relevant issue to the audience, that they can feel good about themselves, as the problem is about “them” and not about “us”.

The second subtheme that is present in both Canadian and UK articles is a frame of migrant sex workers as *victims of war or conflict*. This fourth representation was found in articles which focused specifically on African civil wars, Japanese comfort women and the

Yugoslavian civil war, where young girls and women are forced to be sex workers in a time of war. These articles were part of the collection of articles collected with the three key word search terms; “sex trafficking” , “human trafficking”, and “sexual slavery”. The context of the article which frame migrant sex workers as *victims of war or conflict* do not connect the experiences of the women to sex trafficking, but rather as a component of war. This excluded them for the purpose of this research. However, their presence is significant and offers insight into the overall presentation of sex trafficking to the Canadian and UK readers. Therefore, these articles have also been analyzed. For reasons of clarity and space, the detailed discussion of these articles has been placed in Appendix No. 3.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will compare my findings from both Chapter 5 and 6, with the academic literature on sex trafficking, sex crimes, minorities and the media. I then compare the difference in the use of frames by *The Guardian* compared to *The Globe and Mail* and the significance of these differences in educating audiences on the topic of sex trafficking. I then look at the omission of the demand side of sex trafficking which was missing from both newspapers. I end the chapter with a summary of the differences and similarities in the analysis of both articles and how this reflects academic literature on sex trafficking within the two countries.

Interpreting the Findings in Light of the Academic Literature

The academic literature on news media and sex crimes, indicates that the coverage of minorities and sex workers is often narrow in scope, presenting the reader with representations of the female migrant sex workers being “good girls verses bad girls”

(Doezema 2000; Meyer 1997). Literature on minorities in the news media explained the use of creating a sense of ‘other’ towards migrants who are perceived to be defiant (Van Dijk 2000, 1992). This research revealed that female migrant sex workers are framed in ways which reflected the literature on news media representations, as well as offering a fourth, different frame which was not mentioned in either the news media or sex trafficking literature, this frame being *victim of war or conflict*. *Victim of war or conflict* can be defined as a female who was forcibly taken from her home and forced to provide sexual services to armed soldiers. The sexual exploitation of these females was a direct result of civil war or conflict and her sexual enslavement was conveyed as being a casualty of war. Similar to the academic literature on sex trafficking, both newspapers frame some trafficked migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims*, while framing others as *illegal migrants* and *led by a deceit*. As indicated in the literature on sex trafficking, those who are portrayed as *legitimate victims* are children. This portrayal created an automatic other, as the use of *legitimate victim* was so selective that it automatically pushed those not framed as *legitimate victim* into a less innocent and more questionable representation. Weitzer (2007), Doezema (2000), and Monzini (2005) argue that in creating an image of migrant workers as being victims would also create an image of some being “bad” girls whose negative and abusive experiences working in the sex trade was justified because of the title bad girl. In creating such a divide in both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian*, the audiences remain uninformed of the larger social and economic issues may have been a factor in the decision making of migrant sex workers.

In both newspapers, a specific group of female migrant sex workers are perceived as a “good girl”, through the use of the *legitimate victim frame*. This “good girl” is opposed to

the perception of a “bad girl” who through the frame of *led by deceit* willingly left home to find illegal work abroad, and who sought illegal entry into the foreign job markets. Malarek (2009, 2004) and Hughes (2005) both argue that those females involved in sex trafficking and in prostitution are victims. This argument is reflected in *The Globe and Mail* when it discusses policy initiatives to combat sex trafficking as it refers to all females involved in sex trafficking to be victims. These articles, as well as those which described children in sex trafficking refer to all females involved as *legitimate victims*, who were exploited by their family, pimps and traffickers. The articles did not convey any blame on behalf of the victims and some articles even included description of how social, economic and political factors influenced the ability for these victims to end up in the situation they are in.

As indicated in the literature on sex trafficking, the representation of one group as victims also creates another group portrayed as ‘bad girls’. These two groups were reflected in both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* through the frames of *illegal migrant and led by deceit*. The academic literature on news media and minorities also discusses isolating the minority in news articles so they are portrayed as being “other”, as being deviant towards the society they are found in (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Van Dijk 2000, 1992). This thesis revealed that migrant sex workers are portrayed as a defiant ‘other’ when they are represented to the reader as an *illegal migrant*. In this frame, migrant sex workers are above all else exposed as being *illegal migrants* requiring the attention of police, immigration and government officials. Van Dijk (1992) , Fleras and Kunz (2001) discuss how in cases where the news is reporting on topics which involve a minority group or immigrants the news report will often use government officials, police and other authoritative figures in the society to convey a particular message to the reader about the minority group at hand (Van Dijk, 2000 1992). In

The Globe and Mail articles under investigation, the reader is often presented with the notion that the government regards all migrant sex workers as “victims”, yet the statements by government officials themselves highlight, instead, that though they are “victims” they are none the less “illegal migrants”. Articles which discuss brothel raids often focus on the involvement of foreign organized crime rings and foreign individuals who are to blame for the trafficking. The statements provided came from provincial police officers and RCMP officers who explained to the reader the legal and immigration issues which are involved in raiding the brothels and making the arrests. Similarly, *The Guardian* discussed UK policy which would address sex trafficking within the country, in a manner which conveys to the reader that all migrant sex workers within the country are illegal migrants who should be deported, unless the situation requires other action. In these UK news articles, as the academic literature explains, the minority is talked about through government officials as being illegal migrants causing immigration policy concerns for the UK government and its citizens. The migrants are not heard from in the news articles, and instead the reader is simply informed of the problem of sex trafficking and related policies through the voices of government figures who may not have the experience and knowledge of sex trafficking as it actually exists in the UK. The articles offer a limited account of sex trafficking from a UK NGO or women’s group point of view, a perception that could offer the reader more insight into the extent of sex trafficking. If the reader was offered a more balanced point of view about required or necessary policy changes, they might not regard these migrant sex workers as being illegal migrants requiring deportation, they may regard them as victims of a difficult home life, political upheaval and unrest in their home countries and maybe even humans requiring some help.

Diverging Frames and Representation Strategies

While I initially organized my analysis according to presentations of female migrant sex workers as found in *The Guardian*, it later became apparent that these different presentations were used more frequently to describe a particular context of sex trafficking, such as African and Eastern European migrant sex workers, and new or amended UK sex trafficking policy.

Within these three regions: Eastern Europe, Africa and UK policy, the women are portrayed differently, and the factors which influence, force, or are otherwise involved in the relationship between the female and the sex industry change accordingly. As discussed in Chapter 5, *The Guardian* portrays migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe to have been *illegal migrant*, some which were *led by a deceit*, of a false job advertisement or empty promises of a secure job, regular pay, and a new life abroad. In these articles the women are described to the reader to have been naive, and should have known better about the vast promises. By contrast, articles which discussed trafficking female migrant sex workers from Africa, often involved young girls and children and they were portrayed to the reader as being *legitimate victims*, in that they were too young to have a say in their future, and were kidnapped, bought or sold into the migrant sex trade. These articles, as noted in Chapter 5, often refer to the problems and exploitation faced by the children at the hands of African culture, crime rings and family. *The Guardian* depicts female migrant sex workers discussed in articles describing UK federal policy regarding sex trafficking, as *illegal migrants* who

may have been badly treated solely by their pimps or traffickers, but who are nonetheless illegally in the country.

The Canadian news articles, by contrast, were much smaller in number than those found in *The Guardian*. It was therefore not possible to categorize the frames of female migrant sex workers according to theme. Rather, two distinctions could be made in the frames used by *The Globe and Mail* some were regarded as *illegal migrants* and others were regarded as *legitimate victims*. Those articles which suggested to the reader that the migrant sex workers involved were illegal migrants were articles which were discussing brothel raids within Canada, where police sources were key aspects to the news articles, in providing details of the raid, and what they found. *The Globe and Mail* pushes this notion of foreigners as being to blame for sex trafficking in Canada by identifying the perpetrators, traffickers, and exploiters to be those from other countries and does not include any Canadian involvement. For example of the 34 articles, 25 portrayed the problem of sex trafficking as being mainly outside of Canada, or focused specifically on foreigners trafficking and exploiting migrant sex workers in Canada. Only six of the remaining nine articles indicated involvement of Canadian citizens in sex trafficking operations which were intercepted by Canadian police forces.

The Globe and Mail mentioned the impact of broader social issues which are affecting or encouraging sex trafficking in specific areas such as Asia, and Eastern Europe. However, unlike *The Guardian* which had a brief mention of men who pay for sex with trafficked women (*The Guardian*, July 18, 2007; *The Guardian*, November 19, 2008, *The Guardian* September 10, 2007), *The Globe and Mail* did not mention men at all. *The Globe*

and Mail's relative lack of coverage of sex trafficking did not come as a total surprise. After all, the academic literature on sex trafficking in Canada states that there is only minimal public knowledge that sex trafficking exists in this country. The number of news articles found in *The Globe and Mail* were small in number, only 34 in total, of these which discussed sex trafficking within Canada, three articles which addressed Canadian policy initiatives in attempting to address sex trafficking within the country referred to the same statistics from one RCMP analysis, and offered only a limited account of NGO statistics and background information on Canada (*The Globe and Mail*, November 18, 2003, *The Globe and Mail*, April 14, 2008, *The Globe and Mail*). Similarly, the large majority of the UK news articles did not include many statistics of sex trafficking within the UK from NGOs and instead relied upon a specific trafficking unit, and police figures and statistics about the number of women who are trafficked for sexual exploitation to the UK.

Illegal Migrant and Legitimate Victim-Frames in Both Newspapers

The UK and Canada representations of women shared two frames, the first being an *illegal migrant*, and the second being *legitimate victim*. The definition for the representation as an *illegal migrant* used in this research was one where the migrant sex worker was defined as being from a different country, she is portrayed as willingly travelling abroad to find illegal work, though she may not have intentionally travelled to find work in the sex industry. The frame of the *illegal migrant* is one where the reader is not led to feel sympathy for the migrant sex worker, and instead the news articles portray her as being at fault for her experiences.

The second frame, *legitimate victim*, is one which was mainly used when discussing children who had been trafficked into the sex trade in another country. This frame portrays migrant sex workers as being completely innocent and having no fault or blame for their experiences as a migrant sex worker. As well, this frame conveys these migrant sex workers to be exploited by a number of people, including her family, traffickers and pimps.

Interestingly, in both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian*, those who purchased sexual acts from migrant sex workers were either not discussed at all in the articles or their involvement was given limited amount of detail for the reader. This lack of discussion of the men who purchase the sexual acts of migrant sex workers will be discussed further below.

The Globe and Mail and *The Guardian* both frame migrant sex workers to be *legitimate victims*, and *illegal migrants*, and while the definitions for both were the same, the context within which they used are different and reflected the political and social understanding and awareness of the phenomenon of sex trafficking as demonstrated in sex trafficking literature. For example, *The Globe and Mail* refer to migrant sex workers as “victims” in articles that discuss Canadian policy geared towards sex trafficking. Interestingly, while the articles do refer to migrant sex workers as “victims”, the main source of the story, being a police officer, or government official, underlined that above all these females are “illegal migrants”. The *Guardian* on the other hand uses the frame of *legitimate victim* in articles that discuss children who were trapped in the sex trade. And unlike *The Globe and Mail*, *The Guardian*, in the newspaper sample under investigation, does not refer to migrant sex workers as “victims” when the articles discussed UK policy, instead *The Guardian* portrays migrant sex workers as *illegal migrants* when discussing UK policy, as most often these articles push for deportation. Would *The Guardian* portray females to be

victims, it could cause conflict for the reader in regarding deportation to be the most feasible method of dealing with these migrant sex workers.

This difference between both newspapers' use of the frames of *legitimate victims* and *illegal migrants*, is further demonstrated when *The Globe and Mail* does not discuss what would happen to the females, they simply left the reader with an understanding of the purpose for the law was to prevent sex trafficking from being an issue in Canada. The news articles offer the reader no indication of what the future of those found to be migrant sex workers in Canada will be, allowing the reader to view her fate not as the responsibility of Canada.

Sources Cited in the Media

Both newspapers referenced government officials, police and immigration experts more often than they included NGO workers and sex workers themselves. *The Guardian* offered some quotes from those workers inside the UK sex trade, whereas *The Globe and Mail* did not, and instead relied upon police and government direct statements. *The Guardian* included some statements by sex workers and "Madams" and other related workers in the UK sex trade were used in articles which were representing the migrant sex workers as illegal migrants. These sources touched on the hardships of staying in the home country and limited work opportunity, but more significantly *The Guardian*, only included these statements when the speakers were describing how the females were working on their own will, and were not coerced or threatened to do anything they did not want to. By including this, the reader is led to believe that if someone on the "inside" of the sex market

is stating what police, NGO and government officials are saying, that these sex workers are working freely, it must be true. *The Globe and Mail*, on the other hand, did not include many statements from those who work inside the sex trade; all but two articles relied upon police and government statements about life inside the migrant sex trade, repeating statistics and facts from a single RCMP report. In these two articles: *Forced to Work as a Prostitute, Woman Testifies; 'I Was...Used as a Money-Making Tree,' Witness Tells Human-Trafficking Trial* (*The Globe and Mail*, March 30, 2006), and *Sold as Sex Slave, Woman Tells Court* (*The Globe and Mail*, April 26, 2001), *The Globe and Mail* does reference the migrant sex worker, however her statements were those which she had given during a court hearing and were not from an interview between her and the news reporter. Leaving out these sources from the articles further emphasize the limitations of Canada's understanding of sex trafficking within the country. It symbolizes limited information and even contact with those who are regarded as victims, trapped in the sex trade.

Omitting the Demand Side

Both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* offer a limited amount of discussion about the demand side of sex trafficking. *The Globe and Mail* does not make any mention whatsoever towards the demand side, whereas *The Guardian* offers three of articles *For Men Who Pay for Sex With Trafficked Women, Ignorance is No Longer a Defence* (*The Guardian*, November 19, 2005), *Men Who Buy Sex Could Face Prosecution* (*The Guardian*, September 10, 2007), *Men Urged to Report Brothels Using Trafficked Women* (*The Guardian*, February 22, 2006). The ones which do discuss the demand explain that men cannot use ignorance as

an excuse if they purchase sexual services of a trafficked migrant sex worker in the UK. In these articles by *The Guardian*, the reader is made to perceive the issue as being more that men need to be aware that there are some migrant sex workers who are being held against their will in the UK sex trade. For example, the article *Men Urged to Report Brothels Using Trafficked Women* (*The Guardian*, February 22, 2006) states: “Police are urging men who visit brothels to contact them in confidence if they suspect women there have been forced into prostitution” (*Women* (*The Guardian*, February 22, 2006). In this example, the reader is not made to see that the reason these migrant sex workers are in that situation is because of the demand for them. As well, *The Guardian* does not offer statements by NGO’s or by sex workers about the impact which this could have on the entire migrant sex trade within the UK, which suggests that this isn’t as significant.

The Globe and Mail, on the other hand, completely ignores the demand side of sex trafficking within Canada, and instead focuses the reader’s attention on who trafficked or smuggled the migrant sex workers into Canada. Four articles which focused specifically on brothel raids in Canada focused on describing to the reader the nationality of those who brought the women into Canada, and describe how these women got here. The articles: *Toronto Police Seek More Trafficking Rings* (*The Globe and Mail*, January 16, 2008), *Brothel Arrest Has Police Suspecting Human Trafficking* (*The Globe and Mail*, December 6, 2007), *B.C. Massage Parlours Raided; Possible Victims Among 108 Arrests Made in Human-Trafficking Investigation* (*The Globe and Mail*, December 9, 2006), and *Police Forces Swoop on Massage Parlours* (*The Globe and Mail*, December 19, 2003) portray to the reader that the women are *illegal migrants*, but do not explain that there is a reason as to why she is here in the first place. *The Globe and Mail* spends no time explaining to the

reader that she was smuggled or trafficked into Canada to work in a brothel because Canadian men had created a demand for foreign women in the sex trade. In completely avoiding the discussion, the reader is left with the assumption that there is no demand for these migrant sex workers, and that the reason why they are coming in is due to either their own want, or the agenda of foreigners looking to make money by abusing the Canadian immigration system. In conveying to the reader that there is no demand, the situation of sex trafficking in Canada, is largely left to be viewed as a problem made by and involving only “others”, allowing the Canadian Federal government and men who purchase the acts of these trafficked migrant sex workers to have their hands wiped of any sort of responsibility for the experiences and future of the migrant sex worker.

The Globe and Mail rely mainly upon police and government officials to provide first hand accounts of the extent of sex trafficking, however if they had used NGO’s and the women themselves as sources, the reader may have been informed of the Canadian demand for foreign sex workers. Relying instead upon police and government officials provides the reader with a more political and judicial slant on sex trafficking, and as these are mainly illegal migrants, the stories are therefore led into a discussion or context of immigration policies.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, scholars such as Malarek (2009; 2004), Weitzer (2007), Hughes (2005), and Doezema (2000) all mention the significance of the men who are involved in demanding these foreign sex workers. Not including this in the news articles can be regarded as implicating that those who are at fault in sex trafficking are the women, particularly those who are declared illegal migrants, and their pimps. This is significant as

both Canada and the UK sex trafficking literature noted that both countries were harsh in their treatment of prostitutes and migrant sex workers, and lenient in their treatment of the men who purchased their services. Both newspapers' exclusion of the demand for migrant sex workers, also reflects Doezema (2000) and Malarek's (2004) arguments that the use of sex workers is socially regarded as a step into 'manhood', part and parcel of being a western heterosexual man. For example, Malarek states:

In some cultures, prostitution is accepted as a means of sexual education, to help young men learn the mechanics of sex. For college boys in the West, it's an initiation into the world of macho men. For grooms-to-be, it's a last hoorah, as it is for geezers trying to recapture their youth. For average guys, it's a way to "get the hot babe," and for celebrities and others it's a bit of sport on the side....This tacit tolerance is reflected in such mindless clichés as "boys will be boys" and "they're just sowing their wild oats" (Malarek 2009: 15, 16).

Malarek's argument demonstrates the various forms which this social acceptance of the use of sex workers can take. His examples demonstrate the ignorant way in which some men view sex workers, as a means to their own satisfaction and not part of larger patriarchal norms embedded in many societies.

Conclusion

The UK coverage is very much reflective of research and academic literature on the extent of sex trafficking with the country, as well as government initiatives and reaction to handing illegal migrants.

The representations which both newspapers offer their readers provide the audience with the understanding that most of the cases of sex trafficking involve illegal migrants, and only when the sex worker is a child, is that sex worker actually a victim. The articles do not

provide the reader with a sense of responsibility or compassion for those who find themselves forced into a life of sexual exploitation due to socio-economic forces which they had no control over. Even when the reader is informed of the exploitation and torture which some children faced who are trafficked for sexual exploitation into these Western nations, the newspapers do not push the reader to feel that this is more than an issue of immigration.

The use of the two frames *illegal migrant* and *led by deceit* more so than the *legitimate victim* frame, allow the reader to regard the term sex trafficking as a term which is connected to immigration debates and policies, rather than human rights and international responsibility. Despite the split in the academic literature towards eradicating all sex trafficking and simply making sex work in general safer and a more regulated profession, researchers do agree that on one thing, namely, that the exploitation, and the cruel and humiliating treatment which many migrant sex workers are exposed to, trafficked or otherwise, must be addressed. The findings outlined in this thesis convey that by means of the representations of migrant sex workers in the mass media, the reader is led to assume that the Canadian and UK method of helping these migrant sex workers caught by police, is to quickly push it into an immigration and national security issue, as opposed to regarding it as a human rights concern.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis examined the ways in which both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* frame migrant sex workers. The aim of this research was to analyze how the two newspapers represented migrant sex workers to the reader. The motivation behind this research was to better understand how these representations might affect the newspaper readers' larger understanding of sex trafficking. By examining academic literature on sex trafficking, minorities and sex crimes in the news media, I was able to identify common frames which used to describe migrant sex workers. The three frames are: *illegal migrant*, *legitimate victim*, and *led by deceit*. In analysing the news articles according to these frames of migrant sex workers, it became apparent that two frames were used most frequently. Both newspapers often referred to trafficked sex workers as *illegal migrants* or *legitimate victims*.

This chapter will summarize the results of my findings in the thesis. I will begin by restating my research question, and how this question was answered. I will then identify some of the limits of my thesis, what I was not able to answer and why. The final section of this chapter will discuss future areas of research on sex trafficking and public awareness.

Summary of Results

To restate, this thesis attempted to answer the following question: How are the females who work in the migrant sex trade framed by the news media? As elaborated in

Chapter 7, the answer to my question involves four different dimensions. First, my research has shown that there are small nuances with respect to the frames that are used in the academic literature verses those used by the two newspapers. Second, throughout my research it became apparent that the representation of migrant sex workers are also impacted by the points of view (sources) cited in the newspaper articles. Third, one of my most important research results is that, with few exceptions, both newspapers fail to give any information on the demand for migrant sex work. Finally, my research revealed that, in both newspapers, the link between forced migration and sexual exploitation is very often associated with the topic of war “elsewhere” but not with “free” migrant sex work as it could “happen here”. Below I will briefly summarize these research findings.

Frames

As noted in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, with some exceptions, the representations of female migrant sex workers in both *The Globe and Mail*, and *The Guardian* confirm what is being said in the academic literature on sex trafficking internationally and within the UK and Canada. The academic literature suggests that migrant sex workers are identified as “victims” of traffickers, as being “tricked by a deceitful” job advertisement or as “illegal migrants” who end up working in the sex trade.

Both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* frame some migrant sex workers as *legitimate victims*, while framing others as *illegal migrants*. The frame of *illegal migrant* is used in *The Guardian* to describe female migrant sex workers from Eastern Europe, as well as when describing policy debates. *The Globe and Mail* used the frame of *illegal migrant*

when discussing migrant sex workers who were found during police raids. In both newspapers this particular frame, also relies upon identifying the main perpetrators of the migrant sex trade to be foreigners. These perpetrators include foreign trafficking rings, organized crime groups, or individual smugglers.

The incorporation of the frame of *legitimate victim* was used quite differently in both newspapers. In *The Guardian*, the frame was used when the articles discussed children, particularly from Africa, who were trafficked for sexual exploitation into Europe. In portraying the children as “victims”, the articles also discussed who had brought the children into Europe to be sexually exploited. These articles tended to identify “African culture” or trafficking rings as those to blame for the children’s exploitation, disconnecting the involvement of British citizens in either aiding the traffickers or exploiting the children. Similarly, *The Globe and Mail* uses the frame of *legitimate victim* to describe migrant sex workers when discussing policies to combat sex trafficking. However, similar to *The Guardian* articles on policy, *The Globe and Mail* discussion of policies initially labels the migrant sex workers as “victims”, but through use of government sources frames the females as *illegal migrant*.

The two newspapers rarely employed the frame of *tricked by deceit*, which can be viewed as a frame that is situated between that of the *illegal migrant* on the one hand, and that of the *legitimate victim*. By failing to use this frame, the newspapers polarize the debate on migrant sex workers: they are represented as either *legitimate victims* or *illegal migrants*. The absence of the frame of *tricked by deceit* from the newspaper representations prevents readers from understanding the precariousness of young females who need to find work and

who hope to get out of their country. It also fails to make newspaper audiences realize that migrant sex work often starts with a deceitful job offer that seemingly provides an opportunity for a better life.

Sources

Though the use of the two most common frames shapes the representation of migrant sex workers most drastically, another representation strategy is equally important: the use of specific sources of information –for example the police and government representatives – underscores the validity of the frames and their impact on the reader. Both newspapers relied heavily upon police and government sources throughout the entire eight year time span. The influence of these sources, as discussed in Chapter 4, is great as they are viewed as authorities in Canadian and UK society. The use of police sources in the Canadian news articles, particularly with regards to the frame of *illegal migrant*, provides the reader with certainty that the police regarded the migrant sex workers who were found during police raids to be foreigners who were illegally working and living within the country. The government sources were mostly included in articles which described Canadian public policy or police and government initiatives in assessing or addressing sex trafficking and migrant sex workers. As mentioned above, the use of the frame of *legitimate victim* in *The Globe and Mail* was often ambiguous: the newspaper labelled the female migrant sex workers as “victims”, but through the use of government statements it was also suggested that they were “illegal entrants”. The impact of the police and government statements indicates to the reader that the Canadian government regards the experiences and consequences which migrant sex workers face to be directly related to immigration policies.

The police discussion of brothel raids, and descriptions of the migrant sex workers they find there also portrayed the experiences of the females as being directly linked to illegal migration, traffickers or smugglers. Neither statements from the police nor citations from government representatives revealed other factors that might be influencing the migrant sex trade in Canada.

In contrast, *The Guardian* included police, government and also some NGO statements about the migrant sex workers. Similarly to the Canadian news coverage, the incorporation of government statements was mostly in articles discussing public policy. The government statements in the policy articles conveyed the migrant sex workers to be *illegal migrants*, directly linking their existence in public debate and discussion with immigration concerns. The police statements were used in many of the articles which frame migrant sex workers as *illegal migrants* as well as *legitimate victim*. In articles which relied upon the frame of *illegal migrant*, largely in the theme of Eastern Europe, the police statements indicated for the reader that these females were “illegal migrants”, often identifying the illegal routes taken to enter the country. In sharp contrast, the use of police statements in articles which discussed children, and framed their experiences as *legitimate victims*, the police statements indicated shock, compassion and sympathy for the experiences of the children. This further reiterated to the reader that these children were in fact *legitimate victims*.

Both newspapers cite NGO sources less frequently as state authorities such as police and government spokespersons. Neither *The Globe and Mail*, nor *The Guardian* explain why they do not interview NGO workers who have direct contact with migrant sex workers.

Omitting Demand

As mentioned above, the frames of *legitimate victim* and *illegal migrant* in both newspapers also tend to blame the treatment of these females, and their illegal travel, as being a direct result of foreign criminal and trafficking rings. The focus on these foreigners as being the source of national issues related to migrant sex work allows the news articles to steer clear of addressing the issue of Canadian and UK men who create a demand for the sex workers. As discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, this underreported relationship between the demand for migrant sex workers and their experiences is also found in the academic literature. The literature on sex trafficking tends to give much attention to the factors which influence migrant sex work, including social, economic and political conditions in the sending countries. The literature also examines public policy and the impact of these policies on the experiences of migrant sex workers, but it seems to take for granted that there is a demand for sex workers. Surprising, although the academic literature does argue for national and international interest in helping exploited migrant sex workers, the demand for these women is neither questioned nor discussed critically in the academic literature.

Victim of War

Much of the attention of the literature on migrant sex work describes both the experiences of these workers and the lack of initiatives in receiving countries to adequately address forced migrant sex work. The literature also suggests various push and pull factors which help traffickers to locate girls from particular areas or “source countries”. The

literature also indicates that these same factors – such as poverty, gender inequality, and political instability -- may persuade a female to travel abroad to work in the sex trade. However, missing from these push and pull factors is the connection between war and trafficking. In fact, the academic literature only marginally links civil or international war to sex trafficking. Through the discussion of brothels being set up near areas of war, Malarek (2004, ch. Chapter 10) remains one of the few authors to directly address this link.

With respect to my newspaper analysis, some of the newspaper articles collected for this thesis do discuss economic and social push and pull factors which allow for sex trafficking rings to locate girls from one area and ship them to another. However, similar to the academic literature on this topic, they offer very little insight on the connection between war and sex trafficking.

As noted in Chapter 7, although there are some news articles collected from *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* which discuss the trafficking of women and girls from Bosnia and China during war, these articles do not link the trafficking and forced enslavement of females for sexual exploitation during war times with migrant sex work or sex trafficking. Several articles were collected in both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian* using the search term “sexual slavery” which discussed civil war and the trafficking of young girls in Africa. As noted in Chapter 7, these articles were not included in the main analysis of this thesis as they did not connect the experiences of the females with sex trafficking. However, the lack of connection, as noted, between civil war, sexual exploitation and forced prostitution of those females considered to be “enemies” of their

captors, is significant as it portrays the females as “victims of conflict”, a frame not found in the academic literature on sex trafficking.

Informing the Public: Limits and Achievements of the Research

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, this thesis attempted to identify the connection between the reading the daily newspaper and the possibility for the public to become aware of migrant sex work. Through locating and analysing frames used to describe the female workers, I was able to generate some interesting findings about the news coverage of sex trafficking. In fact, based on the research undertaken for this thesis, we are now able to conclude that both the British readers of *The Guardian* as well as Canadians reading *The Globe and Mail* only obtain a partial image of migrant sex workers. The partial image given to readers is one which only regards migrant sex workers as either *legitimate victims* or *illegal migrants*. The isolated use of both images of migrant sex workers, are discussed in the academic literature as being detrimental to the study of migrant sex work as they do not allow for open dialogue on the push-pull factors influencing present day migrant sex work. These partial images of migrant sex workers do not allow readers to regard the topic of migrant sex work to be one which is related to larger social and political topics. Examples of these larger topics, discussed in the academic literature, include men’s demand for sex workers, or state immigration policies, which ignore culture and gender differences and restrict legal entry by many women around the world.

Though these findings of this thesis are significant in assessing public awareness, the overall impact of these findings in the larger context of sex trafficking literature does have

some limitations. On the one hand, these limitations relate to the amount of research that could be done on the newspaper coverage. In only analysing two newspapers, the research findings are specific to two countries and possibly two groups of readers, those who read specifically *The Guardian* or *The Globe and Mail*. Selecting one national newspaper from each country, as opposed to selecting two or more, limits these research findings to possibly being reflective of only that specific paper, and less as a reflection of news media coverage in general. As well, the selection of specific keywords was limited to “sex trafficking”, “sex slave”, and “human trafficking”. While these three words are commonly used to describe migrant sex work in the academic literature, the use of other keywords such as “child trafficking”, or “prostitution” for example, could possibly be used to locate other related articles.

On the other hand, by concentrating on newspaper representations, this thesis was not specifically designed to assess public awareness of migrant sex work. In order to learn more about what ordinary citizens know about migrant sex work and why some get involved in pressure groups, a different research design would be necessary. Below, I discuss some possible research strategies.

Future Research on Sex Trafficking and Public Awareness

Future research on the perception of news coverage of sex trafficking should focus on interviewing the audiences to survey a) how and where they get their information from on migrant sex work; b) how much they know; c) if and why they are involved in pressure groups (also other groups). While this thesis attempted to examine what type of awareness

and education audiences receive from these two newspapers, interviewing audiences would allow for a more concrete understanding of how aware the public want to be on the topic. Maybe they do not care to know about it, or maybe they would want to know more.

Furthermore, newspaper coverage of migrant sex work could be compared with the information available to NGOs, human rights agencies, or Canadian police forces who work in this field. Interviewing those directly involved in sex trafficking within Canada could provide more information about particular incidences, which could then be compared to the portrayal of these incidences in the media. In addition, interviewing agencies like the Poppy Project, (a UK organization which works with illegal migrants, includes those trafficked for sex work), would be valuable as these agencies can provide firsthand accounts of the experiences of sex trafficking “victims”, and migrant sex workers. Including interviews with NGO workers would also be useful for identifying the differences or similarities between academic literature on migrant sex workers, first hand experiences with these workers and news media coverage of this topic.

Finally, the comparative dimension of the research could be intensified. For example, it would be interesting to compare the coverage of migrant sex work in a mainstream UK or Canadian newspaper with that of a so-called “ethnic newspaper” particularly one from a group from Eastern Europe, or Africa. Examining a national or regional newspaper with one which is written by, and for, a particular ethnic group in the UK, could allow for an interesting comparison of how, or if sex trafficking is discussed by one group and not the other. This sort of analysis would be interesting to determine if the readers are being informed of the topic of sex trafficking in the same way, with similar frames or

representations of the migrant sex workers. Readers from particular regional context could then also be interviewed about their awareness of the problem of sex trafficking.

As mentioned in the introduction, identifying and examining the production of news, the influences and economic factors which influence particular newspapers or news mediums, could provide a different angle of analysis in identifying and reviewing news coverage. For example, comparing the newspaper text with related government documents could allow for the relationship between media influence on government decision making and government influence on the news media to be highlighted. Future research on migrant sex workers in the news media could include this type of analysis. Whereby examining the relationship between the production of the news presented by a particular news medium and using this to analyze and assess the news coverage of migrant sex work.

In sum, this thesis has contributed to foster our understanding of how two newspapers in Canada and in the United Kingdom are informing the public of migrant sex workers. More research needs to be done on public awareness of migrant sex work in both countries, and on the motivations of educated Canadian and UK citizens to put more pressure on their governments to address the conditions within which migrant sex workers are forced to work in.

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Appendix 1: *The Globe and Mail* News Articles

The following 5 articles are those collected using the keyword searches “sex trafficking”. They are arranged according to date, beginning with 2000:

- Knox, Paul. “The Child Sex Trade Flourishes Despite a Vow by the World’s Governments in 1996 to Crack Down: “The Broken Lives of Young Victims” *The Globe and Mail* December 15, 2001. A.17.
- “The World’s Children, Abused for Sex”. *The Globe and Mail* December 20, 2001. A.22
- Mendelson, Sarah. “A Canadian Solution to a Peacekeeping Scandal.” *The Globe and Mail* May 27, 2004 A.17.
- Sallow, Jeff and Colin Freeze. “Exotic-Dancer Program on Sgro hit list; ‘My Concern is the Exploitation of Women’.” *The Globe and Mail* November 24, 2004. A.9.
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The following 14 articles are those collected using the keyword search human trafficking. They are arranged according to date, beginning with 2000:

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- Wente, Margaret. “Why is Canada Pimping?” *The Globe and Mail* November 30, 2004. A. 23.
- “To Fight the Slave Trade” *The Globe and Mail* March 11, 2004. A. 20.
- Hudson, Saul. “US Blasts Allies for Human Trafficking: “Kuwait, Qatar among countries demoted to lowest level of compliance” *The Globe and Mail* June 4, 2005. A 18.
- Jimenez, Marina. “B.C. Is a Hub for Human Trafficking, Report Says: “U.S. State Department blames Canada for Allowing ‘Modern-Day Slavery’.” *The Globe and Mail* June 9, 2005. A.9.
- Matas, Robert. “Vancouver Man Charged with Human Trafficking: “Case is First Under New Legislation Aimed at Those Who Import Women as Prostitutes” *The Globe and Mail* April 14, 2005. S.3.
- Matas, Robert. “Canadian Prostitutes Bought, Sold and Forcibly Moved, Study Shows” *The Globe and Mail* May 1, 2006. S.1.

“Trial Begins for Man in Human Trafficking Case” *The Globe and Mail* March 29, 2006. S. 2.

Katie, Shannon. “B.C. Massage Parlours Raided; Possible Victims Among 108 Arrestes Made in Human Trafficking Investigation” *The Globe and Mail* December 9, 2006. A.15.

Petti, Fong. “Forced to Work as a Prostitute, Woman Testifies: “ ‘I was...Used as a Money-Making Tree,’ Witness Tells Human-Trafficking Trial” *The Globe and Mail* March 30, 2006. S. 2.

“Man Declared Not Guilty of Human Trafficking” *The Globe and Mail* June 22, 2007. S.2.

Drudi, Cassandra. “Toronto Police Seek More Trafficking Ring Victims” *The Globe and Mail* January 16, 2008. A.11.

Drudi, Cassandra. “Toronto Residents Charged with Human Trafficking” *The Globe and Mail* January 17, 2008. A.13.

Houpt, Simon. “Where did All the Sex Ads Go?” *The Globe and Mail* January 21, 2008. R.1.

The following 13 articles, are those collected from the keyword search “sex slave”. They are arranged according to date, beginning with 2000:

Oziewicz, Estanislao. “Canada’s Bare Essentials” *The Globe and Mail* February 19, 2000. A.14.

“Sex-Slave Trafficking Taking Over Narcotics.” *The Globe and Mail* February 23, 2000. A 11

Gadd, Jane. “Sold As Sex Slave, Woman Tells Court.” *The Globe and Mail* April 26, 2001. A. 20.

“How Best to Fight Sexual Slavery.” *The Globe and Mail* April 30, 2001. A.30.

Gadd, Jane. “Pimps Convicted in Thai Sex Ring.” *The Globe and Mail* May 2, 2001. A.16.

York, Geoffrey. “Ads for Foreign Jobs Lure Russians Into Pimps’ Net.” *The Globe and Mail*. May 17, 2001. A.12.

Hunt, Luke. “Cambodia Wide Open for Trade in Sex Slaves” *The Globe and Mail* July 25, 2002. A. 8.

Blatchford, Christie. “Police Forces Swoop on Massage Parlours” *The Globe and Mail* December 19, 2003. A.17.

MacKinnon, Mark. “Of Human Bondage” *The Globe and Mail* September 27, 2003. F.6.

Henighan, Stephen. “Sold For Sex.” *The Globe and Mail* October 13, 2003. D. 6.

Ditchburn, Jennifer. “Bill Targets Human Trafficking” *The Globe and Mail* December 9, 2006. A.10.

Paul Koring. “U.S. Allies Rapped for Role in Human Trafficking.” *The Globe and Mail* June 13,

2007. A.17

Walton,, Dawn. "Brothel Arrest Has Police Suspecting Human Trafficking" *The Globe and Mail* December 6, 2007. A. 8.

Montpetit, Jonathan. "RCMP to Re-examine number of Sex Slave Victims in Canada" *The Globe and Mail* April 14, 2008. A. 5.

The following articles are those which were collected from *The Globe and Mail* using the keyword "sex slave". The articles are those which discussed African civil war and sex trafficking, as well as those which discussed Japanese "Comfort Women". These articles were analyzed in Appendix 3. The articles are organized according to date, beginning with 2000.

Japan 15 Articles:

Horie, Ryoich. "Japan has Apologized." *The Globe and Mail* September 6, 2001. A. 20.

Choe, Sang-Hun. "South Korea Revisits Tragic Past." *The Globe and Mail* July 28, 2001. A.10

"Court Quashes Payments to Wartime Sex Slaves." *The Globe and Mail* March 30, 2001. A.12.

"Journalist Exposed Japan's Sex Slaves." *The Globe and Mail* January 8, 2003. R.5.

"Japanese Court Denies Compensation to Former Wartime Sex Slaves." *The Globe and Mail* February 10, 2004. A. 15.

York, Geoffrey. "Japan's Rising Star Driven by Naitonalism." *The Globe and Mail* May 17, 2005. A.15.

Kurtenbach, Eleine. "Zhu Qiaomei, Comfort Woman: 1910-2005." *The Globe and Mail* March 4, 2005. S.7.

Gee, Marcus. "Japan Poses No threat to China." *The Globe and Mail* April 13, 2005. A. 19.

"Japan's Apologies, China's Response." *The Globe and Mail* April 23, 2005. A. 22.

York, Geoffrey. "Chinese Survivors of Germ Warfare are Still Suffering Six Decades Later." *The Globe and Mail* Aug 9, 2005.

Greimel, Hans. "World Marks Surrender of Japan 60 Years Ago." *The Globe and Mail* August 15, 2005. A. 10

Cohen, Andrew. "Apologize. Fully. Finally." *The Globe and Mail* March 27, 2006. A. 13.

"Japanese PM's Comment Muddles Sex Slave Apology." *The Globe and Mail* March 7, 2007. A.18

"Facing up to Japan's Past." *The Globe and Mail* March 10, 2007. A.22.

York, Geoffrey. "'Comfort Woman' Shares her Painful Past." *The Globe and Mail* July 9, 2007. A.3

Yugoslavia 3 Articles:

Socolovsky, Jerome. "Witness Says She Was Raped in Serb Camps, Sold as Sex Slave." *The Globe and Mail* April 5, 2000. A.14.

Socolovsky, Jerome. "Woman Relives her Rape, Torture in Bosnian Camp." *The Globe and Mail* March 30, 2000.

"Rape As a Crime Against Humanity." *The Globe and Mail* February 23, 2001. A.12.

Africa 24 Articles:

Stackhouse, John. "Sierra Leone's War on Children." *The Globe and Mail* May 12, 2000. A.1.

Knox, Paul. "Peacekeeper Abducted in Sierra Leone." *The Globe and Mail* May 3, 2000. A. 15.

Onishi, Norimisu. "Town Offers Tiny Haven in Country Long at War." *The Globe and Mail* December 1, 2000. A.14.

Sallot, John. "Ottawa aid to Help Children in War Zones." *The Globe and Mail* June 19, 2001. A. 4.

Nelson, Marissa. "Child Soldiers Returning to Society in Sierra Leone." *The Globe and Mail* June 28, 2001. A.11.

Yu, Sylvia. "Who Cares for Sex Slaves?" *The Globe and Mail* August 17, 2001. A.11.

"Child Soldiers total 300,000 worldwide, UN Says." *The Globe and Mail* June 13, 2001. A.12.

Nolen, Stephanie. "Mission Impossible?" *The Globe and Mail* June 15, 2001. F.1.

Green, Matthew. "Former Sex Slaves of Ugandan Rebel Recount Brutal Lives." *The Globe and Mail* November 19, 2002. A.19.

Axworthy, Lloyd. "Cries from the Heart." *The Globe and Mail* July 3, 2003. A.25

"Ugandan rebels dance, Then Kill Five in Crowd." *The Globe and Mail* January 4, 2003. A.11.

Nolan, Stephanie. "Special Court Indicts Taylor for War Crimes." *The Globe and Mail* June 5, 2003. A. 12

Nolan, Stephanie. "Uganda's Child Soldiers." *The Globe and Mail* January 25, 2003 F.1.

“Child Soldiers Increasing Around the World, Report Says.” *The Globe and Mail* January 16, 2004. A.10.

Duetson, Anthony. “Permanent War Crimes Court Faces Tough Choices.” *The Globe and Mail* June 10, 2004. A. 16.

McCarthy, Shawn. “More Girl Conscripts in Wars, UN Says.” *The Globe and Mail* March 4, 2004. A.20.

Mulmeme, Geoffrey. “Ugandan Chief’s Apology Rings Hollow After Attack.” *The Globe and Mail* February 25, 2004. A. 18.

“What War Does to the Children.” *The Globe and Mail* January 3, 2005. A.12.

“Walking for Uganda.” *The Globe and Mail* July 30, 2005. A.14.

McCarthy, Shawn. “One-Woman Mission Works for Ugandan Peace.” *The Globe and Mail* October 20, 2005. A.22

Nolan, Stephanie. “A Mix of Dread and Desperate Hope.” *The Globe and Mail* July 10, 2006. A. 1.

Gandhi, Unnati. “Visiting Peacekeeper Asks Canada’s Help to End Ugandan War.” *The Globe and Mail* October 11, 2006. A.16.

Woodward, Jonathan and Laura Blue. “Walking to Help Uganda’s Night Commuters.” *The Globe and Mail* October 21, 2006. S.4.

Nolan, Stephanie. “Rebel Army Rescues Campaign of Abducting Child Fighters in Africa.” *The Globe and Mail* April 25, 2008. A.15.

Appendix 2: *The Guardian News Articles*

The following 38 articles are those collected by *The Guardian*, using the search term “sex slave”. The articles are organized according to year, beginning with 2000.

Gillan, Audrey and Lucy Ward. “Sex Slaves Trafficked to UK: Trafficking of Sex Slaves to UK Grows.” *The Guardian*, May 30, 2000. Online

Gillan, Audrey, and Lucy Ward. “Prostitutes Imported into Slavery: Home Office Figures Show 70% of Soho Sex Workers are Foreigners, Most Here Willingly but Some Smuggled in and Forced to Work.” *The Guardian*, May 30, 2000. Online

“Fears that Briton may be ‘sex slave’.” *The Guardian* September 1, 2000. Online

Gillan, Audrey. “Ethiopia arrests deported British paedophile.” *The Guardian* August 18, 2001. Online

“Personal services: What life is really like for prostitutes in Britain?” *The Guardian* December 6, 2001.

Taylor, Diane. “Foreign Bodies” *The Guardian*, February 20, 2001. P.8.

Tremlett, Giles and Nick Hopkins. “Sold into slavery- scandal of children smuggled into Britain: Authorities caught on back foot as thousands of youngsters are forced into prostitution or domestic work” *The Guardian* December 14, 2002. Online

Wilson, Jamie. “€110,000 payout for sacked whistleblower: UN police officer unfairly dismissed after revealing peacekeepers involved in Bosnian sex trade” *The Guardian* November 27, 2002. Online

Alionby, John. “Briton held for sex offence in Cambodia.” *The Guardian* July 31, 2002. Online.

Hopkins, Nick. “Raped, beaten, sold – a child’s view of Albanian gangs’ vice grip on Britain: Scotland Yard fearful at spread of violent crime across Europe into UK cities” *The Guardian* December 23, 2002. Online.

Traynor, Ian. “The Privatization of War.” *The Guardian* December 10, 2003. Online.

Arie, Sophie. “Janie’s secret” *The Guardian* November 5, 2003. P.2.

Vasagar, Jeevan. “21 Held as Police Target Child Trade” *The Guardian* July 30, 2003. Online.

Arie, Sophie. “Pensioners ‘bought’ child traded for TV set: Trafficked boy found after 3 years” *The Guardian* September 30, 2003. Online

Gillan, Audrey. “‘If You Break Your Promise Lightning Will Kill You’ ” *The Guardian* July 30, 2003. Online.

- Gillan, Audrey. "The teenagers traded for slave labour and sex" *The Guardian* July 30, 2003. Online
- "Stop this slave trade." *The Guardian* August 1, 2003. Online.
- Branigan, Tania. "Blame on the Edge" *The Guardian* August 17, 2004. Online
- Cowan, Rosie. "Immigrants tell of forced prostitution and slavery as trafficking gang is jailed." *The Guardian* November 2, 2005. P.11.
- "It's time to act." *The Guardian* September 30, 2005. P.18.
- Lewis, Paul. "Nightmare World of Suburban Sex Slaves." *The Guardian* May 8, 2006. P.15.
- Laville, Sandra. "Trafficking Jail Terms 'Too Lenient'." *The Guardian* November 4, 2006. P.11.
- Wainwright, Martin. "Slave trade research unit in Wilberforce birthplace." *The Guardian* July 7, 2006. P.14.
- "News in Brief" *The Guardian* October 17, 2006. P.10.
- Taylor, Diane. "Sex workers are a soft target in the asylum figures battle" *The Guardian* June 22, 2006. P.30
- Branigan, Tania. "Crackdown pledged on sex with trafficked women" *The Guardian* July 18, 2007. P.13.
- Branigan, Tania. "Men who buy sex could face prosecution." *The Guardian*, September 10, 2007. P.1.
- Bindel, Julie. " 'It's like you sign a contract to be raped' ." *The Guardian*, September 7, 2007. P.16
- "Modern slavery or cheap labour?" *The Guardian* March 3, 2007. P.35.
- "Sex slaves and the reality of prostitution." *The Guardian* December 28, 2007. P.43.
- Wainwright, Martin. "Slavery returns to Britain on large scale, study says." *The Guardian* February 26, 2007. P.11.
- Lewis, Travis. "Children smuggled into UK for sex abuse and slavery." *The Guardian* June 12, 2007. P.14
- Travis, Alan. "For men who pay for sex with trafficked women, ignorance is no longer a defence." *The Guardian* November 19, 2008. P.4
- Williams, Rachel. "Six convicted over sexual 'slavery' jailed for up to 14 years." *The Guardian* November 6, 2008. P.14.
- Pisanf, Elizabeth. "Spitzer's true folly." *The Guardian* March 13, 2008. P.24

Scott-Clark, Cathy and Adrian Levy. “‘It is down your street and in your lane’ .” *The Guardian* October 11, 2008. P.36.

The following 33 articles are those collected with the keyword “sex trafficking”.

Vasagar, Jeevan and Philip Willan. “Care home girls being exported as prostitutes: Special report: child protection” *The Guardian* March 9, 2001. Online

Rory Carroll. “Western officials ‘colluding with people traffickers’ ” *The Guardian* July 23, 2002. Online.

“‘Blind eye’ turned to vice traffickers” *The Guardian* August 16, 2002. Online

Hall, Sarah. “Judge demands action over sex trade” *The Guardian* January 3, 2002. Online

Travis, Alan. “Sex laws to get major overhaul” *The Guardian* December 30, 2003. Online.

Toynbee, Polly. “Sexual dealing: the Home Office must act now to block the growing trade of trafficking women for prostitution” *The Guardian* May 9, 2003. Online

Muir, High. “ ‘Ruthless’ human trafficker jailed for 10 years” *The Guardian* December 23, 2003. Online

Hopkins, Nick. “War on Albanian Vice Gangs” *The Guardian*, April 25, 2003. Online

Sylvester, Elliot. “S. Africa at Centre of Child Sex Trade” *The Guardian* February 19, 2003. Online

Carvel, John. “Livingstone cracks down on child sex networks.” *The Guardian* April 7, 2003. Online

Carter, Helen. “Liverpool Seeks First Legal Red Zone.” *The Guardian* March 5, 2004. Online

Branigan, Tania. “Plight of London’s hidden prostitutes revealed.” *The Guardian* August 20, 2004. Online

Morris, Steve. “Police Free Sex Trade Women in Raid on Massage Parlour.” *The Guardian* October 1, 2005. P.4

Gillan, Audrey. “Home Office defers expulsion of women held in brothel raid.” *The Guardian* October 5, 2005. P.5.

Cowan, Rosie. “Migrant women forced into cheap sex trade.” *The Guardian* February 11, 2005. Online.

Cowan, Rosie. “Family gang jailed for sex trafficking” *The Guardian* December 2, 2005. P.12.

Cowan, Rosie. “Chance Escape Leads to Jailing of Lithuanian Sex Trafficker.” *The Guardian* September 17, 2005. P.10.

- Cowan, Rosie. "Men urged to report brothels using trafficked women." *The Guardian* February 22, 2006. P.8.
- Wainwright, Martin. "Pregnant girl left in street after being held captive in brothel" *The Guardian* July 11, 2006. P.6
- Branigan, Tania. "Criminal gangs moving into internet porn" *The Guardian* July 31, 2006. P.8
- Pallister, David. "Police to launch intelligence unit to target human trafficking." *The Guardian* June 22, 2006. P.14
- Maley, Jacqueline. " 'Slave auctions' targeted in crackdown on airport crime." *The Guardian*, June 5, 2006. P.11
- Taylor, Diane. "Sex workers are a soft target in the asylum figures battle" *The Guardian* June 22, 2006. P.30
- Gould, Mark. "Market forces." *The Guardian* August 22, 2007. P.7.
- Woodward, Will. "Harman calls for prostitution ban to tackle trafficking" *The Guardian* December 21, 2007. P.16
- Carter, Helen. "Not in our newspapers." *The Guardian* December 21, 2007. Online
- Taylor, Diane. "Selling sex is a choice." *The Guardian* September 11, 2007. P.37.
- Wintour, Patrick. "Tories want UK to sign charter for victims of trafficking." *The Guardian* January 4, 2007. P.10
- Lewis, Paul. "Missing: 48 trafficked children taken into care." *The Guardian* January 15, 2007. P.4.
- Travis, Alan. Sex trafficking victims rescued by police may face deportation." *The Guardian* October 4, 2007. P.8.
- Williams, Rachel. "How making the customers the criminals cut street prostitution." *The Guardian* January 5, 2008. P.16
- Conjam, Tara and Carmiola Ionescu. "Monica's story: rescued victim of child traffickers or kidnapped by ITN crew?" *The Guardian* February 23, 2008. P.21.
- Scott-Clark, Cathy and Adrian Levy. "'It is down your street and in your lane' " *The Guardian* October 11, 2008. P.36.

The following articles are those which were collected from *The Guardian* using the keyword search “sex slave”. The articles focus on African civil war and sex slavery. These 11 articles were analyzed in Appendix 3. The articles are organized by date beginning with 2000.

Carroll, Rory. “ ‘Everyone’s Afraid of Her’.” *The Guardian* August 25, 2003. P.8

“More Child Abductions in Uganda.” *The Guardian* March 29, 2003. Online

Carroll, Rory. “Child labourers rescued from Nigerian quarries” *The Guardian*, October 17, 2003. Online

Muir, Hugh “Police report claims African boys sacrificed.” *The Guardian* June 17, 2005. Online

Steele, Jonathan. “Armies of girls caught up in conflict” *The Guardian*, April 25, 2005. Online

Carroll, Rory. “Eight Years of Darkness.” *The Guardian* January 31, 2005. P.10.

Walter, Natasha. “Flight from the knife.” *The Guardian* October 18, 2006. P.12

“Shameful legacy.” *The Guardian* October 13, 2006. P. 6.

Moorehead, Caroline. “The End of All Hope.” *The Guardian* August 23, 2006. P. 14.

Moorehead, Caroline. “Soft Target.” *The Guardian* June 9, 2006. P.14.

McFadyean Melanie. “ ‘I Tried to Kill Myself.’” *The Guardian* June 15, 2007. P.14.

Appendix 3: Victim of Conflict

The Globe and Mail and *The Guardian* both had a large number of articles which came up under the search term “sexual slavery”, however while many of *The Guardian* articles did discuss sex trafficking, The articles collected from *The Globe and Mail* with this search term, sexual slavery, most discussed African sexual slavery, Japanese comfort women in WWII, and civil war in Albania.

Despite academic research which indicates a connection between an influx of foreign migrant sex workers and armed conflict, of the total number of *Globe and Mail* articles collected under “sexual slavery”, “sex trafficking” and “human trafficking” there were only two articles which actually discussed this: *A Canadian Solution to a Peacekeeping Scandal* (*The Globe and Mail*, May 27, 2004), and *When Peacekeepers Become the Problem* (*The Globe and Mail*, May 21, 2007). Similarly, the Guardian only offered one article of the entire data collection which discussed it, and this article only offered a mere two line mention of it, *100,000 Payout for Sacked Whistleblower* (*The Guardian*, November 27, 2002).

The African “sexual slavery” articles were very much about the relationship between sex trafficking and sexual exploitation as were those discussing Japanese comfort women and Albanian women who were raped by Serbian soldiers. The articles collected from *The Globe and Mail* using the search term “sexual slavery” included articles on the Japanese comfort women, and the Albanian women and Africa. However, the articles collected, using

key words “sexual slavery” from *The Guardian* focused on Africa. Neither newspaper link these stories to sex trafficking and sexual exploitation during times of conflict with other sexual exploitation even though the majority of migrant sex workers come from areas which are or were involved in civil warfare (Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia). Had *The Globe and Mail* or *The Guardian* made this link, the reader may have been introduced or made aware of the significance of sex trafficking not only in terms of war but rather as a constant struggle between female liberty and male oppression.

The literature on sex trafficking agrees that most of the young women and girls who end up in the migrant sex trade, trafficked or not, are pushed by poverty, lack of opportunity, violence and discrimination (Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Cameron and Newman 2008; Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004; Lim et al., 2002). The countries where the UN and other NGO’s find most of the trafficked migrant sex workers to be from those regions which have been impacted or directly involved in civil warfare. For example, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia, the three major sending areas have countries within them which have been struggling to overcome civil warfare, or were living under on oppressive and militant government (Cameron and Newman 2008; Stephen-Smith and Sachrajda 2008; Laczko and Gozdzia 2005; Malarek 2004; Lim et al., 2002; Masika 2002).

The academic literature while it does discuss increases in sex trafficking in brothels near military bases, it does not explicitly link sexual exploitation during war, and various forms of sexual exploitation, including sex trafficking, which take place around it (Malarek 2004; Malarek 2009). The academic literature, and the newspaper articles collected from both *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail* refer to the number of migrant sex workers who

are sent to brothels outside of military bases, and the African articles discuss the forced sexual slavery and trafficking of young women and girls in civil war torn areas, as do the Japanese comfort women articles, yet in the latter two news articles, the migrant sex workers are represented as victims of conflict, another sacrifice on the way to peace. Despite there being such an obvious link between these three areas; war, rape as a war crime, and sex trafficking, the academic literature does not stress this, nor do the newspapers. Losing this correlation means that the reader and researchers are missing a potentially vital component to addressing not only sex trafficking but larger social problems which surround it.

Africa

Both newspapers discussed civil warfare in Africa when discussing sexual exploitation. However a large number of these articles portrayed the female migrant sex workers and their experiences as issues of a civil war conflict, and not as an aspect of sex trafficking. *The Globe and Mail* printed 24 articles on the topic of African civil warfare and sexual slavery which were collected using the search term “sexual slavery”, during the 2000-2008 time frame. As these articles were presented as an issue within Africa and not a case of sex trafficking they were not included in the analysis. However their presence is significant, as these articles reflected a pattern found in sex trafficking articles which discussed Africa. That is where they placed blame on the African nation discussed, African culture or a specific group. Similarly *The Guardian* printed a total of 21 articles which focused on African sexual slaves during the time frame, 11 of which were not counted in the final total of 67 articles used in *The Guardian* analysis. However, like those African articles which were included, these civil war articles did not place blame on larger international issues, such as colonial exploitation, and economic instability, and international impact on civil war.

The Globe and Mail's articles on sexual slavery focused much of its attention on the civil wars in Africa, noting the use of civilian girls as sex slaves for the African soldiers. To restate, the UN definition of trafficking of individuals, as defined by the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2003):

"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs; (UN, Protocol 2000:Article 3(a).

Interestingly, the newspapers refer to this as a part of civil war. However it could be argued that there is little difference between being kidnapped to sexually serve soldiers, and being kidnapped to sexually serve western men. Yet, while the United Nations definition of sex trafficking would include cases of African girls being kidnapped and forced to become sex slaves for soldiers, *The Globe and Mail* simply presents it as a part of the civil warfare, even though they are kidnapped, and taken to camps where they are sexually exploited by soldiers. *The Globe and Mail* does not refer to this as sex trafficking, and discusses the use of girls as sex slaves or "wives" as part of the experience as a child soldier. This removes any larger issues of rape as a weapon of war, of gender inequality, and instead presents it to the reader as a result of "bad African's" taking advantage of and harming other Africans. It is not presented to the reader as a problem which relates to Western international trade or social initiatives, and instead remains exclusively an aspect of African turmoil.

Further, in articles focusing on Africa, any Western involvement is conveyed through the inclusion of North American non-governmental work, or humanitarian aid, making the reader understand that the West is trying to help but that it is African government corruption, and soldiers who are to blame. In presenting the case of child sex trafficking in Africa as a consequence of civil warfare, disputes and backward thinking, it removes larger issues from coming to light in the reports. Some of these larger issues include poverty and disparity in many African nations, Western lack of concern, through their high international loan interest rates, tight immigration policies and overall apathy.

Interestingly, the articles which discuss African sex slaves, focus much of their attention of Uganda and Sierra Leone, leaving out any of the other African countries who are known in the international human rights community as filtering young girls into foreign sex markets (Monzini 2005, Malarek 2004, Taylor 2002)

The articles do present the girls who are exploited to be *legitimate victims*, explaining how they were stolen from their homes and families and forced to serve soldiers with threats of torture, mutilation and death should they refuse. There is a lack of urgency in the articles, where instead of leaving the reader with a sense of panic, or motivation to do something, the articles often reference corrupt government officials, and mentions some sort of international awareness usually through the use of a foreign aid workers comments. Since *The Globe and Mail* put the experiences of the girls as a component of child soldiers experiences, one would have expected that they would have included mention of international, and African aid going to rehabilitation programs however there is little mention of this, instead the reader is not given any sort of information about what happens to the children once and if they are freed

from the soldier groups. By not including any detail or explanation of the future integration of these children into their own or other civilian communities, presents the experiences of the children as not important, not worthy of either exploration by the reporter or inclusion by the editor. Despite a lack of information, agencies such as the UN, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch have identified that the rehabilitation programs set up for child soldiers in Africa are very much lacking on funds and programs to help girls who were sexually exploited. Further problems which the girls face, and was only mentioned in one article, is that the girls often become pregnant, contract AIDS or HIV, or other sexually transmitted diseases and are shunned from their communities. These are experiences which further humiliate and damage these girls, yet they remain out of the stories.

As well, it is significant that the articles make no link between the exploitation of females for sexual exploitation during time of war, for example, the Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal, and the experiences of the “sex slaves”, or “wives” discussed in the articles collected with the search term “sexual slavery”. This allows the reader to see this as isolated, as specific to Ugandan civil warfare, where rebel fighters capture enslave and traffic young girls for sexual exploitation, delinking it from other forms of female exploitation during war.

Throughout the entire eight year span which the articles are collected from, there is little reference from non-governmental workers, and none from women’s groups either African based or international groups. There is also no mention of sex trafficking for the purpose of UN aid workers and peacekeepers in various regions of Africa, though this is well known to the international human rights community and is documented in sex trafficking literature (Monzini 2005; Malarek 2004) Most articles do not include statements

from parents or siblings of the girls who have been trafficked for soldiers. This allows the reader to remain disconnected with the story, avoiding any common ground with which the reader could relate or convey feelings of sentiment for the girls discussed.

As mentioned about this coverage is that no other African nations are discussed aside from Uganda and Sierra Leone, yet one article informs the reader that “one out of five Africans live in a war area”. Why is there such focus on these areas? Academic literature, as examined in Chapter 2, has identified Africa as being an area of sex trafficking, taking women and girls from one African country for exploitation in another, and also trafficking girls abroad, largely to Europe. Interestingly, *The Guardian* did briefly mention this though it did not discuss it in the context of African civil war.

Japanese “Comfort Women”

The Globe and Mail printed 15 articles, collected through the use of the “sexual slave” search term, which discussed Japanese “comfort women” though they were not included in the final 34 articles in *The Globe and Mail* coverage, because of their disconnect from sex trafficking, however the articles are relevant in their link between victim of conflict and sex trafficking. In these articles, *The Globe and Mail* focused most attention on the political significance of the debates surrounding a long awaited apology from Japan to Chinese women who were forcibly removed from their homes and taken to camps where they were sexually exploited. The articles, while numerous, often only included a brief mention of the experience of a “comfort woman”, and do not include statements or testimony from survivors themselves, they are spoken of, rather than spoken from in the articles.

Throughout the coverage of the “comfort women”, the women are presented to the reader as being *victims of war*, of a conflict, but offer the reader little mention that this was individual victimization, that each individual woman involved was affected, her life changed, humiliated, in some cases so damaged, she could not bear children. Like the African articles on sexual slavery, portraying the women as being a casualty of or *victim of war*, makes it so the reader perceives the experiences of the women as not reflective of male exploitation of women, of gender inequality, but instead places blame on times of war, where the exploiters are “soldiers”, not “men”. This removes it from being an issue of a society, but an issue of the past, keeping it in the context of war, removes it from everyday violence against women, where husbands, boyfriends, or strangers rape, assault and humiliate women. In reporting the topic as a consequence of war and a battle between Japan and China allows the reader to see it as an “other” problem, kept within the geographical confines of Asia.

Similarly, articles running parallel to the Japan stories are those of international war crimes tribunal charging Bosnian soldiers with crimes against humanity for their involvement in the systemic rape and torture of Muslim women. Despite the similar backgrounds and motivation for kidnapping, raping and exploiting the women, the case of Japanese “comfort women” is not compared to the Bosnian war crimes. This again keeps both cases, while obviously similar, as isolated, and caused only by the barbaric acts of the soldiers in these foreign countries during times of war. There is no relation made for the reader that would allow them to understand that in order for rape to be a weapon of war, women must be viewed by society as a male commodity.

The Japanese comfort women are presented to the reader as legitimate victims, by describing how they were forced to service the soldiers. In comparison to the news coverage of the Bosnian women, the “comfort women” stories provided less detail to the reader about the experiences, and included statements, with only a few statements coming from the “comfort women” themselves. For example, the following quote describes the experiences of a Japanese “Comfort Woman” from the article *Zhu Qiaomei, Comfort Woman: 1910-2005* (*The Globe and Mail*, March 4, 2005):

She was China’s oldest surviving sex slave and captive of the Japanese during the Second World War. Zhu Qiaomei was among seven women on Shanghai’s Chongming Island, in the Yangtze River, known to have been forced to work as prostitutes for Japanese soldiers during the war. Her ordeal, which lasted for years, began when she was two months pregnant (*The Globe and Mail*, March 4, 2005).

In comparison, the following quote from the article, *Woman relives her Rape, Torture in Bosnian Camp* (*The Globe and Mail*, March 30, 2000), describes the experience of a Muslim woman who was exploited by Serbian soldiers in Bosnia:

Eight years after she was tortured repeatedly at a Bosnian Serb camp and raped night after night- so many times she lost count- a young Muslim woman sobbed yesterday as she relived it all before a UN court. In wrenching testimony at the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal, the woman told how she and other girls were passed from soldier to soldier, each of whom raped them for weeks in the summer of 1992 (*The Globe and Mail*, March 30, 2000).

Despite similarities between the exploitation of the women, the Bosnian women are conveyed as emotional and traumatised, while the description of the Chinese women’s experiences are stripped of emotion. For example, the Japanese “Comfort Women” are described as having been “forced to work as prostitutes”, while the Muslim woman’s experience is describes as “torture”, and her testimony “wrenching”.

Similarly, *The Guardian*, had coverage of African women and children sexually exploited in areas of civil warfare. Interestingly, the remaining articles which address sexual

slavery and trafficking discuss experiences and reports on such activity within Africa. In these articles *The Guardian* refers to slavery as only being associated with sexual exploitation and does not use the term to describe forced child labour in agricultural and fishing industries or the requirements of child soldiers. In only one of the articles, *Child Labourers Rescued From Nigerian Quarries* (*The Guardian*, October 17, 2003), which address African child slavery, does *The Guardian* include comments or information about the parents of these children, and their reasoning or ability to let their children be sold or sent away for labour. The statement explains how some parents sell their children because they need money from the child's labour, while others do so because they believe it is a way for the child to learn a skill and escape poverty. The news article offers the following brief explanation of parents decisions to let their children go with traffickers:

Some parents exchange their offspring for the money offered by traffickers, and in hope of remittances. Others do it thinking it is the best chance for their children to learn a trade and escape poverty (*The Guardian*, October 17, 2003).

In this quote, the reader is given the opportunity to regard the families of these lost children as real people trying to survive and give their child a chance at a better life, a strategy most families all over the world, including the UK, strive for.

The articles which discuss sexual slavery and exploitation taking place in Africa focused specifically on its existence in areas of armed conflict. Despite the graphic detail of abuse and destruction which young women and children faced as sexual slaves in these armed conflicts, the *Guardian* does not encourage the reader to view the slavery as an international problem or suggest the reader feel anything more than sympathy for those impacted by armed conflict. The victims, perpetrators and solutions are presented to the

reader as rightfully restricted to the African country within which the conflict and exploitation that is taking place.

While the above mentioned African civil war and Japanese comfort women articles were not included in the analysis their presence in the newspaper since it was on a similar and related topic could impact the reader in how they interpret and understand the issues surrounding sex trafficking.