

TITLE: Human Trafficking 2.0  
The Intersection between Human Trafficking and New Media in Canada

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## Abstract

*Human Trafficking 2.0* is an interdisciplinary, major research project born at the crossroads of Web 2.0 technological advances and domestic human trafficking in Canada, two seemingly disconnected issues. This project will first define human trafficking by situating the issue in a uniquely Canadian framework, specifically through critical discourse analysis of the RCMP's 2010 national report on human trafficking in Canada. The second section of the project will employ the method of content analysis, investigating 20 Canadian newspapers' reporting on the issue of *Craigslist* and human trafficking, proposing how Canadian news reporters might more effectively address future issues of domestic human trafficking, and rally consensus among Canadian public, government, and law enforcement officials. Ultimately, this project will raise questions, make propositions, and interrogate possible communications solutions pertaining to domestic human trafficking in an attempt to create change by envisioning, and mobilizing, the ideal, anti-human trafficking climate in Canada.

*Keywords:* Canada, modern-day slavery, human trafficking, digital freedom

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... Here’s to you.

P.s. And, of course, I must thank my home away from home, second office, and constant source of overpriced, grande non-fat lattes – Starbucks.

### Introduction to the Project

This project is a different kind of project. *Human Trafficking 2.0* is an investigation of darkness, a story of Canada's most vulnerable, and an interrogation of our shortcomings as a nation. This project is born at the intersection of modern-day slavery and new media in Canada – an intersection that is troubling. A space in which communications media and human trafficking are evolving simultaneously in ways we could not have imagined. A space where tensions are fraught between the bright future and hopes of new media, and the criminal potentialities of digital media. A space in which communications are uniquely positioned between regulation and policing, freedom and privacy.

To meaningfully explore this intersection, *Human Trafficking 2.0* is divided into two separate sections. The first section of this project, “*O Canada – Glorious and Free?*” – *Human Trafficking in Canada in the Age of Agnotology*, I will define human trafficking by situating the issue in a uniquely Canadian framework. Section one will also examine the lack of publicity surrounding the RCMP's 2010 national report on human trafficking, proposing that the Canadian public's lack of knowledge about this report is a distinct example of agnotology; that is, “culturally induced ignorance” (Schiebinger, 2004, p. 237). In section two, *Shame on Who? – A Critical Content and Framing Analysis of Canadian Newspaper Reporting on Craigslist's Alleged Facilitation of Human Trafficking Online*, I will explore 20 Canadian newspapers' reporting on the issue of *Craigslist* and human trafficking. Through content analysis, I propose how Canadian news reporters might more effectively address future issues of domestic human trafficking, and mobilize consensus among Canadian public, government, and law enforcement officials. Finally, I will conclude by raising deeper questions about the ideal climate for anti-human trafficking in Canada.

But, this paper does not end in the darkness. The goal of this paper is ambitious. My aim is that, through understanding, negotiating, and navigating, the delicate, complex, and challenging evolution of human trafficking in our Web 2.0 world, in all its ugly manifestations, we might actually transform our grasp of domestic human trafficking, and the way we communicate about human trafficking in Canada. Ultimately, changing the landscape of human trafficking so that one day, we will be a nation without human trafficking, truly a nation that is “glorious and free.”

### *Section One*

#### *“O Canada – Glorious and Free?” – Human Trafficking in Canada in the Age of Agnotology*

In 2010, the Royal Canada Mounted Police (hereafter referred to as the RCMP) released an alarming report on human trafficking in Canada that *should* have created a wave of media response, launching news reporters, government officials, policy makers, and everyday Canadians into a whirlwind of stimulating anti-trafficking awareness and action. Yet, when “Project SECLUSION” was released in 2010, only a few western Canadian news reporters took notice, leaving the project seemingly untouched in the majority of Canada. The first section of this paper will purport that the limited media exposure of Project SECLUSION was no accident. Rather, given the scope of domestic human trafficking expressed in Project SECLUSION, the lack of media coverage of the report is a definitive illustration of Canadians’ ignorance of domestic human trafficking.

#### *Literature Review*

In order to best understand the reality of human trafficking in Canada, and the potentialities of human trafficking online, it is imperative that human trafficking is, first, contextualized on a global scale. Moreover, it is critical that the term human trafficking is explained in all its subtleties and nuances. Human trafficking is a slippery term, often used as a buzzword without proper explanation. For the purposes of this project, my desire is that human trafficking will be stripped down, to the base of its actions, in order that through understanding, at the individual level, we might incite change in our nation.

#### *Defining human trafficking*

In the “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children,” more commonly referred to as “The Palermo Protocol,” the United Nations (2004) defines human trafficking or trafficking in persons as “the recruitment,

transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of person, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation” (Article 3). The United Nations (2004) further defines human trafficking by defining a specific type of human trafficking, sex trafficking, as “the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation by the use of force, fraud, and/or coercion” (Article 3). This project will use the UN’s operational definition of human trafficking.

Groody (2011) expands upon the UN’s definition of human trafficking, noting that sexual exploitation can also entail the altering or removal of organs (p. 17). Nair provides a useful explanation of exploitation, which is helpful in establishing a more holistic understanding of the UN’s definition of both human trafficking and sex trafficking. Nair (2010) elucidates exploitation as a process that may be physical, sexual, and/or psychological (p. 13). Furthermore, Nair (2010) clarifies that exploitation does not necessitate an act of commission, as exploitation can also be defined by acts of omission (p. 13). Nair (2010) illustrates exploitation as an act of omission by providing the example of a child labourer who is not given enough food, time, or sleep to accomplish a given task (p. 13).

Further to the definition of human trafficking, there are several elements of trafficking that are consistently recognized in the majority of trafficking situations. Cameron and Newman (2008) define the common elements of trafficking as: “deception, recruitment, transportation, coercion, exploitation, forced labour, and slavery-like practices” (p. 5). In addition to Cameron and Newman’s elements, Nair (2010) identifies “commercialization of the exploitation” (p.13), “the commoditization of the victim” (p. 13), and “demand” (p. 18) as “essential” elements of

human trafficking. Nair (2010) also distinguishes between “essential” and “non-essential components” of human trafficking, delineating “displacement,” “exploitation,” and “commercialization” as essential components of human trafficking, and outlining “transportation,” “buying/selling/harboring,” and “physical/sexual torture” as non-essential elements of human trafficking (p. 14). While all of these indicators may not be present in each situation of human trafficking, at least one or more of the indicators is consistently identified in human trafficking cases.

*Human smuggling vs. human trafficking*

In order to better understand what human trafficking *is*, we must also understand what human trafficking *is not*. Assumptions are often made about human trafficking, and the individuals that are trafficked. Human trafficking is often conflated with a similar, but separate, issue – human smuggling or human migration. Barnett (2006) defines migrant smuggling or “facilitated migration” as a related issue to human trafficking (p. 2). Barnett (2006) explains that migrant smuggling involves transporting an individual across a border, illegally, for a fee (p. 2). While individuals often conceive of trafficking as necessitating movement, Groody (2011) clarifies that an individual does not need to be transported across international borders in order to be classified as a victim of human trafficking (p. 17). Furthermore, Nair (2010) prefers the term “displacement,” to the concept of “movement,” defining that an individual could be displaced “from one house to another; one village to another; one state to another or from one country to another” (p. 13). Nair (2010) also proposes that displacement, or trafficking of a person, is possible “within the same building” (p. 13). Thus, it is critical to conceive of displacement as a key element of the manipulative, coercive, and deceptive nature of the exploitative process of

human trafficking, rather than defining human trafficking solely in terms of movement and borders.

Human trafficking also differs from migrant smuggling on the issue of consent. As Groody (2011) and Raaflaub (2006) describe, migrant smuggling involves migrants who willingly agree to the process, whereas the very essence of human trafficking, as defined in The Palermo Protocol, necessitates a lack of consent (p. 17) (p. 1). Nair (2010) illustrates that migrant smuggling is consensual through his explanation that a trafficked person is always a victim of crime, while, through their consent, a smuggled person is party to the crime (p. 22). Furthermore, Nair (2010) elaborates that migration is, many times, an entirely legal, natural, and voluntary act for a genuine purpose, contrary to trafficking, which can never be consensual by the very nature of elements such as deceit and coercion (p. 23). Another necessary distinction between human trafficking and human smuggling is that “migrant smuggling does not include exploitation” (Groody, 2011, p. 18). Human trafficking and migrant smuggling can also be differentiated on the issue of transnationality; a border need not be crossed for human trafficking to occur, while smuggling almost always means crossing international borders (Groody, 2011, p. 18). However, as Groody (2011), and Nair (2010) later clarify, it is possible for an individual, who initially consents to human smuggling, to later become a victim of human trafficking (p. 17-18) (p. 22). Barnett (2006) explains that smuggling and trafficking often become intertwined because consensual smuggling places the migrant in a position of vulnerability, in which they may be [financially] indebted to, or at the disposal of, their smuggler, which can lead to exploitative conditions, and transform into human trafficking (p. 2).

*The categorization of human trafficking*

Further to articulating the operational definition of human trafficking employed throughout this project, it is imperative that I communicate, and explore, the various categories, or sub-sections, of human trafficking. Much of the debate about human trafficking arises from misunderstandings about the use of “synonyms,” or the seemingly arbitrary categorization of human trafficking. Human trafficking is often categorized into various branches – forced labour, bonded labour, child labour, child sex trafficking, and sex trafficking. I contend that these categories are developed to call attention to different issues inherent to human trafficking. Human trafficking, in all its forms, is troubling. However, dividing the issue of human trafficking into categories may aid in one’s understanding of the overarching issue, and, for the purposes of this project, will clearly delineate the subsection of focus – sex trafficking.

#### *Forced labour*

The first, and most common, form of human trafficking is forced labour. Forced labour involves victims who are forced to work, commoditized, and who are “owned or controlled by an ‘employer’, usually through mental, physical, or threatened abuse” (Herzfeld, 2002, p.50). As Groody (2011) reports, the majority of human trafficking victims are exploited through forced labour (p. 18). The International Labor Organization (hereafter referred to as the ILO) estimates that there are 14.2 million victims of forced labour worldwide (Blenford, 19 June 2012). In their exploration of forced labour in the United States, Beeks and Amir (2006) illustrate the widespread nature of forced labour, recording that, each year, thousands of people are trafficked into the United States from over 35 different countries, resulting in forced labour cases in at least 90 cities across the United States (p. 120). While Groody (2011), Beeks, and Amir (2006) estimate that there are “thousands” of forced labour victims in the United States alone, King (2004) suggests that the number of victims of forced labour in the United States is even higher as

indicated by his statement that, “every ten minutes, [someone] is trafficked into the United States for forced labour” (p. 19). According to the ILO, forced labour indicates a serious violation of human rights, and correlates directly to a lack of human freedom (Wahl, 2011, p. 86).

#### *Bonded labour*

The second category of human trafficking is bonded labour, which is commonly known as “debt bondage” (Groody, 2011, p. 19). In situations of bonded labour, victims incur a debt, usually in the form of a loan that is later owed to their traffickers who demand labour as repayment for the debt. However, bonded labour is almost always deceitful and exploitative as the labour rendered is not applied to the settling of the debt, which sometimes results in entire families being born into their ancestors’ debts, and enslaved in bonded labour for generations (Groody, 2011, p. 19).

#### *Child labour*

Child labour, the third branch of human trafficking, entails the unique exploitation of children or minors – that is individuals who have not yet reached the working age of majority in their specific country – in labour situations. Recent estimates from the ILO indicate that there are approximately “246 million children” exploited globally in situations of child labour, many of which are also victims of human trafficking (Groody, 2011, p. 19). Child labour often involves situations of forced labour, bonded labour, or sex trafficking, in which minors are implicated. Other forms of child labour include exploitation in sweatshops, “as child soldiers, in illegal arms trade, in prostitution and pornography, and in other illicit activities” (Groody, 2011, p. 19). Thus, at times, situations of child labour can evolve into another form of human trafficking – child sex trafficking.

#### *Sex trafficking*

Sex trafficking, which is defined in the preceding section, *Defining human trafficking*, entails situations in which victims are forced, coerced, or deceived into selling their bodies (Groody, 2011, p. 20). Sex trafficking is often conflated with prostitution or sex work. While prostitution and sex trafficking differ on the issue of consent, and the voluntary, or involuntary, nature of the act, it is important to understand that, although not all prostitutes are considered victims of sex trafficking, some prostitutes are coerced, forced, or deceived into selling their bodies, and are, therefore, victims of sex trafficking. The ILO estimates that at least 4.5 million people, of the, approximately, 27 million people enslaved in modern-day slavery, are victims of sex trafficking. For the purposes of this project, I will predominately focus on cases involving sex trafficking. In the sections that follow, I will situate sex trafficking in Canada uniquely within the global framework of human trafficking, and discuss the use of digital technologies in facilitating sex trafficking online.

#### *Child sex trafficking*

The definition of child sex trafficking is manifest in the term, denoting situations of sex trafficking involving minors. Children may be exploited through child sex trafficking as victims of pornography, forced prostitution, or child sex tourism (King, 2004, p. 15). Child sex tourism refers to individuals who travel to specific destinations or countries with the intention of gaining access to, and exploiting, minors through sex trafficking. Groody (2011) reports that, each year, at least one million children are exploited in the global child sex trafficking industry (p. 16).

#### *Human trafficking - global facts and figures*

Worldwide, conservative estimates predict that, today, there are 27 to 30 million people enslaved in modern-day slavery (King, 2004, p. 19) (Bales, 2011, para. 8), at least 12 million of whom are entrapped in human trafficking (Haker, Cahill, & Wainwright, 2011, p. 7). Still, other

trafficking experts, including U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, propose that all modern-day slavery is human trafficking, calling for a redefinition of “trade in persons” or “human trafficking” as “what it is – slavery” (Blenford, 19 June 2012, para. 11). As articulated in the preceding section, *Human smuggling vs. human trafficking*, while human trafficking does not necessitate actual movement across borders, each year, approximately 800,000 people are trafficked across borders, of which 80 per cent are women and 50 per cent are minors (Groody, 2011, p. 16) (U.S. Department of State, 2007). However, researchers and theorists, like Nair (2010), and Masika (2002), are quick to provide a disclaimer that, “accurate [human trafficking] numbers are difficult to obtain due to the clandestine and illegal nature of trafficking, the lack of anti-trafficking legislation in many countries, the reluctance of victims to report their experiences to the authorities, and the lack of government priority given to data collection and research” (p. 17-18) (p. 5). These staggering figures communicate an even harsher reality – there are more people enslaved today than at any other point in human history (Groody, 2011, p. 16).

The widespread availability of vulnerable human beings for trade or sale makes these individuals ‘disposable’ to their traffickers, easily replaced by another person who, on average, can be purchased or enslaved for a mere \$100 (Haker, Cahill, & Wainright, 2011, p. 7, Groody, 2011, p. 16). Thus, as the cost of slavery has decreased, human trafficking has flourished, producing a global, criminal industry that is second, in profitability, only to the drug trade, growing from a \$12 billion a year industry in the early 2000’s (King, 2004, p. 19) to the fastest growing criminal industry in the world, generating in excess of \$32 billion in 2010 (Groody, 2011, p. 16-17).

#### *Human trafficking in Canada*

But, is human trafficking truly global? Does human trafficking really happen everywhere, even in industrialized, progressive countries that esteem freedom, and proclaim human rights? As a Canadian who enjoys unhindered freedom and rights, I found the most staggering statistics at the localized level; that is, the undisputable facts about human trafficking in Canada. While the financial profits of the human trafficking industry are shocking in and of themselves, I am ashamed to report that \$15.5 billion of the industry's revenue is from industrialized countries, like Canada and the United States (UNODC, 2007, para. 8). In fact, in 2012, the largest human trafficking conviction in Canadian history investigated exploitation in a landmark human trafficking case in my own community, Hamilton. "Project Opapa" entailed an RCMP led investigation of ten defendants (accused in October 2010) regarding their subjection of 19 Hungarian Roma victims to forced labour in the traffickers' construction business (Rollings & DiGirolamo, 11 July 2012, para. 1). Human trafficking is not simply elsewhere, abroad – it is here, in Canada. It is proximate, real, overwhelming, and we can no longer ignore it.

*Human trafficking in Canada as outlined in the trafficking in persons report*

In the *2012 Trafficking in Persons Report* (hereafter referred to as the TIP report), issued by the U.S. Department of State in June 2012, more specifically, by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, Blenford (19 June 2012) clearly declares that "the end of legal slavery in the United States and around the world has not meant the end of slavery" (para. 10). According to the U.S. Department of State (19 June 2012), the TIP report is a comprehensive report, and assessment, of international human trafficking (para. 1). The U.S. Government uses the TIP report to engage governments, around the world, in anti-trafficking efforts, and practices (U.S. Department of State, 19 June 2012, para. 1). Since 2001, the U.S. Government has issued the TIP report with the ultimate mandate of best identifying the need for, and distributing, anti-

trafficking resources in order to increase the effectiveness of “prevention, protection, and prosecution” anti-trafficking programs worldwide (U.S. Department of State, 19 June 2012, para. 1).

In the TIP report, the U.S. Department of State (19 June 2012) categorizes every country into one of three tiers, with Tier 1 representing those countries who are making the greatest efforts to “comply with the “minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking,” found in section 108 of the TVPA [Trafficking Victims Protection Act],” and with Tier 3 representing those countries who do not comply with the TVPA’s minimum standards (para. 2). Each country included in the TIP report, is assessed in a country profile including the following information: the country’s tier ranking, a profile of human trafficking in the respective country in recent years, a synopsis of the country’s government’s anti-trafficking efforts, recommendations for the country, and a synopsis of the country’s government policy, and legal structure divided on the issues of prevention, protection, and prosecution (2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, 2012, p. 60). Blenford (19 June 2012) observes that 93 countries are ranked at the Tier 2 level, making Tier 2 the most commonly assigned tier ranking (para. 28). A Tier 2 ranking indicates that the country is “in breach of anti-trafficking laws but making notable efforts to end those breaches” (para. 28). King (2004) explains that Tier 3 countries face potential penalties for their lack of compliance with U.S. anti-trafficking sanctions, including loss of U.S. funds, and assistance (p. 109). The U.S. Department of State (19 June 2012) makes an important clarification on the three tier classification system, remarking that “while Tier 1 is the highest ranking, it does not mean that a country has no human trafficking problem. On the contrary, a Tier 1 ranking indicates that a government has acknowledged the existence of human trafficking” in their country (para. 2).

Thus, we should not be so quick as to dismiss Canada's Tier 1 ranking in the 2006 through 2012 TIP reports.

In the 2012 TIP report, Canada is recognized as “a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children subject to sex trafficking and forced labour” (2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, 2012, p. 110). In particular, commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking are identified as widespread problems across the country, with predominantly Asian victims in Western Canada, and predominately Eastern European victims in Toronto, Montreal, and Eastern Canada (2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, 2012, p. 110). Grassano and Ryan (2010) outline the severity of sex trafficking in Canada, observing that sex trafficking will only continue to increase, so long as Canadian law enforcement and government efforts fail to directly attack and reduce the problem of human trafficking (p. 160). Furthermore, Perrin (2010) reminds us that sexual exploitation and forced labour in Canada implicate both Canadian citizens and new Canadian immigrants as victims (p. 8). In fact, Barnett (2006) criticizes the Canadian government, and her fellow Canadian citizens, precisely for neglecting the issue of Canadians who are trafficked within Canadian borders, particularly those in situations of sex trafficking (p. 5).

The TIP report clarifies that, while the majority of forced labour victims enter Canada legally, they are later deceived or coerced into working in exploitative conditions primarily in the agriculture industry, sweatshops, and processing plants, or as private, domestic servants (maids, nannies, etc.) (2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, 2012, p. 110). Forced labour cases are most commonly recognized, and documented, in Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario (2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, 2012, p. 110). Canada is identified as a “transit” country for the prevalence of victims trafficked into Canada en route to the United States (McDonald et al. as

cited in Wennerholm, 2002, p. 11) (Perrin, 2010, p. 48). U.S. Department of State analysts indicate that “at least two thousand people” are trafficked through Canada each year, on the way to their ultimate destination in the U.S. (Perrin, 2010, p. 49). Moreover, Canada is noted as a “significant source country” for perpetrators engaged in child sex tourism; that is, Canadians who travel abroad for the purpose of exploiting minors through sexual acts (2012 Trafficking in Persons report, 2012, p. 110). Sadly, while the 2012 TIP report articulates that a vast number of Canadians engage in illegal pedophilia in foreign countries, and while a law prohibiting child sex tourism has existed since 1997, as of 2007, only one Canadian pedophile, Donald Bakker, had been convicted under Canadian laws, and prosecuted for sexually exploiting children overseas (Perrin, 2010, p. xix, p. 18).

*Human trafficking in Canada – the legal framework*

The 2012 TIP report makes clear a dire situation – human trafficking is, indeed, alive and well in Canada. In September 2005, Bill C-49 was enacted, effectively necessitating the inclusion of sections 279.01 to 279.04 in Canada’s *Criminal Code*, and resulting in the criminalization of “trafficking in persons” in Canada (Barnett, 2006, p. 8). According to human trafficking expert, Perrin (2010), “on November 25, 2005, “trafficking in persons” became an indictable offence in Canada’s *Criminal Code*. Sections 279.01 to 279.04, of Canada’s *Criminal Code*, outline all “trafficking in persons” offences, including matters of: “trafficking in persons” (p. 321), “consent” (p. 321-322), “trafficking in persons under the age of eighteen years” (p. 321), “material benefit” (p. 322), “withholding or destroying documents” (p. 322), and “exploitation” (p. 322). According to Perrin (2010), Irwin Cotler, Canada’s minister of justice and attorney general in 2005, introduced “trafficking in persons” as an indictable offence with “two essential components” (p. 119). Perrin (2010) explains that “first, the accused must have

committed any *one* of the following acts: recruitment; transportation; transferring; receiving; holding; concealing or harbouring a person; or exercising control, direction, or influence over the movements of a person. Second, the accused must have committed one of those acts for the purpose of exploitation” (p. 119). In Section 279.04(a), the *Criminal Code* (1985) defines that one person is exploiting another person if they “cause them to provide, or offer to provide, labour or a service by engaging in conduct that, in all the circumstances, could reasonably be expected to cause the other person to believe that their safety or the safety of a person known to them would be threatened if they failed to provide, or offer to provide, the labour or service” (p. 322).

Further to the anti-human trafficking offences and legislation articulated in Canada’s *Criminal Code*, there are several other pieces of legislation that contribute to Canada’s human trafficking legal framework. In September 2005, Canada ratified the UN’s *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography* (Barnett, 2006, p.7). Canada’s observance of this optional protocol is evident in section 279.011 of the *Criminal Code* (1985) outlining offences, and penalties, corresponding to “trafficking in persons under the age of eighteen years” (p. 321). The *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (hereafter referred to as IRPA) also defines and prohibits the offence of human trafficking (Barnett, 2006, p. 9). Since the IRPA is invariably caught up in systems of migration, in Section 117, the IRPA distinguishes between human trafficking and human smuggling (Barnett, 2006, p. 10). Further to the IRPA defining human trafficking, in May 2006, Canada’s Department of Citizenship and Immigration passed a policy to protect vulnerable trafficking victims, which grants trafficked persons the ability to receive temporary residence permits in order to continue residing in Canada (Raaflaub, 2006, p. 2). In addition to the *Criminal Code*, and the IRPA, the “federal Interdepartmental Working Group on Trafficking in Persons” also

supplements Canadian anti-human trafficking legislation. In 2009, Canada's current minister of justice and attorney general, Rob Nicholson, introduced the *Truth in Sentencing Act* in an attempt to make penalties, and sentences, harsher by limiting the "incentive for criminals, including human traffickers, to drag out their pretrial custody in order to obtain two-for-one or even three-for-one credit" for their time served (Perrin, 2010, p. 129).

However, much of Canada's anti-trafficking legal framework has been reactionary in nature, rather than proactive; responding to a growing epidemic of human trafficking in Canada, and around the world. Perrin (2010), who defines Canada's response to human trafficking as "lethargic" (p. xix) observes that, until 2005, Canada's *Criminal Code* did not define the offence of human trafficking (p. xviii). Moreover, while adding "trafficking in persons" to the *Criminal Code* in 2005 was already a delayed response, Canadian courts did not see the first "trafficking in persons" conviction until June 2008 (Perrin, 2010, p. 118). Yet, human trafficking was clearly on Canada's national radar prior to 2005. Canada has been identified as a source, destination, and transit country since 1986, when "152 Sri Lankan migrants were rescued" from Canada's east coast (Barnett, 2006, p. 3). Furthermore, The Palermo Protocol, discussed in the earlier section, *Defining human trafficking*, was "ratified by Canada in May 2002," declaring Canada's commitment to enacting domestic human trafficking offences, and anti-trafficking laws, and practices (Barnett, 2006, p. 5-6). Government officials' prior awareness of the scope of human trafficking in Canada only exacerbates Canada's inadequate response, thus far, in combatting domestic human trafficking.

Clearly, not enough is being done to uphold, and enact, Canadian anti-trafficking legislation in order to actually deter traffickers, or decrease human trafficking in Canada. What more can, and should, be done to further anti-trafficking awareness and action? How, and to

what extent, are Canadian media and newsmakers implicated in their action, or inaction, in generating and stimulating public awareness and initiatives, and insisting upon government, and law enforcement, policy and legal responses to human trafficking in Canada? When will we progress from a country which is reactive in their legislation to a country which recognizes potential problems, and, in a preventative act, creates proactive legislation?

*Digital technology – changing the face of human trafficking in Canada*

In order to be proactive, and relevant, in attacking human trafficking in Canada today, specifically, in the development of critical Canadian anti-trafficking legislation, one must also consider our ever-changing world of digital technologies, and the way in which these new media change the face of human trafficking in Canada. The intersection between new communications technology and human trafficking is troubling. The Internet is perpetuating the growth of the human trafficking and sex trafficking industries, as well as concealing these illegal actions through underground, or online, networks. In their report on human trafficking in Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2010) report that technological advances enable “individuals or criminal networks involved in human trafficking for sexual exploitation to recruit and advertise, particularly underage girls, remotely and discreetly via the Internet” (p.2-3). The RCMP (2010) also problematizes the role of business practices and Canadian laws and policies, which do not properly protect Canadians online or criminalize perpetrators (p. 3).

Cameron and Newman (2008) outline several advantages for traffickers that developments in communications technologies enable (p. 30-31). First, and foremost, developments in cellular phone and smartphone technology increase the potential mobility of traffickers; the speed of communications between traffickers, which in turn increases the speed of the entire trafficking process; and the provision of “safety” for communication between traffickers (Cameron &

Newman, 2008, p. 30). Perrin (2010) adds that cellular technology also further equips traffickers by providing them with another tool with which they can coerce, manipulate, and control their victims; even enabling real-time monitoring of their victims through GPS smart phone applications (p. 76-77). Secondly, Cameron and Newman (2008) observe that technological advances are inextricably connected to globalization, thus more effectively facilitating access to potential victims, and advancing human trafficking operations by empowering globalized networks (p. 30). Globalization compresses our world, ceasing the nature of communication as “geographically fixed” (McQuail, 2010, p. 558). New media directly implicate globalization by accelerating the process of globalization through the increased speed and flow of communications, and increased connectivity of users. Kapur (2008), King (2004), Cameron and Newman (2008) agree that globalization is also influencing the movement of people by increasing the ease with which individuals can move, and be moved around the world, leading to the migration of extraordinary numbers of people. As King (2004) expresses, “the dark side of globalization” enables human trafficking to flourish both offline and online through the interconnectivity of individuals worldwide, speed of communications, and ease of movement of people worldwide, leading to a flourishing modern-day slave trade in Canada that is largely undetected (p. 2).

Even still, perhaps the most obvious way in which digital communication technologies have fueled the trafficking process is through Web 2.0 digital media platforms, and Internet portals, which facilitate the commoditization, and marketing, of victims online. Web 2.0 technology has truly empowered, and obscured the face of, human trafficking, transforming human trafficking into a more hidden, underground, and powerful giant – what I call, human trafficking 2.0. Not only do new online portals facilitate human trafficking online, but, we, as

Canadians, lead many other nations in the amount of time we spend online and, in particular, on Web 2.0 sites. In the recent report, *2012 Canada Digital Future in Focus*, comScore, the Internet marketing research company responsible for the report, observes that Canadians spent an average of 45.3 hours online in the fourth quarter of 2011 (CBC News, 2 March 2012, para. 2). Canadians spend more time online than several other leading, Internet-savvy, nations including South Korea, the U.K., and the U.S. (CBC News, 2 March 2012, para. 2). Furthermore, a significant portion of Canadians' time online is devoted to Web 2.0 social networking sites, with *Facebook* leading as the "most-used social media site" by Canadians (CBC News, 2 March 2012, para. 6-7). In 2011, the average Canadian spent a staggering seven days of their year (or 1.9% of their time, yearly) on *Facebook* (CBC News, 2 March 2012, para. 6).

As if Canadians were not already inextricably caught up in the intersection between human trafficking and the digital platforms which facilitate human trafficking online, perhaps the most alarming finding from the *2012 Canada Digital Future in Focus* report is that Canada's most vulnerable population, minors, are spending more time online than any other Canadian demographic (CBC News, 2 March 2012, para. 12-13). The report first remarks that women, who are invariably more frequently victimized both online and offline than their male counterparts, spend more time on interactive sites than men (CBC News, 2 March 2013, para. 8). Additionally, CBC News (2 March 2012) reports that Canadian young people, aged 18 to 24, lead Canadians as the largest users of social networking sites, with the younger, 18-and-under demographic following close behind (para. 12-13). Canadians are not only online, and using websites that have been used to facilitate human trafficking – Canada's most vulnerable population are online, and presumably with little training on how to navigate the seemingly anonymous, and borderless, worldwide web.

*Virtual communities – obscuring the face of human trafficking in Canada*

It is also essential to understand the unique features of virtual communities, which make individuals even more vulnerable online, creating the “ideal” circumstances for victimization in human trafficking 2.0. A virtual community denotes individuals who have formed connections and associations “without any physical contact or real personal knowledge of other members” (McQuail, 2010, p. 573). Thus, virtual communities are unique in that they can conjure up feelings of closeness and proximity, while actually reducing awareness, and promoting anonymity. McQuail (2010) further explains that whenever we, as individuals, are mediated by a machine (i.e. anytime individuals are online), our awareness of being in communication or relationship with other people online is diminished (p. 150). Therefore, part of the attraction of online interactions lies in their discrete and, essentially anonymous, nature of online communications and communities, allowing individuals to obscure some, or all aspects of their identity, such as age, and gender (Jones as cited in McQuail, 2010, p. 150). However, the anonymity capabilities of online platforms are extremely troubling, as they not only secure users’ physical identities, but also do not allow for non-verbal communication, which enables us, as humans, to better ‘read’ or decipher a situation through cues, tones, etc.

Perrin (2010) emphasizes the danger of virtual communities, noting that, in 2010, more than 75 per cent of Canadian teenagers had social networking profiles, with one in three of these young people admitting that they had accepted a “friend request” on *Facebook* from individuals who they did not know, “usually a ‘friend of a friend’” (p. 71-72). Thus, it should come as no surprise that human traffickers, and, in particular, sex traffickers, are online, regarding Web 2.0 forums as an ideal way to prey on, recruit, commoditize, and exploit vulnerable Canadians (Perrin, 2010, p. 71). Thus, Web 2.0 sites not only enable human traffickers to post profiles, and

interact in virtual communities; they also facilitate the use of deceit, coercion, and other trafficking tactics. Among the growing list of Web 2.0 social networking, and interactive, websites and forums that Perrin (2010) reports having been used for the purposes of human trafficking, he highlights *Craigslist* as the medium of choice for traffickers (p. 73). In the second section of this project *Shame on Who? – A Critical Content and Framing Analysis of Canadian Newspaper Reporting on Craigslist’s Alleged Facilitation of Human Trafficking Online*, I will closely interrogate the use of *Craigslist* for sex trafficking, and Canadian newsmakers reporting on the issue.

### *Project SECLUSION and the Age of Agnotology*

The preceding literature clearly establishes the alarming scope, and reach, of human trafficking in Canada. Yet, human trafficking is barely on the radar in Canadian media, even when Canada’s own RCMP issued a report specifically on the realities of human trafficking in Canada. As a Canadian researcher who is drawn to the intersection between communications and human trafficking, my inquiry lies in the disconnect between the reality of domestic human trafficking, and the reporting of domestic human trafficking. In 2010, the RCMP released Project SECLUSION, a national overview of human trafficking in Canada. The project was originally prepared for Canada’s Immigration and Passport Branch “in an effort to identify the extent of organized crime involvement, transnational associations, source countries, as well as issues and challenges faced by law enforcement” (RCMP, 2010, p. 1). The issues identified in Project SECLUSION are the result of a comprehensive analysis of all Canadian investigations containing any essential elements of human trafficking from 2005 to 2009 (RCMP, 2010, p. 1).

I am particularly intent on using Project SECLUSION as the starting point of my critical analysis of Canadian human trafficking discourse because of a few, specific “Key Findings”

outlined on the RCMP's website summary of the report. First, the RCMP (2010) denote that sex trafficking and sexual exploitation normally happen "discreetly behind fronts, like escort agencies" increasing the difficulty of detecting human trafficking of this nature, and necessitating "proactive investigations" (p. 1). Additionally, the "Key Findings" indicate that the majority of domestic human trafficking victims are recruited via "the Internet or by an acquaintance," through a process of grooming, manipulation, and coercion (p. 2) directly correlating to one of the concerns raised, in the earlier section, *Digital Technology – Changing the Face of Human Trafficking in Canada*, about the unique vulnerabilities of Canadian youth. Thirdly, I am fascinated by the RCMP's (2010) finding that a particular demographic of domestic human trafficking victims are underage females, exploited through "prostitution" in escort services, which connects to aforementioned anxieties about the use of online escort services and Web 2.0 platforms to facilitate human trafficking in Canada (p. 2). Finally, the report opening introduces a "Strategic Consideration" that critically shapes, and influences, this project in its observance that "technological advances [allow] individuals or criminal networks involved in human trafficking for sexual exploitation to recruit and advertise victims, particularly underage girls, remotely and discreetly via the Internet" (RCMP, 2010, p. 3).

In their comprehensive review of over 700 investigation files, the RCMP (2010) retained 275 files for analysis, applying them uniquely against the definition of human trafficking outlined in Canada's *Criminal Code* (p. 5). The RCMP (2010) clarify that Project SECLUSION compares international human trafficking and domestic human trafficking, a "phenomenon in which all stages of trafficking occur within Canada regardless of the victim's legal status" (p. 8). The RCMP (2010) detail that, effective November 15, 2009, police had charged 33 individuals under section 279.01 of Canada's *Criminal Code*, yet, only five of these individuals were

convicted of domestic human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (p. 20). The RCMP (2010) continue to illuminate domestic human trafficking by explaining that the Internet facilitated the majority of victims' introduction to the sex trafficking industry (p. 21). However, after examining all 50 pages of Project SECLUSION, I was fascinated with two "issues and challenges of human trafficking" identified by the RCMP. In the first issue, the RCMP (2010) indicate that "current information sharing mechanisms [have] resulted in the untimely and ineffective exchange of information which [has] inhibited the progress of these [domestic human trafficking] investigations on both sides" (p. 40); I will take up this issue in the third, and final section of *Human Trafficking 2.0*. However, the RCMP (2010) report also indicates that they encounter challenges in investigating domestic human trafficking due to the "lack of awareness" about human trafficking among the Canadian public; an issue which directly correlates to a cultural epidemic of ignorance in Canada; that is, human trafficking in the age of agnotology.

Schiebinger (2004) defines agnotology as "the study of culturally-induced ignorances" (p. 237). Schiebinger (2004) proposes that agnotology serves as the antonym of epistemology, "refocusing questions about 'how we know' to include questions about what we do *not* know, and why not" (p. 237). More importantly, Schiebinger (2004) charges government, newsmakers, and other "institutional and disciplinary hierarchies" for shaping what a culture knows or does not know at a moment in time based on the government and newsmakers current "local and global priorities" (p. 237).

In this project, I charge the Canadian government with responsibility for creating a culture of ignorance, in Canada, about human trafficking, and for not pushing domestic human trafficking as a top priority agenda item for Canadian newsmakers. When Project SECLUSION was released on September 13, 2010, only two papers directly responded by publishing articles

on the subject – *The Vancouver Sun* (September 14, 2010), and *The Calgary Herald* (September 20, 2010). Why did the government not demand that a publication from their national law enforcement task force on a national criminal issue make front headlines? Why did Project SECLUSION not cause a Canadian media frenzy and public outcry? How did Project SECLUSION go unnoticed in Canada's most prominent newspapers? Project SECLUSION went under the radar at most Canadian media centres precisely because the Canadian federal, and provincial, government were not ready to address the breadth of the issue of human trafficking in Canada, much less act to create anti-trafficking measures, and create a climate of change. Thus, one of the first major collisions between Canadian communications and domestic human trafficking was a major shortcoming, only furthering the lack of awareness about human trafficking among the Canadian public. And, in so doing, only fostering the very issue that has hindered past RCMP investigations into domestic human trafficking, and the very issue which continues to make the intersection between communications and new media, and human trafficking in Canada troubling today. I am concluding my analysis of *Project SECLUSION in the Age of Agnotology* here, and foregoing a conclusion to this section, because the entire project will be concluded, as a whole, at the end of the project in order to enable dialogue between both sections of this paper.

## *Section Two*

### *Shame on Who? – A Critical Content and Framing Analysis of Canadian Newspaper Reporting on Craigslist’s Alleged Facilitation of Human Trafficking Online*

A newspaper is more than just a static media item, reflecting on situations past, reporting on stories already told. In the printed pages of recycled material, a newspaper contains the possibilities of the future, the hope that, through its words and pages, the public would not only be informed, but moved. In the carefully folded sections of newsprint lies the potentiality for something more profound than just a media source, relaying facts; that is, the potential for news to actually instigate cultural action, and incite change. In the preceding section, “*O Canada – Glorious and Free?*”, I charge the Canadian government with responsibility for creating a culture of ignorance, in Canada, about human trafficking, and for not pushing domestic human trafficking as a top priority agenda item for Canadian newsmakers. In this section of *Human Trafficking 2.0*, Canadian news reporting on *Craigslist’s* alleged facilitation of human trafficking is investigated through a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of 20 Canadian newspapers representing six provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan). Through content analysis, I identify how Canadian newsmakers have, and have not, effectively framed the issue of domestic human trafficking, proposing how Canadian news reporters might more effectively address future issues of domestic human trafficking, and mobilize consensus among Canadian public, government, and law enforcement officials, in order to move Canadians from a position of ignorance to a position of action.

#### *Literature Review*

Following from the preceding literature review articulated in the first section of this project, “*O Canada – Glorious and Free?*” – *Human Trafficking in Canada in the Age of*

*Agnotology*, this paper will add to the literature a brief history of *Craigslist*, and a brief overview of *Craigslist*'s alleged facilitation of human trafficking in Canada. *Craigslist*'s history, and involvement in the issue of human trafficking, will be informed by an understanding of gatekeeping theory, agenda-setting theory, framing theory, and social responsibility theory.

#### *Craigslist – A brief company history*

In 1995, *Craigslist* was born from an email list of events in San Francisco, California, that was originated by founder, Craig Newmark (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). *Craigslist* is a centralized web network of “local classifieds and forums,” which are “community moderated” and “largely free” (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). *Craigslist* is an extremely large network, with in excess of 700 websites, in over 70 countries, and more than “200 million user postings in 100 topical forums” that support 12 languages (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). Effective March 2012, *Craigslist* reported more than 50 million users in the United States alone, and, worldwide, in excess of 50 million *Craigslist* website visits each month (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012).

Jim Buckmaster, the current CEO of *Craigslist*, has been the subject, and target, of many letters, columns, and articles naming and blaming *Craigslist* for its alleged facilitation of human trafficking on the classifieds and forums it hosts, particularly the “adult services” category (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012).

#### *History of craigslist's alleged facilitation of human trafficking online*

In her article, “Craigslist defends its actions,” reporter, Lori Consalvo (25 September 2010) recounts the history of the “adult services” category, noting that the category was first added in 2001 “at the request of *Craigslist* users, who [were] tired of seeing adult services ads mixed into the personals category” (para. 33). The “adult services” category, or “erotic-services” advertisements, received little media, or public, attention until 2007, when two, criminal cases

brought *Craigslist* into the media spotlight. In March 2007, “California police [raided] the studio of a photographer and [accused] him of taking semi-nude pictures of three [female minors] – one 14, the others 17 – for prostitution ads in *Craigslist*’s erotic services section” (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 34). Additionally, in July 2007, U.S. law enforcement officials charged a “19-year-old Minnesota woman” with “recruiting high school girls into a prostitution ring and seeking clients with an ad for ‘party girls’ posted on *Craigslist*” (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 35). These two incidents sparked a movement by a group of U.S. attorneys to pressure *Craigslist* to place restrictions on the “erotic services” advertisements. In November 2008, the U.S. *Craigslist* websites respond by creating restrictions, including a requirement for all individuals to provide a “valid credit card number” in order to create a post in the “erotic-services” advertisement section (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 36-37). However, despite *Craigslist*’s efforts to secure the “erotic services” advertisements, negative media attention only intensified in April 2009, when “Philip Markoff, a 22-year-old medical student,” later known as the “Craigslist killer” was accused of murdering Julia Brissman after the two had met through Brissman’s advertisement on *Craigslist* (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 38). Thus, in May 2009, following a great deal of pressure from U.S. lawmakers, *Craigslist* shut down its “erotic services” section, and added an “adult services” section, committing *Craigslist* staff to reviewing all posts in the new “adult services” section (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 40).

However, *Craigslist*’s efforts to curb negative media, and legal, attention did not suffice. On April 25, 2010, *The New York Times* issues a report indicating that *Craigslist* is positioned to generate \$36 million, in 2010, from *Craigslist* listings advertising sex (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 41). Following allegations from CNN reporter, Amber Lyon, in early August, 2010, that *Craiglist* enables child-sex listings, and thus, enables sex trafficking, and child sex

trafficking, a group of 17 U.S. attorneys banded together, issuing a letter demanding that “*Craigslist* remove its Adult Services, claiming that prostitution and child trafficking run rampant on the site” (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 42, 44). By September 3, 2010, *Craigslist* conceded and “[placed] a black-and-white ‘Censored’ banner over its Adult Services section” (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para. 45). However, the “adult services” section of *Craigslist* is still available outside of the U.S., and many critics and observers comment that the removal of the section will likely create little change in human trafficking online, only causing the advertisements to migrate to different sections of *Craigslist*, or to different websites (Consalvo, 25 September 2010, para 45).

*A brief summary of Craigslist’s user policies*

While critics and observers are correct that human trafficking can still be facilitated on *Craigslist*, and other, similar, interactive, Web 2.0 websites, *Craigslist* has taken several measures to deter its users from utilizing the *Craigslist* platform for the purposes of human trafficking, or other illegal activities, and to ensure that *Craigslist* is not held responsible for facilitating such activities in future legal proceedings, or media reports. Effective, February 14, 2012, *Craigslist*’s “Terms of Use,” “Privacy Policy,” and “Warning and Disclaimer” informed users of the following communications and legal policies (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). First, *Craigslist* clarifies that the website is intended for adult users only, and that use or access by individuals under the age of 18 is “not authorized” (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). The “Terms of Use” outlines that “illegal content” and/or postings which facilitate the “advertising, distribution, provision or receipt of illegal goods or services,” which includes the facilitation of human trafficking online, are strictly prohibited from *Craigslist*; however, *Craigslist* is also quick to clarify that they are not liable, or responsible, for the use of their website for illegal

purposes (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). *Craigslist* also denounces the use of their website for human trafficking by stating that “users must post content only on their own behalf;” thus, prohibiting any trafficker, or party to human trafficking, from acting as a third party posting a victim’s profile, or listing a victim’s services, on *Craigslist* (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). Furthermore, in *Craigslist*’s “Privacy Policy” they detail “circumstances in which Craigslist may release information,” clearly articulating their willingness, and objective, to cooperate with law enforcement officials if disclosure of information is necessary in order to assist in the legal process, or to “protect the rights, property, or personal safety of Craigslist, its users or the general public” (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). Finally, prior to entering listings in the personal advertisements section of *Craigslist*, a “Warning and Disclaimer” appears, cautioning users that they must be 18 years old, and that the section may include “adult content” (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012). Users “release *Craigslist* from any liability that may arise” from the use of *Craigslist* by clicking a link from the “Warning and Disclaimer” page to the actual network of listings (Craigslist.org, 26 March 2012).

*Gatekeeping theory – the media’s role in reporting on craigslist and human trafficking*

But, *Craigslist* should not be solely implicated in the use of platforms, like *Craigslist*, for human trafficking purposes. What is the media’s role in reporting on these issues, and bringing them to government and public attention in order to incite actual change in anti-trafficking discourse? Gatekeeping theory investigates the flow of information from the media to the public; that is the process by which media groups and individual “mediators” digest information, and then report news to the public in manageable sound bites (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009, p. 1). Since gatekeepers act as mediators establishing what is important information, and deciding what is worthy of transforming into a public message, gatekeepers contribute to individuals’ construction

of social reality, and their personal world view (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009, p. 1). Thus, as gatekeepers, Canadian media should disseminate information about domestic human trafficking, and publish news relaying the trafficking potentialities on websites, such as *Craigslist*, making the issue prominent in Canadian news, and thus constructing a culture of knowledge, proximity, and caring about domestic human trafficking in Canada.

*Agenda setting theory – the media’s role in reporting on Craigslist and human trafficking*

Similarly, agenda setting theory suggests that the media can, and should, harness their persuasive potential to motivate the public. As Shaw (1979) articulates, “the media are persuasive in focusing public attention on specific events, issues, and persons and in determining the importance people attach to public matters” (p. 96). As such, Shaw’s explanation of agenda setting theory proposes that Canadian media have the ability to persuade the Canadian public to make domestic human trafficking a top priority issue. Shaw (1979) continues to outline that it is precisely “because of newspapers, television, and other news media, [that] people are aware or not aware, pay attention or neglect, play up or downgrade specific features of the public scene. People tend to include or exclude from their cognitions what the media include or exclude from their content,” placing importance and emphasis on this issues which are emphasized by the mass media (p. 96). Consequently, as this project seeks to investigate the issue of domestic human trafficking online in order to suggest how Canada might have a brighter, anti-trafficking oriented future, it is imperative that the role of Canadian media in prioritizing, or not prioritizing, the reporting of human trafficking is examined in order that we might harness the potential of Canadian media in future reporting on the issue of human trafficking. Thus, the content analysis that follows will explore Canadian newspapers’ reporting on the use *Craigslist* for human

trafficking purposes to provide insight to future, similar reporting issues on the subject of human trafficking in Canada.

*Framing Theory – the media’s role in reporting on Craigslist and human trafficking*

It is critical that framing theory is understood, and appreciated, prior to observing the coding scheme for the content analysis employed in this project, and prior to assessing the considerations made in the *Analysis* section of this paper, which purport that Canadian newsmakers use framing tactics in their reporting of human trafficking 2.0. Frames provide a structure of interpretation by enabling individuals “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” occurrences within their life space and the world at large” (Goffman as cited in Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Thus, frames help to provide meaning through the structures of context, themes, and familiarity, enabling an audience to ‘make sense’ of a social problem, or issue. Research also suggests that a small number of frames are actually evident in media, and political, discourse, with certain frames becoming more dominant in the discussion of a particular issue, while others are ignored. Specifically, media generally frame an issue in a way that will attract the largest audience (readership, viewership, or listenership) possible. Collective action frames also function to enable individuals to interpret larger concepts, and aspects, of the world at large by employing “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement or organization” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Specifically, the Canadian media could employ collective action frames that are positioned to mobilize anti-trafficking action among the Canadian public based on the legitimacy of a human rights campaign, and the shared belief that all people are entitled to freedom.

Furthermore, newsmakers can also utilize different core framing tasks, including “diagnostic framing,” “prognostic framing,” and “motivational framing” in order to best inspire

“consensus mobilization” among the Canadian public; that is, moving the Canadian public to agreement on the issue of domestic human trafficking, and, ultimately, inspiring Canadians to mobilize action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 615). Key framing tasks, and elements, include “boundary framing,” “adversarial framing,” “prognostic framing,” “counterframing,” and “motivational framing,” all of which contribute to the salience, and resonance of the framing of an issue by creating feelings of sympathy and proximity, and in raising awareness, and inspiring collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616-617). Moreover, as Entman (1993) explains, the analysis of frames is very important in understanding “the power of communicating text,” and the way in which frames exert “influence over a human consciousness [...] by the transfer (or communication) of information” (p. 51-52). Thus, Entman clarifies that framing analysis is an essential process in investigating the transfer of individual, and cultural, consciousness of social issues. Framing is a fluid, dynamic, and continual process; thus, effective and successful framing of the issue of domestic human trafficking is absolutely critical to the development of anti-human trafficking discourse in Canada in actually combatting human trafficking in Canada.

*Social responsibility theory – the media’s responsibility and mandate to society*

Finally, prior to conducting a content analysis, and analyzing its findings, it is necessary that the mass media’s responsibility to report on issues of public concern, such as *Craigslist’s* alleged facilitation of human trafficking online, is clearly outlined. According to McQuail (2010), social responsibility theory outlines an organization’s obligation to act on behalf of society at large, and, in the case of the media, to report news for the public good (p. 171). Typically, in discussions of *Craigslist’s* alleged facilitation of human trafficking online, discussions of *Craigslist’s* social responsibility, as an organization, is discussed, while discussions of the media or government’s social responsibility is not. In his definition of social

responsibility, McQuail (2010) adds that “under some circumstances, government may need to intervene to safeguard the public interest” (p. 171), and that social responsibility includes a “provision for justice and [the] protection of human rights” (p. 179). As such, McQuail’s description of social responsibility theory effectively charges Canadian newsmakers, and the Canadian government, with the responsibility to inform the public about domestic human trafficking, in order that justice may be served and that human rights may be safeguarded. Since social responsibility theory is committed to the public good, it logically follows that social responsibility theory would implicate Canadian newsmakers, and the Canadian government, to strive for reporting which serves anti-trafficking purposes in Canada, and which aims for the end of human trafficking in Canada, not only to inform the Canadian public, but also protect the most basic freedoms of vulnerable Canadians.

### *Research Questions*

Following from the foundation set out in the preceding literature review, the following research questions (hereafter denoted as RQ#) will be investigated in the content analysis of Canadian newspapers reporting on the use of *Craigslist* for human trafficking purposes:

RQ1: Is Canadian news reporting on *Craigslist* and human trafficking concentrated in a particular part of Canada? How and to what extent does this correlate to the findings articulated in *Project SECLUSION*? How and to what extent does this correlate to the framing of human trafficking as a domestic or international issue?

RQ2: How and to what extent do authors frame *Craigslist* as socially responsible for the use of *Craigslist* for the purpose of human trafficking? How and to what extent do authors negatively frame advances in communications technology, such as platforms like *Craigslist*, due to the potentialities of human trafficking online?

RQ3: How and to what extent does the multiplicity of terms, or synonyms, used for human trafficking in Canadian news articles on the issue of *Craigslist*'s alleged facilitation of human trafficking online frame the issue the issue in a more complex, or problematic manner? Is there an ideal term, or description, for domestic human trafficking issues?

RQ4: How and to what extent are victims, perpetrators, and officials (experts, government, and law enforcement personnel) uniquely represented in Canadian human trafficking discourse; specifically, where is power, agency, and voice located?

RQ5: How and to what extent do Canadian news outlets commend, or blame *Craigslist*, the Canadian government, and Canadian law enforcement officials in their response to: a) human trafficking through the use of digital platforms; b) the negotiation and balance of human rights and freedoms in human trafficking discourse; and c) anti-trafficking measures both online and offline?

### *Methodology*

The research questions will be explored and answered by the methods that follow. In this paper, I will conduct a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of 20 Canadian newspapers, which represent news reporting from six Canadian provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan). The newspapers selected for content analysis have been selected based on the availability of newspapers returned on the search subject, *Craigslist* and human trafficking, through the LexisNexis academic database, assuming that this search returned many of Canada's major publications, as determined by circulation. Unfortunately, this search did not return newspaper articles representing each Canadian province and territory. The newspapers represented in my analysis are as follows: *The Calgary Herald* (Alberta), *Edmonton Journal* (Alberta), *The Vancouver Sun* (British Columbia), *The Vancouver*

*Province* (British Columbia), *Alberni Valley Times* (British Columbia), *Nanaimo Daily News* (British Columbia), *Prince George Citizen* (British Columbia), *Times Colonist* (British Columbia), *The Times and Transcript* (New Brunswick), *The Globe and Mail* (Ontario), *Windsor Star* (Ontario), *The Toronto Star* (Ontario), *The Toronto Star Metroland Newspapers* (Ontario), *Ottawa Citizen* (Ontario), *The Guelph Mercury* (Ontario), *Inland Valley Daily Bulletin* (Ontario), *The Hamilton Spectator* (Ontario), *The Gazette* (Quebec), *The Star Phoenix* (Saskatchewan), and *The Leader-Post* (Saskatchewan). Through the McMaster Library webpage, I will access *LexisNexis*, an electronic research database. I will begin my content analysis of the 20, aforementioned newspapers by searching “*Craigslist*” under the source type “*Newspapers*.” I will further filter my search by searching “*Human Trafficking*” within the returned newspaper results including content on “*Craigslist*.” Finally, I will filter my search by including only Canadian newspapers. I will analyze only those articles in the 20 Canadian newspapers, listed above, that appear in the *LexisNexis* search results; therefore, I will not conduct any searches using the newspapers’ home websites, and their respective search functions.

Bryman, Teevan, and Bell (2009) define content analysis as “an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories in a systematic and replicable manner” (p. 432). Prior to conducting a content analysis, it is imperative that the researcher devises a reliable and valid coding scheme that provides: “a list of all the dimensions; the different categories subsumed under each dimension; the numbers (that is, *codes*) that correspond to each category; and guidance to coders on what should be taken into account in coding a particular dimension” (p. 298). For the purpose of this content analysis on Canadian news reporting of the issue of *Craigslist* and domestic human trafficking, it is not necessary to communicate to coders a “coding manual,” as I will be the sole coder of all content

due to the primary research nature of *Human Trafficking 2.0*. However, it is essential that I devise a coding scheme that adheres to several principles of content analysis. First, the categories must be “mutually exclusive”; that is, each category, or possible answer, must be completely unique from another, not overlapping in anyway (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009, p. 299). Additionally, it is essential that the coding scheme is “exhaustive,” providing every possible answer, or category, for a given dimension (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009, p. 299). Thirdly, it is necessary that a clear “unit of analysis” is noted, and observed (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009, p. 299). For the purpose of this study, the primary unit of analysis utilized is the media item; that is, each individual newspaper article.

In designing a coding scheme, it is also critical that I conduct a pilot study in order to ensure that the categories are mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and specific. By testing the coding scheme, prior to applying it to all of the articles in the 20 newspapers outlined above, I will enhance the coding scheme, and diminish the opportunity for coding errors in the official content analysis. First, I will conduct a preliminary analysis of several of the articles that will be included in my content analysis. By reviewing the articles, I will deduce key elements, and categories, for consideration in the content analysis. I will then construct the coding scheme for my content analysis. Following the creation of my coding scheme, I will reassess several of the newspaper articles in order to ensure that the coding scheme includes the appropriate dimensions, exhaustive categories, and clear codes to cover each particular case, covering all of the pertinent material in each media unit. I will not concern myself with inter-coder reliability – that is, the consistency between coders – since I will be the only researcher participating in the coding process. However, I will prioritize intra-coder reliability, aiming to issue consistent analysis of all content. In order to increase intra-coder reliability, once I am satisfied that I have devised a

reliable and valid coding scheme, I will commence the coding process, coding all content on consecutive days (without a day's break), thus ensuring the highest degree of reliability and consistency possible, while being careful to avoid coder fatigue.

Prior to inputting the data, and analyzing the variables in my content analysis, it is necessary that I specify a few parameters for my research process. First, I acknowledge that, since newspapers are often subsidiaries of larger, media conglomerates, several of the newspaper articles may include overlapping content. To distinguish between original, and repeat, news content (i.e. publication by a newswire which issues the same story in multiple Canadian newspapers), I will highlight the author's name of the original article in the coding schedule. I will then denote articles which repeat some content from the author's original article by highlighting the entire media item in the same colour as the author's original article name. Furthermore, it should be noted that I will only include articles in my analysis which differentiate substantially enough from the first enough article (different words and quotes included), i.e. I would not include two articles in my analysis if they were exactly the same, even if they were published in different newspapers. For example, in the first article coded in the coding schedule, by Benjamin Perrin, I identify that a later article mirrors some of the content presented in this article by highlighting the author's name in maroon. Later in the coding schedule, when I code the media item that shares the same author and content as the earlier Benjamin Perrin article, I denote this by highlighting all categories of the media item in maroon. Secondly, prior to conducting my content analysis, I should indicate that variable 11, which asks, "How many times is the term "human trafficking" used?", measures the term, "human trafficking," as being used, only when it is describing actions, and does not include "human trafficking" in the total count when it is part of a formal title. For example, I would not count the term "human trafficking" in

“Human Trafficking Coordination Centre” as it is the formal name of an institution. Content analysis for *Human Trafficking 2.0* will be input into a coding schedule on Microsoft Excel. Once all of the data have been coded, I will transfer the data from Microsoft Excel to SPSS [Statistical Package for the Social Sciences] for more in-depth data analysis.

I have chosen to conduct a content analysis specifically because of the in-depth inquiry potentialities of content analysis. Content analyses are conducted in order to draw inferences and meanings from the text (Weber as cited in Macnamara, 2005, p. 2). Thus, my content analysis will include consideration of several quantitative, and qualitative, factors. The frequency of certain words is one of the first things to be counted in content analysis (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009, p. 296). As the coding scheme, outlined below, denotes, variables 7 and 11 will count the number of times that the term “*Craigslist*” and “human trafficking” are used in each article. Furthermore, variables 13 and 14 will examine keywords to determine if there are any keywords that are repetitively linked to the term human trafficking, or ‘synonyms’ used to describe human trafficking. By examining “accompanying keywords,” I aim to identify if there is a more in-depth connection between the words authors choose to examine *Craigslist’s* alleged facilitation of human trafficking (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009, p. 297). Secondly, Bryman, Teevan, and Bell (2009) identify that the text should be coded according to specific subjects and themes; this is both a quantitative and qualitative form of coding, which requires more coder interpretation in order to explore both “manifest” and “latent” content (p. 296). For instance, variable 51 asks, “Who does the author name, blame or shame the most in the article?” in an effort to probe deeper issues concerning such content as sustainable solutions to the issue of domestic human trafficking, and evidence of agenda setting theory. Finally, several variables in the coding scheme defined below will interpret the authors’ “value positions” in the articles being analyzed

(Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009, p. 297). For example, variables 8, 9, 26, 36, 39, 42, 47, and 48 seek to evaluate the respective author's position on *Craigslist*, victims, perpetrators, communications technology, Canadian legislation, Canadian government, and Canadian law enforcement. By examining the words, subjects, themes, and value positions expressed in each article, my goal is to not only make inferences to both the producers and audiences of this content, but to also predict the effect of this content on audiences including the Canadian public, the Canadian government, and Canadian law enforcement officials.

In my review of each article, I will first account for logistical details including: the province in which the newspaper is published, the newspaper in which the article is published, the author, the date of publication, and the location of the report. I will categorize the articles as follows: firstly, by the province in which the newspaper is published, secondly, by the newspaper in which the article is published, and thirdly, chronologically, from least to most recent. Second, I will conduct a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of each of the articles based on the pre-determined coding scheme outlined below. The coding scheme is organized into the following overarching dimensions: logistical information (variables 1-5), *Craigslist* information (variables 6-9), human trafficking information (variables 10-16), victim information (variables 17-26), perpetrator information (variables 27-36), communications technologies information (variables 37-39), and legislation, government, and law enforcement information (variables 40-51). The measurement of these dimensions is divided into separate variables and articulated in the coding scheme below.

The *Human trafficking 2.0 – content analysis coding scheme*, illustrated in the table below, outlines the categories, variable numbers, and coding values for each variable. In the left-hand column, the variable number is indicated at the beginning of each category statement, i.e.

variable one is indicated as “1.”. The category statement directly follows the variable number in the left-hand column specifying the unit of analysis for the respective variable, i.e. variable one measures content concerning the “province in which the newspaper is published.” Finally, the right-hand column delineates all possible coding values which correspond to the given variable.

*Human trafficking 2.0 – content analysis coding scheme*

Variables	Coding Values for Variables
1. Province in which the newspaper is published	1 = Alberta 2 = British Columbia 3 = New Brunswick 4 = Ontario 5 = Quebec 6 = Saskatchewan
2. Newspaper in which the article is published	<i>Alberta Newspapers</i> 1 = The Calgary Herald 2 = The Edmonton Journal <i>British Columbia Newspapers</i> 3 = The Vancouver Sun 4 = The Vancouver Province 5 = Alberni Valley Times 6 = Nanaimo Daily News 7 = Prince George Citizen 8 = Times Colonist <i>New Brunswick Newspapers</i> 9 = The Times and Transcript <i>Ontario Newspapers</i> 10 = The Globe and Mail 11 = Windsor Star 12 = The Toronto Star 13 = The Toronto Star Metroland Newspapers 14 = The Ottawa Citizen 15 = The Guelph Mercury 16 = Inland Valley Daily Bulletin 17 = The Hamilton Spectator <i>Quebec Newspapers</i> 18 = The Gazette <i>Saskatchewan Newspapers</i> 19 = The Star Phoenix 20 = The Leader-Post
3. Author of article	Input author's name (0 = no author referenced)
4. Date of publication	Input date of publication in numeric values (dd/mo/year)
5. Location of the report	1 = Alberta

	<p>2 = British Columbia  3 = New Brunswick  4 = Ontario  5 = Quebec  6 = Saskatchewan  7 = Other Province/Territory – Manitoba  8 = Other Province/Territory – Newfoundland  9 = Other Province/Territory – Nova Scotia  10 = Other Province/Territory – Northwest Territories  11 = Other Province/Territory – Nunavut  12 = Other Province/Territory – Prince Edward Island  13 = Other Province/Territory – Yukon  14 = United States of America  15 = International</p>
6. Is <i>Craigslist</i> explicitly mentioned?	<p>1 = Yes  2 = No</p>
7. If yes, how many times is <i>Craigslist</i> mentioned?	Input the number of times that <i>Craigslist</i> is mentioned in the article
8. Based on the language used in the article, does the author blame or defend <i>Craigslist</i> ?	<p>0 = N/A <i>Craigslist</i> is not mentioned in the article  1 = Blame  2 = Defend  3 = The author both blames and defends <i>Craigslist</i>  4 = The author neither blames nor defends <i>Craigslist</i>  5 = The author is neutral on the subject of <i>Craigslist</i></p>
9. Overall, would you describe the article as pro- <i>Craigslist</i> or anti- <i>Craigslist</i> ?	<p>0 = N/A <i>Craigslist</i> is not mentioned in this article  1 = Pro-<i>Craigslist</i>  2 = Anti-<i>Craigslist</i>  3 = Neither/Neutral</p>
10. Is the term “human trafficking” used?	<p>1 = Yes  2 = No</p>
11. How many times is the term “human trafficking” used?	Input the number of times that the term “human trafficking” is used in the article
12. Are other terms used to describe human trafficking?	<p>1 = Yes  2 = No</p>
13. If yes, what other terms are used to describe human trafficking?	<p>0 = N/A no other terms are used to describe human trafficking  1 = Slavery  2 = Modern day slavery  3 = Trafficking, or trafficking in persons  4 = Sex Trafficking  5 = Forced labour  6 = Bonded labour  7 = Forced prostitution, or child prostitution  8 = Exploitation, sexual exploitation, or child sexual exploitation  9 = Multiple terms are used to describe human trafficking  10 = Other (type the term)</p>

14. Are there any problematic or disputed terms used to describe human trafficking?	0 = N/A no other terms are used to describe human trafficking 1 = Yes – prostitution 2 = Yes – selling sex, sex services, or sex work 3 = Yes – consensual 4 = Yes – prostitution and, selling sex/sex services/sex work 5 = Yes – prostitution and consensual 6 = Yes – sex work and consensual 7 = Yes – prostitution, and selling sex/sex services/sex work 8 = No – there are not any problematic or disputed terms used to describe human trafficking
15. Are any international and/or domestic human trafficking facts or figures articulated in the article?	1 = Yes – the author uses international facts and figures 2 = Yes – the author uses domestic facts and figures 3 = Yes – the author uses both international and domestic facts and figures 4 = No – the author does not use any facts or figures
16. Overall, does the author primarily frame human trafficking as an international or domestic issue?	0 = N/A the author does not frame human trafficking as an issue 1 = International issue 2 = Domestic issue 3 = Both an international and domestic issue
17. Is a victim explicitly described in the article?	1 = Yes 2 = No – but “victims,” in general, are referenced 3 = No – there is no mention of any victim(s)
18. How many victims are described in the article?	Input the number of victims described in the article
19. Provided that at least one victim is described, are the victims’ genders noted?	0 = N/A no victims are referenced in the article 1 = Yes – the victims are all female 2 = Yes – the victims are all male 3 = Yes – the victims are both male and female 4 = No – the victims’ genders are not noted
20. Provided that at least one victim is described, are the victims’ ages noted?	0 = N/A no victims are referenced in this article 1 = Yes – the victims are all minors 2 = Yes – the victims are all adults 3 = Yes – the victims are both minors and adults 4 = No – the victims’ ages are not noted
21. Provided that at least one victim is described, are any of the victims named?	0 = N/A no victims are referenced in this article 1 = Yes – at least one victim is named 2 = No – none of the victims’ names are given
22. Are any of the victims quoted?	0 = N/A no victims are referenced in this article 1 = Yes - One victim is quoted 2 = Yes - Two victims are quoted 3 = Yes – Three, or more, victims are quoted 4 = None of the victims are quoted
23. How many words are in the victims’ statements?	Input the total number of words in the victims’ statements compared to the words in the article (# of words in quote/# of words in article)
24. Provided that at least	0 = N/A there are no victims quoted in this article

one victim is quoted, are the victims' statements primarily facts-based or feelings-based?	1 = The victims' statements are primarily facts-based 2 = The victims' statements are primarily feelings-based 3 = The victims' statements are both facts- and feelings-based 4 = The victims' statements are neither facts- nor feelings-based
25. Provided that no victims are quoted, does an official, or the report, paraphrase a victim's story?	0 = N/A all victims are directly quoted 1 = Yes, a government official paraphrases a victim's story 2 = Yes, a law enforcement official paraphrases a victim's story 3 = Yes, the reporter paraphrases a victim's story 4 = Yes, multiple sources paraphrase a victim's story 5 = No, no victims are quoted or paraphrased in this article
26. Overall, is the article victim-centered?	1 = Yes 2 = No
27. Is a perpetrator explicitly described in the article?	1 = Yes 2 = No – but “traffickers” or perpetrators, in general, are referenced 3 = No – there is no mention of any perpetrator(s)
28. How many perpetrators are described in the article?	Input the number of perpetrators described in the article
29. Provided that at least one perpetrator is described, are the perpetrators' genders noted?	0 = N/A no perpetrators are referenced in the article 1 = Yes – the perpetrators are all female 2 = Yes – the perpetrators are all male 3 = Yes – the perpetrators are both male and female 4 = No – the perpetrators' genders are not noted
30. Provided that at least one perpetrator is described, are the perpetrators' ages noted?	0 = N/A no perpetrators are referenced in this article 1 = Yes – the perpetrators are all minors 2 = Yes – the perpetrators are all adults 3 = Yes – the perpetrators are both minors and adults 4 = No – the perpetrators' ages are not noted
31. Provided that at least one perpetrator is described, are any of the perpetrators named?	0 = N/A no perpetrators are referenced in this article 1 = Yes – at least one perpetrator is named 2 = No – none of the perpetrators are named
32. Are any of the perpetrators quoted?	0 = N/A no perpetrators are referenced in this article 1 = Yes - One, individual perpetrator is quoted 2 = Yes - Two, separate perpetrators are quoted 3 = Yes – Three, or more, separate perpetrators are quoted 4 = The leader of a ring of multiple, connected perpetrators is quoted 5 = None of the perpetrators are quoted
33. How many words are in the perpetrators' statements?	Input the total number of words in the perpetrators' statements compared to the words in the article (# of words in quote/# of words in article)
34. Provided that at least one perpetrator is quoted, are the perpetrators' statements primarily facts-based or feelings-based?	0 = N/A there are no perpetrators quoted in this article 1 = The perpetrators' statements are primarily facts-based 2 = The perpetrators' statements are primarily feelings-based 3 = The perpetrators' statements are both facts- and feelings-based 4 = The perpetrators' statements are neither facts- nor feelings-based
35. Provided that no	0 = N/A all perpetrators are directly quoted

perpetrators are quoted, does an official, or the report, paraphrase a perpetrator?	1 = Yes, a government official paraphrases a perpetrator 2 = Yes, a law enforcement official paraphrases a perpetrator 3 = Yes, the reporter paraphrases a perpetrator 4 = Yes, multiple sources paraphrase a perpetrator 5 = No, no perpetrators are quoted or paraphrased in this article
36. Overall, is the article perpetrator-centered?	1 = Yes 2 = No
37. Does the author reference any other communication technologies or platforms (excluding <i>Craigslist</i> )?	1 = Yes 2 = No
38. Provided that the author references at least one other communication technology or platform, which do they mention?	0 = N/A no communication technologies or platforms referenced 1 = Internet (other websites that facilitate human trafficking online, etc.) 2 = Social media platforms ( <i>Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn</i> , etc.) 3 = Smartphones 4 = Internet, social media, and all online communication devices 5 = Traditional mass media sources (TV, newspaper, magazine, etc.) 6 = Internet and traditional mass media sources 7 = All of the above 8 = Other (input the name of the technology/platform)
39. Overall, would you describe the author's sentiment as pro- or anti-new communications technology and platforms?	0 = N/A no communication technologies or platforms referenced 1 = Pro-communications technology and platforms 2 = Anti-communications technology and platforms 3 = Neither/Neutral
40. Does the author cite any Canadian anti-trafficking legislation?	1 = Yes 2 = No
41. Does the author cite any privacy, surveillance, communication technologies, or freedom of speech legislation/rights?	0 = N/A no legislation or rights referenced 1 = Yes – the author cites privacy legislation/rights 2 = Yes – the author cites surveillance legislation/rights 3 = Yes – the author cites communication technologies legislation 4 = Yes – the author cites freedom of speech legislation/rights 5 = Yes – the author cites more than one of the aforementioned types of legislation/rights
42. Overall, would you describe the author as pro- or anti- legislation?	0 = N/A no legislation referenced 1 = Pro-legislation 2 = Pro-legislation, in fact the author suggests more legislation 3 = Anti-legislation 4 = Anti-legislation, in fact the author suggests legislation detracts from rights 5 = Neither/Neutral
43. Does the author directly refer to any Canadian	1 = Yes – expert(s) (professors, etc.) 2 = Yes – government official(s)

experts (professors, etc.), government, or law enforcement, officials?	<p>3 = Yes – law enforcement official(s)</p> <p>4 = Yes – expert(s) and government official(s)</p> <p>5 = Yes – expert(s) and law enforcement official(s)</p> <p>6 = Yes – government and law enforcement official(s)</p> <p>7 = Yes – expert(s), government, and law enforcement, official(s)</p> <p>8 = No – there are no expert(s), government, or law enforcement, officials mentioned</p> <p>9 = No – but an American expert or official is quoted</p>
44. Are any Canadian experts, government, or law enforcement, officials quoted?	<p>0 = N/A no Canadian experts or officials are referenced</p> <p>1 = Yes – expert(s)</p> <p>2 = Yes – government official(s)</p> <p>3 = Yes – law enforcement official(s)</p> <p>4 = Yes – expert(s) and government official(s)</p> <p>5 = Yes – expert(s) and law enforcement official(s)</p> <p>6 = Yes – government and law enforcement official(s)</p> <p>7 = Yes – expert(s), government, and law enforcement, official(s)</p> <p>8 = No – none of the expert(s) or official(s) referenced are quoted</p> <p>9 = No – but an American expert or official is quoted</p>
45. Provided that at least one expert or official is quoted, how many words are in the statement(s)?	Input the total number of words in the experts' and/or officials' statement(s) compared to the words in the article (# of words in quote/# of words in article)
46. Provided that at least one expert or official is quoted, are the statements primarily facts-based or feelings-based?	<p>0 = N/A there are no Canadian experts or officials quoted</p> <p>1 = The statements are primarily facts-based</p> <p>2 = The statements are primarily feelings-based</p> <p>3 = The statements are both facts- and feelings-based</p> <p>4 = The statements are neither facts- nor feelings-based</p>
47. Overall, would you describe the author's sentiment as pro- or anti-government?	<p>0 = N/A no mention of government (officials) is made</p> <p>1 = Pro-government</p> <p>2 = Anti-governement</p> <p>3 = Neither/Neutral</p>
48. Overall, would you describe the author's sentiment as pro- or anti-law enforcement?	<p>0 = N/A no mention of law enforcement (officials) is made</p> <p>1 = Pro-law enforcement</p> <p>2 = Anti-law enforcement</p> <p>3 = Neither/Neutral</p>
49. Provided the author is critical of Canadian government and/or law enforcement responses to trafficking, of what is the author most critical?	<p>0 = N/A the author is not critical of Canadian government and/or law enforcement responses to trafficking</p> <p>1 = Lack of prevention of human trafficking</p> <p>2 = Lack of protection of human trafficking victims</p> <p>3 = Lack of prosecution of human traffickers</p> <p>4 = Lack of prevention and protection</p> <p>5 = Lack of prevention and prosecution</p> <p>6 = Lack of protection and prosecution</p> <p>7 = Lack of prevention, protection, and prosecution</p> <p>8 = Other (input the issue of which the author is most critical)</p>
50. Does the author offer	1 = Yes

suggestions or solutions regarding human trafficking and/or <i>Craigslist</i> ?	2 = No
51. Who does author name, blame, or shame the most in the article?	0 = N/A author does not name, blame, or shame anything or anyone 1 = <i>Craigslist</i> 2 = Victims 3 = Perpetrators 4 = Media 5 = Government 6 = Law enforcement 7 = <i>Craigslist</i> and perpetrators 8 = <i>Craigslist</i> , perpetrators, media, government, and law enforcement 9 = Victims and perpetrators 10 = Other (input the person or party which the author most names, shames, or blames)

### *Limitations of content analysis*

I acknowledge that there are several limitations of content analysis, as well as limitations specific to my project. As Sommer (2006) explains, “content analysis is a purely descriptive method,” describing “what is there” in media content, but not necessarily revealing ‘why’ certain patterns are observed in the content (para. 4). Furthermore, content analysis is limited by the availability of material, and, thus, may produce trends which are not, in fact, “an accurate reflection of reality” (Sommer, 2006, para. 5). Thus, it is critical that one scrutinizes their content analysis research process, and is transparent about the limitations of their particular project. The following limitations of content analysis are evident in *Human Trafficking 2.0*:

1. *There is not equal, or representative, reporting coverage in all provinces and territories*
  - The content analysis method did not return articles from newspapers published across Canada that were representative of all provinces and territories. Only six provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan) are represented in the articles analyzed, and the findings that follow. However, this limitation

is not insurmountable as the provinces with the greatest coverage on the issue of *Craigslist* and human trafficking – British Columbia, Ontario, and Alberta – correlate to the most populated provinces of Canada, with British Columbia, Ontario, and Alberta representing three out of the four most populated provinces in Canada (excluding Quebec). Thus, while the coverage is not exhaustive, it can be deemed representative of Canadian discourse on the issue.

2. *The research did not involve multiple coders, and, thus, does not ensure the highest degree of reliability and validity* – Due to resource limitations, I did not involve multiple coders in the project. Unfortunately, the involvement of multiple coders could have both increased the scope of the project, allowing for the analysis of a wider range of content, and better ensured the reliability and validity of the findings generated. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this project, a content analysis of Canadian newspapers reporting on the issue sufficed as newspapers represented multiple regions of Canada, and were readily accessible to me via the McMaster Library database.
3. *There is a discrepancy between the date range in which the articles are published, and the most recent Craigslist website update* – I acknowledge the challenge of comparing past newspaper reports on the issue of *Craigslist*'s alleged facilitation of human trafficking with *Craigslist*'s current user policies and structures as denoted on their home website, [www.craigslist.org](http://www.craigslist.org). Since the majority of the newspaper articles that are critically examined in the content analysis were written prior to the website's most recent content update of March 26, 2012 ([www.craigslist.org/about](http://www.craigslist.org/about), 20 July 2012), some of the articles may address issues on *Craigslist*'s website that have since been resolved.

4. *Despite the use of a pilot study, the variables tested did not all produce significant, or highly valuable, results* – In the findings that follow, it is apparent that not all variables returned highly significant or valuable findings. Unfortunately, I could not deduce that these variables would not warrant results in my preliminary review of a portion of the articles for the pilot study. However, it is important to note that the absence of significant results or information, when anticipated, can also convey latent meanings, or reveal deeper truths in content analysis.

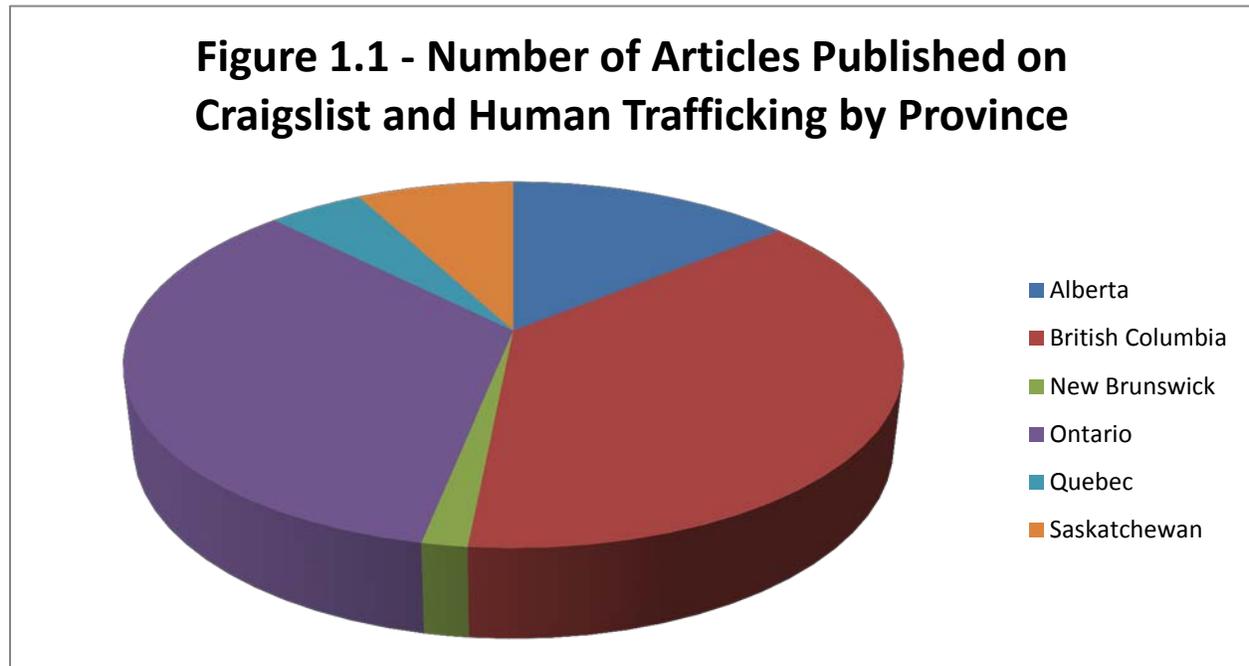
#### *Key Findings of Content Analysis*

The parameters outlined in the preceding *Methodology* section returned 64 valid, newspaper articles from 20 Canadian newspapers. For organizational purposes, the findings of the content analysis will be articulated according to their contribution in answering the research questions denoted above.

RQ1: Is Canadian news reporting on *Craigslist* and human trafficking concentrated in a particular part of Canada? How and to what extent does this correlate to the findings articulated in *Project SECLUSION*? How and to what extent does this correlate to the framing of human trafficking as a domestic or international issue?

As illustrated in Figure 1.1 below, the findings of the content analysis reveal a heavy concentration of reporting on the use of *Craigslist* for human trafficking purposes in Western Canada with 59.4% of articles located in Alberta, British Columbia, or Saskatchewan newspapers. On an individual province level, British Columbia and Ontario led on reporting of *Craigslist* and human trafficking with newspapers issuing the greatest number of articles on the

issue, accounting for 37.5%, and 34.4% of all articles, respectively.



Specifically, *The Vancouver Sun* published the greatest number of articles on the issue, representing 14.1% of all Canadian reporting on *Craigslist* and human trafficking, with *The Vancouver Province*, and *The Calgary Sun*, following as a close second, each representing 9.4% of all Canadian reporting on the issue. The provincial breakdown of reporting on the issue of *Craigslist* and human trafficking directly correlates to Project SECLUSION's finding that Alberta and Ontario are the most commonly reported provinces for situations of forced labour human trafficking, and that British Columbia and Ontario are the most commonly reported provinces for situations of sex trafficking, with 86% of the articles written representing Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario.

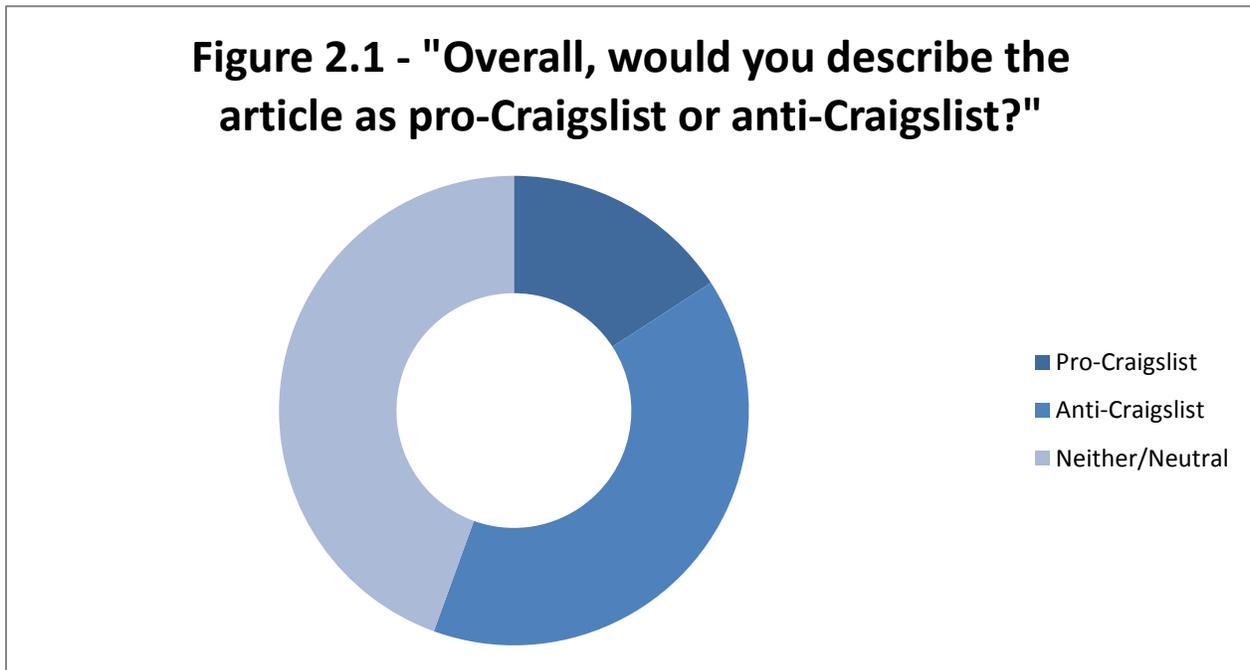
I was pleasantly surprised by the politics of location assigned to the issue of *Craigslist* and human trafficking. Content analysis conveys that 82.8% of authors framed human trafficking as a domestic, Canadian issue, representing a decisive acknowledgement that human trafficking is, indeed a problem in Canada. However, I was shocked that the vast majority of Canadian

newsmakers (90.6%) did not cite any international, or domestic, human trafficking facts or figures; thus, failing to communicate the scope and breadth of the issue of human trafficking, and, thereby, perpetuating the culture of ignorance among Canadians about the issue of human trafficking.

RQ2: How and to what extent do authors frame *Craigslist* as socially responsible for the use of *Craigslist* for the purpose of human trafficking? How and to what extent do authors negatively frame advances in communications technology, such as platforms like *Craigslist*, due to the potentialities of human trafficking online?

Based on the parameters outlined for the selection of articles for content analysis, it is not unexpected that 100% of the articles returned in the LexisNexis query explicitly mention *Craigslist* at least once in the article (variable six). In analyzing the ‘blame’ assigned to *Craigslist*, an article was deemed to blame *Craigslist* if it used negative language in association with the company, advocated legal action against *Craigslist*, maligned a *Craigslist* employee (in particular, CEO Jim Buckmaster), and/or suggested that the parameters articulated on craigslist.org are insufficient, and lacking, in preventing illegal actions. Research highlights that the majority of authors, 43.8% frame *Craigslist* as to ‘blame’ for their lack of social responsibility, prevention, and/or response to alleged human trafficking practices on their website. Another 29.7% of authors both ‘blame’ and ‘defend’ *Craigslist* throughout the course of their article, meaning that in a cumulative 73.5% of the articles on *Craigslist* and human trafficking, *Craigslist* is attributed blame for allowing human trafficking to occur, or not stopping human trafficking from occurring, online via *Craigslist*. Even so, as Figure 2.1 illustrates, the majority of the articles surveyed (43.8%) are actually “neutral” on *Craigslist* as an organization, and, while they may frame *Craigslist* as socially responsible for this issue, they are

not necessarily “anti-*Craigslist*” or anti-new communications technology. Interestingly, while 39.1% of the articles expose a



blatant, “anti-*Craigslist*” sentiment, this view does not translate to a viewpoint which is necessarily against all new communications technology, and new media’s inherent technological capabilities, with only 7.8% of the articles articulating an “anti-communications” viewpoint. An “anti-communications” viewpoint was determined by the author’s use of language concerning the ‘dangers’ of communication, the author’s suggestion that communications technology advances are the reason for illegal activities, such as human trafficking, and/or the use of negative language to describe the development, and proliferation, of new media. Of the communications technologies and advances referenced, ‘the Internet’, as well as specific websites and platforms that have also been utilized for human trafficking purposes, is the most commonly cited new media, other than *Craigslist*. The final variable for analysis asks who the author primarily labels, and blames for domestic human trafficking occurring on *Craigslist* in Canada, revealing that the majority of Canadian news reports on the issue, 53.1%, blame

*Craigslist*, as an organization. Canadian newsmakers decision to primarily blame, and target, *Craigslist* by publishing clearly “anti-*Craigslist*” articles is problematic in creating a sustainable reponse to human trafficking 2.0. I will problematize the naming, and blaming of *Craigslist* in the *Analysis* section that follows.

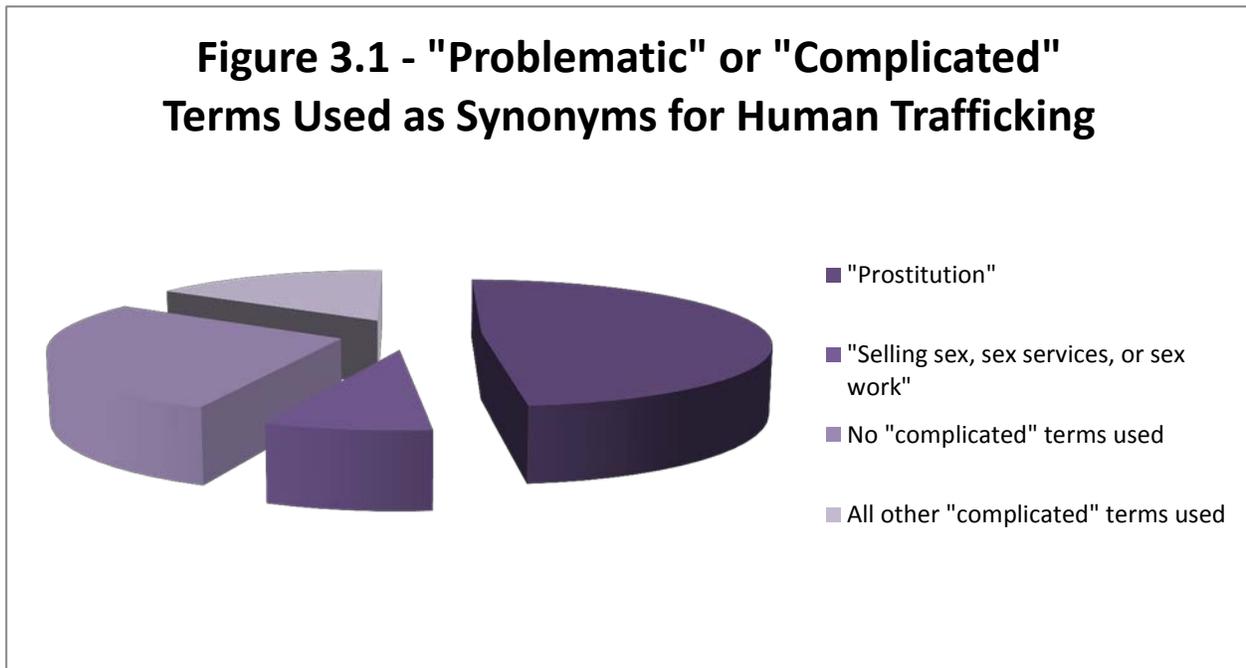
As I articulated in the first section of this project, human trafficking is a slippery term,

RQ3: How and to what extent does the multiplicity of terms, or synonyms, used for human trafficking in Canadian news articles on the issue of *Craigslist*'s alleged facilitation of human trafficking online frame the issue the issue in a more complex, or problematic manner? Is there an ideal term, or description, for domestic human trafficking issues?

often used as a buzzword without proper explanation, or consideration. In order to truly combat human trafficking, it is imperative that the definition of human trafficking is understood, and that Canadian newsmakers employ appropriate terminology in naming human trafficking. Given the search parameters for this content analysis (articles returned by the LexisNexis search must include the terms “*Craigslist*” and “human trafficking”), it is surprising that only 82.8% of the articles analyzed actually used the term human trafficking. Moreover, of the 82.8% of the articles which utilize the term human trafficking, the term is used, on average, 1.8 times per articles, which is also lower than I anticipated.

However, I am most intrigued with the synonyms, and ‘other’ terms used for human trafficking in Canadian news reporting. In the vast majority of articles, 82.8%, another term, or synonym, for human trafficking is also used to depict the illegal acts that are facilitated on *Craigslist*. Reporters preferred to label human trafficking using a multiplicity of terms throughout their writing, with 34.4% of articles using multiple other terms for synonyms, or terms, for human trafficking. Yet, only one article reviewed actually defined human trafficking,

leaving readers to determine what human trafficking entails, and assuming that the Canadian public can discern what each term, or synonym, denotes. The second most commonly used term, or alleged synonym, for human trafficking is “exploitation, sexual exploitation, or child sexually exploitation,” with 23.4% of authors using one of these terms to describe human trafficking. Finally, “sex trafficking” is the third most commonly used term, operationalized in 9.4% of the articles analyzed. Interestingly, in every article, authors depict *Craigslist* as facilitating sex trafficking online; yet, less than 10% of Canadian newsmakers name the illegal act as such, identifying a clear knowledge gap in reporting to, and presumably, informing of, the Canadian public.



Furthermore, as Figure 3.1 demonstrates, 71.9% of the articles analyzed use a “problematic” or “complicated” term as synonymous with human trafficking. The most commonly used ‘loaded’ term is “prostitution,” which is employed by authors in 48.4% of the news articles reviewed. The second, most commonly used “problematic” or “complicated” term that is used as synonymous with human trafficking is the description of these practices as

“selling sex, sex services, or sex work.” While it is crucial that human trafficking is accurately defined, and understood, in order to effectively combat human trafficking, it is equally, if not more, critical that “problematic” and “complicated” terms are clearly delineated in news reporting on human trafficking as the misuse of ‘loaded’ terms as synonymous with human trafficking will conjure up, and mobilize, an entirely different response among the Canadian public. I will take issue with the terms used to describe human trafficking in more detail in the later, *Analysis* section of this paper, and I will also suggest the language that I believe should be used to describe human trafficking in order to mobilize a positive, effective, and sustainable anti-trafficking response in Canada.

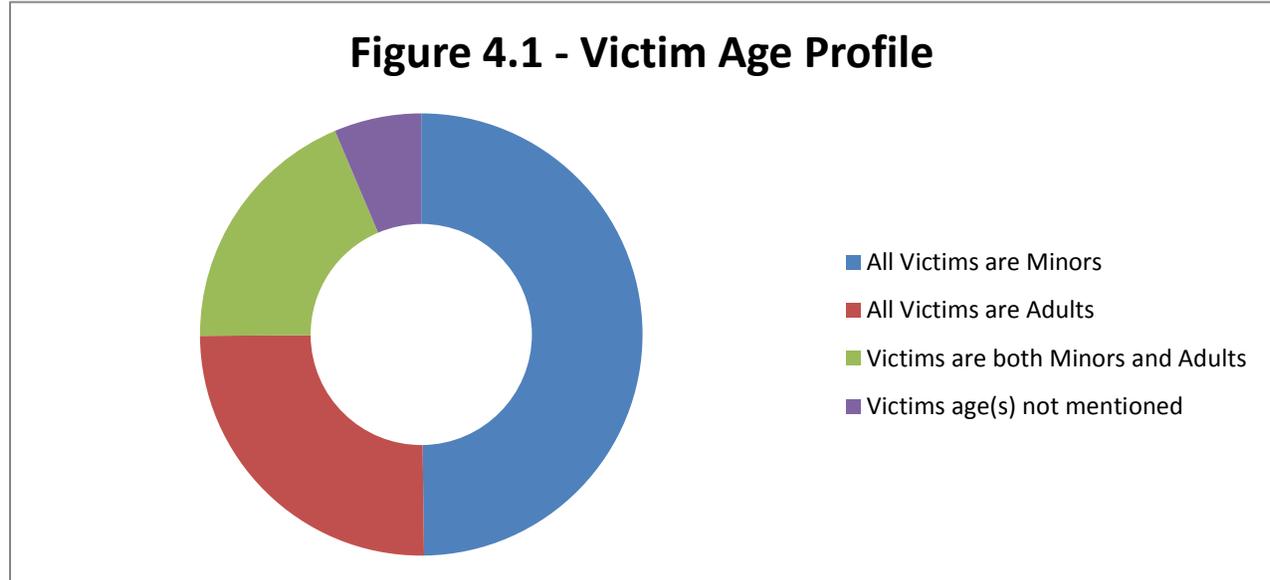
RQ4: How and to what extent are victims, perpetrators, and officials (experts, government, and law enforcement personnel) uniquely represented in Canadian human trafficking discourse; specifically, where is power, agency, and voice located?

This portion of my *Key findings of content analysis* will be divided based on observations of victims, perpetrators, and officials in order to best observe the trends arising concerning the representation of each of these groups in Canadian news reporting on *Craigslist* and human trafficking.

#### *Victims (variables 17-26)*

In the 25% of news reports describing victims, reporters repeatedly construct victims of human trafficking as female minors. As Figure 4.1 exemplifies, females account for 93.6% of the victims described, with 50% of the articles detailing victims who are “minors,” and 18.8% of the articles depicting victims that are “both minors and adults.” I find it astonishing that more reporters do not profile victims, or use victim stories, to better illustrate the impact of human trafficking. In the *Analysis* section that follows, I will purport that reporters predominately report

on female minors because they are utilizing the ‘worthy victim’ frame.



In addition to describing a victim’s age and gender, 4.7% of the articles provide the victim’s name, two articles directly quote a victim (one victim quoted in each article), and 9.4% of articles include a victim’s story that is paraphrased by the reporter. Consequently, it logically follows from these numbers that victims are not awarded much voice or agency in the news reports analyzed. In my analysis of voice, determining whether statements were “facts-based,” I accounted for whether the individual quoted reflected on what happened, whether or not they sourced dates or numbers, and whether or not the individual was positioned as a reliable source by the reporter. In determining whether statements were “feelings-based,” I considered whether or not the individual quoted reflected on how they felt about the situation, and the amount of emotional or descriptive language in their quote. Contrary to my prior assumptions, the two victim statements given are primarily “facts-based,” with reporters asking victims ‘what they know,’ rather than ‘what they feel’. Surprisingly, and, perhaps, disappointingly, only 23.5% of the articles analyzed are “victim-centered.” In my later *Analysis*, I will suggest that framing the

issue of domestic human trafficking as victim-centered is imperative to making the issue more proximate to Canadians, conveying the urgency required of Canadians' response.

*Perpetrators (variables 27-36)*

The content analysis returned slightly more articles that depicted perpetrators, than those articles which depicted victims, by means of 32.8% of the news reports analyzed depicting at least one perpetrator. Contrary to the 'female minor' victim profile, adult males are portrayed as the most common perpetrator in author's profiling of human traffickers, with 76.5% of authors referencing at least one male perpetrator, and 76.2% of authors referencing at least one adult perpetrator. Furthermore, in 10.9% of the article, at least one perpetrator's full name is given, while an additional 21.9% of Canadian news reports allude to perpetrators, but do not name specific perpetrators. Appropriately so, authors award perpetrators very little voice and agency, with none of the articles reviewed quoting traffickers, and only 4.7% of the articles reviewed paraphrasing a perpetrator's story through police reporting, or another source. While I do not think that perpetrators should be afforded more voice or agency in news reports, I will later propose that more than 20.3% of the articles reviewed should be regarded as "perpetrator-centered" in order to indicate Canadians' seriousness on the issue of domestic human trafficking, and in order to deter, and defame, perpetrators.

*Officials (variables 43-46)*

Finally, when analyzing the power, agency, and voice afforded to the various parties cited in Canadian news reports on the use of *Craigslist* for domestic human trafficking, it is clear that officials' voices dominate Canadian media representation, clearly reflecting the power and agency assigned to officials in Canadian human trafficking discourse. Most commonly, reporters reference Canadian government officials as indicated by the 28.1% of articles which refer only to

Canadian government officials. However, in a large majority (26.6%) of the articles, experts, government officials, and law enforcement officials are referenced, each uniquely contributing to the dialogue on *Craigslist*'s facilitation of human trafficking in Canada. I was surprised that, in 14.1% of the articles, no Canadian experts or officials are referenced, yet an American official or expert is referenced, potentially signifying that Canadian anti-human trafficking policies, and action, are prompted by U.S. direction, and prior action, on the issue. The officials who are directly quoted mirrors the pattern of the officials referenced, with government officials being the most quoted source in 23.4% of the articles, and experts, government officials, and law enforcement officials all given voice in 18.8% of the reports. Finally, while experts and officials are framed in a powerful manner, and given an authoritative voice on the matter of domestic human trafficking on *Craigslist*, surprisingly, the Canadian experts' and officials' voices do not solely account for factual information, rather, the vast majority of expert and official quotes are "both facts- and feelings-based."

RQ5: How and to what extent do Canadian news outlets commend, or blame *Craigslist*, the Canadian government, and Canadian law enforcement officials in their response to: a) human trafficking through the use of digital platforms; b) the negotiation and balance of human rights and freedoms in human trafficking discourse; and c) anti-trafficking measures both online and offline?

Surprisingly, despite a lack of legislation and policy regarding the governance and policing of human trafficking practices online, analysis revealed that Canadian reporters were overwhelmingly "pro-government" and "pro-law enforcement" in their reporting. While almost half of reporters (42.2%) cite Canadian anti-trafficking legislation, the majority of reports (89.1%) do not cite and other Canadian legislation or rights, with only 4.7% of articles citing

“communications” legislation, 3.1% citing “freedom of speech” rights, and 1.6% citing surveillance or privacy rights. All of the reporters that cite legislation in their articles are “pro-legislation,” framing legislation as a positive response, with 4.7% of reporters recommending an increase in legislation, or new legislation in response to human trafficking online. Thus, due to the minimal discussion on other rights, freedoms, and legislation, it is not unexpected that only one reporter takes issue with the balance of human rights and freedoms in human trafficking discourse. In response to anti-trafficking measures both offline and online, 45.3% of authors are not critical of the Canadian government’s response to, and legislation regarding, human trafficking. Of the reporters who do criticize the Canadian government and law enforcement responses to domestic human trafficking, 74.2% of these authors are critical of the lack of attention to “prevention,” of human trafficking, and “prosecution” of traffickers. As I present my considerations in the *Analysis* section, I will suggest that there needs to be a shift in blame from *Craigslist*, as an individual organization (which is blamed in 53.1% of the articles), to the Canadian government (which is blamed in only 7.8% of the articles), and its legislation, in order to truly create sustainable, anti-trafficking change in Canada.

### *Analysis*

In developing this project, I initially planned to compare the findings of my content analysis to actual case studies from court cases against *Craigslist* concerning the use of *Craigslist* for human trafficking purposes. Unfortunately, a search of LexisNexis legal cases, and several other legal research databases, returned only one, American case in which the plaintiff, a U.S. county sheriff, Thomas Dart, “alleged that the ‘adult’ services section of [the] defendant’s [Craigslist’s] Internet classifieds service facilitated prostitution and constituted a public nuisance” (*Dart v. CRAIGSLIST INC.*, 2009). Thus, a more comparative analysis section is

limited due to the absence of available Canadian legal cases pertaining to *Craigslist* and human trafficking. Even still, content analysis of *Craigslist's* alleged facilitation of domestic human trafficking online generated several beneficial considerations for the future of reporting on, and fight against, domestic human trafficking in Canada. In order to clearly digest the *Key Findings of Content Analysis*, I will utilize sub-headings to clearly define the considerations, and recommendations, which stem from this project.

*Underuse of facts and figures in reporting*

Throughout the articles reviewed, facts and figures, pertaining to both domestic and international human trafficking, are severely underused. In order to best compel their audience, Canadian newsmakers should use facts and figures to illustrate the scope of human trafficking, and to communicate the gravity, and urgency, of the issue. Furthermore, newsmakers should use facts and figures to illustrate the connection between developments in media usage and technology, and domestic human trafficking, using facts and figures to demonstrate human trafficking 2.0. By using facts and figures successfully, authors will effectively move domestic human trafficking and human trafficking 2.0 onto Canadians' radar by making the issue more proximate, salient, and resonant among Canadians.

*Naming and blaming Craigslist is problematic, creating an unsustainable response*

Secondly, the findings above clearly demonstrate that Canadian newsmakers primarily named and blamed *Craigslist* for enabling human traffickers to use their website through the "erotic services" and "adult" listings sections. However, naming and blaming *Craigslist* as socially responsible for facilitating human trafficking 2.0 is problematic because it generates an unsustainable, and ineffective, response to domestic human trafficking. In order to create real change in the anti-human trafficking discourse in Canada, newsmakers should target the

Canadian government, assigning blame to the lack of awareness about domestic human trafficking in Canada, and to the lack of legislation concerning the use of technology for human trafficking, or human trafficking 2.0. *Craigslist's* response to the demands of the Canadian government to amend their site, in order to prevent human trafficking online, are actually "voluntary precautions," and, consequently, are not an effective response. By targeting and blaming *Craigslist*, newsmakers are essentially blaming *Craigslist* for human trafficking online. Targeting *Craigslist* alone for their alleged facilitation of human trafficking online is akin to targeting *McDonalds* alone for their menu's alleged facilitation of unhealthy eating, and, therefore, obesity; while, in fact, even if *McDonalds* serves an entirely healthy and nutritious menu, people will continue to go elsewhere for unhealthy food, consequently continuing to perpetuate the problem of obesity. Similarly, while *Craigslist* has been used more than other websites for the purposes of human trafficking, the sole targeting of *Craigslist* means that, even if amending, governing, and policing *Craigslist* leads to the decreased facilitation of human trafficking on *Craigslist*, human trafficking 2.0 will inevitably migrate elsewhere, occurring on other websites. Without the proper changes to legislation concerning Web 2.0 technology, and Internet platforms, human trafficking 2.0 will continue to thrive, whether on *Craigslist*, or elsewhere. Thus, in future reporting on domestic human trafficking, newsmakers should target, name, and blame the Canadian government for its inaction, or lack of effective legislation on the issue, necessarily indicting Canadian government and law enforcement officials to create effective legislation, and, thereby, inciting sustainable, anti-trafficking change in Canada.

*Failing to define human trafficking, and the use of multiple terms, is problematic*

Additionally, content analysis reveals that Canadian newsmakers continue to use human trafficking as a buzzword, rather than clearly defining, and disseminating understanding about,

human trafficking. Perhaps Canadian reporters assume that the general Canadian public clearly understands what human trafficking entails. However, as the first section of this paper clearly identified, human trafficking is a slippery term, and the misconceptions about human trafficking are many. Thus, it is astonishing that only one reporter, *The Globe and Mail's*, Camille Bains, actually defined human trafficking in order to successfully compel, and mobilize, her audience. Moreover, of the 64 articles analyzed, every article actually described sex trafficking, and, yet, the issue is not described or defined as sex trafficking in over 90% of the articles. Newsmakers must effectively use their words to define actions, and inform the public, in order to mobilize consensus among the Canadian public, and the Canadian government. Without properly defining human trafficking, and the specific facet of human trafficking that is particularly prevalent in human trafficking 2.0 – sex trafficking – newsmakers fail to generate understanding, and dispel the age of agnotology, about domestic human trafficking; thus, perpetuating and prolonging the issue through their inadequate communication.

Furthermore, the majority of newsmakers use problematic or ‘loaded’ terms that detract from the issue at hand – domestic human trafficking. Terms, like “prostitution” and “sex work,” are used as synonyms for human trafficking, effectively diminishing the social problem that is domestic human trafficking, and, consequently, weakening the response of the Canadian public to human trafficking in Canada. There is a great deal of misunderstanding, misconception, debate, and stigma associated with the aforementioned, loaded terms; hence, they are problematic when accompanying reporting on the issue of human trafficking because audiences subsequently relate this misunderstanding, misconception, debate, and stigma to domestic human trafficking, potentially leading to their avoidance of, preconceived ideas about, or inaction on the issue of human trafficking. Thus, in future reporting on the issue of human trafficking 2.0, I

recommend that Canadian newsmakers first, use the proper term in describing the issue at hand (i.e. in this case, sex trafficking), define the term, and avoid the use of ‘problematic’ or ‘loaded’ terms as synonyms for the issue in order to most accurately inform, and mobilize the Canadian public.

*Newsmakers use of the “worthy victim” frame can be limiting*

In their book, *Manufacturing Consent*, Herman and Chomsky (1988) first introduced the concept of “worthy” and “unworthy victims,” and the frames that mass media assign in their reporting on victims. Throughout the articles reviewed, Canadian news reporters repeatedly frame the “worthy victim” as the female minor by prioritizing the representation of these vulnerable victims because of their apparent inability to represent themselves, as indicated by their lack of agency, voice, or power. While I support Canadian newsmakers’ advocacy of female minors, I do not agree with their construction of female minors as the sole “worthy victim” of human trafficking 2.0. While it is easier to construct the minor victim as one who is easily deceived, manipulated, and coerced, and easier to generate understanding about the abuse and exploitation of minors among one’s audience, it is problematic to exclude adult victims from reporting since there are many adult victims, and since adults are also abused and exploited in cases of domestic human trafficking. Newsmakers must be cautious that they do not revictimize, or silence, victims of human trafficking in their exclusion, or lack of reporting on, adult victims. Furthermore, by conflating terms like “prostitution” and “sex work” with human trafficking, newsmakers can construct adult victims as the consensual, deviant other, while minors are defended, by their age, as decisively vulnerable and exploited, and, therefore, “worthy victims.” Based on my findings, I suggest that, in the future, Canadian newsmakers should equally report, and represent, all victims, regardless of gender, and age, in order to clearly communicate to the

Canadian public that the very nature, and definition, of human trafficking means that all victims are exploited, vulnerable, and “worthy.”

*Underuse of the victim’s voice*

In addition to ensuring that all victims are represented in Canadian news discourse on domestic human trafficking, Canadian newsmakers should also use the victim’s voice and story more frequently, and effectively, in order to frame the issue of domestic human trafficking more empathetically, thereby making the issue more proximate to Canadians. As articulated in the *Key Findings* above, many news reporters do not quote or paraphrase a victim in their article. While words, and publication space, are always limited in news reporting, news reporters should prioritize the inclusion of the victim’s voice because “victim-centered” articles make the issue more empathetic to audiences, and, thus, compel audiences to action. The victim’s story and circumstances help dispel misconceptions, and make the issue of domestic human trafficking more proximate by connecting one Canadian, the victim of domestic trafficking, to another, the Canadian who *can* enable change, bringing audiences to a decisive moment, rather than enabling them to simply read the story, and forget the issue.

*Naming and shaming perpetrators*

While the victim’s voice is underused, the naming and shaming of perpetrators is also absent from the majority of the articles reviewed, with 89.1% of articles failing to name a perpetrator of human trafficking 2.0. In the future of Canadian domestic trafficking discourse, newsmakers make a point of naming and shaming perpetrators in an attempt to deter future perpetrators, and in an effort to communicate to the Canadian public the seriousness of the issue.

*Americans inciting change in Canada?*

The *Key Findings* of this project also evidence that Canadian reporting on *Craigslist's* alleged facilitation of human trafficking online is inextricably caught up in Canada's relationship with its neighbour to the south – the United States. The vast majority of articles reference the previous U.S. legislation and ruling against *Craigslist*, with several authors even directly quoting U.S. officials. This finding raised a red flag for me – must the U.S. set a legal precedent in order for Canada to follow suit? Could we, as Canadians, not instigate our own decisions, anti-trafficking legislation, and change without, first, justifying them through a U.S. frame of reference? Is our response to U.S. legislation on *Craigslist* and human trafficking yet another example of Canada's reactionary legislation, or are newsmakers framing Canada's decision as following from the U.S.' previous decision in order to establish, and ground, their position, thus, leading to a speedier consensus? Could it be that U.S. newsmakers establish the agenda for Canadian newsmakers? While I certainly believe that Canadians should make anti-human trafficking an issue on the media agenda by their own accord, and that the Canadian government should prioritize the creation of anti-trafficking legislation without prompting from prior, similar legislation in the U.S., I do appreciate that newsmakers may have been citing the initial U.S. push, and legislation, for purposes of accuracy, or to expedite action by the Canadian government. Regardless, as Canadian newsmakers move toward generating understanding about domestic human trafficking, and human trafficking 2.0, and anti-trafficking action, they should be careful to establish this discourse solely within a Canadian context, rather than justifying, and framing, their cause through a U.S. lens.

*Mobilizing gatekeeping and agenda-setting theory in anti-trafficking discourse*

Finally, as prior *Analysis* suggests, Canadian newsmakers should utilize gatekeeping and agenda-setting theory to their advantage in developing, promoting, disseminating, and

mobilizing anti-trafficking discourse. If Canadian media were specific, and united, in their requests of the Canadian government pertaining to domestic human trafficking, they would effectively use their position as gatekeepers to make the issue of domestic human trafficking, and human trafficking 2.0 prominent on the public agenda, thus dispelling the age of agnotology in Canada about domestic human trafficking.

### *Conclusion*

I saw what I saw and I can't forget it.  
I heard what I heard and I can't go back.  
I know what I know and I can't deny it.  
Something on the road, cut me to the soul.  
Your pain has changed me, your dream inspires.  
Your face a memory, your hope a fire.  
Your courage asks me what I'm afraid of,  
And what I know of love.  
- Sara Groves

In conclusion, discourse analysis charging the Canadian government, law enforcement, and media, with creating a culture of ignorance about domestic human trafficking in Canada is effectively investigated, and analyzed, through content analysis of Canadian news reporting on *Craigslist's* alleged facilitation of human trafficking online, divulging important considerations, and attainable improvements for the future of anti-human trafficking discourse in Canada. By situating human trafficking within a uniquely Canadian context, Canadians are enabled, and equipped to respond to the issue of domestic human trafficking in Canada, in all its nuances, developments, and manifestations online as *Human Trafficking 2.0*. This project does not end in the words, charts, figures, or claims on these pages. Rather, *Human Trafficking 2.0* brings Canadians proximate to the issue of domestic human trafficking, presenting the cold hard facts about the use of communications technologies for the purposes of human trafficking in order that, through knowledge, we, as Canadians, might be moved to care, forced to act, and forever changed by the story of another; a story that need not be true forever, a story that need be

changed in order for Canada to truly be “O, Canada – glorious and free.” *Human Trafficking 2.0* is a call for change, a call for the use of the very digital, and Web 2.0 technologies, which hold these negative capabilities and potentialities, “aiding and abetting” human trafficking 2.0, for surveillance and counteraction of human trafficking online, and for developing community, conversation, and engagement in anti-human trafficking practices both online and offline. This project is hopeful that Canada will become famous, instead, for its proactive, anti-trafficking legislation, protection of freedom, in all its forms, and for acknowledging, and combatting, the realities of domestic human trafficking in Canada. Even throughout the duration of this project, the Canadian government released the *National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking* in June 2012, clearly taking a step in the right direction in the fight against domestic human trafficking, and effectively moving towards a future that is hopeful for change. As Sara Groves writes, “I know what I know, and I can’t deny it” (Groves, 2007, para. 1-3). We, as Canadians *know* about the realities of *Human Trafficking 2.0*; the only question that remains is – will we have the courage and conviction to do something about it?

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