



Sexualized Nationalism and Federal Human Trafficking Consultations: Shifting Discourses on Sex Trafficking in Canada

Elya M. Durisin^a and Emily van der Meulen^b

^aIndependent Scholar, Toronto, Canada; ^bDepartment of Criminology, Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada

ABSTRACT

Canada has engaged in a range of efforts to stop human trafficking within and across its borders. Federal and provincial governments have spent considerable funds in this regard, and have studied the issue to come up with perceived solutions. In this article, we explore Canada's two national House of Commons standing committee consultations on trafficking, in 2006 and 2018. Using critical discourse analysis to examine the consultation transcripts and written briefs, we identified several significant shifts in both the language used and the areas of focus advanced by witnesses, in particular: the modified emphasis from international to domestic trafficking; the changing nature of vulnerability and victimhood; and an increased focus on youth sexual exploitation. We propose that what is being expressed is an iteration of Canadian sexualized nationalism and national sexual morality. These results have policy implications, especially with respect to promoting just, peaceful, and inclusive societies at a time when there are mounting pressures to restrict migration that often dovetail with concerns over human trafficking. Indeed, the way concerns over trafficking are expressed in Canada appears as a fear over women's sexual agency and vulnerability as well as a need to protect "our" boundaries from incursion, whether territorial or moral.

KEYWORDS

Human trafficking; Canada; sexualized nationalism; government consultation; public policy; prostitution; sex work

Like many countries internationally, Canada has witnessed a significant increase in public, media, and political attention on human trafficking over the past two decades. In the criminal justice realm this attention manifested in 2001 in the country's first laws against trafficking in persons added to the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA; s. 118), the main federal legislation that regulates immigration. Not long after, in 2005, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the country's national police force, established the Human Trafficking National Coordination Center to conduct trafficking investigations, raise awareness, coordinate intelligence, and develop international partnerships. That same year human trafficking offenses were added to the *Criminal Code* (ss. 279.01–0.5), prohibiting activities that exploit or facilitate the exploitation of another person and benefiting from these acts. Since then there have been several amendments – mostly in the form of Private Members Bills – to expand the *Criminal Code* trafficking offenses, including adding laws specific to persons under 18 years of age, increasing punishment, and criminalizing Canadian citizens who participate in trafficking that occurs elsewhere.

Federal and provincial governments, too, have adopted an anti-trafficking stance in recent years, in part by dedicating staggering amounts of money for purportedly preventing trafficking and supporting victims. In 2012, a four-year National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking was created, backed by 6 CAD million annually in funding. This action plan set out to implement aggressive initiatives to prevent trafficking, identify and protect victims, and prosecute offenders. More recently, in the 2018 federal budget the government committed 14.5 CAD million over 5 years, including 2.89 CAD million annually to establish a national human trafficking hotline (Public Safety Canada, 2018), which launched in the spring of 2019. At the provincial level, in 2016 the Government of Ontario, the province in which both authors are based,

allocated 72 CAD million over 4 years toward stopping trafficking (Loriggio, 2016), and in 2017 announced a further 7 CAD million to fund transitional housing and rent assistance for victims (MCCSS, 2017). The plentiful allocation of government resources has spurred an enormous growth in the number of community-based and non-governmental organizations focusing on anti-trafficking (De Shalit et al., 2014), leading to concerns that some, or even many, of these organizations are potentially redefining or modifying their programming to align with government priorities in order to access funds (De Shalit & van der Meulen, 2019).

Despite these extensive efforts, and the many millions in funding, since the first laws against trafficking in persons were introduced in Canada in 2001, researchers have confirmed that up to and including the year 2014 only 33 cases were prosecuted under either s. 118 of the IRPA or s. 279 of the *Criminal Code*, with less than 20 resulting in conviction¹ (Millar & O'Doherty, 2015; see also Ibrahim, 2018). And while their examination of data to the end of 2018² indicates an increase in trafficking cases, with the cumulative total now reaching 87 prosecutions and 42 convictions (Millar & O'Doherty, 2020), there remains an enormous gulf between the number of prosecutions and the vast amount of resources being allocated to this cause. It is also necessary to question whether the recent spike in prosecutions and convictions reflects an increase in the number of trafficking incidents, or whether cases are being more readily investigated as a result of increased police funding, as well as public and media attention.

With this article, we closely examine anti-trafficking efforts in Canada by focusing specifically on the two times committees of the federal government held national trafficking-specific consultations, first in 2006 and then again in 2018. There is a pressing need for novel research on human trafficking that engages different categories and theoretical approaches than the dominant, criminal justice framing based in international law. As Musto (2013) explains, critical trafficking studies theorize what is “elided, concealed, or obfuscated in the dominant treatment of the subject” (p. 261). In response, this article advances a critical perspective by proposing that “sex trafficking” – the form of trafficking that has been the overwhelming preoccupation of police, policymakers, and the general public – is a site of struggle over the securitization of territorial and moral boundaries.

While there have also been provincial level studies of trafficking, as well as national reviews of sex work,³ we focus exclusively on the two federal House of Commons committee initiatives whose mandates were both country-wide and specific to human trafficking. In 2006, just after anti-trafficking provisions were added to the *Criminal Code*, the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women identified trafficking, particularly sex trafficking, as a pressing international and domestic issue and undertook the country's first consultation, delivering its report in 2007. Roughly a decade later, in 2018, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, in part to inform the development of a new National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking (which came into effect in 2019), conducted the second federal consultation. An examination of the submissions and testimony of these two consultations highlights several shifts in how human trafficking has been conceptualized in the Canadian context.⁴

¹While there are challenges to counting number of convictions, including that they are sometimes overturned on appeal, it is also important to note that police frequently lay charges for both trafficking and prostitution offenses to enhance the possibility of prosecution (Ibrahim, 2018; Roots, 2013). Data from Ontario specifically indicates that, up to mid-2016, 28 individuals were either found guilty of or plead guilty to trafficking-specific offenses (Roots, 2018).

²Millar and O'Doherty's (2020) research extends into 2019 as some of the 2018 cases continued into the following year for sentencing decisions, appeals, or other legal challenges.

³We use the term “sex work” to convey a demand for health, human, and labor rights and protections for industry workers, reflecting the position of the international sex worker movement. “Prostitution,” however, is used when specific policies or laws are being discussed (such as the *Criminal Code*) or when it is contextually or historically relevant.

⁴There are significant differences in context for each respective consultation. The 2006 consultation was led by the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women under a Conservative minority government. The second consultation in 2018, conducted by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, was under a Liberal majority government. This may have affected the witnesses who were invited and how the testimony was evaluated, though a detailed assessment of these questions is outside the scope of this article. It is also important to note that, later in 2018, Public Safety Canada undertook their own study of human trafficking, facilitated by external consultants. In this article, we analyze only publicly available data from the two standing committee consultations.

In what follows we begin by introducing sexualized nationalism in Canada's socio-political landscape. This first section provides contextualizing background information about the country's evolving legislative and policy approach to the criminalization of sex work, which sets the stage for understanding the social contexts in which the national trafficking consultations occurred. Next we present our methodological approach, namely critical discourse analysis, summarizing the various positions of the consultation witnesses and going into detail about the data collection and analysis process. We then delve into our research findings, exploring the three most prominent discursive shifts identified across the many hundreds of pages of consultation documents: (1) the changing emphasis from international to domestic trafficking, which is signified by a diversion in focus from Central and Eastern European women⁵ to those who are Indigenous, as well as from structural to individualized causes; (2) an evolution in the understanding of the nature of vulnerability and victimhood in experiences of trafficking, from a largely physical experience of (sexual) violence and confinement to later also including significant emotional and psychological dimensions; and (3) the transformation from fears over adult women being trafficked to concerns of youth sexual exploitation, with youth being largely absent from the 2006 witness testimonies all together. Our analysis of these three shifts demonstrates that sex trafficking discourse in Canada has taken on disciplinary dimensions, stabilizing normative gender relations, and upholding notions of national morality.

Sexualized Nationalism in Canada's Socio-Political Landscape

While the focus of this paper is the federal House of Commons standing committee trafficking consultations rather than laws surrounding sex work, it is apparent both in Canada and internationally that human trafficking and sex work are closely connected in discourse. Thus, to appreciate the significance of these two national consultations, an understanding of Canada's legal context for sex work is needed, which in turn must be partially situated in the broader context of globalization. In fact, both consultations under consideration were battlegrounds where the nature of prostitution was being contested, reflecting similar transnational debates.

Mattson (2016), writing on prostitution law reform in Europe, identifies what he calls "new prostitution politics" that emerged at the beginning of the twenty-first century alongside increasing attention on human trafficking. He explains that struggles over the regulation of prostitution arose in a context where globalization and European integration invited worries about securing borders, national identity, and belonging. In this context, "... prostitutes came to symbolize the ability of nations to preserve their values and police their borders" (Mattson, 2016, p. 2), with the figure of the victimized sex worker reflecting, he suggests, a collective sense of vulnerability broadly experienced. In his assessment, prostitution became "key to defending national morals from external threats" (p. 11).

Kulick (2005) presented related ideas in his analysis of Sweden's anti-prostitution law that criminalized the purchase of sexual services (i.e., aiming to end the demand for sex work) through what he described as Swedish national sexuality. Kulick explains that Sweden's law criminalizing clients was suffused with concerns about national identity and cultural difference. This insight is important for considering factors at work in the Canadian context, as there was an intentional and concerted effort to adopt the Swedish approach domestically. Fears among Swedes over the loss of identity and culture arose with (frequently xenophobic) concerns about 'un-Swedish' behaviors and attitudes toward women deemed common within some immigrant communities (e.g., rape, female genital mutilation). While end-demand discourses foregrounded women's equality, they were also enlivened through concerns over foreign threats to collective ways of being. This trend conforms to

⁵In 2006, Central and Eastern Europe was considered a key source region for victims of trafficking in Canada. Other areas, such as Asia, Africa, and South America, were also seen as source regions, but to a lesser degree. Early discourses on the trafficking of Central and Eastern European women provided the impetus for the reformulation of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplemental Trafficking Protocol (see Suchland, 2015). Thus, discourses in Canada are reflective of trends seen globally.

what Farris (2017) defines as “femonationalism” (feminist and femocratic nationalism) which is the tendency in contemporary times for nationalist and neoliberal interests – in alliance with certain Western supremacist feminist voices – to exploit discourses of women’s rights while lacking a true commitment to gender justice. Not surprisingly perhaps, according to Kulick the passing of the law criminalizing the purchase of sex in Sweden resulted in the deportation of non-Swedish sex workers.

Canada is not immune from the types of tensions and concerns evident in other parts of the world. Debates on prostitution and trafficking here can be situated within a broader transnational trend to respond to questions about national identity, cultural difference, and the securing of borders through prostitution law reform. In Canada as in Europe, the issue of prostitution became a site for the expression of national values and a national morality. The sex trafficked girl or woman came to represent larger questions about gender equality, rights for women, and a vision for a good and just society. Through this, a form of Canadian sexualized nationalism was expressed, reflecting the congealing of nationalistic sentiments around ideas about appropriate and normative sexuality (Mosse, 1985), and emphasizing a progressive, gender egalitarian masculinity respectful of women’s dignity (Durisin, 2017). Canadian national masculinity was positioned as a bulwark against less progressive forms of masculinity, characteristic of the “foreign” or “subaltern,” that were seen as misogynistic or disrespectful of women. These discourses had the further effect of fixing women within marriage and the family as sexually-safe locations, bolstering the patriarchal gender order.

Contemporary changes to Canada’s federal prostitution laws can be traced to the 1970s and 80s, in particular in relation to urban gentrification, the changing class composition of cities, and the early growth of neoliberalism and globalization (see, for example, Page, 2018; Ross, 2018). One of the most significant legal changes during this period, and one that would come to have devastating effects on street-based sex workers, was the introduction in 1985 of Bill C-49, the anti-communication law, later to become section 213 of the *Criminal Code*. At this time there were fierce tensions between middle class residents who had newly moved to gentrifying urban areas and sex working communities who had long been there; these new residents remade downtown locations to reflect their classed preferences and sexual norms, with sex workers and sex related-businesses excluded from this vision. Middle class residents wanted stronger laws that would enable police to reduce or eliminate the presence of commercial sex in their neighborhoods.

The purported solution came in the form of Bill C-49, which criminalized communicating in a public place, or any place open to public view, for the purposes of prostitution. The bill further defined parked cars as public places, criminalizing the negotiation of sexual services inside of one’s own vehicle. Thus, sex workers’ abilities to screen potential customers and discuss the terms and conditions of services were dramatically curtailed. The anti-communication law displaced sex workers from public, downtown areas, as they needed to move to more remote and less visible locations in efforts to avoid policing. Lowman (2000) shows that this change, along with a symbolic “discourse of disposal,” created conditions that made sex work more dangerous and, perhaps unsurprisingly, violence toward sex workers increased significantly. A large body of literature (see Brock, 1998; Lowman & Fraser, 1996; Parent et al., 2013; Pivot Legal Society, 2004; Shaver, 1996; van der Meulen et al., 2013) establishes clearly that criminal sanctions against sex work, and especially the anti-communication law, create conditions that make sex work unsafe and expose workers to high levels of violence.

By the early 2000s violence against sex workers in Canada had reached epidemic proportions, as evidenced by the number of women who had been murdered or went missing from Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside, many of whom were Indigenous. This prompted the federal government to establish a Subcommittee on Solicitation Laws to review the *Criminal Code*’s anti-prostitution provisions, releasing a report in 2006, the same year that the Standing Committee on the Status of Women was conducting its national consultation on sex trafficking. Both the subcommittee and the standing committee were sites where the nature of prostitution and the best way to regulate it were hotly contested. In the 2006 sex trafficking consultation, trafficking was seen rather like a “foreign”

disease that was affecting the Canadian body politic. The threats were as much cultural as they were criminal, where a key cause of trafficking appeared to be disrespect for women's rights.

Federal anti-prostitution laws were under consideration again more recently when three current and former sex workers in Ontario – Terri-Jean Bedford, Amy Lebovitch, and Valerie Scott – brought forward a Charter Challenge that would ultimately result in a reformulation of Canada's legal framework on sex work. In 2013, *Canada v. Bedford* deemed Canada's main prostitution-related laws unconstitutional. In response, the then majority Conservative federal government passed the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (PCEPA), which reinforced the criminalization of prostitution through a new prohibition on the purchase of sex, among other sanctions. PCEPA represented a paradigmatic shift in the legislative objectives of the law, one that moved away from viewing sex work as a public nuisance – as did Bill C-49 – to a commercial transaction that needs to be deterred and ultimately prohibited, with sex workers largely deemed victims.

The vilification of clients aiming to end the demand for paid sex was present in Canada even back in the 2006 Standing Committee on the Status of Women consultation; however, the legal adoption of this approach in 2014 was in part the result of the ideological positioning of the government in power. In criminalizing the purchase of sex, Canada brought its law in line with what we suggest is the dominant transnational legal framework on prostitution, which rests on the understanding of sex work as a form of male violence against women. Similar to what has taken place in several countries engaging in sex work law reform, debates on the nature of commercial sex and, by extension, sex trafficking, are sites of contention that are undergirded by fears over threats to cherished national values, specifically women's equality. In Canada, the criminalization of purchasing sexual services became symbolic for the ability of the nation state to respect and protect women's rights and, in this way, remain progressive and truly "Western." It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Millar and O'Doherty (2020), as noted above, identified a significant increase in trafficking prosecutions since the passage of PCEPA in 2014.

Examining the Federal Consultations

Witnesses who were invited to present at the federal House of Commons standing committee hearings in 2006 and 2018 comprised a diverse group with varied interests, including anti-trafficking and anti-prostitution advocates, representatives from sex worker rights organizations, lawyers and legal professionals, delegates from various state agencies (e.g., Department of Justice, Canada Border Services Agency, various police forces, etc.), and to a lesser extent academics and researchers, among others. These witnesses addressed a wide range of topics and held seemingly irreconcilable worldviews on both sex work and the meaning of women's equality. A key difference in witness participation between the two consultations, and telling of the nature of the discursive shifts we explore below, was the absence in 2018 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), both having participated in 2006. While the later consultation was purportedly about human trafficking broadly and not about sex trafficking exclusively, there was a near total absence of perspectives from labor sectors or migrant-rights advocates, reflecting policy polarization on the issue seen transnationally. Such polarization and divisiveness suggest, as Mattson (2016) argues, that the contemporary discussion of sex trafficking has emerged as a cultural battleground where political judgments about fundamental aspects of social life are being disputed. We add to Mattson's analysis by proposing that what is being expressed through these consultations (by way of who is invited to present, the content of the testimonies, and which narratives are reiterated in the final committee reports) is an iteration of Canadian sexualized nationalism.

Yet despite the contrasting positions on sex work and trafficking, there were also a number of similar perspectives among those testifying. In both consultations, trafficking appears as an expansive rallying-cry against multiple forms of social, gendered, and economic injustice and violence. The way these concerns are expressed appear as a need to protect "our" boundaries from incursion, whether territorial or moral (see Durisin, 2017), manifesting as a kind of national morality that betrays deep-seated fears over women's sexual agency and vulnerability. For example, many witnesses in both consultations held the view that sex work was violence against women and advocated for the criminalization of clients. In 2006, there appeared to be

an intentional decision to invite witnesses with expertise in Swedish law, such as anti-prostitution advocates Gunilla Ekberg from the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action and Kajsa Wahlberg from the Swedish National Police, both of whom played a role in Sweden's *sexköpslagen*, the legislation that criminalized the purchase of sex in that country in 1999. Certain Canadian Members of Parliament studying the issue in 2006, such as Joy Smith who served as vice-chair of the consultation, strongly advocated for implementing this framework (see Smith, 2014). In 2018, the Swedish approach – a version of which had been adopted in Canada by this time – was similarly viewed favorably by several testifying individuals and organizations. Indeed, the dominant narrative within both consultations saw sex workers as victims of violence and was critical of the sex worker rights perspective.

Methodology

The policy framing literature shows that how a problem is represented shapes the proposed political solutions (see Bacchi, 2006; Van Hulst & Yanow, 2016), thus witness narratives and testimonies on sex trafficking are far from inconsequential; instead, they can directly inform public policy responses. Employing a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework that examines the relationship between discourse and the reproduction of power was accordingly the most effective and appropriate approach for our study. CDA seeks to address the extent to which, as Van Dijk (1993, 2001) argues, powerful social actors can access, influence, and control social representations. A key CDA approach sees the researcher taking an explicit socio-political stance grounded in concern for social justice. The work of CDA, therefore, is to describe, explain, and critique “the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 258).

The over-arching research questions that guided this undertaking were: (1) What shifts in discourse (groupings of statements) are evident between the consultations in 2006 and 2018?; (2) How are narratives (ways of “telling” stories) of trafficking constructed by consultation witnesses?; and (3) Is sexualized nationalism implicated in these understandings?

Procedures

To answer these questions, we collected, reviewed, and coded thematically all publicly available documents related to these two consultations, including witness testimony, briefs submitted, and transcripts of committee hearings. In 2006 this included 42 witnesses and 16 public committee meetings, and in 2018 it comprised 49 witnesses (including the second author of this article), 55 written briefs (one of which was co-submitted by the second author and 14 other scholars), and 9 public committee meetings. Collection and initial analysis of the 2006 data was undertaken in 2016 as part of the first author's dissertation research. Data from the 2018 consultation was collected and analyzed by the first author between June and August 2019; during this period additional examination of the 2006 consultation documents occurred.

Analysis

The following categories, comprised of dominant discourses identified by the authors, were used to code and subsequently analyze the data: “international trafficking in persons,” “critical framework [on sex work],” “youth sexual exploitation,” “trauma,” “psychologization of trafficking,” “Indigenous women,” “sexual danger,” “domestic trafficking,” and “end demand.” Our analysis reveals several significant shifts or modifications in the kinds of language used, areas of focus, and narrative structures deployed in 2006 versus 2018. While it is important to explore discursive trends, this approach has certain limitations. Our method is not able to help assess or determine the political process of the committees' work itself, such as how witnesses were invited, how information about the consultation was disseminated, and how evidence was weighed.

Results

Shift 1: International to Domestic Trafficking

One of the most significant discursive shifts between the two consultations is the move from a predominate focus on the international trafficking of Central and Eastern European (CEE) women in 2006 to the domestic trafficking of Indigenous women and girls in 2018. Thus, a major racial and geo-locational change occurred. Discussions in 2006 reflected the dominant representations of international sex trafficking of the variety that is often popularized in films and media.⁶ CEE countries were not the only ones mentioned in 2006, but this region received more attention than any other. As two witnesses explained,

What has happened in Europe and in Russia and Ukraine, and all of these countries where hundreds of thousands and millions of young women are involved in this because they have no other way, and men have gone crazy on this ... (November 23, 2006, p. 7)

The places are Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Korea, Africa, and Eastern Europe. In the cases I'm familiar with, young women who come over here believing they're going to be doing jobs such as waitressing are really put into the sex industry. They have no idea until they get over here what they're up for. (Detective Sergeant Lori Lowe, October 3, 2006, p. 11)

The first comment above was made by Victor Malarek, journalist and author of *The Natashas*, a sensationalist exposé on the sex trafficking of CEE women that was read and cited by several parliamentarians⁷ and contributed to shaping understandings of trafficking in the governmental context at this time (Durisin, 2017).

Other witnesses discussed organized crime, a key element in the dominant discourse on international sex trafficking from CEE. Irene Soltys from Help Us Help the Children, an organization supporting orphans in Ukraine, in response to a question about Russian organized crime explained, "It's a big issue, because Russian organized crime and other crime rings, the Yakuza, the Triads, etc., are all heavily involved. The Hells Angels are the major operators in Canada" (November 2, 2006, p. 13). Similarly, Dominic Monchamp from the Montreal City Police Service testified,

I have been working in these kinds of investigations for seven years. When we launch an investigation, for example, on Asian or Russian massage parlours – which are bawdy houses –, an investigation must be carried out to show that organized crime is involved, because the words 'Russian organized crime' are not posted on the door. (November 9, 2006, p. 2)

We are not suggesting that there was an over-emphasis on Russia during the 2006 consultation, however it was mentioned by several witnesses. We note this because, in 2018, specifically Russian or other ethnicized organized criminal groups no longer appear in the testimony or briefs. In 2018, the specific references gave way to the more general "organized crime," and traffickers were understood rather to be "gangs" and young men posing as suitors. This is an important shift that speaks to some of the changing racialized dynamics of trafficking discourses.

Another element of the discourse on international trafficking in 2006 was what was understood to be its root causes. While demand for paid sex was cited as a cause of trafficking by several witnesses in both consultations, in 2006 the push factor for international sex trafficking was almost entirely structural; that is, women's impoverishment due to collapsed global economies, particularly in CEE. Jean Bellefeuille, a member of the Comité d'action contre la traite humaine interne et internationale, clearly presents the dominant understanding of the cause of trafficking from CEE at this time,

⁶Films such as *Taken*, *Eastern Promises*, and *Lilja 4-Ever* or Victor Malarek's exposé *The Natashas*.

⁷For example, Malarek's work was referred to or quoted in several government proceedings related to trafficking in Canada, including: *Debates of the Senate* (1 November, 2005), p. 2038 (Hon. Raynell Andreychuk, Senator CPC); *Debates of the Senate* (6 February 2008) p. 677 (Hon. Gerard A. Phalen, Senator Lib.); and *House of Commons Debates* (26 September 2005), p. 7990 (Mr. Vic Toews, CPC MP). Further, a senator speaking in support of Canada's first criminal laws against trafficking went so far as to say that *The Natashas* should be mandatory reading (see *Debates of the Senate* (1 November 2005), p. 2038 (Hon. Raynell Andreychuk, Senator CPC).

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, thousands of women, who were professionals – occupational therapists, medical secretaries and in all kinds of other occupations – live in poverty with an average of about \$30 a month in order to survive, not in a warm country, but in Bulgaria and in Eastern Europe. It's impossible for them to make ends meet, so they can't refuse an offer they get to come to American or to go to Europe. They're thus caught in all kinds of traps that lead to prostitution. (October 26, 2006, p. 7)

Here, Bellefeuille articulates the leading view seen in the early consultation, which is echoed in the academic literature as well (Goodey, 2004; Kligman & Limoncelli, 2005; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007). As we will discuss later, in 2018, the cause of trafficking shifts from being structural and grounded in material conditions (i.e., poverty) to include emotional and psychological elements such as girls' need to be loved or their desire to please their male partners.

Bellefeuille also highlights another significant component in the discourses on sex trafficking from CEE, that of “innocent” women; in other words, women who were not already engaged in sex work but who were compelled to do so out of economic necessity. While research suggests that experiences of migration or trafficking for sex work in CEE are much more complex and encompass both agential and structural elements (Davies, 2009; Gülçür & İlkaracan, 2002; Mai, 2013), an emphasis on the “innocence” of sex trafficked women was foregrounded in 2006. While poverty and economic necessity were frequently mentioned as a cause of domestic trafficking in 2018, we argue that it does not always render domestically trafficked women and girls “innocent” in the same way. Poverty, in the later consultation, was most often discussed in relation to Indigenous women and girls as a factor that made them vulnerable to trafficking. However, we propose, the result was not only to situate them as legitimate victims – a position Indigenous women have historically been denied in Canada – but to locate them in dysfunctional and abject spaces as well.

Concerns in Canada in 2006 largely mirrored the international concern about sex trafficking and organized crime from CEE that was circulating transnationally following the collapse of socialist projects in Europe. Much of how trafficking was conceptualized in Canada at this time was, in fact, in relation to anxieties over the sexual victimization of white women from the region (Durisin, 2017). The amendment to the *Criminal Code* that entered domestic human trafficking into criminal law in 2005 was a response to fear about trafficking of women from CEE to work as exotic dancers in Canada. Narratives like the following from a model and talent agency representative were not uncommon,

This girl was a beautiful girl. She came from a very impoverished background. She saw this as her opportunity to get out of Romania, to model, make money, and send some money home to her family. She had no idea what the plans were for her. I don't know what ever became of this girl. ... I left Austria after two months, and she was still there. She was being passed around from client to client, that sort of thing. It was heartbreaking. (Liz Crawford, November 2, 2006, p. 1)

In this comment, the qualities of white femininity – namely, beauty and innocence – work to position the woman as a legitimate victim, mirroring earlier concerns over the trafficking of white women in the 19th century white slavery panic. That the trafficking of white, CEE women galvanized the contemporary international anti-trafficking response (Suchland, 2015), including in Canada, invites consideration of both the historical and contemporary complex relationships between white women, race, and human trafficking discourses.

In the 2018 consultation, understandings about human trafficking had changed considerably. Domestic victims were now understood to represent 90% of victims of trafficking overall (see witnesses Peter Warrack from Bitfinex, May 29, 2018; Mikhaela Gray, graduate student from York University, March 1, 2018). It was also understood that Indigenous girls and women were over-represented among those victims (see Native Women's Association of Canada [NWAC], 2018). No longer were CEE women of concern. Part of what facilitated this shift to domestic trafficking is a redefinition of what was seen to constitute trafficking itself. In 2018, domestic trafficking was often about girls or other vulnerable persons being “lured” and “groomed” by traffickers, borrowing from the older idea of the “pimp.” Witnesses further suggested that the threat of trafficking appeared to be lurking almost everywhere,

Who is being trafficking? ... Human trafficking victims include men and women, with women representing the majority. They have diverse educational and economic backgrounds. They include runaway and homeless youth, as well as lesbian, gay, transgender, and bisexual individuals. However, an issue not generally discussed in sex trafficking literature is that many come from homes that lack positive masculine or male influences. (Sandra Rupnarain, Family Services of Peel, May 29, 2018, p. 11)

Human trafficking in Canada primarily related to sex trafficking. Approximately 90% of victims are domestic victims, the remainder having come to Canada from abroad ... Victims are predominantly female, but not always, and the come from all walks of life, not just from disadvantaged communities. (Peter Warrack, Bitfinex, May 29, 2018, p. 7)

According to these testimonies, it appears that nearly everyone is at risk. The definitions of domestic trafficking appeared vague and muddled, with Linda MacDonald, co-founder of Persons Against Non-State Torture, explaining that trafficking “involv[es] organized, family-based typologies that can include in-home torture gatherings coded as parties” (May 22, 2018, p. 4). Indeed, the range of activities defined as trafficking expanded considerably between 2006 and 2018.

As already noted, one of the key concerns during the 2018 consultation was the domestic trafficking of Indigenous girls and women. As Durisin (2017) has argued elsewhere, the figure of the sex trafficked woman, genealogically connected to the historical white slave (see Doezema, 2000), is a white feminine subject and harm to her sexual respectability as an “innocent” white woman is understood as one of the harms of prostitution (see also Ware, 1992). Racialized and Indigenous girls and women, who have been historically positioned as sexually licentious, have not typically been positioned as legitimate victims. It is imperative that the state addresses the harms to Indigenous women and girls and accounts for their victimization. However, we suggest that there are mixed and potentially problematic outcomes when Indigenous feminine subjects are inserted into dominant trafficking discourses that are centered on white feminine subjects (see Hunt, 2015; Kaye, 2017). Consider the following 2018 comments in briefs submitted by an Indigenous women’s organization and a non-Indigenous community organization recounting Indigenous experiences,

Prior exposure to family violence particularly contributes to the success rate of many recruitment tactics by traffickers, such as the ‘boyfriend’ method and familial coercion. Indigenous women, who face abuse growing up, have more difficulty recognizing abuse in other relationships. The normalization of their abuse makes it difficult for them to see themselves as victims and more vulnerable to the accepting of exploitation. (NWAC, 2018, p. 7)

A young Indigenous woman was held in a hotel room, marketed to sex buyers, and beaten by her boyfriend, who is also her trafficker ... Her trafficker, from a marginalized, racialized community faced 18 charges. She later recanted and refused to testify because she loves him. She took all the blame. Charges were withdrawn ... He is still forcing her to provide sex services to bring in money. (Centre to End All Sexual Exploitation [CEASE], 2018, p. 1-2)

These organizations are, no doubt, speaking to specific realities for Indigenous girls and women in Canada emblematic of ongoing colonial relations. However, situated within the context of a colonial state institution, they risk positioning Indigenous communities in racialized spaces of abjection and naturalizing the suffering of Indigenous people. Both Hunt (2015) and Kaye (2017) write critically of dominant trafficking discourses in Canada, expressing concern that they reinforce colonial power structures of domination. In comparison, consider a description of the domestic trafficking of upper middle class (implicitly white) girls by Joy Smith, a former Conservative Member of Parliament who is herself a leading anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking advocate,

Here’s what I’ve seen. Imagine a cute guy who a young girl is really interested in. This is River Heights, Winnipeg, which is upper middle class, where girls are going to a sports event at the community centre in the summer. The parents give them cellphones. They’re good parents. The cute guys come, but really they’re traffickers. The girls don’t know this. They get the girls’ trust, they start taking them to parties, they give them just a little bit of drugs – not a lot, just enough to keep them going – and they want pay back for all these gifts. (March 1, 2018, p. 14)

While no overt references are made to race, this narrative is nevertheless deeply racialized. The mention of an upper middle class community where “good” parents are allowing their daughters to go to an “innocent” sporting event on the weekend is implicitly raced as a white space and experience. The figure of the young, “drug-pushing” male “pimp” is a racialized representation based on stereotypes and fears of Black masculine sexuality in relation to white womanhood (Currie & Gillies, 2006; Maynard, 2017, 2018; van der Meulen, 2010). While Indigenous experiences represented in the 2018 consultation speak to a demand for social and economic justice for Indigenous persons, in the governmental context the discourses themselves turn on the racialization of Indigenous spaces as dysfunctional and on fears of Black and subaltern masculine sexuality as a threat to innocent white girls. The specter of the white slave figure is persistent in the dominant narrative on sex trafficking even as it shifts forms and adapts to new geographic, political, and temporal circumstances.

The shift from international to domestic trafficking is grounded in similar raced and ethnicized fears as the international discourse, though the threat has now moved closer to home. In the 2006 consultation that focused on international sex trafficking particularly from CEE, the threat came in the form of foreign and ethnicized masculine subjects bringing both criminality and “unreformed” ideas about women into Canada. In 2018, the threat appeared as Black and Indigenous masculine sexualities. In relation to them, the Canadian national (white) masculine subject was positioned as progressive and gender egalitarian, someone who would defend women’s dignity. This iteration of masculinity is an expression of sexualized nationalism, with a clear vision of national morality and “good” sexual behavior. With the shift to domestic trafficking in 2018, the pathologization of nonwhite spaces and of young, racialized and Indigenous masculine subjects legitimates the surveillance and criminalization of racialized communities in the name of protecting innocent Canadian girls.

Shift 2: Vulnerabilities and Victimhoods

The second major discursive shift between the 2006 and 2018 federal consultations under consideration is related to changing notions of vulnerability and victimhood. In addition to trafficking being seen largely as an international matter of CEE and organized crime in 2006, witnesses at the first consultation located women’s vulnerability due to poverty as the key structural factor conditioning sex trafficking. By 2018, however, this had changed considerably. Lack of resources and poverty were still understood as circumstances that left girls and women vulnerable to trafficking, especially those who were Indigenous (see submitted briefs NWAC, 2018; Ontario Native Women’s Association [ONWA], 2018), however, the second consultation saw a foregrounding of emotional and psychological dimensions. That is, trafficking was no longer a question of physical force, coercion, or something resulting from economic desperation. It was also the gendered need to be loved that left women and girls vulnerable to “pimps” and “traffickers” posing as potential suitors or boyfriends; these boyfriends would eventually manipulate them into sex work, and emotional bonds would leave women in denial about their own victimization.

Shaping dominant understandings about sex trafficking in Canada in the early 2000s and during the 2006 consultation was journalist Victor Malarek and his exposé about “sex trafficking” from CEE called *The Natashas* (2003), noted above. Malarek’s representation of international sex trafficking – that of impoverished CEE women trafficked by organized criminals – mirrored the dominant discourse circulating transnationally at this time. In the Canadian context, women from CEE who migrated by way of temporary work permits for exotic dancing were a particular focus of concern. Malarek and others saw migrant dancers as especially vulnerable to trafficking because of their material and economic circumstances, which left them few options other than to work in substandard, and often exploitative, conditions. The following testimony from Sue Wilson of the Federation of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Canada is a case in point,

When a member of our anti-trafficking group initially talked to the person who received the [temporary residence permit],⁸ she said she was not controlled by anyone in her original work situation. However, as the survivor went on to describe the conditions of her work, the aspect of control was very obvious. In her country of origin she was misinformed about the nature of the work in the exotic dancing bar as well as the amount of pay she would receive. In Canada, the local agent took her return plane ticket from her. She had to sign over her cheque to the bar owner. She had to live at the bar where she worked and pay her rent from tips she received from clients. Her rent cost more than that of other people who were staying in the building. She was plied with alcohol to get her to perform tasks that she found humiliating. (December 5, 2006, p. 4)

Since poverty was the key factor conditioning one's vulnerability and thus decision to engage in sex work, poor women were positioned as innocent, "good" girls with little choice but to engage in this kind of activity. Rhéa Jean, a graduate student from the University of Sherbrooke presenting in 2006, for instance, questions what opportunities are available to women coming to Canada on temporary work permits in a manner that forecloses questions about criminal culpability,

The number of advertisements [in newspapers] for escort agencies, exotic dancers and this whole environment is often disproportionate compared to the other worthy and normal jobs. What then are the choices available to a young woman who, for example, does not have much education? (November 2, 2006, p. 15)

While many witnesses positioned sex trafficked women as vulnerable and innocent victims, at times they were also seen as potentially duplicitous and as undesirable immigrants. Maria Minna, Liberal Member of Parliament from Beaches-East York and consultation witness, for example, implies that women who come to Canada as exotic dancers do so as a way to circumvent restrictive immigration laws,

... they come thinking they're coming as exotic dancers and that's as good as they're going to get, because that's how they're going to get around the immigration laws. Otherwise, they can't come, because our immigration laws now are such that women from certain countries, especially if they don't have a level of education or skills, can't come in to do the work. So they come in illegally. (October 19, 2006, p. 13)

Minna mistakenly claims that migrating to Canada to work as an exotic dancer in 2006 was illegal, when in fact the then temporary work permit was an entirely legitimate method of entering the country in order to engage in a regulated labor sector (Diaz, 2007; Durisin & Heynen, 2015). Other witnesses advanced a similar line of argument and further suggested that migrant dancers would not just ply their trade in strip clubs but would also engage in illicit, and largely illegal, prostitution. Detective Sergeant Michael Hamel of the Montreal Police Department, for example, said of the work permit holders: "the people who come here are not necessarily all sex trade workers. I am sure that there are worthy candidates ... but if their stock-in-trade is sex and prostitution, the visa should be denied" (October 31, 2006, p. 18). These comments illustrate how sex workers in the first consultation were seen to be simultaneously "risky" and "at risk" as well as both victims and criminals, tropes that have long informed conceptualizations of sex work (Bruckert & Hannem, 2013; Wright et al., 2015).

Overall, in 2006 the discourses on sex trafficking positioned women in rather contradictory ways. By and large they were understood as innocent victims who were made vulnerable due to the economic conditions of their home countries, but the possibility for constrained agency also existed, as did the concern that the women were undesirable immigrants or "prostitutes." This changed in 2018, at which point the discourses became more polarized. Women were not represented as potential criminals or as culpable for being sex workers, but neither were they seen as having any degree of agency. Women became total vulnerable victims as the trafficking discourse shifted to incorporate emotional and psychological dimensions that were previously absent. In 2018, the bonds of trafficking were as much invisible and emotive as they were physical.

Along with the change in emphasis from international to domestic trafficking from the first to the second consultation, the victimizing nature of trafficking itself shifted considerably as well. Here,

⁸A temporary residence permit is obtainable by people who are deemed victims of trafficking and who do not have legal status in Canada.

the emotive elements of the trafficking experience were highlighted by a number of individuals who self-identified as a victim or survivor of trafficking. Testimony from these witnesses was unique to the 2018 consultation; in 2006 victim/survivor accounts were not included in the documents we reviewed, either as individuals or as members of an organization. In subjecting their narratives to analysis, it is not our intention to negate their experiences but to consider what representations are being conveyed. The following narrative from Mélanie Carpentier, the Director of Victim Services of La Maison de Mélanie, captures several elements of the new understandings of trafficking that emerged during the 2018 consultation,

The victims are your friends, your sisters, your daughters. They are girls who thought that, one day, their prince charming would come along and save them. They watched Sleeping Beauty, where a prince awakens a girl from a deep sleep. They watched Snow White, who is saved by a street gang of seven dwarves and then prince charming comes along and offers her the life of her dreams. They watched Beauty and the Beast in which Belle transforms the beast into her prince charming with her love, a perfect example of Stockholm syndrome. Slowly and silently, they become desensitized to sexuality and all of a sudden their prince turns into a frog. This happens so surreptitiously that they do not see anything coming and then they feel responsible for what is happening to them. Others go to a party, unknowingly take a date rape drug, and are gang raped. Their lives are forever changed in an instant. (May 10, 2018, p. 6)

This representation of trafficking differs dramatically from the one given by Sue Wilson in 2006 (see above) that described exploitative working conditions in exotic dance clubs as trafficking. Carpentier and others in 2018 shift the narrative to one of emotional, rather than economic, vulnerability that leads to seduction by a man who manipulates a young woman into prostitution. Later, as we will show, the narrative adopts a redemptive quality as the woman comes to realize that she has been victimized and begins to see clearly the manipulation to which she had been subjected.

While a host of structural causes were named as factors conditioning women's vulnerability, such as poverty and familial violence, the emotional vulnerability and victimhood based in a desire for love, masculine attention, and/or a normative family life was strongly foregrounded. This results in the causes moving from largely socio-political and socio-economic structural issues to those that are internal and individualized. Melendy Muise from Thrive and Natasha Falle, Co-Founder and Director of Sextrade 101, for example, describe their own experiences,

One of the questions the original interviewer asked was, "Why did you stay with him for so long?" The answer I gave was unexpected to the now 42-year-old woman I am today. "I just wanted him to love me," was my response. Today I know and speak about the level of violence there was, the manipulation, the control, how he filled all my needs, how he walked into a bar and told me I had the most beautiful eyes he had ever seen and I thought instantly that he loved me ... This is human trafficking. (Melendy Muise, May 31, 2018, p. 8)

[My pimp] would often tell me that I owe him my life for what he did and no one would love me the way he did. (Natasha Falle, May 22, 2018, p. 7)

Both women speak cogently about the centrality of love and their emotional connections to their trafficker/pimp that resulted in their manipulation into a situation of trafficking. Similar to the vulnerability of poverty in 2006, the emotional vulnerability deployed by committee witnesses in 2018 likewise renders innocence. Falle further recounts a different woman's experience, who, in the woman's own words, says: "I had no idea that I was even a victim of trafficking. I simply thought I was a lost soul who was helping my 'boyfriend' out with his bills. He was my pimp and I didn't even consider myself a trafficked woman" (May 22, 2018, p. 8). What is noteworthy in these accounts is that trafficking no longer requires physical force or constraint and, in fact, the women appear to consent (at least in that moment) to the situation. In this, the lines between trafficking and intimate partner abuse become muddled, and understandings of what constitutes trafficking expand significantly in relation to those present in 2006.

Similar to comments by former Member of Parliament Joy Smith above, this narrative of trafficking turns on the emotional vulnerability of girls and women to being "lured." No longer the agentic subject, Smith explains,

A young girl is lured; the trafficker gains her trust by giving her lots of praise and gifts and the vision that she'll get married someday, and then all of a sudden it all changes. They say they have to pay back all these gifts, and it becomes very hideous, very brutal. (March 1, 2018, p. 2)

As alluded to, bonding with one's trafficker becomes a key element in the experience of trafficking. Witnesses in 2018 spoke of "trauma bonding" and of Stockholm syndrome, notions that were completely absent in the earlier consultation hearings, and were even absent from the larger anti-trafficking discourse in Canada in the early and mid-2000s. Stockholm syndrome, a condition where hostages develop a psychological connection to their captors, as mentioned by Mélanie Carpentier, was also invoked in the submitted brief provided by the Canadian Federation of University Women (2018), explaining how "it is not unusual for [victims of trafficking] to exhibit symptoms of Stockholm syndrome, because they are forced to relate to their exploiters in order to survive" (p. 5). Likewise, Diane Redsky, Executive Director of Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Center Inc. explained that "trauma bonding with their trafficker makes it very difficult to intervene within that relationship, and we really need to understand that power dynamic" (March 1, 2018, p. 4). Indeed, the emotional and psychological dimensions of trafficking victimization were regularly highlighted.

Mirroring common narratives of prostitution, whereby a woman comes to renounce or "repent" her prostitution activities, the narratives conveyed in the 2018 consultation similarly spoke to a realization that enabled women to see their exploitation for what it was and break away from conditions of trafficking. Witnesses who engaged in anti-trafficking advocacy frequently described the experiences of survivors of trafficking, comparing their states of mind during their trafficking episodes with their current thoughts and feelings about what they had gone through. Lori Anne Thomas, from the Canadian Council of Criminal Defense Lawyers, relays the story of sex trafficking victims with whom she has worked,

They're in rooms alone with clients. They have time when they can contact the police, and therefore they have options to get out of that work. However, that would require them to have that psychological desire to have that time to reflect on what's going on, to reflect on whether they're being victimized or not. Some may not see that as victimization right away. They may see that in time, when they've had some space and some introspection into looking into what has actually occurred to them. (May 22, 2018, p. 4)

In this and other accounts, women are seen to need time and space to understand their vulnerability and victimhood. Presumably, the "invisible" nature of these psychological bonds in 2018 – and therefore instances of sex trafficking itself – are less easy to identify and potentially more widespread than obvious physical restraint or confinement, which were more the focus in 2006. While this expands the definition of what is seen as trafficking it also, regrettably, supports the notion that women are not aware or fully conscious of the nature of their lived realities and reduces them to non-agential subjects.

In her written submission, Casandra Diamond, a self-identifying sex trafficking survivor and founder of BridgeNorth, attributes her change in perception to the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* itself,

PCEPA removes the stigma and marginalization that was previously placed upon trafficked women and girls. Prior to the change in law, I, myself, did not understand the gravity of the situation that I was in. I did not fully understand that I was a victim. (Diamond, 2018, p. 2)

Similar to the experiences described above, Diamond needed time to come to a realization about the nature of her exploitative conditions.

Just as Victor Malarek played a role in defining trafficking in the early and mid-2000s, we suggest that another policy leader, namely Benjamin Perrin, law professor at the University of British Columbia and advisor on human trafficking to the Prime Minister's Office from 2012–2014, was integral to the changing perception and redefinition of trafficking as a largely psychological phenomenon. Indeed, in his book *Invisible Chains: Canada's Underground World of Human Trafficking*, Perrin (2010) appears to have contributed to shifting understandings of what many now refer to as "modern day slavery." As a legal professional, Perrin is clearly aware of the definition of trafficking given in international law by the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish

Trafficking in Persons, also called the Trafficking Protocol. Though, in *Invisible Chains*, he imposes his own interpretation on the Protocol's definition, resulting in an expansion of what is understood as trafficking. He writes,

Human trafficking does not require an international border to be crossed, nor does it necessarily involve movement or transfer of victims ... Some trafficked victims do not necessarily consider themselves to be victims. Not all of them are kidnapped, beaten, and forcibly confined. Some may know about the exploitation they would be expected to endure but were unable to leave owing to deception, psychological manipulation, coercion, debt bondage, and threats. (Perrin, 2010, p. 8)

Here, Perrin removes movement, physical violence, and confinement as necessary elements and adds psychological manipulation as sufficient to constitute trafficking, opening the possibility that activities outside of those given in the Protocol could be included under the umbrella of human trafficking in Canada.

There are several things taking place in the shift in emphasis from economic vulnerability, which leads to exploitative working conditions, to psychological vulnerability and the emotional bonds of trafficking. In the 2018 narratives we examined, the outcry was not over direct use of force, threats, or confinement; rather, harm stemmed from the sully of feminine sexual respectability, the hallmark of bourgeois (implicitly white) feminine subjectivity. In this shift there is also the articulation of a Canadian sexualized nationalism and sexual morality; it has the effect of fixing women in a particular place in the national imagination, within the emotionally-bonded relationship and the family. Within discourses on sex trafficking, the masculine citizen-subject is fixed in a different location, as a protective, patriarchal figure who can save vulnerable women from their victimization, but paradoxically also as the potential perpetrator and exploiter of that vulnerability. The desire to love and be loved engendered a new kind of vulnerability to trafficking; these understandings of trafficking in the 2018 consultation adhere strongly to normative heterosexual and patriarchal familial notions of the role of men and women in the nation despite the language of women's equality (see Nagel, 1998; Yuval-Davis & Anthias, 1989).

Shift 3: Adult versus Youth Sexual Exploitation

The final major shift we identified is the foregrounding of youth sexual exploitation in discourses on sex trafficking in 2018 and a sense of urgency over the increasing vulnerability of, and violence toward, "young girls." Musto (2013) likewise identified a robust focus on youth and domestic sex trafficking in the US, and a similar concern with very young victims (see also Baker, 2018; Showden & Majic, 2018). Perhaps most interesting in our examination of the Canadian policy landscape is the almost complete lack of mention of girls and youth in the 2006 consultation, versus the over-emphasis and focus on them in 2018. Our intention in this section is to highlight this shift, with our analysis necessarily limited almost exclusively to the latter consultation.

Context suggests that when witnesses mentioned "young girls" they were generally referring to those under the age of 18, though it was not always clear. In discussions related to sex work, the category of "youth" can sometimes reach well into a woman's twenties. Further, there was a tendency for witnesses and submitted briefs in the latter consultation to lack precision and group women and girls together based on their perceived shared vulnerability to trafficking,

I knew a girl who was in her late 20s when I met her at the licensed body rub parlor where I was working. She had a Scotian "boyfriend" who was really her pimp. (Diamond, 2018, p. 4)

The average age of entry into prostitution is 14 years. At 18 or 19 years of age, a woman in prostitution is not suddenly empowered by choice and freedom. (Canadian Federation of University Women, 2018, p. 4)

The sex trafficking of girls was mentioned back in 2006 by, for instance, Swedish anti-sex work advocate Gunilla Ekberg, who linked trafficking to local prostitution markets and the "purchase" of girls and women (December 5, 2006). Also in the 2006 consultation, some witnesses mentioned child

sexual abuse and concerns about the trafficking of children out of orphanages (see, for example, Irene Soltys from Help Us Help the Children, November 2, 2006). However, the main concern in the first consultation was with “young women” understood to be over the age of 18. This shifted in the second consultation to fears over the trafficking of “young girls.”

In addition to concerns about children, several witnesses in 2018 reported that girls were being recruited into trafficking at schools and malls and other locations coded as spaces of sexual innocence and safety, and the sexual activities described as part of trafficking become increasingly violent and depraved. In this particular discursive shift more than the others discussed previously, the tracings of a sex panic begin to take form. Freedman (1987) identified several elements of “sex panics” in the mid-twentieth century including a fear of “roving, predatory, and violent male sexuality” and the concretization of normative gender relations (as cited in Lancaster, 2011, p. 37). Fears over sexual victimization of children generally function on a deep cultural and psychological level and gesture to a range of societal anxieties and preoccupations (Lancaster, 2011; see also O’Connell Davidson, 2005). The figure of the victimized prostitute, and particularly the victimized young prostitute, can both be seen as metaphors for collective injuries and anxieties experienced by the body politic.

According to some witnesses in the 2018 consultation, trafficking could begin in infancy and very early childhood. Linda MacDonald of Persons Against Non-State Torture explains: “the age of human trafficking can begin with new born infants, recognizing the pleasures of some perpetrators or buyers who harm them” (May 22, 2018, p. 5). In their submission to the committee, the YWCA of Montreal recounted the following,

Another trend reported by organizations working to prevent the sexual exploitation of minors is the growing demand for younger and younger girls for increasingly violent and dehumanizing practices ... It is not surprising that [underaged girls] make up almost of quarter of the victims of trafficking and that recruiters prowl around youth centres and school yards. The most vulnerable girls are scouted and identified as early as primary school. (2018, p. 3)

Yet, trafficking was also said to be happening in middle school and high school,

The [Joy Smith] Foundation has put together an education program for grades 8 to 12, and I’m surprised at home many young girls – I’ve only had two boys, the rest of them have all been girls – have come up and said, ‘I think my boyfriend in grooming me.’ (Joy Smith, 2018, March 1, p. 2)

Thus, it appears that trafficking is common in childhood and early adolescence. These witness quotes highlight several of trends we uncovered, including the young age of victims, the demand for dehumanizing sexual activities, and the presence of “recruiters” in places where children and youth are present.

A variety of figures have represented threats to children’s sexual innocence at various historical moments. It is acknowledged by historians that modern notions of childhood and the family are social constructs reflecting class norms rather than natural categories (Ariès, 1962). While one of the key markers of boundary between childhood and adulthood in contemporary times is children’s sexual purity, some contend that the societal interest in guarding this particular boundary has much to do with adult fantasies about childhood as a time of sexual innocence (see Angelides, 2019; Lancaster, 2011). Intrusion of sexuality into spaces conceptualized as “innocent” speaks, in part, to these dominant understandings of youth.

Not surprisingly given the general concern with youth sexual exploitation, sex traffickers were said to be targeting women and girls in almost every location. BridgeNorth’s written submission to the committee, citing a 2016 article by Blake Schroeder, (2016) of Canada Family Action, explained the “supply” of women and girls in this way: “Local girls and women are now being targeted here in Canada to satisfy the rapidly growing demand for paid sex. Sex recruiters even stand outside high schools and in malls!” (2018, n.p.). London Abused Women’s Center similarly explained: “Girls and women are being lured into trafficking from Western University, Fanshawe College, local bars and even places of employment” (2018, p. 1). As can be seen, girls and women are becoming collapsed

into a singular category based on their shared vulnerability. This has the effect of negating adult women's agency; indeed, the constrained notion of agency that existed in 2006 was nullified in 2018.

One of the unique elements of the sex trafficking discourses in 2018 was the concern with pimps and traffickers targeting girls at school. Interestingly, one committee witness who identified as a former sex trafficker himself recounted a story of a girl he knew,

She was telling me that when she was out there [i.e. being sex trafficked], one of the guys she was with, the gang leader, was looking outside his window by a schoolyard. He asked if she saw those girls. He said they were walking ATMs. They want to lure girls from 9 to 14 because that's the demand nowadays. (Donald Bouchard, March 1, 2018, p. 5)

A very similar example was included in the YWCA of Montreal's written brief, where a trafficking survivor was quoted as saying, "my pimp was looking at the schoolyard across from the building we were in and said, "Those girls are all cash machines, real ATMs"" (2018, p. 3).

Other witnesses presented narratives that arguably capture a parent's greatest fears. Sandra Rupnarain of Peel Region Family Services, for example, recounted,

One of the cases we work with is where kids go to high school, but they never go into the school because they're picked-up by their pimps, and then they're dropped off or taken home after school. The parents never know after years of actually being in it. (May 29, 2018, p. 15)

While significant amounts of violence, both physical and sexual, occur in the family (Statistics Canada, 2015), within the context of the 2018 consultation the family is almost always presented as a site of safety and sexual security. The one outlier in this regard is Linda MacDonald from Persons Against Non-State Torture, who testified that there are families that "have children to torture and to groom to endure torture deliberately traffic them for profit" (May 22, 2018, p. 13). MacDonald's reference to trafficking that occurs in the nuclear family unit is the only time in which this is mentioned in either consultation. Curiously, she defines this as "trafficking" rather than child abuse or a possible outcome of domestic/familial violence, providing another example of the widening reach of the term.

A final element we noted in this discursive shift toward an emphasis on youth sexual exploitation was in the increasing level of violence and dehumanizing practices that were associated with sex trafficking. The written submission of the YWCA of Montreal (2018) included graphic and troubling descriptions of violence perpetrated against women and girls in the context of sex work and sex trafficking, including references to baseball bats, hot curling irons, and electric shocks. Melendy Muise from Thrive noted that "survivors of trafficking have proven to have much higher rates of PTSD than military vets" (May 31, 2018, p. 7). Anti-prostitution advocates have often made claims about post-traumatic stress disorder, and from the perspective of anti-prostitution advocacy this is not highly unusual. However, in the context of the violent and troubling practices described during the 2018 consultation, it appears as though the problem is extreme and out of control. The impression given within the witness testimonies and briefs was that, in present day Canada, the demand for violent sexual practices was spreading rapidly in the context of youth sex trafficking. As Donald Bouchard, the self-identified trafficker quoted above, explained: "a lot of these people who buy sex have extreme fantasies about beating up the girls and abusing them sexually" (March 2, 2018, p. 5).

The discursive shift toward youth sexual exploitation further polarizes discussions on sex work and human trafficking. There is no ambiguity surrounding agency in discussions relating to persons under 18 years of age, and representing youth as a key group targeted by traffickers directs attention away from more complicated discussions about structure, informed decision-making, consent, and sex work. In particular, it has the effect of challenging rights-based and labor-oriented understandings offered by sex workers that have increasingly gained credibility and public support since the consultation on sex trafficking in 2006. In the intervening years, the sex worker rights movement in Canada has grown significantly, and has mobilized effectively around prostitution law reform and decriminalization. However, as the harmful effects of

prostitution laws on sex workers are becoming widely acknowledged, the emphasis on youth sexual exploitation may serve to delegitimize support for the decriminalization of sex work over fears that it will lead to children being trafficked (Bittle, 2013, 2018). The figure of the child victim of trafficking is located within a larger narrative of victimization and rescue that forms a basis of Western national mythologies (see O'Connell Davidson, 2005). As Lancaster (2011) writes, "the drama of protection, a key text on the wresting of the white civilization from sexual savagery, serves as a foundational national myth" (p. 10). The ability of the Canadian state to protect the sex trafficked child appears both as an expression of national values and a measure of its ability to protect the rights of the vulnerable, and is thus a vision of sexualized nationalism.

Conclusion

Critical discourse analysis of witness testimonies and briefs submitted to the two House of Commons standing committee consultations reveals, in part, that Canada has witnessed significant shifts in the ways in which sex trafficking, and by extension prostitution, have been framed and conceptualized over the past decade and a half. While earlier discourses on international trafficking in 2006 spoke to fears over the securing of physical borders, with the international threat coming in the form of foreign and ethnicized masculine subjects who bring both criminality and "unreformed" ideas about women into Canada. The shift in emphasis to domestic trafficking in the 2018 consultation located the danger as racialized and Indigenous masculine subjects alongside the pathologization of nonwhite spaces and fears over the securing of moral borders. As our analysis demonstrates, discourses on sex trafficking in Canada thus draw on a racial repertoire of representations and conceptualizations, including that of the pimp, Black criminality, and fear of Black masculine sexuality more generally (Currie & Gillies, 2006; Maynard, 2017, 2018; van der Meulen, 2010). Scholars explain this intensifying and persistent fear of racialized and/or immigrant men as an outcome of post-9/11 and war on terror logics, that feed and enhance racist ideologies and institutions (Farris, 2017).

Further, ideas about what constitutes trafficking, vulnerability to trafficking, and victimization shifted significantly between 2006 and 2018. The more recent consultation, we discovered, saw a move to the emotional and psychological dimensions of trafficking away from material conditions such as poverty. It was the gendered need to love and be loved that left women and girls susceptible to "pimps" and "traffickers," producing new kinds of vulnerabilities and victimhoods. These understandings of trafficking in 2018 adhere strongly to normative heterosexual and patriarchal familial notions of the role of men and women despite the language of women's equality. This has the effect of fixing women in a particular place in the national imagination, specifically within emotionally-bonded marriage-like relationships and the family.

The final shift we identified was an emphasis on youth sexual exploitation that was not present in the 2006 consultation. Many witnesses expressed concerns that young girls were being targeted by traffickers at school, at the mall, and at places of employment. Infants, children, and teenagers were seen as particularly susceptible. Aside from the family home, there appeared to be few places where sex trafficking could not occur. This trend fits within the polarization of discourses occurring transnationally at the present moment. Indeed, research shows that the emphasis on youth victimization has resulted in the expansion of surveillance, arrest, and funneling to rehabilitative interventions (Musto, 2013). In the US, the concern with young girls being sex trafficked has led to crackdowns on racialized persons involved in street economies (Bernstein, 2007). In the Canadian context, this move works to discredit calls for sex worker rights by linking youth trafficking with the (unfounded) assumption that loosening criminal laws on sex work will result in additional harms to children. In relation to debates over what is right and just in society, and where prostitution fits within discussions of women's and girls' empowerment, we suggest that the shift to youth sexual exploitation suppresses more nuanced discussions about agency and consent in sex work by directing the discussion to those for whom consent is not tolerated/permitted.

These findings are significant insofar as they help to uncover the ways in which discussions related to trafficking appear to have become battlegrounds for cultural and sexual politics surrounding ideas about women's equality and rights as citizens. As we can see, concerns over the protection of women

come to be embodied in the figure of the sex trafficked victim. What is being expressed, we argue, is a version of national sexuality that involves a progressive masculinity that defends women's rights, but one that also reinforces normative gender norms, middle class sexual forms, and racialized social hierarchies. We thus propose that sexualized nationalism is a conceptual tool that permits us to see how ideas of nation and nationality shape political and cultural debates on sexuality, including sex work and trafficking. Our interest in advancing an analysis building on the work on Mattson (2016) and Kulick (2005), both of whom illustrate how the politics of sex work and trafficking can become proxies for contentious issues related to national identity and cultural belonging, lay in the potential for public policies emerging from dominant discourses on trafficking to intensify the penalization of sex work and migration, as well as to produce new forms of exclusion.

Contemporary international responses to human trafficking occur in an environment where global inequalities and shifting migration patterns stoke fear and foment nationalist sentiments. Efforts to prevent trafficking, many of which are targeted exclusively toward "sex trafficking," have resulted in the surveillance, criminalization, and detention of sex workers and migrants (ICRSE, 2016; NSWP, 2019). Responding to legitimate concerns over social, gendered, and economic injustices in a global environment that appears deeply hostile to human rights demands careful consideration of the way in which anti-trafficking efforts can be enlivened through discourses that reinforce existing race, class, and social hierarchies.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

This work is supported by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (grant number 435-2019-0572).

References

- Angelides, S. (2019). *The fear of child sexuality: Young people, sex, and agency*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ariès, P. (1962). *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life*. Vintage.
- Bacchi, C. L. (2006). *Women, policy and politics: The construction of policy problems*. Sage.
- Baker, C. N. (2018). *Fighting the US youth sex trade: Gender, race and politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bernstein, E. (2007). The sexual politics of new abolitionism. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 18(3), 128–151. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10407391-2007-013>
- Bittle, S. (2013). Still punishing to "protect": Youth prostitution law and policy reform. In E. van der Meulen, E. M. Durisin, & V. Love (Eds.), *Selling sex: Experience, advocacy, and research on sex work in Canada* (pp. 279–298). University of British Columbia Press.
- Bittle, S. (2018). Protecting victims sexually exploited through prostitution? Critically examining youth legal and policy regimes. In E. M. Durisin, E. van der Meulen, & C. Bruckert (Eds.), *Red light labour: Sex work regulation, agency, and resistance* (pp. 134–156). University of British Columbia Press.
- Bruck, D. (1998). *Making work, making trouble: Prostitution as a social problem*. University of Toronto Press.
- Bruckert, C., & Hannem, S. (2013). Rethinking the prostitution debates: Transcending structural stigma in systemic responses to sex work. *Canadian Journal Of Law And Society / Revue Canadienne Droit et Société*, 28(1), 43–63. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cls.2012.2>
- Currie, N., & Gillies, K. (2006). *Bound by law: How Canada's protectionist public policies in the areas of both rape and prostitution limit women's choices, agency and activities*. Status of Women Canada.
- Davies, J. (2009). *My name is not Natasha: How Albanian women in France use trafficking to overcome social exclusion (1998–2001)*. Amsterdam University Press.
- De Shalit, A., Heynen, R., & van der Meulen, E. (2014). Human trafficking and media myths: Federal funding, communication strategies, and Canadian anti-trafficking programs. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 39(3): 385–412. <https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2014v39n3a2784>
- De Shalit, A., & van der Meulen, E. (2019). Thinking critically about human trafficking claims: Definitional and conceptual challenges. *Justice Report*, 34(3): 37–40. <https://www.ccja-acjp.ca/pub/en/justice-report/issue-34-3/#a7>

- Diaz, G. P. B. (2007). Dancing here, 'living' there: Transnational lives and working conditions of Latina migrant exotic dancers. In S. Krishnamurti & L. Goldring (Eds.), *Organizing the transnational: Labour, politics, and social change* (pp. 145–156). University of British Columbia Press.
- Doezema, J. (2000). Loose women or lost women? The re-emergence of the myth of white slavery in contemporary discourses of trafficking in women. *Gender Issues*, 18(1), 23–50. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-999-0021-9>
- Durisin, E. M., & Heynen, R. (2015). Producing the “trafficked woman”: Canadian newspaper reporting on Eastern European exotic dancers during the 1990s. *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice*, 37(2), 8–24. Retrieved from <https://journals.msvu.ca/index.php/atlantiss/issue/view/Vol>
- Durisin, E. M. (2017). *White slavery reconfigured: The 'Natasha Trade' and sexualized nationalism in Canada*. [Doctoral dissertation]. Retrieved from https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10315/34522/Durisin_Elya_M_2017_PhD.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y
- Farris, S. R. (2017). *In the name of women's rights: The rise of femonationalism*. Duke University Press.
- Freedman, E. (1987). “Uncontrolled desires”: The response to the sexual psychopath, 1920–1960. *The Journal of American History*, 74(1), 83–106. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1908506>
- Goodey, J. (2004). Sex trafficking in women from Central and Eastern European countries: Promoting a ‘victim-centred’ and ‘woman-centred’ approach to criminal justice intervention. *Feminist Review*, 76, 25–45. 1 <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400141>
- Gülçür, L., & İlkaracan, P. (2002). The ‘Natasha’ experience: Migrant sex workers from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25(4), 411–421. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395\(02\)00278-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(02)00278-9)
- Hunt, S. (2015). Representing colonial violence: Trafficking, sex work, and the violence of law. *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice*, 37(2), 25–39. https://journals.msvu.ca/index.php/atlantiss/article/view/3042/pdf_37
- Ibrahim, D. (2018). *Trafficking in persons in Canada, 2016*. (Catalogue no. 85-005-X). Retrieved from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-005-x/2018001/article/54979-eng.htm>
- ICRSE (International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe). (2016). *Surveilled. exploited. deported. Rights violations against migrant sex workers in Europe and Central Asia*. Report. ICRSE. Retrieved from <https://www.sexworkeurope.org/icrse-intersection-briefing-papers/resource-surveilled-exploited-deported-rights-violations-against>.
- Kaye, J. (2017). *Responding to human trafficking: Dispossession, colonial violence, and resistance among Indigenous and racialized women*. University of Toronto Press.
- Kligman, G., & Limoncelli, S. (2005). Trafficking in women after socialism: To, through, and from Eastern Europe. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 12(1), 118–141. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxi006>
- Kulick, D. (2005). Four hundred thousand Swedish perverts. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies*, 11(2), 205–235. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-11-2-205>
- Lancaster, R. N. (2011). *Sex panic and the punitive state*. University of California Press.
- Lorigio, P. (2016). Ontario government set to spend \$72m to fight human trafficking. Retrieved from: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/province-human-traffic-awareness-1.3660036>
- Lowman, J. (2000). Violence and the outlaw status of (street) prostitution in Canada. *Violence against Women*, 6(9), 987–1011. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778010022182245>
- Lowman, J., & Fraser, L. (1996). *Violence against persons who prostitute: The experience in British Columbia* (Technical Report No. TR1996–14e). Department of Justice Canada.
- Mai, N. (2013). Embodied cosmopolitanisms: The subjective mobility of migrants working in the global sex industry. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 20(1), 107–124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2011.649350>
- Mattson, G. (2016). *The cultural politics of European prostitution reform: Governing loose women* Fernwood Publishing.
- Maynard, R. (2017). *Policing Black lives: State violence in Canada from slavery to the present*. Black Point, NS:.
- Maynard, R. (2018). Do Black sex workers’ lives matter? Whitewashed anti-slavery, racial justice, and abolition. In E. M. Durisin, E. van der Meulen, & C. Bruckert (Eds.), *Red light labour: Sex work regulation, agency, and resistance* (pp. 281–292). University of British Columbia Press.
- McDonald, L., & Timoshkina, N. (2007). The life of trafficked sex workers from the former Eastern Bloc: The Canadian dimension. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 31(2), 211–243. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2007.9678769>
- Millar, H., & O’Doherty, T. (2015). *The Palermo protocol and Canada: The evolution and human rights impacts of anti-trafficking laws in Canada (2002–2015)*. Retrieved from <https://icclr.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Palermo-Project-Key-Findings-Report-15-October-2015-with-copyright-2.pdf?x30145>
- Millar, H., & O’Doherty, T. (forthcoming, 2020). Racialized, gendered, and sensationalized: An examination of Canadian anti-trafficking laws, their enforcement, and their (re)presentation. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*.
- Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services (MCCSS) (2017). *Governments of Canada and Ontario providing housing support for human trafficking survivors*. Retrieved from <http://news.ontario.ca/mcys/en/2017/12/governments-of-canada-and-ontario-providing-housing-support-for-human-trafficking-survivors.html>
- Mosse, G. (1985). *Nationalism and sexuality: Respectability and abnormal sexuality in modern Europe*. H. Fertig.

- Musto, J. (2013). Domestic minor sex trafficking and the detention-to-protection pipeline. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 37(2), 257–276. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-013-9295-0>
- Nagel, J. (1998). Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 21(2), 242–269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198798330007>
- NSWP (Global Network of Sex Work Projects). (2019). *The impact of anti-trafficking legislation and initiatives on sex workers*. NSWP. Retrieved from <https://www.nswp.org/resource/policy-brief-the-impact-anti-trafficking-legislation-and-initiatives-sex-workers>.
- O’Connell Davidson, J. (2005). *Children in the global sex trade*. Polity Press.
- Page, M. M. (2018). Fighting for Homewood: Gentrification and the history of violent struggle over, trans sex workers’ strolls in Canada. In E. M. Durisin, E. van der Meulen, & C. Bruckert (Eds.), *Red light labour: Sex work regulation, agency, and resistance* (pp. 272–280). University of British Columbia Press.
- Parent, C., Bruckert, C., Corriveau, P., Mensah, N., & Toupin, L. (Eds.). (2013). *Sex work: Rethinking the job, respecting the workers*. University of British Columbia Press.
- Perrin, B. (2010). *Invisible chains: Canada’s underground world of human trafficking*. Viking Canada, Penguin Group.
- Pivot Legal Society. (2004). *Voices for dignity: A call to end the harms caused by Canada’s sex trade laws*. Pivot Legal Society. Retrieved from <https://www.pivotlegal.org/pivot-points/publications/voices-for-dignity>
- Public Safety Canada. (2018). *Government of Canada engages stakeholders to counter human trafficking*. Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-safety-canada/news/2018/09/government-of-canada-engages-stakeholders-toward-new-national-strategy-to-counter-human-trafficking.html>
- Roots, K. (2013). Trafficking or pimping? An analysis of Canada’s human trafficking legislation and its implications. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society / Revue Canadienne Droit et Société*, 28(1), 21–41. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cls.2012.4>
- Roots, K. (2018). *The human trafficking matrix: Law, policy and anti-trafficking practices in the Canadian criminal justice system*. [Doctoral dissertation]. Retrieved from https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10315/35510/Roots_Katrin_2018_PhD.pdf?sequence=2
- Ross, B. L. (2018). Whorganizers and gay activists: Histories of convergence, contemporary currents of divergence, and the promise of non-normative futures. In E. M. Durisin, E. van der Meulen, & C. Bruckert (Eds.), *Red light labour: Sex work regulation, agency, and resistance* (pp. 256–271). University of British Columbia Press.
- Schroeder, B. (2016, June 14). *Human trafficking and sexual exploitation (in Canada and locally [article online]*. Retrieved from <https://familyaction.ca/human-trafficking-and-sexual-exploitation-in-canada-and-locally/>
- Shaver, F. M. (1996). The regulation of prostitution: Setting the morality trap. In B. Schissel & L. Mahood (Eds.), *Social control in Canada* (pp. 204–226). Oxford University Press.
- Showden, C. R., & Majic, S. (2018). *Youth who trade sex in the U.S: Intersectionality, agency, and vulnerability*. Temple University Press.
- Smith, J. (2014). *The tipping point: Tackling the demand for prostituted/trafficked women and youth*. Retrieved from www.wunrn.com/wp-content/uploads/tipping.pdf
- Statistics Canada. (2015). *Family violence in Canada; A statistical profile*. Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/85-002-x/2017001/article/14698-eng.pdf?st=HA8N8P4q>
- Suchland, J. (2015). *Economies of violence: Transnational feminism, postsocialism, and the politics of sex trafficking*. Duke University Press.
- van der Meulen, E. (2010). Illegal lives, loves, and work: How the criminalization of procuring affects sex workers in Canada. *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women’s and Gender Studies*, 8: 217–240.
- van der Meulen, E., Durisin, E. M., & Love, V. (Eds.). (2013). *Selling sex: Experience, advocacy, and research on sex work in Canada*. UBC Press.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2001) Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352–371). Blackwell.
- van Hulst, M., & Yanow, D. (2016). From policy ‘frames’ to ‘framing’: Theorizing a more dynamic, political approach. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 46(1): 92–112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074014533142>
- Ware, V. (1992). *Beyond the pale: White women, racism and history*. Verso.
- Wright, J., Heynen, R., & van der Meulen, E. (2015). “It depends on who you are, what you are”: “Community safety” and sex workers’ experience with surveillance. *Surveillance & Society*, 13(2): 265–282. <https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v13i2.5230>
- Yuval-Davis, N., & Anthias, F. (1989). *Woman-nation-state*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Consultation Briefs

- BridgeNorth. (2018). *Human trafficking in Canada: A Brief prepared for the standing committee on justice and human rights*. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10002965/br-external/BridgeNorth-e.pdf>
- Canadian Federation of University Women. (2018). *Submission to the standing committee on justice and human rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10005483/br-external/CanadianFederationOfUniversityWomen-e.pdf>
- Centre to End All Sexual Exploitation (CEASE). (2018). *Submission to the standing committee on justice and human rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10003065/br-external/CentreToEndAllSexualExploitation-e.pdf>
- Diamond, C. (2018). *Submission to the standing committee on justice and human rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10002967/br-external/DiamondCasandra-e.pdf>
- London Abused Women's Centre. (2018). *London abused women's centre brief on trafficking in Canada*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10004142/br-external/LondonAbusedWomensCentre-e.pdf>
- Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). (2018). *Trafficking of indigenous women and girls in Canada: Submission to the standing committee on justice and human rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10002955/br-external/NativeWomensAssociationOfCanada-e.pdf>
- Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA). (2018). *Submission to the standing committee on justice and human rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10003066/br-external/OntarioNativeWomensAssociation-e.pdf>
- YWCA Montreal. (2018) *For a safe and secure Canada free of human trafficking, exploitation, and violence that victimizes women and girls: Submission to the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/JUST/Brief/BR10002172/br-external/YDesFemmesDeMontreal-9857863-e.pdf>

Committee Proceedings

- Bellefeuille, J. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. October 26. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 19.
- Bouchard, D. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. March 1. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 89.
- Carpentier, M. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 10. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 97.
- Crawford, L. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. November 2. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 21.
- Ekberg, G. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. December 5. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 27.
- Falle, N. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 22. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 98.
- Gray, M. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. March 1. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 89.
- Hamel, M. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. October 31. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 20.
- Jean, R. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. November 2. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 21.
- Lowe, L. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. October 3. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 14.
- MacDonald, L. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 22. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 98.
- Malarek, V. (2005). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. November 23. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 25.
- Melendy, M. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 31. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 100.
- Minna, M. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. October 19. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 17.
- Monchamp, D. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. (2006d). Evidence. November 9. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 23.
- Redsky, D. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. March 1. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 89.

- Rupnarain, S. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 29. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 99.
- Smith, J. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. March 1. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 89.
- Soltys, I. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. November 2. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 21.
- Thomas, L. A. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 22. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 98.
- Warrack, P. (2018). Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights. Evidence. May 29. 42th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 99.
- Wilson, S. (2006). Standing Committee on the Status of Women. Evidence. December 5. 39th Parliament, 1st session, meeting no. 27.