Anti-Human Trafficking Project of the Women’s Support Network of York Region: GBA+ Report

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August 2013
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Anti-Human Trafficking Project of the Women’s Support Network of York Region was funded by Status of Women Canada.
I. INTRODUCTION

Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) is an analytical tool used by the federal government of Canada to advance gender equality. It represents an enhanced, modernized version of the previously used tool, Gender-Based Analysis (GBA), in that while the primary focus remains on gender, the analysis takes into consideration intersecting factors, such as race, ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic class, language, age, geography, etc. This analysis “is used to assess the impacts of policies, programs or initiatives on diverse groups of women and men, girls and boys. It helps recognize and respond to the different situations and needs of the Canadian population”.

This report presents findings of GBA+ conducted as part of the two-year (2011–2013) Anti-Human Trafficking Project (AHTP) implemented by the Women’s Support Network of York Region (WSN). The AHTP has been funded by Status of Women Canada as a “Blueprint Project” under the theme “Using Gender-Based Analysis to Improve Community Safety.” This report was prepared by Natalya Timoshkina, PhD, Assistant Professor with the Lakehead University-Orillia School of Social Work, in collaboration with Kelly Cameron, MSW, Human Trafficking Program Developer for the WSN, and Research Assistants Raluca Bejan, PhD Cand., Jason Singh Mukhi, MSW, and Aileen Schultz, HBA.

The WSN is a women-focused agency operating under feminist principles. It provides free, non-judgmental counseling, advocacy, and support to victims of sexual violence. The agency serves Ontario’s York Region, which includes 9 municipalities (the City of Markham, the City of Vaughan, the Town of Richmond Hill, the Town of Newmarket, the Town of Aurora, the Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville, the Town of East Gwillimbury, the Town of Georgina, and the Township of King) and extends from the City of Toronto in the south to Lake Simcoe in the north, and Durham Region in the east to Peel Region and Simcoe County in the west, covering 1,776 square kilometres. The region comprises urban, suburban and rural areas, and a First Nations community – the Chippewas of Georgina Island. York Region also is home to the most diverse population in Canada, with high proportion of immigrants and visible minorities: its 1,084,000 residents come from 204 ethnic groups and speak more than 60 languages. In 2011, over 51% of the region’s population were female.

As of the end of 2012, within York Region, there have been 15 charges of human trafficking laid, affecting 16 victims and resulting in 1 conviction, with 4 cases still before the courts; all but 2 of those charges involved cases of sex trafficking. Sex trafficking of women has been identified as occurring throughout York Region within hotels, residences, body rub parlours, and adult entertainment venues, with trafficked women being ‘advertised’ for commercial sex acts in online postings. The presence of a large First Nations population in the region is a significant factor, since Aboriginal women and girls are at a particularly high risk for sexual exploitation and gender-based violence (Perrin, 2010; Native Women’s Association of Canada [NWAC], 2010; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Stewart, 2007). Sex trafficking within York Region and the work of York Regional Police (YRP) to combat the problem received national attention when featured on television in the Spring of 2012 in a CTV W5 documentary on the sex trade in Canada.

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2 Sources: Black (2013); official website of York Region [http://www.york.ca/About+Us/default+About+Us.htm](http://www.york.ca/About+Us/default+About+Us.htm); Statistics Canada (2013).
3 These statistics were provided to the WSN by the Vice Unit of York Regional Police.
The overall aim of the AHTP was to address trafficking in women for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) within York Region. The specific objectives of the project were: (1) to develop an infrastructure for programmatic service delivery to victims/survivors of sex trafficking and individuals at risk for CSE by building partnerships and collaborations with relevant stakeholders; (2) to develop and pilot a range of sex trafficking (self)assessment/screening tools and information materials for women and girls, as well as service providers, the law enforcement, and the community at large; (3) to increase community awareness about the problem of human trafficking; (4) to facilitate service provider training; and (5) to provide direct services to victims/survivors of sex trafficking and individuals at-risk for CSE.

The AHTP included six intersecting components/clusters of activity: (1) partnership building; (2) resource development; (3) education and training; (4) direct service provision to individuals affected by CSE; (5) outreach; and (6) GBA+. GBA+ has been woven throughout the entire cycle of the AHTP.

II. METHODOLOGY

II.1. GBA+ Questions

Specific questions which provided a framework for GBA+ were:

1) Who are the victims of sex trafficking?
2) Who are the traffickers?
3) Who are the recruiters?
4) Who are the clients?
5) Who are the target population groups when it comes to educating the public about sex trafficking?
6) Who are the educators?
7) How is each stakeholder organization responding to the problem of human trafficking and what role does GBA+ play in how the organization conducts its work?
8) Are the feminist values of the WSN being challenged throughout the project and how?
9) Are values of other stakeholders being challenged throughout the project and how?
10) How does this all relate to the provision of assistance to trafficked persons?
11) How does this all relate to community safety?

These questions have been developed by the Evaluator/GBA+ specialist in consultation with the AHTP stakeholders. GBA+ questions were addressed on a monthly basis in the meetings of the York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Committee (YRAHTC) comprising representatives of 25 partner organizations who have come together for the purposes of the project (see Appendix D). These questions also were discussed during the AHTP staff meetings, general WSN staff meetings and the WSN Board of Directors meetings, and explored in depth during qualitative interviews and a focus group with the AHTP stakeholders conducted as part of the summative
II.2. Review of Literature and Visual Resources

Using the aforementioned GBA+ questions as a framework, a comprehensive review of international literature and visual resources on human trafficking was conducted. In total, 225 publications and 12 visual resources were reviewed (see Appendix A). Publications included primarily empirical research studies, government reports and media articles, as well as information and awareness-raising pamphlets. Visual resources included documentaries, training videos, news segments, and video interviews. The findings of the review were used to inform stakeholder discussions, and were subsequently compared with the findings from the project to determine commonalities, differences and gaps in knowledge.

II.3. Original Data Sources and Data Analysis

The collection and storage of original data for this GBA+ report have been approved by the Ethics Review Board of Lakehead University as part of the research protocol for the summative evaluation of the AHTP.

The original sources of data included:

1) Qualitative interviews (N=7). Qualitative interviews were conducted with 7 WSN representatives involved with the project: Human Trafficking Program Developer (the AHTP Coordinator), Human Trafficking Case Manager, the WSN Executive Director, the WSN Finance and Administration Officer, the WSN Acting Executive Director, the WSN Program Manager, and the WSN Public Education and Outreach Coordinator. All interviewees were female; one was an experiential woman. The interviews were conducted at the conclusion of the project in April 2013. Of the 7 interviews, 1 was conducted face-to-face (in the WSN boardroom) and 6 over the phone – for convenience and privacy purposes. Each interview was digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews produced almost 10.5 hours of recording (623 minutes; mean=89 minutes), which translated into 169 pages of single-spaced text.

2) Focus group. One focus group with 7 representatives from 6 AHTP stakeholder organizations, who were active members of the YRAHTC, was conducted face-to-face in the WSN boardroom on April 10, 2103. All focus group participants were female. The participants included 3 front-line workers, 2 counsellors, a program manager, and a police sergeant. The participants represented a wide range of organizations/services, including women’s shelters (2), agencies linked to the legal system (2), youth services (1), homelessness and housing services (1), and the law enforcement (1). The AHTP/WSN representatives did not participate in the focus group to allow the stakeholders maximum freedom in expressing their opinions. The focus group was facilitated by the Evaluator and observed by a female Research Assistant (RA). The discussion was digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim; it produced 108 minutes of recording and a 33-page (single-spaced) transcript.

3) Trafficked women’s case files (N=40) and case summaries (n=3). A total of 40 closed case files of the victims/survivors of sex trafficking served by the AHTP were analyzed; the case files contained 95 pages of notes. In addition, one-page summaries (mini-case
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III. WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF SEX TRAFFICKING?

III.1. Findings from the Literature Review

Human trafficking occurs virtually everywhere in the world and takes on many forms: sexual exploitation, forced labour, forced marriage, the use of child soldiers, the use of persons for street begging, petty crime and organ removal, etc.
Due to its clandestine nature, precise figures on the extent of human trafficking are impossible to obtain. However, the available official statistics show that the overwhelming majority of human trafficking cases identified and prosecuted worldwide involve sex trafficking of women and girls (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2009; U.S. Department of State, 2012). The 2006 data from 61 countries, compiled by UNODC (2009), demonstrate that 79% of the trafficked victims were female (66% of all victims were women and 13% were girls); men and boys comprised 12% and 9% of the victims, respectively (p. 11). Further, “In the 52 countries where the form of exploitation was specified, 79% of the victims were subjected to sexual exploitation” (UNODC, 2009, p. 11). The most recent estimates provided by the International Labour Organization ([ILO], 2012) suggest that women and girls represent 98% percent of victims of sexual exploitation in the private economy and 55% of the estimated total 20.9 million victims of forced labour globally (p. 14).

Gender-specific and other sociodemographic data on TIP victims in Northern America are not readily available, as neither Canada nor the U.S.A. has a publicly accessible, detailed national database of human trafficking cases. It is known that, as of June 2013, Canada had 45 human trafficking cases in which convictions were secured: 65 individuals were convicted of human trafficking and/or related offences, such as forcible confinement, sexual assault, procuring, conspiracy, and participating in a criminal organization. About 75% of human trafficking cases purportedly occur in Southwestern Ontario, with 62.5% of them in the GTA (Yuen, 2012). Many human trafficking cases go unreported or never make it to court, mainly due to the victims’ fear of revenge from traffickers and distrust of authorities (PACT Canada, 2013a, 2013b; Perrin, 2010; RCMP, 2010). Various police sources and counter-trafficking NGOs report that the majority of human trafficking cases in Canada involve commercial sexual exploitation of women and girls (Bell, 2013; PACT Canada, 2013a, 2013b; Perrin, 2010; RCMP, 2010).

Throughout the 1990s, human trafficking in Canada has been associated with sex trafficking of women from Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America into strip clubs and massage parlours, and, to a lesser extent, with exploitation of foreign – mostly Filipino – women as domestics/live-in-caregivers and mail-order brides (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women [GATTW] Canada, 2003; Hanley & Oxman-Martinez, 2004; Latin American Coalition to End Violence Against Women and Children [LACEV, 2002; Macklin, 2003; McDonald et al., 2000; Nagy, 2010; Oxman-Martinez, Hanley, & Cheung, 2004; Philippine Women Centre of B. C. [PWC], 2000). The RCMP estimated that between 600 and 800 foreign women and girls were being trafficked annually into the local sex industry (Canadian Press, 2004). The typical image of a trafficked victim, presented in a plethora of academic and journalistic writings, was that of a ‘virginal victim’ – a fresh, naive young woman from a struggling country, who dreams of a better life in a foreign country and ends up in forced prostitution. There were several widely publicized cases of sex trafficking of Slavic women into Toronto – such as the 1991 “Gorby Girls’ case involving 11-20 victims (Kaihla, 1991), and the 2008 case involving between 2-10 victims (Todd, 2008). Virtually none of the international trafficking cases were prosecuted or did not result in conviction of the offenders (see, for example, Nagy, 2010).

More recently, it became apparent that domestic trafficking in women and girls for CSE is much more prevalent in Canada, representing the majority of prosecuted human trafficking cases, and

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5 These estimates were later rescinded.
that women are being trafficked literally from coast to coast, as well as across the border to the U.S. (Bell, 2013; PACT Canada, 2013a, 2013b; Perrin, 2010; RCMP, 2010).

It is widely accepted that human trafficking “is a gendered issue, with a particular context for women that is important to identify and address. Gender is evident in how trafficking is discussed, the sites of trafficking and the legislation created by many countries aimed at stopping trafficking. Sexism is an issue for women in some shape or form, from every country around the world. Women’s subordinate social, economic and political status creates additional vulnerabilities to violence and exploitation, including trafficking” (Alexander, 2008, p. 11).

The vast body of literature on global human trafficking (see Appendix A) outlines the reasons for which women and girls are at the greatest risk of being trafficked, especially for the purpose of CSE. Multiple push and pull, supply and demand factors are involved.

Patriarchy is at the root of women’s oppression and sexual exploitation: “One overriding factor in the proliferation of trafficking is the fundamental belief that the lives of women and girls are expendable. In societies where women and girls are undervalued or not valued at all, women are at greater risk for being abused, trafficked, and coerced into sex slavery” (Soroptimist, 2013).

The combined effects of political instability, war, ethnic conflicts, economic crises and lack of opportunity, globalized capitalism and privatization of vital resources, structural adjustment and austerity measures, and constant demand for cheap labour result in mass poverty, growing gap between the have-nots and haves, dislocation and marginalization of large numbers of people. Added to that is male demand for sexual services and, consequently, growing commercial sex industry, aided greatly by the proliferation of Internet and social media (Agathangelou, 2004; Barry, 1981; Batsyukova, 2007; Beeks & Amir, 2006; Bernstein, 2001; Dalla, 2011; Flowers, 2001; Hughes, 2000; Kara 2010; Malarek, 2003; Monzini, 2005).

In these contexts, females are especially vulnerable. Being responsible for most of the childrearing and caregiving duties, and due to frequent absence of male spouses or relatives, who may be killed, missing, incapacitated, working away from home or simply absent, women become the primary breadwinners for their families. With limited options available to them, many end up in the sex trade. As summarized by the Sexual Assault/Rape Crisis Centre of Peel (2012):

Importantly, human trafficking is an issue of gender inequality. Gender inequalities and stereotypes disproportionately impact women and girls, particularly racialized women, both in Canada and globally, and render them more susceptible to being lured into this crime. Globalization has intensified the economic realities, as well as other inequalities between and within societies, disproportionately affecting women, as they traditionally earn lower wages, and have limited access to education and health care, legal and political disparity. This risk is heightened and experienced differently for those women more vulnerable due to intersecting and simultaneously experienced vulnerabilities based on race, ethnic origin and other social factors. (I.4)

In Canada, Aboriginal women and girls are at a particularly high risk for sexual exploitation, trafficking, and gender-based violence. Multiple intersecting factors underlie their vulnerability: the profound impact of colonization and residential school system, which resulted in the suppression of Aboriginal languages, cultural identity and traditional practices; loss of a sense of
community and belonging; historical and intergenerational trauma; poverty; racism and negative stereotypes; poor living conditions; alcoholism and drug abuse; interpersonal and violence; child sexual and physical abuse; hopelessness and low self-esteem; lack of services (Amnesty International, 2004; Butler, 2013; Cherry, 2008; Perrin, 2010; Porter, 2013; National Crime Prevention Centre [NCPC], 2013; Native Women’s Association of Canada [NWAC], 2010; RCMP, 2010; Sethi, 2007; Sexual Assault/Rape Crisis Centre of Peel, 2012; Sikka, 2009; Stewart, 2007). At the highest risk for trafficking are Aboriginal youth, particularly those growing up in and leaving care (depending on the province, Aboriginal children comprise between 30% and 85% of children in care) (Sexual Assault/Rape Crisis Centre of Peel, 2012).

Aboriginal women and girls are overrepresented in the Canadian sex trade. It is estimated that up to 90% of urban teen sex-workers in Canada are Aboriginal (Justice for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, n.d.); the average age of sexually trafficked Aboriginal girls is 7-12 years old (Cherry, 2008). Aboriginal women are highly visible in street prostitution on the notorious Downtown East Side of Vancouver, and 60% of the sexually exploited youth in the city are Aboriginal; in Winnipeg, Aboriginals account for 70% of sexually exploited youth and 50% of adults, while comprising only about 10% of the area’s total population (Sikka, 2009, p. 10). In Edmonton, Aboriginal women find themselves being solicited by white men while waiting for a bus or taking a smoke break outside an office building (Cherry, 2008).

Stereotyped as dirty, promiscuous squaws and junkies, Aboriginal women and girls in the sex trade are despised by the general public, routinely mistreated by the criminal justice system, abused and killed by their clients, pimps and intimate partners. There is a widespread ignorance of the fact that 75% of Aboriginal girls under 18 have been sexually abused (Correctional Service of Canada, as cited in McIvor & Nahanee, 1998), and that many girls working on the streets are minors and are controlled by gangs or are trafficked by family members (Butler, 2013; Cherry, 2008; Sethi, 2007).

Sex trafficking in Canada also affects white and middle-class women and girls: “Middle-class females between the ages of 12 and 25 are typically recruited by male peers who also may have been specifically recruited by organized crime. These males use the promise of affection as a primary tool to lure potential victims” (CISC, 2008, p. 1). Many victims of (domestic) sex trafficking come from problem homes and/or have self-esteem issues, and are an easy prey for traffickers who exploit the victims’ need for love (PACT Canada, 2013a, 2013b; Sethi, 2007). It is estimated that 80%-90% of girls trafficked into the commercial sex industry have experienced sexual abuse early on in their life, which makes them even more vulnerable to sexual exploitation later on (Hauser & Castillo, 2013).

It should be acknowledged that adult men also can be victims of sex trafficking, but there is a lack of scholarly research on this subject, which is more likely to receive sporadic attention from the media (e.g., Czyczynska & Sanders, 2010; Dale, 2012; Wisconsin Gazzette, 2012) and open news sources (Farrell et al., 2009). Virtually all victims in the reported cases are believed to be gay males. By and large, male prostitution is not viewed as CSE, but rather as a choice or occupation (Dennis, 2008; Estes & Weiner, 2001; Logan, 2010; Parsons et al., 2004; Scott et al., 2005; Weitzer, 2000). Men are most likely to be trafficked for the purposes of labour exploitation. In fact, labour trafficking of males is a growing – or increasingly recognized – trend (Bales, 2004; Blanchet, 2002; International Labor Office [ILO], 2005b; Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008; US Department of State, 2011). In Canada, according to the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy (ICCLR), 2011), “labour trafficking cases may be as or more significant than sex trafficking cases” (p. 4). Notably, while most known
human trafficking cases in this country involved (domestic) sex trafficking of women and girls, the largest cases prosecuted to date have been those of international labour trafficking of men: one case involved 25 victims\(^6\) from Hungary (O'Reilly, 2012; PACT-Ottawa, 2013a), the other at least 60 victims from Poland (Ewart, 2012)\(^7\).

Sex trafficking of boys has been better documented by researchers, mainly as part of larger studies on CSE of minors\(^8\), especially homeless/street youth. Homelessness is a predictor of sex trading (Newman, Rhodes, & Weiss, 2004), and ‘throwaway’ and homeless adolescents are at increased risk of sexual exploitation due to the incentives of cash, clothing, shelter or food (Estes & Weiner, 2001; McClain & Garrity, 2011). About 40% of street youth are considered at high risk for sex trafficking (McClain & Garrity, 2011). In the United States, approximately 10%-15% of all homeless children are part of national and international trafficking networks, consisting of both the U.S. and foreign nationals (Estes & Weiner, 2001). In New York City alone, the prevalence of sex work involvement among homeless youth is estimated to be between 30% and 50% (Curtis et al., 2008). The vast majority of homeless youth (up to 65%) appear to be males (Estes & Weiner, 2001), and some research suggests that prostitution by boys might be as prevalent as prostitution by girls (Kelly, 2003). American studies found that at a particularly high risk of sex trafficking were boys between the ages of 12 and 17 who were homeless and identified as gay, transgendered, and questioning (Curtis et al., 2008; National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2009; Ohio Human Trafficking Commission, 2012). About 25% to 35% of the boys involved in commercial sexual transactions self-identify as sexual minorities, gays, bisexual or transgender (Estes & Weiner, 2001); in Toronto, 19.3% of homeless youth identify as LGBTQ (Andrew-Gee, 2013).

Sexually exploited transgender youth is one of the least studied populations (Estes & Weiner, 2001). North American research indicates that transgender youth are 3.5 times more likely to be engaged in the sex trade than both males and females, and are at the highest risk for violence due to gender role violations (Curtis et al., 2008). The average age of entry into the sex trade for transgender youth is around 11-13 years for boys and 12-14 years for girls (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Finlinson et al., 2006); however, a higher percentage of boys than girls enter the market under 13 years of age – 19% vs. 15% respectively (Curtis et al., 2008). For minority youth, the age of entry is somewhat younger comparing to non-minority youth: 10-11 years for minority boys and 11-12 years for minority girls (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

Lesbian victims of sex trafficking are virtually absent from scholarly literature. It is known that many female sex workers self-identify as lesbian (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005), and that female prostitutes have been regularly participating in sexual acts with both men and women (Miller, 2004). There is some evidence that lesbian commercial sexual transactions involve trafficking of girls. For example, an undercover journalistic investigation of a secret world of lesbian sex trade in Lagos State, Nigeria, revealed that girls as young as 16 were “bullied” into the trade by older peers in the girls-only boarding schools (Ateba & Beba, 2011).

In summary, the review of literature shows that victims of human trafficking could come from anywhere in the world, be of any gender, age, ethnocultural background, and socioeconomic class. However, the fact remains that victims of sex trafficking – globally and in Canada – are

\(^6\) One of those victims was female.
\(^7\) In that case, human trafficking charges were dropped in exchange for guilty plea to a lesser offense under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act.
\(^8\) Any person under the age of 18 performing commercial sexual acts is considered a victim of sex trafficking (Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2011).
predominantly female; many come from disadvantaged backgrounds and have been trafficked into the sex trade at a very young age.

III.2. The AHTP Findings

III.3.a. Profile of the Victims Served by the AHTP

Consultations held between the WSN, York Regional Police and Victim Services at the inception of the project determined that human trafficking within the region was a gendered issue, with all known victims being women and girls trafficked for the purposes of CSE. Significant gap in services available to the victims was identified. These findings were later substantiated by the results of the online York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Needs Assessment Survey of local services providers. In light of these findings and the WSN’s mandate as a women-centered sexual assault/rape crisis centre, the project focused on serving women and girls trafficked for CSE; it was also open to providing services to trans-women.

Over the two-year period, the AHTP provided support to 38 trafficked women and 2 trans-women. Sociodemographic profile of the victims can be found in Appendix C, but it should be noted that some information is missing due to non-disclosure, concerns around privacy and confidentiality, or a brief nature of the victims’ contact with the AHTP staff.

The available data shows that the victims came from diverse backgrounds, representing about a dozen ethnocultural groups, with top 3 being Caucasian, Aboriginal, and Jamaican-Canadian. Only 4 women were definitively identified as foreign-born, and 3 of them had arrived to Canada at a very young age. The victims/survivors ranged in age from 15 to 34 years old, with the majority being in their 20s. The information on the place of residence prior to trafficking situation was provided by only 26 victims. All but one of them resided in Ontario. At least 10 (38.5%) were from Toronto (with 6 from Scarborough); the remaining 16 came from a variety of small, medium, and large municipalities (Appendix C).

All victims have been trafficked domestically, including one international student from China who became involved in the sex trade not upon arrival to Canada, but much later, and was trafficked from the East Coast to Toronto area. Virtually all of the victims have been recruited for the sex trade through ‘gaming and grooming’ – method in which a woman is manipulated or ‘groomed’ by her boyfriend, or a male ‘friend,’ who becomes her trafficker. In some cases, boyfriend had been acting in concert with his mother or wife who co-owned an escort service. Most victims have experienced sexual abuse (boundary violation) in childhood, but specific details of their sexual abuse histories were not disclosed.

Overall, the women served by the AHTP did not fit the most prevalent profile of a sex trafficking victim – i.e., a foreign woman from a struggling country who is recruited by strangers (who turn out to be members of the organized crime) and is forced into the sex trade under completely false pretenses – with promise of a legitimate job abroad. However, their circumstances, such as histories of child sexual abuse and being trafficked into prostitution by boyfriends through ‘gaming and grooming,’ fit the patterns of domestic sex trafficking, particularly in Canada. Furthermore, of the 27 women whose ethnocultural background were known, about 59% (n=16) were from racialized communities (including Aboriginal, black, Asian, and Hispanic) – one of the primary risk factors for sex trafficking identified in the literature. The women were also young, with at least 8 being teenagers.
III.2.b. Public Perceptions

The researchers’ field observations and the analysis of the AHTP post-presentation/training feedback surveys (N=153) submitted by high school teachers and students, and various social service providers revealed the lack of previous knowledge of human trafficking issues on the part of the audiences. The AHTP staff also observed that many providers – especially those from non-women focused agencies and those part of an older generation, who have not had a chance to learn at least the basic facts about human trafficking in college or university classrooms – were either completely unaware of the phenomenon or were familiar only with the Hollywood version of it, which portrayed innocent foreign women being forced into prostitution by organized crime. The audiences were consistently surprised to hear that human trafficking could be domestic in nature and that it actually happened in York Region, with children as young as 12 years of age being trafficked, and single mothers also being trafficked with their children. Furthermore, many people had trouble understanding the difference between sex trafficking and sex work: they assumed that having a pimp was ‘prostitution protocol,’ and did not realize that pimp was a controller whose presence turned sex work into sex trafficking. Thus, they did not see women as victims of sex trafficking, but rather as sex workers who were involved in the trade voluntarily. The audiences were generally completely ignorant of the fact that males also can be victims of human trafficking – and, specifically, sex trafficking:

…what I see is that larger stereotype: all victims/survivors are women…

People are, like, well, this doesn’t happen here. It must be those Asian girls, right? I think what’s happened is, people have chocked it up to pimps and prostitutes for years and nobody’s looked at the dynamics of those relationships…

Essentially with every organization we’ve gone into and done an in-service training, you see the same questions and concerns basically come up every time. And a lot of it has to do with people’s perceived notion of human trafficking being an international issue. And if they do think it happens in York Region, they think it’s mainly international. So when we start talking about domestic trafficking, it is still seen as somewhat shocking.

…people are in denial and saying, ‘It doesn’t happen in our region.’ Or they think it’s people from outside the region, or they think it’s only certain types of women.

The AHTP staff made a concerted effort to provide complete information about CSE victims into the public awareness presentations and service provider training.

III.2.c. Stakeholder Perspectives

The GBA+ surveys submitted by 42 representatives from 3 AHTP stakeholder organizations indicated somewhat divergent perspectives on victims/survivors of CSE, with almost 50% of respondents believing that victims were mainly women and children/youth, 40.5% stating that anybody could be a victim, and the rest being unable to provide an answer (see Appendix B).

Stakeholder discussions on the subject conducted throughout the project, particularly during monthly meetings of the YRAHTC and the final focus group (which included 7 representatives from 6 AHTP partner organizations), showed a clear recognition that women were not the only victims of human trafficking and that anybody could be a victim of this crime. However, the stakeholders believed that adult men were most likely to be trafficked for the purposes of labour
exploitation and that when it came to sex trafficking, women and girls still comprised the majority of the victims, especially in the stakeholders’ own practice experience. Several participants acknowledged that boys could be victims of CSE as well, but most believed that this was more common in the developing world:

You know, we’re dealing with sex trafficking specifically, but when we’re looking at the larger issue of human trafficking, in terms of labour and everything else – it’s not just a woman’s issue. It affects men, women, children.

We are still seeing that the majority of people being trafficked are women. I mean, yes, I think it probably is happening to men as well, but the large majority of people that we are seeing are women.

I don’t think it [trafficking of men and boys] is a new trend at all. Slavery exists and it didn’t stop existing. When you look at Africa – child soldiers, and those would be boys and girls. So I don’t think this is something new. I do believe that when it comes to sexual exploitation, the majority are women and children – boys and girls. But with labour, I mean, there’s so many countries – Brazil, Argentina, you know, the coal miners there, they can easily be trafficked men. Then in China – same thing.

I think when it comes to sexual exploitation and human trafficking, I do believe that in a lot of countries, such as Cambodia, Thailand, it’s a split – the gender, it’s split, perhaps even half-and-half, because they do recruit a lot of children. I think when it comes to older individuals, like teenagers or adults, I personally believe that the majority would be women. But when it comes to younger ones, 12 and under, I believe there’s a lot of young boys who are being recruited as well.

None of the stakeholders had direct experience working with trafficked boys and only one had indirect knowledge of commercial sexual exploitation of boys in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA):

There’s certainly young boys being trafficked. Because the girls talk about the young boys that are out there engaged in sex work and have pimps. That’s just in the stories that the girls have shared with me – you know, they have a young guy friend that’s out there, and how his pimp is a jerk. So there’s definitely young boys out there. … And they are being pimped out to other males. I’ve heard that piece from the GTA.

The project stakeholders attributed the invisibility of male, as well as transgender/transsexual victims of sex trafficking, particularly in York Region, to three intersecting factors: (1) the lack of public and service provider awareness about the problem, which resulted in the failure to look for signs and recognize the victims; (2) the hidden nature of male sex trade, which was happening primarily in-doors and advertised online; and (3) the underreporting of the crime by male victims due to stigma and homophobia:

I’m sure it’s happening, but there’s no knowledge of it in York Region. I think we’re also just at the point that people in schools and the community are becoming aware that human trafficking is actually happening.

In regards to males, I wonder if there is often underreporting because of all of the issues that go with that. So I tend to think that … we’re just not seeing it, we’re not hearing
about it, but it doesn't mean it doesn't exist. It exist elsewhere in the world, it probably exists here.

In York Region, those that presented themselves as cases that the police attended to, or Victim Services or we attended to, certainly were female victims... It's not to say that there are no other types of cases, but I think if you're not specifically looking for something... I think there are other issues to take into consideration – around homophobia – that can be a barrier for young men to step forward and say, you know, this is happening, I need help. Which is like men who have been victims of childhood sexual abuse or other forms of sexual violence – there's underreporting, we know. So, it’s very possible.

I think most of that stuff [CSE of males] up here comes through escort services. Now, certainly there are parts of Toronto you can go into and you can visibly see them out there – you know, be it that transgendered population or the boys out there... But so much of it also happens behind the scenes now. I think a lot of the boy stuff, the young boy stuff is very much online, through escort agencies and all of that. So you may catch, you may see the odd kind of 15, 16-year old out there on the street, but for the most part I think that's happening well out of the bathhouses that are still operating.

The WSN appeared to be the only agency that had direct experience assisting transgendered victims of sex trafficking, although this experience was limited to brief involvement with 2 victims.

The analysis of the stakeholder perceptions signaled, once again, the need for closer examination of the experiences of non-female victims/survivors of trafficking for CSE and how their needs can be addressed by various service providers.

IV. WHO ARE THE TRAFFICKERS AND RECRUITERS?

IV.1. Findings from the Literature Review

The terms ‘traffickers’ and ‘recruiters’ are used interchangeably in much of the literature on human trafficking. Although it is acknowledged that recruiters do not necessarily engage in direct exploitation and abuse of the victims, they are viewed as integral part of human trafficking networks and thus as perpetrators.

Academic and journalistic writings alike (e.g., Global Survival Network, 1997; Canadian Press, 2004; Caroll, 2003; D’Amour, 2003; Hughes, 2000; Konrad, 2002; Malarek, 2003; Perrin, 2010; Specter, 1998; Waugh, 2006) present two most common recruitment and trafficking scenarios. One scenario – prevalent in high conflict zones, such as the Balkans in 1990s – involves the abduction of women by the Mafiosi. The other scenario can be summarized as follows. In a struggling country, a young woman dreaming of a better life answers a newspaper advertisement offering lucrative employment opportunities abroad (e.g., in the service sector, fashion or entertainment industry). She meets with a recruiter (agent/broker), signs a contract (the contents of which she usually does not understand because the contract is written in a foreign language), and her trip arrangements are made. The woman is promised high pay, reasonable work hours, and often room and board; her travel expenses are also covered. The recruiter may or may not travel with the woman, and may or may not be the owner of the
establishment where she will end up working. Upon arrival to the country of destination, it becomes apparent that the woman has fallen into the hands of the organized crime. The woman’s passport is taken away from her by the traffickers and she is driven straight to a brothel or a strip club. The woman’s initial refusal to perform sexual services will result in her being ‘broken in’ by means of threats to her and her family, repeated beatings, and rape. The woman will be told that she owes traffickers thousands of dollars; she will find herself in a situation of debt bondage and extreme exploitation, and will be controlled 24 hours a day. She will be kept in a seedy motel or apartment with a group of other women, and the ‘stubborn’ ones will be killed in front of the others as a lesson.

In both scenarios, the recruiters and traffickers are almost always male; they are strangers and part of the organized criminal structures, which are formed either along ethnic lines (e.g., the Russian Mafia, Indian Posse, Native Syndicate, Asian and Somali gangs), or based on some other type of allegiance (e.g., biker gangs, street gangs operating in specific neighborhoods). Men have been known to recruit women through a variety of venues – through newspaper ads promising job opportunities aboard; online; in shopping malls and bars; in schools; at the bus stops, train stations and airports, shelters and youth hostels – strategies particularly effective in recruitment of runaway/unaccompanied youths (Global Survival Network, 1997; Malarek, 2003; McDonald et al., 2000; Perrin, 2010; Sethi, 2007). Aboriginal youths are often picked up while hitchhiking on highways (Sethi, 2007).

Interestingly, the literature does not provide detailed profiles of male traffickers, as research has been focused predominantly on trafficked victims, as well as legal responses to human trafficking and prostitution. Monetary gain is believed to be the main motivation for traffickers. Human trafficking is a very lucrative activity: for example, average daily profits from sexual exploitation of one victim are estimated between $300-$1,500 (CISC, 2008, p.1), amounting to as much as $280,000 annually (Butler, 2008). Human trafficking also represents criminal activity that is much less dangerous or severely punished compared to drug and weapons trade; as well, unlike drugs or weapons, humans can be resold multiple times. Desire for control, power and authority (and in case of younger offenders – sense of belonging they get from gang affiliation), assertion of masculinity/male superiority, and socio- and psychopathology are suggested as other possible explanations of why men traffic women. Traffickers who use ‘gaming and grooming’ method to recruit their victims – i.e., by pretending to fall in love with the woman/girl, shower her with gifts and affection, and then manipulate or force her into the sex trade – have been described as highly intelligent, charismatic, entrepreneurial sociopaths, with a ‘sixth sense’ for female vulnerability (PACT Ottawa, 2013a, 2013b). Some traffickers use drugs and alcohol to control victims (McDonald et al., 2000).

A growing number of studies around the world reveal that TIP victims are often recruited and trafficked not by strangers from the Mafia, but by family members, friends/peers⁹, acquaintances, and colleagues (Butler, 2008; Caldwell et al. 1997; Curtis et al., 2008; Davies, 2009; Estes & Weiner, 2001; International Organization for Migration [IOM], 1995, 2001; Kaye, 2004; MacDonald & Timoshkina, 2007; Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights 2000; Timoshkina & McDonald, 2009; Vocks & Nijboer 2000; Mitchell et al., 2011; National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2009; Newton et al., 2008; Riegler, 2007).

⁹ Peers play prominent roles in the recruitment and sex trafficking of most vulnerable populations, such as homeless youth (Curtis et al., 2008; Estes & Weiner, 2001; National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2009). For instance, a study of homeless youth in New York City found that 44% of boys, 46% of girls, and 68% of transgender youth have been initiated into the sex trade by their friends (Curtis et al., 2008).
Gender dynamics of the recruitment and trafficking processes are also shifting. Recent study commissioned by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) noted: “A trend observed is the increasing involvement of women in trafficking, not just as recruiters, but also playing a more prominent role in both the organization and the trafficking process (although particularly in the case of trafficking for sexual exploitation, many of them are former victims, forced into these activities by their traffickers)” (Aronowitz et al., 2010, p. 10).

According to the IOM Counter-Trafficking Database of 78 countries, in 1999-2006, 42% of those recruiting victims were women, and 6% were both men and women (as cited in the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking [UN.GIFT], ([2008]), which means that male recruiters were still involved in the majority of cases (58%). Official statistics compiled by UNODC for its 2009 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons show that, between 2003 and 2008, in almost a quarter of the 41 countries covered by the report (n=10), the majority of persons convicted, prosecuted and/or investigated for TIP-related offences were women, and in 10 European nations, females were significantly overrepresented among offenders convicted in human trafficking cases compared to those convicted in all other crimes combined (see Appendix F).

A study by Surtees (2008) on human trafficking in South-Eastern Europe found that in 2004, the majority of trafficked victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Moldova have been recruited by female recruiters, which constituted an upward trend comparing to 2003 (see Appendix E). The author observed:

Some ‘recruiters’ were women who were encouraged by their recruiter/trafficker to invite their friends to work abroad also but were unaware of the intention to exploit. Their role in recruitment, therefore, was unintentional. By contrast, other female recruiters were former or current trafficking victims who were obliged by their traffickers to return home and recruit other women, often under the scrutiny of people working for the trafficker to ensure compliance and prevent escape. Traffickers often promised to free victims if they could find someone to replace them. In some cases, they were released after recruiting new victims; in others, they were not. This strategy plays on the existing trust between friends and requires little effort or manipulation on the part of the trafficker. It also later uses the victims’ complicity in the recruitment process as a mechanism of control. Victims often feel guilty about their complicity in trafficking others, which may contribute to their remaining in the trafficking situation. They may also fear prosecution for their involvement in recruitment. Still other former victims begin to identify with their traffickers after an extended period of abuse and become recruiters, in some cases, because of this affinity or because they have been desensitized as a result of their own trafficking… … Many traffickers charged and convicted in Moldova were themselves initially trafficking victims. In one case, a woman who was sentenced to 10 years in prison for trafficking had herself been trafficked for three years. (Surtees, 2008, pp. 44-45)

Recruitment and trafficking of victims by male-female couples also has been observed (e.g., Estes & Weiner, 2001; Surtees, 2008). In scenarios documented, for example, in Bulgaria, “the woman usually recruited the victim and the man dealt with escorting and transporting her. Women contemplating migration may be more inclined to trust another woman rather than a single man, particularly in light of information campaigns, which have focused on male traffickers” (Surtees, 2008, p. 45).
The available North American data suggests that the involvement of females in human trafficking offences in the United States and Canada is as widespread as it is in Europe.

The law enforcement officials in the U.S. reported trafficking perpetrators to be both males and females, in equal measure (Newton et al., 2008). Within the forms of trafficking involving illegal massage parlours or brothels, women seemed to be the main perpetrators (Newton et al., 2008), which is not surprising considering the long history of brothel ‘madams’. The same appears to be true in cases of commercial sexual exploitation of youth. For instance, a study on domestic minor sex trafficking in the State of Ohio determined that “females were more likely to represent recruiters over males,” although “males were more likely to represent both recruiters and traffickers” (Ohio Human Trafficking Commission, 2012, p. 11) (see Appendix G). Females occupied other crucial positions in the sex trafficking networks, such as “bottoms” (or “bottom bitches”) and “watchers,” yet the key leadership position in such network would be occupied by a male and female offenders would be working on his behalf:

A bottom, always a female, is the most trusted person in a trafficker’s stable. As the second in command, she is charged with teaching victims how to make money effectively and efficiently, demanding the quota from victims in the pimp’s stable, and doling out the consequences if someone breaks the rules. The watcher is the person assigned to escort youth or women to and from the location where they are being prostituted in order to ensure that the victim doesn’t escape. A watcher may also walk back and forth at a truck stop, make sure victims don’t slip out of the strip club after dancing, and/or make sure they come back to the car after being dropped off at a motel room. They may be assigned to drive victims to destinations out of town or to and from the location where the victim is being prostituted. … At one data location site, observations were made of a youth victim being escorted to and from the site by a woman who controlled the subject’s incentive of $10 for taking the survey. The victim was previously observed to be escorted to and from the Juvenile Court by the same older woman present at the data collection site. (Ohio Human Trafficking Commission, 2012, p. 11)

Research conducted by Shared Hope International in 10 U.S. locations found cases of domestic sex trafficking/pimping of minors by their mothers and female guardians, although “there was a stated reluctance and/or lack of awareness to view such exploitation as sex trafficking. This was particularly true when there was a non-monetary exchange as part of the transaction, such as a mother allowing a person to have sex with her daughter for drugs” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 7). Such practices are not new. In fact, during harsh economic times of the interwar periods, many mothers hired out their sons for commercial sexual relationships (Kaye, 2004).

In Canada, the most serious sentence for human trafficking was handed to a woman – Laura Emerson (domestic sex trafficking case), who was given 41 years on various charges, yet to be served concurrently, totaling 7 years in a federal institution (Perrin, 2010). Emerson had been acting in concert with her male partner – who, incidentally, pleaded guilty to a lesser, prostitution-related offence and was sentenced to less than a four-year imprisonment (Perrin, 2010, pp. 88-91). At least 10 more women and 3 teenage girls (aged 15, 16, and 17) have been charged with human trafficking offences over the past 5 years (Brown, 2012; Canadian Press, 2012; Ewart, 2012; O’Reilly, 2012; Torstar Network, 2012).

Aboriginal girls as young as 11 are purportedly forced to recruit other girls for gang-controlled sex trade (Urban Native Youth Association, 2002):
When young girls approach their counterparts with dreams of a better lifestyle, it is real and convincing. Girls working as recruiters, in most cases, have no choice but to agree to the wishes of the trafficker due to fear or, in some cases, to meet their survival needs. It often results in a hierarchal set up wherein recruiters take the share of the earnings of the girls they have recruited. As recruiters move up in the hierarchal chain, they aim to get rid of the street work. (Sethi, 2007, p. 57)

Research suggests that female recruiters and traffickers target group homes and are ‘planted’ in women’s shelters, whose residents are particularly vulnerable (Perrin, 2010, p. 88). Again, they almost always serve as fronts to male ring leaders who strategically use women and sometimes teenage girls as recruiters because females are perceived by potential victims as more trustworthy. In case of arrest, female offenders are believed to be treated more leniently by the criminal justice system, although some of the evidence presented above suggests the opposite.

**IV.2. The AHTP Findings**

**IV.2.a. Evidence from the Victims’ Cases**

As noted, the AHTP has dealt with a total of 40 cases of sex trafficking, involving 38 women and 2 trans-women. Most of the victims have been recruited for/trafficked into the sex trade by their boyfriends through ‘gaming and grooming’ – method in which a woman is manipulated or ‘groomed’ by the man who convinces her that he is in love, showers her with gifts, and then asks her to work in the sex industry (usually as an escort) “just for a while,” so the two of them can make enough money to buy a nice house and start a life together. In one case, woman was recruited not by a boyfriend, but a male ‘friend’. In at least two cases encountered by the AHTP, the victim’s recruitment into the sex trade involved females: one woman was recruited by her married boyfriend, who co-owned an escort service with his wife, the other was recruited by her boyfriend and his mother (also his business partner):

*For a lot of them it’s boyfriends mainly. Or ‘a friend that got me away from my boyfriend.’ So he didn’t become the new boyfriend, but he became a close friend, and it’s almost like he lured her away from the bad guy and then he becomes the bad guy. These guys are master manipulators. They should have, like, PhDs in manipulation.*

*Boyfriend. The ‘gaming and grooming’… And it may be boyfriend and mom. … Or husband and wife duo… But once again, he had very much convinced her, you know, I’m leaving my wife, this is just for our escort business, and, you know, once you’re in Toronto, we’ll run off and I’ll leave her, and all of that. So she was devastated that it didn’t turn out that way…*

Furthermore, in two cases, women appeared to be ‘trafficked victims turned recruiters/traffickers’: they have been charged and subsequently convicted for TIP-related offences. In three cases, young girls (minors), also victims of CSE, were charged due to their roles as recruiters, but were referred to the AHTP as a diversion program. The girls underwent counseling and received other forms of assistance. The charges against all three of them were then dropped.
IV.2.b. Public Perceptions

As noted, public awareness about human trafficking in York Region is lacking. The AHTP staff and the researchers observed that, for the most part, people had a traditionally gendered view of sex trafficking, wherein all traffickers and recruiters were male and all victims were female:

[During presentations] I would usually initially ask a question: What does the human trafficking look like? And for the most part, it did come out as gendered. ... Within the training, then within conversations I had with people, there are those stereotypes in terms of women being the victims and men being the traffickers and the perpetrators.

These observations were corroborated by the respondents’ comments in the post-presentation feedback surveys (N=153). Members of the public had very little knowledge of other characteristics of the recruiters and traffickers. Most commonly, these men were believed to be foreigners from the Mafia.

IV.2.c. Stakeholder Perspectives

The GBA+ surveys (N=42) revealed that over 33% of respondents were unsure who the traffickers and recruiters were: the relevant questions were either not answered or misunderstood. Just over 14% of respondents thought that both traffickers and recruiters were men. Over 19% believed that traffickers were “dominant people in society,” organized crime or pimps, and over 9.5% named “dominant people” or pimps as recruiters. Lastly, over 33% of respondents thought that anybody could be a trafficker and almost 43% that anybody (e.g., men, women, family members, partners, friends, gangs) could be a recruiter (see Appendix B).

Stakeholder interviews and focus group also produced a range of opinions. Some of the stakeholders directly involved with human trafficking cases stressed that, at least in York Region, the perpetrators were predominantly male, regardless of the victims’ gender. Some, however, attributed this perception to the lack of awareness about the complexities of human trafficking processes, and acknowledged that female traffickers and recruiters were certainly in the picture in other countries:

When it comes to exploitation, sexual exploitation of women or men, it’s usually done by men. So if men are being trafficked, they’re being trafficked mostly by men.

That depends on the place… In other countries, you might see that [gender] split, whereas here, when it comes to York Region, it’s going to be a little bit more cut and dry: we see the recruiters being male and the victims being female. I don’t see it being as diverse as in other countries [such as Cambodia, Thailand].

The cases that we do have and the convictions that are there – what we see is that the majority of traffickers are men. But again, I think part of it is, you know, where you are looking.

At the same time, all stakeholders agreed that anybody could potentially be a trafficker or a recruiter, and that female perpetrators, including young girls, were becoming more prominent:

A trafficker can be anyone. Traffickers aren’t just one gender: traffickers can be male or female. ... Being involved in South East Asia, so many of the traffickers there were
women. ... When we talk about youth, we talk about the recruitment method of kind of the boyfriend and seduction, which obviously has more of a male trafficker element to it. But we also talk about befriending and the recruitment that way - by girls of the same age or women who are a little bit older.

When it comes to younger individuals, we are starting to see more and more diversity. There’s even a recent case that happened in Ottawa: the traffickers were girls 15-17 years old. ... I think with younger generations, we’re starting to see a lot more aggression for women as well – and girls.

Not all the traffickers are male. At all. There’s a number of female traffickers – yeah, absolutely. Now, certainly, it’s a higher percentage of men. I’d probably give it a 70/30 split or a 65/35 split. But there’s definitely women trafficking young girls. For sure. Whether it’s her and her husband or her alone. And then, as those young girls are kind of going up that hierarchical ladder sort of thing, and now she’s got to go out and recruit girls … that crossover from victim to perpetrator happens.

There was recognition of the need to take a closer look at the reasons for which females were becoming more actively involved in the recruitment and trafficking for CSE. A virtual consensus among the stakeholders was that female recruiters/traffickers have been initially victims of trafficking themselves and were subsequently forced, coerced or manipulated into recruiting other women and girls:

In my experience, I have certainly seen female recruiters – women who are charged for bringing other girls on. But I would state that probably the majority of female recruiters were once victims of human trafficking themselves and coerced, forced, manipulated into being recruiters.

I think it is a trend that we have been seeing. I know there have been a few women who were charged with trafficking and recruitment. So definitely, yes, it is happening, but I think that – from what we’ve learned anyways – a lot of these women who are trafficking were trafficked at some point as well. So whether it was that pimp or another one, they were at one point trafficked and then ended up becoming the trafficker – in order to not have to engage in the work themselves or sometimes to avoid any abuse that was happening. There’s numerous reasons, but I know that’s something that we have ...

The stakeholders believed that the victims’ involvement in recruitment and trafficking was survival-driven: being in extremely abusive and controlling situations, women saw this as an opportunity to escape abuse and having to sell themselves. As well, some women might have experienced Stockholm syndrome – traumatic bonding with the perpetrator. Those who have been ‘groomed’ were likely in love with, and emotionally dependent on, their boyfriends-traffickers. Women were forced to do much of the dirty work and to deflect attention from the men. Male traffickers exploited the women’s feelings of guilt for becoming involved in the recruitment of others. Being complicit, the women were also less likely to escape and press charges against their traffickers. All in all, the victims’ experience of being trafficked was characterised as a sort of perverse ‘criminal apprenticeship’ – an introduction into the human trafficking business and hierarchy. The perspectives of the stakeholders were thus in line with the findings of recent studies (e.g., Ohio Human Trafficking Commission, 2012; Smith et al., 2009; Surtees, 2008; UN.GIFT, [2008]; UNODC, 2009):
Sometimes we see with female victims, if they were victim of human trafficking, then by recruiting other females they’re deflecting the attention: now it isn’t on them, it’s on the other females. We’ve seen that trend before, in the past. Survival of the fittest. They do what they do so that now they are not the object of the focus. So, they participate in that for survival.

You need to look at the dynamics of why she was in a position of possibly trying to lure another young girl in. So you need to look at where does she sit in the hierarchy of all of that. She’s a victim in that, she’s going to do what she has to do to survive. If that means recruiting other girls in, she’s going to do that – if that means she’s not going to have the shit kicked out of her that night.

At a certain point you are survival-focused and you want to make your situation better, and that is the priority. And especially when it comes to the whole boyfriend seduction model: you want to please this person, you want to make this person happy, but it’s not free choice. It’s never that you are thinking that this isn’t an exploitative situation, that you are not recruiting women into a traumatic experience, but it can’t be your priority right now.

I think the inclusion of female traffickers also depends very much on your understanding of human traffickers, of female traffickers and if they are coming from a position where they have been exploited, they have been abused sufficiently that they are now working in, um, Stockholm syndrome-type way as opposed to being in it strictly for the money, which is the perception of most male traffickers.

I think that it is a natural progression of their exploitation by traffickers. It makes sense from a trafficker’s point of view to involve and implicate one of their victims in the exploitation of others – to provide distance for themselves from the crime, and to reduce the likelihood that she will eventually escape and try and press charges against him: because she will feel that she is complicit in his activities, she may feel that she doesn’t want to escape anymore because now there are benefits and perks potentially to her recruitment of other women. I don’t think it makes her any less of a victim, especially when it comes to the young women that are being trafficked.

... The current trial in Ottawa, for instance, was – three girls who were 15 at the time of their involvement in the trafficking of other girls. I think that there’s almost certainly a man somewhere behind them, and that they were doing what they felt that they had to do. It’s problematic – the line between, um, when you are a victim and when you are an accomplice. But I would say that a general rule – this is part of the traffickers’ strategy to distance themselves from their criminal activity. And I think that engaging with that, being party to that, and prosecuting the women rewards the traffickers’ plan by making it viable and problematic.

Several stakeholders did acknowledge that not all women involved in the recruitment and trafficking for CSE have been trafficked victims themselves. They pointed out that human trafficking in general, and sex trafficking in particular, was a very lucrative enterprise and there were certainly women who engaged in it for financial gain. Some attributed this to systemic issues, such as capitalist consumerism and patriarchy, which provided a quintessentially male model of power and prosperity, measured by money and material possessions. Women thus were seen as trying to emulate that model in order to elevate themselves:
There are women who are not in a forced situation and are involved in recruitment. If they are not being forced and they are doing it, let’s say, voluntarily, or they themselves are the traffickers, it’s because of the economic exploitation and how you can profit from that. I think that’s a major piece of that. Commercial sexual exploitation – it’s to generate profit, so that’s why I think women get involved at that level. I think women are involved in trafficking – one thing, as recruiters. So if they are recruiting for men, I think they are involved in and some have been involved at that level because they are experiencing violence in those relationships and it’s forced – work that they are doing to recruit. That’s one of the reasons why women are involved in the recruitment. And then they are involved in the financial gain.

It’s the result of our patriarchal systems that women also end up being traffickers... Our system doesn't work. This is the fallout of our system not functioning. You know, everything’s a commodity, and now we’ve got young girls and women moving into that mindset of where everything is a commodity. Why sell drugs when you can sell people? People are reusable. You can buy them and sell them over and over and over again, whereas drugs you sell once and it’s gone. We are commodity-consumer based society. We have rich old men at the top raping, pillaging, and plundering this planet. Our young boys – and not just our young boys, but our youth have had that role model to them. Everything is a commodity. Everything has a dollar sign on it. And as long as we have poverty, we are going to try and sell anything and everything we can. And if that means people, then, you know, sell people. I don’t think women are separate from that at all and that’s been the impact of our patriarchal systems again. Women are going, ‘Well, if men can do it, so can I. Look at him, he’s now got all this money and a fancy car. And where am I? I’m living in my shack. What’s he doing? I can get in on that.’ I think so much of it is driven by poverty and our consumeristic society. We are here to consume.

However, the predominant view was that the majority of female recruiters/traffickers were not in those roles voluntarily. The stakeholders expressed concern with the fact that the legal system did not recognize the complexity of the women’s situations, resulting in the women being treated purely as offenders and prosecuted, often even harsher than male traffickers:

I don’t think the system recognizes why they became a trafficker… I know a lot of, quite a few women were charged with prostitution charges and living off the avails…

I don’t think there is that recognition of a complexity. I think they [women] are processed through the court system as a trafficker and there’s no sort of social context to understand that they themselves may have been commercially sexually exploited for a period of time. And I am in no way trying to pathologize woman or suggest that it becomes a learned behaviour. I think it’s also a form of survival, it’s become what they know, and it’s like being trapped in a cycle. You know, I am thinking of other cycles that women have become trapped in, and I see that’s one where they can become so desensitized, and they end up participating. So by then it might seem like you’re willing and it’s something you have initiated. But I think that context, to understand some of their history is really helpful. And that is not acknowledged, and the courts are just very focused on processing them for whatever they have been charged with.

That’s a huge issue. I think that it goes back to the fact of, you know, are we looking at the whole picture? You know, yes, there has been a crime committed by those women that have trafficked. But at what point do we look at the whole story and see the process
that went by? Because so many of the women that are recruiting, they're not in a position even yet in their healing to share why they did that – based out of the fear, based out of threats that may have happened if they didn't do that. So I think it really needs to be looked at again with the police and with our bigger table to see if there’s areas that we can advocate in a different way in these systems. This isn't just a general, you know, that we've all seen. So there has to be flexibility as we continue to create an appropriate response to the human trafficking issue.

Reading some literature in terms of the punishment for male and female recruiters, it appears that when serving or when getting convictions, women are highly more punished than males.

Interestingly, one stakeholder from an agency linked to the legal system and involved with cases of female recruiters/traffickers contradicted the above statement:

So far I've never seen any of them go to jail in our system. Females do have an advantage from my perspective and what I see as far as the consequences. Most of the charges against the female recruiters that I have seen have been withdrawn after they've gone for some counseling or after they've done some stuff to work on their issues. The Crown does not usually prosecute them the same way they did the men, because of obvious concerns that they were trafficked themselves.

The AHTP experience with several women on the caseload corroborated this observation:

We have also had young women referred to our program, minors who have been charged with essentially trafficking charge – either recruiting other young women, or being involved in some way in the trafficking or control of other young women. And as we talk to these girls, you know, they're, it's not that black and white in terms of their involvement in recruitment. I can think of one in particular: she was definitely not trying to recruit anyone, but that is the charge that was laid against her. I think it was more so perception basically – what was found on her, what other people perceived or what law enforcement perceived in the situation. But the fact that a conviction didn't happen and that the courts recognized that or, in my opinion, saw it differently in that they gave her the option to engage with our case management for a set period of time rather than just letting that conviction go forward... And I believe charges were stayed in all three of those situations.

The stakeholders’ contradictory experiences and views on the matter signaled a gap in knowledge that would need to be addressed as part of the future research projects and community initiatives:

We know that the males that are being charged as traffickers – well, there is really no conviction rate at this time, you know, with exception for a couple. So it will be interesting to see, as this progresses, are more women going to serve time than men? You know, that piece on its own, I think, would really fall under the Gender-Based Analysis.
V. WHO ARE THE CLIENTS?

V.1. Findings from the Literature Review

The body of literature profiling purchasers of sex is quite substantial. Research shows that consumers of commercial sexual services are almost exclusively males, who can be of virtually any age, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, religion, socioeconomic class, marital status, and sexual orientation. This is true across different geographic locales.

‘Johns’ have been found to range in age from late teens to mid-80s, with an average of age of 37-41. A review of 7 relevant studies (Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordon, 1997; Kennedy et al., 2000; Lever & Dolnick, 2000; Monro, 2000; Sawyer et al., 1998; Stewart, 1972) conducted in the United States (5), Canada (2) and New Zealand (1), and published between 1972 and 2000, found that “the majority of men who buy sex from prostitutes are Caucasian, married, have at least a high school education and are employed” (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 10). Similar profile emerged from other studies conducted in the U.S., Canada, Mexico, the United Kingdom, Finland, Estonia, and Russia (Coy, Horvath, & Kelly, 2007; Estes & Weiner, 2011; Farley et al., 2009; Martilla, 2008; McKeogany, 1994). The majority of men in the aforementioned studies had middle incomes and purchased sex in various indoor locations.

Men who buy sex from street workers are more likely to be on the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum. For example, a comprehensive profile of a sample of 366 men, who went through John School Diversion Program in Toronto (March 2000-March 2001) after being charged with soliciting services of street prostitutes, shows that, compared to the general male population of Toronto, these men “are more likely to be middle-aged, less likely to have a high level of educational achievement and are less likely to be employed in professional or managerial occupations… [and] much more likely to be foreign-born and report that English is their second language” (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 2).

There is evidence that legalization and ‘prostitution tolerance zones’ encourage men to purchase sex, while fear of public exposure, getting a criminal record, being placed on sex offender list or other form of punishment may serve as a deterrent (Farley et al., 2009; Wortley & Fischer, 2002), yet criminalization is seen as largely ineffective in curbing commercial sex trade. Men appear to be equally likely to buy sex in their home cities, during vacations elsewhere, while traveling for work, or serving in the army. Some men were found to have bought services from as many as 2,000 women in different countries over a lifetime (Farley et al., 2009). At the same time, most men feel ambivalent and ashamed about paying for sex.

The commonly cited reasons for which men buy sex include: “the desire for sex or companionship; to receive sexual acts they cannot receive from their regular partners; the exciting nature of illicit sex; the lack of emotional commitment or risk of rejection; to have a number of different sexual partners; and, a general attraction to prostitutes” (Wortley & Fischer, 2002, p. 10). The overarching reason has been summarized as the notion of men’s basic, biological right to have access to women’s bodies and get sexual satisfaction (Bernstein, 2001; Coy, Horvath, & Kelly, 2007; Farley et al., 2009; Lowman & Atchison, 2006; McKeogany & Barnard, 1996; Monto, 2000; Pitts et al., 1997; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). Farley et al. (2009) observe: “men’s sexual objectification of and lack of accurate empathy with the women they buy are likely preconditions for men’s sexual use of women in prostitution” (p. 18). Commercial sexual exploitation of children by men (especially ‘sex tourism’) is attributed largely to pedophilia and other psychiatric disorders and sexual perversions.
Male demand for sexual services has been named consistently as the driving force behind burgeoning global commercial sex trade and sex trafficking, as well as sexualization and commodification of race/ethnicity/nationality, stemming from the men’s desire for ‘exotic’ foreign women – e.g., African, Eastern European, Latina, Oriental (Agathangelou, 2004; Barry, 1981; Batsyukova, 2007; Beeks & Amir, 2006; Bernstein, 2001; Dalla, 2011; Farley et al., 2009; Flowers, 2001; Hughes, 2000; Kara 2010; Malarek, 2003; Martilla, 2008; Monzini, 2005). A number of studies determined that the majority of male clients are well aware of the fact that prostitutes could be underage, trafficked, under control of a pimp, coerced, abused and exploited, yet this does not deter men from buying sex (Anderson & O’Connell Davidson, 2003; DiNicola et al., 2009; Farley et al., 2009) and only about 5% would report suspected trafficking cases to the police for the fear of losing anonymity and being exposed to their families (Farley et al., 2009). As concluded by Farley et al. (2009): "Men’s acceptance of prostitution is one of a cluster of attitudes that encourages and justifies violence against women. Violent behaviours against women have been associated with attitudes that promote men’s beliefs that they are entitled to sexual access to women, are superior to women and are licensed as sexual aggressors” (p. 6)

We should note that a few studies found that women also purchase sexual services – almost always from males – but these transactions constitute only a small fraction of the market (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Scott et al., 2005; Timpson et al., 2007; Weitzer, 2000). Typically, female clients are well-to-do (older) women who hire high-priced ‘gigolos.’ The gigolo market is prominent near resorts, particularly in the developing countries, where "young men – ‘bumsters’ or ‘beachboys’ – hire themselves to wealthy western women for social and sexual purposes” (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005, pp. 204-205). Within such contexts, local males also act as cultural brokers, facilitating women’s experiences and access into the local culture: “women tourists become consumers from the global North, harnessing their privilege of global movement and economic wealth, and local men become sexual servers from the global South who are reliant upon tourism relations for their movement and income” (Collins, 2007, p. 118). Such transactions usually are not seen as CSE or trafficking. There are merely a few reported examples of female clients being verbally abusive, refusing to pay, and falsely accusing male sex workers of harassment (Scott et al., 2005).

There is some evidence of commercial sexual exploitation of minors by older women and that it is happening in North American settings. Yet again, the percentage of female clients, as recorded by several studies, is usually insignificant: clients soliciting sex services from minors are predominantly male (Estes & Weiner, 2011; Perrin, 2010). Research on the CSE of children in Mexico, the United States, and Canada suggests that women represent only about 5% of the children’s “opportunistic customers” – i.e., those who do not have sexual preference for children, but engage in sex with them simply because they are available – while men comprise 75% of these customers (25% are other juveniles) and 95% of boys’ clients (Estes & Weiner, 2011, p. 105). In a study on the CSE of children/youth in New York City, about 24% of all respondents and 40.5% of boys reported having served female clients (see Table 1), but researchers suspected that “the boys' estimates were significantly overinflated ... [because] for those boys who were not homosexual, or who wanted to avoid what they perceived to be a stigma attached to homosexuality, admitting that one’s clientele was exclusively male was difficult” (Cutis et al., 2008, p. 79). Another American study, which interviewed 61 teens in Boston, MA and Washington, D.C., found that boys were trading themselves to women for a place to stay, food, or money to support drug addiction (Williams & Frederic, 2009). This study included only 17 male participants (42 were female and 2 were transgender) (Williams & Frederic, 2009).
Table 1. Gender of Customers of CSE Youth in New York City*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customer Gender</th>
<th>Female Respondents (n=116)</th>
<th>Male Respondents (n=110)</th>
<th>Transgender Respondents (n=19)</th>
<th>Total (N=245)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>96.6%</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>90.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>40.5%**</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from: Curtis et al., 2008, p. 82. Note that respondents chose more than one answer.

**14 boys (12.72% of the male respondents) reported serving female clients only (Cutis et al., 2008, p. 79)

Very little is known about lesbian sex trade. Although many female sex workers self-identify as lesbian (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005), they are generally involved in heterosexual commercial sexual transactions, which make it easier to establish clear boundaries between work and personal life (Miller, 2004). However, “female prostitutes often participated in sex acts with people of both sexes … for both pleasure and profit” (Miller, 2004, p. 145). In the New York-based study by Curtis and colleagues (2008), of the 116 CSE girls surveyed, about 11% reported having female customers – percentage characterized by the researchers as “surprisingly high” (Curtis et al., 2008, p. 29) (see Table 1). It is interesting to note the authors' choice of words: almost 97% of the girls and 91% of all youth in the study reported serving male clients, yet those percentages were construed as neither “high” nor “surprising.” This highlights that female clients are mostly an anomaly in the commercial sex market.

An undercover journalistic investigation of a secret world of lesbian sex trade in Lagos State, Nigeria, found its existence in both high places, where rich women pay fees that ‘dwarf’ the amount of money men pay for sex, and in ghettos, where the prices are relatively low. It was revealed that girls as young as 16 were typically recruited by their female friends who were already in the trade, and that “this new trend in prostitution is fast spreading among teenagers, but is not restricted to them” (Ateba & Beba, 2011). The investigators noted that the “root of this new dimension of prostitution can be traced to ‘only-girls’ boarding schools. Young innocent girls in such schools are lured into the act by older girls, most time through bullying” (Ateba & Beba, 2011). Thus, there is some evidence that lesbian commercial sexual transactions involve trafficking of girls. However, these sensationalist media accounts have not been verified and similar occurrences have not been reported elsewhere.

V.2. The AHTP Findings

None of the 40 trafficked victims served by the AHTP reported having non-male clients, but detailed information about the women’s clientele was not provided.

None of the project stakeholders, who participated in qualitative interviews and the focus group, appeared to have any knowledge of non-male clients being involved in CSE, which was consistent with the public perceptions encountered throughout the project. Interestingly, 35.71% of the GBA+ survey respondents thought that anyone – man or woman – could be a client buying commercial sexual acts from the victims of CSE, while 28.57% named only men as clients; almost 36% of the respondents were unable to provide an answer or misunderstood the question (see Appendix B).
VI. WHO ARE THE TARGET POPULATION GROUPS WHEN IT COMES TO EDUCATING THE PUBLIC ABOUT SEX TRAFFICKING?

VI.1. Findings from the Literature Review

Numerous human trafficking education initiatives have emerged and are conducted around the world. The review of literature for GBA+ determined that the overwhelming majority of the public education campaigns have focused on international sex trafficking prevention and targeted (young) women, educating them about dangers of travelling abroad for work (e.g., Interdepartmental Working Group on Trafficking in Women, 2003; IOM, 1998; Limanowska, 2005). The material was usually presented in a very straightforward way, with females identified as the victims, and males as the clients and traffickers (a few presentations mentioned female recruiters).

Over the past five years, the focus has been shifting towards educating, and offering training and technical assistance to, health and social service providers, the law enforcement, and prosecutors, as it has been documented that they could not easily differentiate between sex work, prostitution and sex trafficking, between severe and non-severe forms of trafficking, between trafficking and smuggling, between domestic and international forms of trafficking, nor could they easily identify specific forms of human trafficking (Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008; Williams & Frederic, 2009). This education trend has been observed around the world, and specifically in North America.

Most recently, a few grassroots NGO initiatives started targeting men and boys, educating them about the realities of sex trafficking and consequences of buying sex. The overall lack of educational campaigns targeting the demand side of sex trafficking is quite surprising.

VI.2. The AHTP Findings

The educational initiatives of the AHTP targeted 5 population groups: (1) health and social service providers; (2) representatives of the legal system; (3) youth; (4) local hotel workers; and (5) general public.

Service providers and representatives of the legal system were educated through specialized awareness presentations and training workshops. Young people were educated through presentations at local secondary and high schools, and through street and youth services outreach. Education of the general public, especially in York Region, encompassed invited presentations at places of community gatherings (such as churches), as well as brief presentations and display tables at various conferences and community forums and events.

In addition, the AHTP developed 17 distinct human (sex) trafficking awareness resources/tools, and distributed a total of 10,000 items through various channels, including but not limited to: street outreach, social service organizations, schools, public libraries, hospitals, doctors’ offices, hotels, nail salons and spas, etc.

10 See, for example, Men Against Sexual Trafficking (MAST) http://www.mast-canada.com, and Truckers Against Human Trafficking http://truckersagainsttrafficking.org/human-trafficking-issues.
The AHTP presentations strove to reach all genders. The awareness materials were targeting primarily women, youth, service providers, and the general public.

The educational initiatives of the project appeared to be successful and effective with all target population groups, except one – hotel workers. Since local hotels and motels have been identified by the police as hot spots for CSE, the project staff approached hotel managers in the Newmarket area with suggestion to deliver awareness-raising presentations for hotel workers. Only one female manager expressed interest in having such presentation in the future, but a few hotels accepted some of the awareness resources for distribution. This lukewarm reception was attributed mainly to the hotels' fear of damaging their reputation and losing business.

In the end of the project, stakeholder feedback was sought regarding which population groups should be targeted by future anti-human trafficking education initiatives.

Of the 34 GBA+ survey respondents who answered the relevant question, almost 29% stated that educational initiatives should target everybody, women and men included. Just over 26% stated that women and children/youth should be the primary target groups, with additional 7% naming women and “vulnerable people in society” (such as immigrants) as the targets. Further, 19% of respondents believed that the main groups that needed to be educated were those working with trafficked victims – e.g., service providers, police, and other professionals (see Appendix B).

The project stakeholders who participated in the qualitative interviews and the focus group were virtually unanimous in naming youth – especially young women and girls, but male youth too – as the main target population for sex trafficking awareness and education. They believed that schools should be the primary sites for this education and suggested developing various educational modules that would cater to specific age groups, starting at least with the sixth-graders (ages 11-12):

*My number one would be – as much as this may sound like it plays into a stereotype, but from what we’ve seen, it’s female youth… And I say that because we do have a lot of women, especially those who would kind of fit more so into the kind of the classical human trafficking, you know, A, B and C. Although I don’t think anyone fits into that box very neatly, but our experience is that the majority were recruited, were approached, were trafficked when they were in their teen years and didn’t have any knowledge of what that looked like, and nobody in their family or in their schools had any knowledge of what that looked like either. And so just even bringing awareness in terms of what that looks like to youth I think is really important. Actually, I’ll open it up to not just young women, but young women and young men. I don’t think we necessarily have all the information or enough information on how young men are recruited and trafficked, but even in terms of young men having that knowledge - they themselves may not be at risk for trafficking, but able to, as we saw in the outreach, educate others around them, to educate the young women in their lives in terms of what that can look like. So that would be my top groups...*

*Youth. Even with the statistics that we are getting, most of the women or perhaps men who enter the sex trafficking trade, their average age, I believe, was quoted as 12, 13. So they are the most at risk and they have less resources than the adults have available to them. So I would definitely say youth – the younger the better.*
You need to do targeted education with women. And if you look at the women who have been fairly vulnerable and at risk for being trafficking in York Region, the stats have shown that it’s younger women. They are a demographic that can be accessed for education because they’re an at-risk population. … It [education] can occur in schools because young women are recruited in schools. It can occur in places that young women frequent, it can occur through social media because that’s another sort of virtual space that young women frequent. There isn’t any shortage of entry points in terms of how you access young women, but schools must be one of the sites where education would likely take place because we know young women are recruited in schools.

I think the community at large [should be the target], but specifically youth. You know, most of the women on the caseload are youth. So I would definitely target high schools.

I personally would love to see human trafficking presentation perhaps not the way that we present it to each other, because you can traumatize the kids. But I would love to see that going out to schools, so that way everybody is aware. I mean, we do see some youth who are going to school and they’re still being trafficked, who could still be living with their parents, could even be coming from a good family, and they still can be involved in the trade. So I personally would love to see human trafficking presentations done in all the schools, obviously catered to the age.

I was thinking maybe acknowledging the word ['trafficking'] within even as young as Grade 6 – acknowledging the word, the title or label or I am not sure [exactly how to say it], but definitely being more so aggressive in the [Grades] 7, 8. Because seeing a lot of the things that even a lot of the students are putting on Facebook and so forth, and those are becoming avenues which traffickers are definitely utilizing, because everything is on there – your mood and everything. So, you know, they are utilizing this information. And I am not exactly sure what the exact ages are when the kids are starting, but I am realizing that it’s younger and younger every year that they are starting to access Facebook and all these media sites and so forth. So maybe having, identifying – as much as with sexual health, they identify that touching and so forth is not appropriate in certain ways and in certain grades, and then expanding on that. And as each year goes on, you can get a little bit more in-depth as to explaining.

But the stakeholder believed that it was also very important to educate the adults in the children’s lives – teachers, guidance counsellors, school board members, and parents:

I think that, in addition to the students, the teachers need to be made aware. Because the teachers and counsellors and so forth have no knowledge or idea about sex trafficking, and so when the students are talking to them or going to them and speaking about experiences that they are having or these different conflicts that they are having, they can identify human trafficking. So I think definitely having the teachers’ aware, because … they may be missing those key identifiers. The schools definitely...

I would say, young people themselves, guidance counsellors and some lead person, lead group in the school system, both the Catholic and Public school systems.

I think educators go hand-in-hand with reaching out to the kids. So guidance counsellors, teachers. We thought it’d be great to have a PA day, a PD day designated to human trafficking to train all the guidance counsellors and the teachers. Send home
information to parents. But parents are generally difficult to get the information out to. It’s really difficult to target parents.

I think the parents of school aged students as well. I’d like to see it sort of on a larger scale, like you’re seeing, you know, drug information or how to support your kids in making healthy choices. Like, expand on that curriculum, so that parents are aware. Because I think, across the general public, there’s a real naiveté around what’s happening. People are astounded to think this is actually taking place among our youth. And perhaps this way – like, if the parents will know the signs and know how to read the signs in their kids, perhaps they will be more open to discussing with them. And if they see those signs, then they can get their child some help, as opposed to not even knowing what’s going on, and protect other kids that may be in the house. We’ve dealt with some cases where we’ve got a 21-year old who maybe has been identified as a sex trade worker and there’s younger children in the home who are being influenced by the activity of their older siblings. So I think reaching out to those parents as well.

In my experience, I’ve seen a lot of cases where victims have come from rural communities where they are very isolated and not exposed too much. And the same with their parents. Because I’ve met with parents that said, ‘I had no idea what she was doing on the computer. I had no idea.’ So I think something needs to be done for the smaller communities as well – within York Region and outside of York Region.

Female youth – and in tandem with their parents and their educators. … and young men. I think that [youth] would still be my top group.

Service providers, especially those working with women and children/youth – such as youth shelters and drop-in centres, group homes, Children’s Aid Societies – were identified as the next pivotal group to be educated about human (sex) trafficking, as they were the ones most likely to encounter victims/survivors at the moments when interventions was critical, yet were unable to recognize a trafficking situation or offer appropriate forms of assistance:

And then it would be those that we’ve actually spent a lot of time with ourselves, which is community organizations that are serving marginalized groups – so that they are able to recognize it within their own clients and able to provide assistance, and be aware of the barriers within their services and the gaps within the situation.

I think Children’s Aid Society really, really needs to be aware of this because they do so often work with youth who have come from [difficult situations]. … Probably the youth drop-in and shelter system would also be something that we would need to engage with.

I think educating individuals that work with youth, mainly where vulnerable youth hang out – places like shelters, group homes, drop-in centers, where youth are looking for, you know, somebody to actually care for them. Having the staff also know what’s going on – like the lingo things, what to look for. Because now, looking back over the years, from being here I’ve learned that some of the things were right there in my face and I didn’t even notice – for some of the young girls that, you know, just were being picked up out of shelters and stuff like that.

I would say, it’s service providers. I mean, that’s a huge population group, but in terms of connecting women to the resources they need, that is so essential. You know, some of
the challenges that staff have faced in trying to connect women with the resources they need – that’s to be avoided if service providers recognize the seriousness of the issue, or if they recognize the complexity in the issue: you know, it’s not as easy as, well, let’s just give her her own apartment and she will be fine, or get her a shelter bed. That’s not enough, you know. It’s to bring about systemic changes for women, those that may find themselves engaged in sex work, what might seem like sex work, and then it becomes something else, where they lose control over the work that they have engaged in and it becomes an abusive situation, and they’re being trafficked… I think that’s an important component to look at. If they had access to resources, if women’s material conditions looked very different in our country and our world, I think we wouldn’t have some of the issues we have, but then when you call upon the service providers to offer support and do things quickly, it’s not the traditional, okay, you know, there’s a waiting list, you could see someone in this period of time. With the situations we’ve had to deal with, I can’t stress you the importance of 24-hour services, of on-call services, because the issues that have come up don’t always come up between 9 to 5. And the service providers, in terms of their structure, they’re not equipped to respond to some of the needs of the women who are being trafficked because it’s a model of service delivery that makes some assumptions: you’re housed, you have access to certain resources and so on. So I would say, in terms of education, they will continue to be an important stakeholder – the service providers.

Several stakeholders stressed that it was essential to educate representatives of the justice system, such as attorneys and judges, since there was an obvious lack of awareness about human trafficking within the system, which was exacerbated by the age-old gender biases:

And, of course, crown attorneys and judges, and defense council, and all of the people that work in the system. You know, we prosecute cases every day, and we still probably have a large portion of our crowns that don’t really have an understanding, and a certain majority of our judges who really don’t get it.

I think it has to do with gender bias. I mean, even if we’re looking at crime such as even domestic violence, rape still being underreported, and a lot of women are not coming forward because they will not be believed, they will be judged because you were dressed a certain way, spoke a certain way, you were at a party and you drank. So there’s still all those biases that exist. So if we cannot deal with basic issues yet openly, how are we supposed to tackle human trafficking when it’s so much more complex?

Since hotels have been identified among key sex trafficking sites, hotel workers were named as another critical target group:

The hotels and their staff, so that way they could identify things that might appear to be unusual, like they could play a major role in identification and, and quickly connected people to resource information, so, that’s another group…

The hotel managers – I think that’s where the partnership piece needs to come in, that education piece. Because they are the ones that are getting the first-hand contact with the victims and the perpetrators, and the customers. And a lot of the calls that come in are hotel managers that have called the police and go, ‘This has been going on.’
Further, the stakeholders pointed out the importance of targeting the demand side of sex trafficking by educating men about the realities of the sex industry, and the fact that many women were not exactly willing participants in the commercial sexual transactions:

*If you educate the men that these are not necessarily women that are wanting to be in these situations – to know what’s going on behind the scenes, that you might actually be encountering women that are being forced to be there…*

*If you go on the Internet, some of the stuff that you can find there, there’s sort of Boy’s Club where they give tips: if you go to this country, this is where you look for, you know, good one; and this is where you go for a good time, and this is the kind of girl you are going to find here and there, and that’s how we do it, and that’s how you approach them, and this is what you say. When you hear some of the responses – because once in a while you would see somebody writing, you know, do you realize that some of these women could be trafficked, blah, blah, blah. And some of them – well, at least, you know, I am providing her with business, at least she can send money home, and at least I’m giving her the money. I mean, if you want to help her, bring her to social agencies! You know, you’re not helping her by providing her with this type of business. So I think definitely education towards males because, I mean, we can lock up all the women and protect them all we want, but as long as there’s people out there who are going to try to traffic, then…*

*Some of the men – when they, for example, go to a prostitute, they are, like, well, okay, I am not raping anybody, I am not beating anybody up, this is a woman who is there willingly and, you know, I need to have some fun, she’s here to provide the service, it’s not like I’m taking advantage of a girl at a party, here everything is legit. So definitely that education.*

*It’s a consensual business transaction from their [men’s] perspective. So the education to that end, I think, is important.*

Of course, the stakeholders pointed out that women themselves should be educated as well. General public, businesses, and newcomers to Canada (new immigrants) also were named among the target groups for education around human trafficking issues.

**VII. WHO ARE THE EDUCATORS?**

**VII.1. Findings from the Literature Review**

The review of literature shows that most human trafficking education campaigns are led by: (a) various non-governmental organizations (NGOs); (b) large inter-governmental organizations, such as the IOM, (c) the law enforcement; and (d) government agencies, commissions or task forces. The campaigns usually encompass presentations and seminars, posting in public places, television news segments, radio and TV public announcements, and online resources. In addition, educational videos, documentaries, and feature films about human trafficking are shown.

Peer education component – trafficking survivors themselves educating (prospective) victims – has been lacking, largely due to the reluctance of the victims/survivors to come forward,
especially in sex trafficking cases. Survivor testimonies are most commonly part of the NGO-led educational initiatives.

It appears that the overwhelming majority of the educators involved in human trafficking awareness campaigns and service provider training are women. Male educators are most commonly members of the law enforcement who work in partnership with female educators. Most recent human trafficking prevention efforts in Northern America also involve grassroots NGOs founded by men and focused on educating men and boys about commercial sexual exploitation of women and the consequences of buying sex (e.g., Men Against Sexual Trafficking, Truckers Against Human Trafficking)

The literature is silent on the involvement of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersex, questioning, queer, and two-spirited individuals as educators in the anti-human trafficking initiatives.

VII.2. The AHTP Findings

The AHTP/WSN staff members conducting public awareness presentations and service provider training were female, but several brief presentations were delivered by them in partnership with male representatives of the law enforcement.

Only 29 of the 42 GBA+ survey respondents provided answers to the question, ‘Who are the educators/trainers of the above target groups?’ Almost 36% of the respondents thought that the educators were those working with the trafficked victims/survivors – e.g., service providers, community organizations, the police and other professionals. Just over 14% listed human trafficking survivors, and about 5% listed both the survivors and those working with victims, as the educators. Another 14% thought of educators in terms of gender and stated that anyone – women and men – could provide education around human trafficking issues.

The feedback from the AHTP stakeholders obtained during in-depth interviews and the focus group was two-fold: the stakeholders identified several primary groups of educators currently doing awareness-raising on human (sex) trafficking in York Region and beyond, and then offered their thoughts on who the main educators could or should be.

Three categories of currently active educators were identified: (1) experiential women (i.e. survivors of sex trafficking), who were usually affiliated with faith-based organizations and were part of those organizations’ educational initiatives; (2) professional service providers, who were usually female social workers; and (3) the law enforcement. Each category of educators was described as having a particular perspective or stance on the issue of sex trafficking:

I would say that there’s probably three distinct cohorts – not necessarily just in York Region but in general, based on what I have seen there. The experiential women, predominantly women anyway, who are speaking to their experiences and who are usually associated with faith-based organizations – organizations, you know, that believe that all sex work is inherently exploitative, and who are speaking to that audience, to that forum. The educated professional women, who are probably mostly the social workers by trade, who are working on this issue as a social worker issue and talk about it in terms of an underserved population that’s being exploited due to a number of structural causes. And then there’s the police and the legal side of things, where you’re hearing about it in the news – you know, ships from Sri Lanka are coming over and there are
trafficking scenarios. Or there’s a trial in Ottawa right now and they are pressing to have the defendants [teenaged girls accused of sex trafficking] charged as adults, and it’s very much law and order: you know, you are both an exploiter and exploited, but one trumps the other, and so that’s the focus that we are going to go with.

In terms of both prospective and current educators, service providers were viewed by the project stakeholders as arguably the most important group, since they were most likely to deal with the victims/survivors of human trafficking in various capacities and thus were knowledgeable not only about the needs and circumstances of the trafficked individuals, but also organizational and structural issues that impeded the provision of effective assistance to this population. This meant that service providers were identified simultaneously as a target group for education and as chief educators. The stakeholders felt that community partnership groups, such as the York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Committee, could take on leadership roles in educating other service providers:

I think all the services that are interacting with the identified target population per se, but I was also going to mention healthcare. Like, in hospitals, especially emergency rooms that may see some of our patients come in and not even picking up on it. And even in mental health especially… After speaking to some of my patients that mental health becomes such a severe issue, and when they tell you why or what happened to them when they were a young girl or even recently, it makes you think, what’s going on here? But yet you are going to release them back into the environment they just came from, with not doing much investigation. So I think that having committees such as this [YRAHTC], where service providers are able to go out not only to their organizations but to extended organizations to educate them … would definitely be beneficial.

As to be expected, trafficking victims/survivors – specifically, experiential women – were identified as an eminent group of educators:

I think it’s important to hear it from the victims/survivors themselves… As a frontline service provider or someone who is going to be supporting someone, what we need to hear is, what was helpful and what’s the lived experience of that.

Experiential women. I think we started to see that within York Region. Being able to have our Advisory Committee [of Experiential Women] – they may not have been at the point where they were going out and doing presentations and trainings themselves, but they absolutely had a lot of say in terms of the content of the trainings and the referral process, and all those pieces. So they weren’t the visible educators, but they were absolutely educators in the process. … I would like to see, especially within York Region, more of experiential women and their voice coming out in terms of education. I think anecdotally it happens. There have been some situations when I’ve done training presentations where a woman will come to me afterwards and disclose that she had been trafficked X number of years ago and is now involved in some level of community service or involved in a community-based organization, and wants to be involved in educating others around human trafficking. They are at a point in their journey where that’s something they would want to do. So I think experiential women are a huge voice in this and do need to be engaged in educating others.

Serious discussions occurred regarding who would be in a better position to educate the public – grassroots community organizations or professional agencies. It was noted that experiential
women, as well as regular citizens, were more likely to be part of grassroots (voluntary) community organizations, which were less bureaucratic and more flexible in their work comparing to professional agencies, and thus potentially better able to relate to the victims/survivors, which might have made these organizations more trustworthy in the eyes of the public. Yet professional agencies were believed to have more experience, resources, and the necessary connections. With their established reputation, they were viewed as respectable and being able to not only make people listen, but ensure that trafficked victims/survivors actually get help. In the end, the stakeholders agreed that grassroots vs. professional was somewhat of a false dichotomy – that both categories of organizations had a lot to offer and should be a joint force in the fight against human trafficking. They pointed out that trafficking survivors could be part of both grassroots and professional organizations, and that any organization could have more and less competent workers, so the most important factor was for the educators to be well informed:

[There is] the need for both the grassroots and for established organizations because they have that ability maybe to go out and speak to anyone and everyone. … A lot of individuals will know WSN and know what it stands for and so forth, so if someone [from WSN] goes out and speaks to someone, it’s like, oh, they are a reputable organization. But if an experiential woman goes out – she’s maybe experiential, but has nothing behind it. It’s like, yes, you can talk to me; yes, you can identify with me and be empathetic, but how can you help me? That can sort of create a false hope and also a gap, so… I think [working] collaboratively, grassroots and established organizations can be a great force to be reckoned with. Independently, I think that we can crumble in a sense… You need one to carry the other. With the disconnect, I don’t think it can work.

I don’t think there is a difference, as long as they are getting the right information. I mean, if citizens are educating citizens, some of them might know more about human trafficking than we do because they personally did research, they are interested in the topic and they want to bring awareness. So I don’t think it makes us any better educators than them. I think we should all be agents of change. As long as their information, of course, is accurate. But then again, we could be just as inaccurate as they are, because where are the sources that we’re getting our information from?

I think there are good and bad social workers in grassroots and in professional organizations. I think if you’re really going to go back to, you know, the ethics and the real therapeutic process of what you are supposed to do with your client, then you are going to meet their needs, you’re going to relate to them. And I think having that professional education and background, you’re going to be able to provide real work, real support that they need.

We have women who do work with domestic violence and they’ve been in abusive relationships themselves. So just because they are a professional, it doesn’t mean that they don’t have the experience or some sort of relation to the topic. Maybe the woman hasn’t been trafficked, but I think with women – at some point we all have experienced some sort of discrimination towards us, so… And also, when you haven’t been through that situation, you might be even more inclined to understand them because you will be asking questions, ‘Tell me about your experience,’ as opposed to saying, ‘Oh, I know exactly how it was, here’s what happened to me. No, you didn’t do the right thing, you should have done this, this is how I got out.’ So I think sometimes not having experience in that area will enable you to listen better and to ask questions, and to try to actually
understand where that person is coming from. And although I understand how some people can relate towards each other in their experience, I also think there’s a great validity in not knowing everything about it.

In terms of the educators’ genders, the stakeholders thought that women should continue being the main educators when it came to sex trafficking, but all agreed that men had a role to play as well – especially in educating other men. In particular, male representatives of the law enforcement and community organizations, male victims/survivors, regular citizens, and former johns were mentioned as potential or current educators:

I think men do have a role. They can be allies, they can help with the education as well. Men from both the law enforcement and from community agencies.

I definitely think that men should be a part of this collaborative effort.

I remember at one of the conferences that I went to – I believe it was the White Ribbon Campaign – where it’s males that are out there educating other males. So that is a great source of finding out what is happening to the male population. Because we have identified that sex trafficking primarily is done towards women, but at the same time we know there’s males that may be also involved. So having males be educators themselves reaches the male population. Similarly, women would reach the female population. But likewise, it also gives the women an ear as to what is happening to the men, what have they encountered in their lives, what are their circumstances, so it doesn’t limit it to just the female issue: I believe it expands to a cultural and a systemic. So I don’t think it should just be females.

I don’t know if that’s happening in Canada, but I have seen that in South East Asia – former johns doing education around sex trafficking. I know of an organization called MST – which is Men and the Sex Trade – with the branch within Cambodia and within Thailand. It is former johns who are talking to others and they are based right on the street, they are out there having conversations in kind of red light areas with the men who are in those areas, specifically about the realities that these women face, what trafficking really is, and then self-determinants and pieces like that. I don’t know of anything like that in Canada, but I know that it is happening elsewhere.

I think there’s a place for both [genders]. I think both genders have a role to play, and I see a specific role for men in terms of addressing demand and talking about that with other men. Most of the presentations I’ve seen from law enforcement tend to be men doing those presentations. Community agencies – I have seen women. One of the pieces – and I’m not saying this is the only place men can be involved, but I think it’s a gap and I know of one organization, not within York Region, that looks at this – is men speaking in terms of the demand side. And men speaking to other men in terms of what trafficking is and what it does. You know, a piece around responsibility and around the demand that comes from it… I think that is a gap within York Region and an important piece that would need to be looked at because one of the trends that we were seeing with our clients, the majority of our clients were not necessarily residing in York Region: they may have been residing temporarily in York Region, York Region wasn’t necessarily their home community, or they were trafficked into York Region. We do have some that were from York Region, always based here. But the majority I think were brought in. And then in speaking to our crown attorney’s office, they were telling us that the majority of
the traffickers were also not from York Region, they were from other places. So that to me brings the question of, well, then why is trafficking happening in York Region? And the only conclusion I can come to is that the demand is here.

It's always effective to have the integration of men in some anti-violence work with male populations and through, like, a co-facilitated approach in working with some females and in mixed groupings – that's also been effective.

I think Women’s Support Network has been unique in that we did hire a male to run one of our public education programs. I think it’s the only way that it can be done.

Further, the stakeholders pointed to the important role that young men and boys can play in educating their female peers about commercial sexual exploitation. In fact, one of the most interesting and unexpected results of the AHTP was the involvement of male teens in a youth drop-in, where the project staff were doing outreach, in the sex trafficking prevention efforts. It turned out that boys there knew a lot about trafficking for CSE because their own male peers were trafficking girls into prostitution. Those boys started advising girls on how to watch out for themselves and not get trafficked, and actually pointed out males who might pose danger:

I think that is a great way in which we saw young men getting engaged and being involved, and wanting to have that voice.

I think that young boys have access to young girls in the school settings and in other social spaces where they spend time, so they certainly would be a great resource to connect with young women.

Youth peer educators in general were named as an integral part of human trafficking awareness initiatives. Stakeholders believed that it may be easier for youth to speak the language of, and establish quick rapport with, audiences their own age than it would be for older, professional educators:

I know police have their role in educating youth. Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn’t. I think if the message is coming from another youth, it’s that much more powerful. So I would say if we were to start or continue a larger awareness program, it would be getting some youth to take some role in the program.

Even youth that you find in those places [drop-ins, shelters] to support each other and recognize amongst their peers key people, key youth that you can train to be leaders in that area.

However, it was emphasized that the educators’ effectiveness depended not so much on their gender, age, background, or the type of organization they were coming from, but on their knowledge and understanding of complex human trafficking issues, and the specific conceptual frameworks utilized for educational purposes:

I think what’s important is the framework in which they [the educators] are delivering their message and their education. So as much as gender might be important, or the professional affiliation, we know that there have been systemic issues with some groups and certain types of organizations. They might be less apt to attending a workshop or a presentation by a certain type of an organization. I’m thinking, in different contexts,
depending on who the learners are and the audience, you will identify an appropriate facilitation team. But I think in terms of organizations that become involved in the work, I am more interested in the framework that they work from. Do they apply a Gender-Based Analysis? Do they have a feminist, anti-racist, anti-oppression framework that they apply to their lens when they talk about trafficking? Do they recognize the complexities for different demographics of our population – around reporting, around accessing support in general? There are some service providers who don’t do that, right? So I think it’s helpful to understand how they are framing their message. You can have a more harm reduction approach or you can be very law-and-order focused, which is, you know, ‘we want to catch the bad guy, get them off the streets,’ and it is very focused on reporting and having people criminalized, and less focused on what the victims of trafficking might be dealing with and what supports they need to help them make the best decisions for themselves. That’s the piece that I think is important to integrate.

As one example, the stakeholders discussed that a presentation by a female sex trafficking survivor may fail to address the complexity of human trafficking if, say, information about female traffickers and recruiters and male victims was not presented because the survivor was speaking only from her own experience, in which all of the perpetrators have been men. While understanding this position, the stakeholders felt that full disclosure about the complexities of the phenomenon was paramount, especially when presenters potentially had only one shot at reaching the public:

When I saw [a sex trafficking survivor’s] presentation, she put a slide up on the screen and it showed all these pictures – these are your potential traffickers. And it had every colour of every single male possible. And the first thing I was looking for was a woman. It was a social worker that took me 25 years ago from a hostel in Edmonton to a biker clubhouse – very clearly a woman and a woman in a position of power… So when I saw that picture, I’m scanning that and going, like, where’s the woman in that picture?

…If a woman is coming from a situation where she’s been exploited primarily by men and then she is going to be giving that presentation, she is going to get offended and maybe even nervous that, you know, if somebody was to point out, well, you know, females can be traffickers too. Based on her experience, she’s been constantly abused by men, so she is going to feel territorial and try to protect her own self.

You can be a victim of trafficking, but when you deliver a presentation – and not just a presentation, I think when you represent the issue, it’s really important to represent the complexities because [otherwise] you continue to perpetuate the issue, the myth. That’s damaging in itself because people are looking to you as someone reputable, credible, and you have ear that some of us might never have. Also, ethically, I think it’s really important to ensure that you use that opportunity to appropriately characterize … [who] can be a trafficker.

You may potentially only get one shot at introducing these concepts and ideas to people. So it’s beneficial to take as much advantage of that as you can and cover as much of the complexity and depths as you can. But I think that there’s also some truth to the fact that the idea that human trafficking is happening in York Region and happening to people from York Region, not people just being trafficked in from wherever else and being exploited here, that this is a locally grown phenomenon, is quite shocking to some
people and that they just may not be able or willing to take on any more information after that.

It was stressed that the AHTP/WSN staff delivering public awareness presentations and service provider training always made sure to introduce the audiences to complex and overlooked aspects of human trafficking:

Within training, something that we did address was the fact that our program was specifically for women and girls – that’s what we were funded for. But we usually would start off with a larger picture of human trafficking and helping people to have an understanding of what that looks like, not only in terms of gender but also in terms of other types of trafficking that are not for commercial sexual exploitation. … We did talk about recruiters and traffickers being women. There’s also been relatively recent cases within Canada that highlighted that, so those questions did come up in training and those are things that we talked about, especially within organizations that worked with youth – the possibility of female youth acting as recruiters, in particular, for other female youth… That one gets interesting and I think we have seen both sides of it… It’s an interesting trend.

Notably, none of the stakeholders mentioned LGBTQ individuals as current or potential educators. This could be explained by the fact that the project partners had virtually no experience with LGBTQ trafficking victims/survivors and lacked knowledge about their circumstances.

VIII. HOW IS EACH STAKEHOLDER ORGANIZATION RESPONDING TO THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND WHAT ROLE DOES GBA+ PLAY IN HOW ORGANIZATION CONDUCTS ITS WORK?

It was not possible to obtain complete answers to this question. The AHTP was a pilot project and most of the 25 stakeholder organizations were in the early stages of being educated about human trafficking in general, and sex trafficking within York Region in particular. Individual representatives of stakeholder organizations, who served on the York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Committee, engaged in GBA+ discussions during monthly committee meetings and with individual AHTP/WSN staff members outside those meetings, and tried to bring the newly acquired information and insights to their respective organizations. However, aside from the WSN, only 2 stakeholder organizations were represented at all of the YRAHTC meetings. Representatives from 4 stakeholders were unable to attend beyond the first meeting. Commonly, the same organization had one representative attend one meeting, and then a different one attend another meeting. In fact, there were only about 5 people who consistently attended the meetings. This complicated GBA+ process. Furthermore, some stakeholder organizations were very large, consisting of multiple units, and most committee members were not in the managerial or executive positions in their respective organizations and could not ensure that GBA+-discussions were held regularly.

However, there is evidence that the GBA+-informed service provider training delivered by the AHTP staff in most stakeholder organizations helped generate intra-organizational discussions about human trafficking, improving stakeholder understanding of, and responses to, the problem. For more on that see section XI.2.
IX. ARE THE FEMINIST VALUES OF THE WSN BEING CHALLENGED THROUGHOUT THE PROJECT AND HOW?

In light of the GBA+ findings regarding female traffickers/recruiters and male victims of trafficking, the AHTP/WSN representatives were asked if they felt that the agency’s feminist values were being challenged. The response was a resounding ‘no.’

It was stressed that women still comprised the majority of the victims trafficked for CSE. The stories told by the trafficked women on the agency’s caseload revealed that all but one had been sexually abused as children. Both their abuse in childhood and commercial sexual exploitation later in life were perpetrated by males. There was also an understanding of the complex dynamics of sex trafficking and of the fact that women who became recruiters or traffickers most likely have been previously trafficked themselves and then forced into becoming perpetrators. Some may have been emulating patriarchal model of power and authority, seeing it as the only way to empower themselves. Just as women in other areas of life, they often had to be ‘twice the man’ to gain respect or obedience, and thus may have come across as even more violent than men:

*When we see women charged with living off the avails, charged with sex trafficking, we look at it a lot as seeing – a lot of those women, when we find out their stories, were indeed trafficked. And then they ended up bringing in other women. But to my knowledge, I don’t think that we have somebody who was not trafficked or anything and then just started recruiting – in our caseload anyway.*

*Women are kind of having this competition with men, who is more powerful, and so I am going to use more force to show that I am just as powerful as men. But at the end of the day, with regards to sexual exploitation, the crime is still being committed mostly towards women. So, it’s kind of women showing they are more powerful, but yet the gender who is benefitting is still the male.*

*They need to overextend their power to be considered powerful, because you are not a male. So as opposed to a male with an authoritative voice saying ‘no,’ the female may have to then inflict pain or punishment, so that ‘no’ gets the same recognition as a male ‘no.’ And I think that that could make the crime even more heinous than if a male was just to stand firm and say that. I think that the power imbalance between males and females right now, as much as it’s getting better and the gap is closing, it’s still there, and females may have to work even harder to assert that power. So, in being recruiters or so forth in the human trafficking industry, they may inflict even more pain or make it even worse for the victims. So, certainly, understanding that mindset as to that power imbalance that they may have to endure could definitely contribute to helping understand what the women are enduring or even labour traffickers are enduring as well.*

Rather than being challenged by the GBA+ findings, the WSN’s feminist values were challenged by other service providers, who did not necessarily share the agency’s women-centred approach to service provision:

*I would say, yes, it’s been challenged. How it’s been challenged? It’s been challenged, I would say, by service providers. It refers to our focus on wanting to ensure that trafficked women have access to the supports they need and not solely the legal support that they*
might need. We want to ensure that, you know, her emotional needs are tended to, maybe her physical and spiritual needs are tended to, and not specifically framing that around disclosing the identity of her trafficker or some of the people who purchase her service, as far as commercial sexual exploitation – the johns… That piece is important, and I think has been definitely misunderstood and misinterpreted as maybe interfering, or not being supportive, or working as collaboratively as we have the potential to do in the region when our focus is on the victim rather than the perpetrator. … Another example would be in relation to how we ‘authenticate’ a woman’s story. Our feminist framework – you know, we’re obviously very interested in her experience, her understanding of what she needs from her perspective, and that may not involve contacting other service providers to verify information before we offer support. Our support comes with less conditions, less strings attached, less bureaucracy, we don’t require a lot of identifying information. And that can, you know, impact our credibility with other service providers where we require less identifying information, and verifying and checking of the story we received before we offer support.

This made it crucial to look at the values of other stakeholders and if those were challenged as a result of GBA+.

X. ARE VALUES OF OTHER STAKEHOLDERS BEING CHALLENGED THROUGHOUT THE PROJECT AND HOW?

Unfortunately, none of the individual representatives of the other 24 stakeholder organizations were in a position to respond to this question on behalf of their entire organization: they could only speak for themselves, and most were not ready to offer an answer. They did not talk about challenges to their values, but rather about practical challenges and barriers to service provision to women trafficked for CSE that existed in their organizations. Obtaining accurate answers to this question would have required conducting multiple focus groups, as well as surveying all workers in each stakeholder organization – and having a very high response rate. The limited resources of the AHTP did not allow for that to happen.

XI. HOW DOES THIS ALL RELATE TO THE PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE TO TRAFFICKED PERSONS?

XI.1. Findings from the Literature Review

The review of literature shows that trafficking in persons is conceptualized largely as an immigration and national security problem, rather than a human rights issue that is profoundly gendered. To date, the main focus has been on foreign women in the sex trade. Most commonly, they have been viewed and treated either as illegal aliens and immoral whores or as poor, helpless victims in need of protection. In both scenarios, the response has been the same – deportation (usually preceded by arrest and detention), in the latter scenario framed as ‘repatriation’ or ‘safe return home’ (Davies, 2004, 2009; Kempadoo, 2005; Timoshkina & McDonald, 2007; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [US HHS], 2000). Under the guise of fight against human trafficking, many governments have been implementing increasingly restrictive and punitive immigration policies aimed at discouraging and curbing
‘undesirable’ migration – i.e., female migration and migration from poorer countries (Adams 2003; Chapkis, 2003; Davies, 2009; De Leon, 2010; Doezema, 2010; Macklin, 2003; Marshall & Thatun, 2005; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007; Musto, 2009). In fact, human trafficking has been called a ‘Trojan Horse’ for anti-immigration policies (Marshall & Thatun, 2005). ‘Keep your women home’ was the dominant message sent to developing nations and countries with transitional economics.

Throughout the late 1980s-1990s, special support services for trafficked victims, particularly in North America, were virtually non-existent: there were mostly sporadic, ad hoc efforts by a handful of grassroots groups, ethno-specific organizations and mainstream social service agencies, such as shelters and drop-in centers, who interacted with foreign women exploited in the sex trade; a few services were offered also to female victims of domestic labour and marriage trafficking (see GAATW Canada, 2003; PWC, 1997, 2000; Sörensen, 2008; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004; Oxman-Martinez et al., 2004; Timoshkina & McDonald, 2009). Governments did not consider the development of services for TIP victims/survivors as a high priority and funding for such services was scarce (McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004).

Slowly but steadily, specialized services for trafficked persons began to emerge around the world, yet continued to be geared predominantly towards foreign females who were “forced into the sex industry under completely false pretenses and who wish[ed] to return to their home countries”; these services were granted typically in exchange for the victims’ “full collaboration with authorities and testimonies against the traffickers” (McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004, p. 172). Victims usually were referred to services by the police following raids on brothels, massage parlours and strip clubs, and the majority did not “receive the necessary referrals due to the lack of guidelines and procedures for identifying trafficked persons” and because victims were reluctant to testify against their traffickers – out of fear or for a variety of other reasons (McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004, p. 172). Services for TIP victims in the sending countries were largely absent; where present, they were inadequate (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007; Davies, 2004, 2009; Limanowska, 2002; Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, 2000; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004). The most problematic were attempts to ‘reintegrate’ TIP survivors into society. These attempts were led by international organizations and funding bodies with little or no understanding of the local contexts or the survivors’ needs and aspirations, especially when it came to women trafficked into the sex trade. The assumption was that getting women a job was the ultimate solution to their problems. The service providers failed to recognize that many of these women have been pushed out of their countries not only by poverty, war, political instability, ethnic or religious prosecution, but by desire to escape their oppressive, misogynistic environments and restrictive socio-cultural norms, and to achieve personal freedom (Agathangelou, 2004; Biemann, 2005; Corrin, 2005; Davies, 2009; Farr, 2005). Hence the women did not “see a ‘decent job’ in their home country as a satisfactory resolution of a trafficking episode” (Davies, 2009, p. 36).

Failure to understand that resulted in the phenomenon of “reverse trafficking” – situation in which “powerful institutions compel or cajole objectified women to return to their country of origin and the circumstances that caused them so much previous distress” (Davies, 2004, p. 164). As noted by the ILO (2003), “Law Enforcement Agencies may simply move trafficked people from one system of control to another – from being controlled by traffickers to being controlled by law enforcement officials” (pp. 14-15).

Service providers also have been reported to exhibit sexist, xenophobic, classist, and racist attitudes towards trafficked women (Davies, 2009; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004; Waugh,
2006). Agencies generally were not in favour of helping victims find ways to stay in host nations (e.g., by claiming refugee status) and were against the harm reduction approach – e.g., supporting women who continued working in the sex industry upon escaping traffickers (Davies, 2009). Not surprisingly, many interventions with trafficked women did not produce positive outcomes. Victims were unwilling to come forward and collaborate with the law enforcement, making it impossible to secure victims’ testimonies and to prosecute traffickers. Many ‘rehabilitation and rescue’ shelters and centers for trafficked women stood empty for lengthy periods of time (Davies, 2009). Women deported to their home countries not only faced the same lack of opportunities that had driven them to migrate in the first place, but suffered shame, sense of loss and failure, as they came home empty-handed and damaged (Davies, 2004). They were stigmatized, ostracized, and subjected to gender violence; in the end, many were re-trafficked to other destinations (Davies, 2009; GAATW Canada, 2003; Lesko, 2005; Limanowska, 2002; Van Hook et al., 2006).

The review of specialty literature points to the importance of recognizing the diversity of trafficked victims/survivors, their circumstances, and their service needs. The awareness about human trafficking, including trafficking for CSE, is still lacking, especially in Canada. Service providers are not well informed about the many facets of sex trafficking, such as domestic sex trafficking, sex trafficking vs. sex work, juvenile prostitution, female perpetrators, male and LGBTQ victims. This results in the lack of appropriate services for victims/survivors and the lack of proper responses to the problem in general.

The notable suggestions found in the literature include: the need for services geared towards long-term needs of the trafficking survivors, such as affordable housing, ongoing counseling, medical care, access to education, life skills and language courses, job training, and family reunification (Maney et al., 2011; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2004; Okech et al., 2012); the need for shelter-based residential programs to house domestically sex-trafficked teens (Clawson & Goldblatt Grace, 2007); the need for youth-catered programming (McClain & Garrity, 2011; Williams & Frederic, 2009); the need for social workers to educate themselves about the issues faced by transgendered youth population (Klein, 2000); and the need for service providers to design programming specifically catered to males engaged in commercial sex (Koken, Parsons, Severino, & Bimbi, 2005).

**XI.2. The AHTP Responses**

Stakeholder consultations held between the WSN, YRP, and Victim Services of York Region, at the inception of the project indicated considerable gaps in services available to females affected by sex trafficking within the region. These preliminary findings were later substantiated by the results of the York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Needs Assessment survey conducted with local services providers by the AHTP. In light of these findings and the WSN’s mandate as a women-centered sexual assault/rape crisis centre, the project focused on providing services to women and girls trafficked for CSE.

However, GBA+ insights arising from the literature review, early stakeholder discussions and trafficked women’s cases encountered by the project, resulted in the evolution of the stakeholder perspectives:

> At the time when we began this project, all of our victims were women. And the traffickers – I would say, the majority were men. But the women were also recruiting young women at that time. ... And certainly, because we are only dealing with a
fragment of victims of trafficking, I don't think there was an understanding from the individuals of how complex the GBA was. It’s not just a feminist perspective. It’s not as black and white as, you know, just saying it’s this or it’s that.

GBA+ findings prompted the AHTP stakeholders to reexamine and revise their service principles, specifically those outlined in the documents of the York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Committee.

The stakeholders discussed whether it was discriminatory for the project to focus exclusively on women and girls, considering the number of male victims of human trafficking identified in Canada, and what could be done should a male victim approach the AHTP/WSN for help:

One of the things we did discuss was, what do we do if this does happen? We talked about how differently that may present. It's one of the questions that did come up, especially with doing in-service trainings for youth and for youth-serving organizations: should we be including pieces around young men getting recruited, let’s say, out of the residential setting or thing like that? … I think one of the things that we found was a real lack of research in that area and it felt outside of the scope of this project… We referred to it within the training – that does happen. But part of it was not having the knowledge around, you know, what do indicators necessarily look like. Are they the same? Are they going to be different? Are young men recruited the same way, are they engaged in the same way? Would you see the same indicators? You know, would ‘gaming’ be used? All these pieces we didn't have answers for. The conversations definitely came up, and we questioned whether, especially in a youth setting, those pieces should be looked at, but the capacity or time or resources to include that at this step [were not there]…

I think that the problem there for us primarily lies in the fact that the Women’s Support Network is women’s only space and so, fundamentally, that comes down to an issue that we are not necessarily equipped or prepared to serve male clients. … It might be problematic to target a population and then not be able to offer services in case management if and when people came forward looking for them.

Due to the limited resources of the project and the WSN being a women-centered service, it was decided that the project would remain focused on female victims/survivors, but should the WSN encounter male victims, they would be referred for assistance to appropriate agencies. A list of those agencies was subsequently put together by the AHTP staff and relevant provisions were made in the Human Trafficking for CSE Referral Procedure document. The YRAHTC also included the following anti-discrimination principle in the Guiding Principles: Victim-Survivor Centered Approach document: “The best possible assistance should be provided to victim-survivors of human trafficking without discrimination on the basis of any status under the Human Rights Code, such as race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, religion, sex, sexual orientation, disability or any other status. The primary focus of the committee, training and regional procedures is for women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation, however, referrals of services for male victim-survivors of human trafficking are available through community agencies.”

The AHTP eventually received a couple of calls from organizations working with male trafficked victims and assisted with directing those victims to appropriate resources.
Since GBA+ indicated that trafficking of LGBTQ persons, particularly minors, was an unacknowledged or misunderstood issue in York Region, the need to pay closer attention to the situations and service needs of this population was stressed. The WSN has been always open to transgender/transsexual women, and 2 trafficked trans-women were served through the AHTP case management. The examination of their cases confirmed that this population faced multiple barriers when trying to access services:

_We've had two transgendered women – both community referrals, not police-related referrals. … Their stories are very complicated actually. But essentially for both of them it [sexual exploitation] had been a long-term situation – from childhood. … One we did meet with in person and did refer her, and were able to try to get her connected with some community resources. There’s a lot of different pieces with her situation that had some added difficulties. And then we had another transgendered woman who – we actually tried to make some referral: she really needed residential, she was looking for a residential program for trafficked individuals, and we did make some inquiries at programs that we were aware of that had that transitional housing and continued pieces. But, unfortunately, they were not able to provide service for her: in one case they were full; in the other case, they didn’t have capacity to provide a space for a transgendered woman. So she didn’t get services from those organizations, but she was connected already with another community organization and actually had had the opportunity to have a safe living space still within her city of origin, a space that was very LGBTQ friendly. So she decided to go with that space instead of continuing to try to find something that was specific for a trafficked person. So we spoke to her – the person who was working with her in terms of that housing piece around special needs that she may have as a trafficked individual, even within living in a setting that’s a safe community for her being transgendered, there’s still other pieces in terms of her having been trafficked._

To ensure that the needs of LGBTQ trafficked victims/survivors are understood and met in the future, the decision was made by the WSN to invite service providers involved with LGBTQ populations to join the steering committee for the agency’s new “Working Together” project, aimed at developing a concrete community action plan to address human trafficking in York Region.

Further, the GBA+-informed service provider training delivered by the AHTP staff in most stakeholder organizations helped generate intra- and inter-organizational discussions about the complexities of human trafficking and improved stakeholder understanding of the problem, helping them to move beyond the prevalent stereotypes. It strengthened community collaborations and ultimately resulted in a higher quality of assistance to trafficked victims/survivors:

_Our project was geared towards victims/survivors who were women and girls. But in our training – especially if we were doing it at youth-serving organizations, but in every training – we talk about trafficking and traffickers, and one of the things we always addressed was that, really, a trafficker can be anyone, traffickers can be male or female, and kind of breaking down some of those stereotypes, and giving examples of what that could look like, and how recruitment may have looked different. So, for example, when we talk about youth, we talk about the recruitment method of kind of the boyfriend and seduction, which obviously has more of a male trafficker element to it, but we also talk about, say, ‘befriending’ and the recruitment that way, and girls of the same age or_
women who are a little bit older, and what that looks like – to give an idea of the fact that traffickers aren’t just one gender.

When [the AHTP staff] came and spoke at our organization and did some training, it was very insightful: our staff were, I guess, amazed that they didn’t know what was happening. And these are social service workers as well that are, like, what? That’s really happening, and probably happening to our clients? So the education piece I found to be a big asset. And I am pretty sure that everywhere else that [the project staff] has spoken or has done the training, it has impacted their program very much in regards to identifying – and not just identifying the victims, but also the traffickers. So certain aspects, although I think we don’t have enough statistics right now on the traffickers themselves, but it gives you, it makes you think, what’s going on in that aspect of that relationship?

…the trainings … really opened the doors to organizations at least starting to have conversations internally about human trafficking. At minimum, there was discussion in terms of how did this pertain to our organization, what does it look like.

You see people recognizing that situations that they just wrote off as maybe a woman being voluntarily involved or being involved in a situation for the purposes of being able to sustain a substance abuse – you’re seeing that people start connecting the dots and start recognizing that that constitutes trafficking as well.

With the introduction of the in-service training, we saw increases in assistance. Because I think the hard part was that those at the table recognized the issue and wanted to do something about it, but because their positions within the organization did not necessarily mean that they could introduce policies and procedures, then it was sometimes difficult or we weren’t seeing what we necessarily had hoped to see working with each individual organization. So in being able to implement trainings, within the majority of organizations at the regional committee, it opened that door for conversation in terms of policies and addressing barriers to assisting trafficked individuals within the region. So I would say we definitely started seeing more conversation and more of a willingness also because people were educated around what trafficking really was, and dealing with some of the stereotypes and stigma, and helping people understand how to assist this population. … And we did have some in-service training at organizations that weren’t at the table at all, which was great because people heard about what we were doing and wanted training for their organizations.

It was observed that GBA+ helped reinforce the WSN’s and some of the other stakeholders’ feminist values and client/woman-centered approach to service delivery:

We work from our feminist analysis. When we work in that context, we are really working with the victim around supporting her needs. And I think when we sit at the larger community table with our stakeholders and partners, it’s very important that we share our philosophies regarding, you know, a feminist approach to the women that we’re seeing, so that the revictimization is not happening at certain levels that we sometimes see in other systems. So we definitely address it.

…we really look at each individual client and work with their needs.
Women being charged with a criminal offence, especially as recruiters/traffickers, and not being recognized as victims of trafficking themselves was examined very closely by the project stakeholders and flagged as a serious barrier to service provision. The stakeholders recognized that each woman’s circumstances should be carefully examined and appropriate interventions, such as trauma-focused clinical counseling, should be implemented:

*If a woman was charged, then Victim Services couldn’t see her. So my concern was, well, if you’re first responders, who then goes to see that woman, who will get the call? I was always concerned about the woman first and what was going to happen with her. So there was some discussion around, you know, are they able to change their mandate and can they speak with their ministries about this? Because it is a new issue that’s emerging in the communities, and I think we all need to have the integrity to step back and look at what we can do better, rather than... You know, more building blocks or more blocks put up?*

*I think the women that became the recruiters did so after the ‘grooming’ process. They didn’t just come in and become recruiters. So I think the underlying issues with why they became recruiters and what were the underlying factors for that to happen really need to be addressed on a therapeutic level. We address that in terms of the deprogramming of those women - you know, the fear, the manipulation that took place…*

*I remember I read a case, it happened in Belarus and in Russia: there were a few girls being charged with recruiting. However, after seeing what kind of trauma they were in… One of the girls was completely dissociated. When people would ask her, ‘How could you commit all those horrendous crimes against those girls? You were once in that position!’ She said, ‘Well, phhh, nobody came to help me, why should I be helping them?’ So that kind of analysis and collaboration could help us understand the extent of trauma that they go through, how to help them, if we are able to help them.*

The WSN plans to approach the Elizabeth Fry Society for consultation regarding the development of a special initiative for incarcerated women classified as ‘trafficked victims turned traffickers/recruiters.’ The proposed collaboration will be informed by GBA+ and should produce valuable insights into the phenomenon:

*That would be a great opportunity – collaborating with Elizabeth Fry to get those kind of details, because you are building that relationship with not just the organization but also the clients, and also it gives us an insight into the recruiters. Because a lot of times we are working with the victims, but I think if we don’t understand to a certain extent the mind or the circumstance of the recruiters, how then can we sort of stop or work towards stopping that? And I guess even working with females getting the insight into the males. So it’s sort of a cycle because it’s a ladder to some extent. So, it’s definitely a valuable collaboration that I think could benefit our victims and the services in general.*

**XII. HOW DOES THIS ALL RELATE TO COMMUNITY SAFETY?**

This final question was meant to elicit stakeholder feedback regarding usefulness of GBA+ as a tool for improving community safety in general and, namely, in York Region. All AHTP stakeholders participating in the in-depth interviews and the focus group characterized GBA+ as very useful. The benefits of using this tool were purportedly multifold.
GBA+ helped the stakeholders to move beyond prevailing stereotypes by exposing the complexities of human trafficking – such as the fact that anybody, irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, sexual orientation, class, age, geographical location, etc., could be a victim or trafficker/recruiter, and the fact that victims of trafficking could also turn into perpetrators. At the same time, it helped illuminate structural factors behind human trafficking situations, and identify population groups that were particularly vulnerable to sex trafficking, such as young women, LGBTQ persons, and homeless/street youth.

These findings translated into well-informed public education initiatives and competent training for service providers and representatives of the legal justice system. The stakeholders noted that with the increased awareness about TIP and CSE, members of the public – especially young people – would be better equipped to: (a) avoid becoming victims of trafficking; (b) prevent those around them from falling prey to traffickers or from becoming recruiters/traffickers themselves; (c) be able to see signs of human trafficking and identify trafficked persons; and (d) know who to turn to/refer others for assistance. Being better educated and trained around human trafficking issues, professionals who are likely to encounter trafficked victims in their daily work would be better able to recognize and assess human trafficking situations (e.g., sex trafficking vs. sex work; trafficked victim turned trafficker), and to assist victims/survivors. Identifying the highest risk groups would allow service providers to engage in more focused community safety planning and programming, including budgeting, and to address gaps in service provision:

*Gender-Based Analysis is analytical, theoretical. So I think in terms of the community mapping and the education, training, that it's a useful tool.*

*I think it’s been great. I think that a lot of the scope has been enlarged. I think for individuals within the agency and the agency as a whole, in terms of really understanding this issue and looking at it – I think there was knowledge gained and awareness gained... I can say that there was a lot of discussion and a lot of conversation in terms of human trafficking including those pieces around recruitment and how does a woman engage, end up engaging in recruitment, and when does that line get crossed in terms of a woman being trafficked herself, you know, being in a situation where, essentially for her own survival, she has to engage in recruitment and trafficking, and is there a line that gets crossed in terms of somebody really doing something out of necessity as a victim/survivor and then becoming an oppressive force themself. So there’s definitely a lot of discussion around it. I think it opens up a wider scope of what does trafficking look like, what are the needs of trafficked individuals, what is really happening – beyond kind of the assumptions that can be there, into really what do we see in the everyday. I think that comes out even when there are media releases and we’re seeing those pieces with the recent case with young women being charged with trafficking charges. That definitely caused a lot of discussion. And they were all minors, so that brings a lot of discussion. Particularly, one of the things we spoke about, I think one client or john is being charged, and the whole idea that there are no adults involved and there are no men involved in the situation – we’ve had discussion around the fact that all of their clients were adult men. So to say that there were no adult men involved in the situation is a real misnomer. And, you know, the media has made it to be this very unusual situation. And we look at it and it’s, like, it’s not that unusual. And we’ve had various discussions about it.*
We see gender and the constructions around gender and society, and the intersectionality of gender as being part of why violence against women exists. Trafficking plays into that also. So there’s definitely a role that we see [for GBA+]…

To be aware of the ways in which gender bias, sexism, the intersections of oppressions play out in our day-to-day lives and in broader society is to work to counteract them. I mean if you don’t see it because it’s just there all the time and you’re not aware of it and you won’t work to change it, but once you do see it, it’s very hard to be party to systems of oppression without consciously making that choice. So I think from the education, from the public education perspective, illuminating those things and the ways in which, statistically, human trafficking victims are from historically marginalized groups who have grown up in economically disadvantaged homes, facing, well, substance use in the home, violence in the home – the information that I’ve seen seems to indicate that these are the people that society has failed in a number of ways along the course of their short lives. So talking about the structural factors is a really important aspect of it – that this isn’t something that people necessarily choose, that this isn’t something that people want to be part of, they just didn’t have the agency to get out of. A lot of our education material talks about the fact that human trafficking could happen to anyone and that’s true, but, statistically, it is much likelier to happen to people who have just been generally marginalized by society and it’s important to note that. And Gender-Based Analysis is a good way to bring those factors to the floor.

I came into the project looking at this being a community safety piece. I looked at it from two aspects. One was the aspect of community safety in terms of the safety for women and girls who were being trafficked within this community. So a little bit different than kind of the viewpoint of larger community safety. I looked at it more for this specific marginalized group – how can the community basically ensure safety for them. I looked at it through a bit of a different lens in terms of raising the awareness of the larger community around the issue, helping them to be able to identify and recognize those that may be trafficked, and then how to ensure that those individuals got assistance within York Region. So, probably, it’s not the traditional view of community safety, but that was kind of my lens and understanding of it. … Because you are engaging with the larger community awareness, one of the things that we did see happen in training is that people start thinking about their own children who live in York Region. They start thinking about their nieces, their younger sisters, things like that, and how to take what they have learned within the training to educate on a larger level, within their families or other pieces. So I think there’s awareness that has been raised around the issue that I hope will move more and more towards prevention in the next stages, as a community and a larger community, so it’s a larger public – how do we not only recognize this issue within York Region but what do we do to prevent it from happening here.

I think it’s very useful because it helps to identify, I would say, trends, it helps to identify, at least in the context of trafficking, the prevalence of who is likely victimized, who is most often a perpetrator. It helped to identify who’s at risk and in terms of how to focus on planning for the implementation of a program to address commercially sexually exploited women. So it’s certainly useful in that regard. I think it also helps to identify power dynamics and how they can impact … different service models, or philosophies, or approaches to doing the work. I think when you integrate a Gender-Based Analysis into a trafficking program, it helps to focus and underscore some gaps, and to focus your efforts where some of the greatest need might be. But it also doesn’t leave out –
although it might not present as the greatest needs, it helps to not miss some of the other populations and some of the complexities that they might experience. For example, in terms of reporting for LGBTQ folks. So it helps address gaps that way, gaps in your own initiative, but also helps for planning purposes as you hopefully can move forward or expand upon initiatives.

I think it helps you to focus, you know, where you might want to put your, some priorities in terms of planning around community safety, but who also to involve in doing that work as it relates to community safety. You can use it to, I think, justify budget spending on community safety – based on who’s at risk. You can use it in a number of creative ways… And practical too.

Once comprehensive support systems are in place and more victims become aware that there is help available to them, they may be more willing to come forward, press charges, and testify against their traffickers, which would make it easier to prosecute the offenders and secure prison sentences against them, taking criminals off the streets. Ensuring safety of particularly vulnerable population groups would reduce incidence of not only human trafficking, but the accompanying crime (such as drug trade) as well, which would ultimately translate into greater safety of the community at large:

When I was involved in my first human trafficking case in 2009, there was next to nothing: not only did very few people in my office know much about it, we had crowns and judges who had no idea. And here I got this case on my desk and went, oh my God, how am I supposed to do this? And started making phone calls, found it incredibly frustrating. It feels like there’s resources now, it feels like I get a case like that and I go, oh, okay, well, this is what I can do, this is where I can send this woman…. At one time, [the AHTP staff] and I shared a client… I had referred the client, and the client was speaking to [the AHTP staff], refusing to testify, you know, was going to run away, just absolutely terrified… The staff called me and … gave me some hypotheticals, and I gave information back, and they gave it to the victim. And that alleviated her fears, and she did come and testify. … When I first met with this young woman, she was not connecting with me and not happy with me, and hated the system, as we often see. And when I referred her on, though she didn’t listen to the things I said, she was more than happy to hear it from [the AHTP staff] – and it worked. [The AHTP staff] and I did that many times afterwards…

Well, through education, through raising awareness, we can target youth to possibly help them stay off that track, not to become recruiters or recruited. So that would then improve, obviously, the safety of the community: if there’s no human trafficking happening in the community, then all the other, I guess, vices that come along with it, such a drug use, prostitution, pimping, would also be eliminated. So, when you target this issue, there’s all those other ones that will be on the decrease as well.

Reduction in human trafficking and related crime, combined with competent responses to the needs of the victims/survivors, would improve health safety and overall wellbeing of the communities by reducing mental, physical and sexual health problems, and costs associated with them:

Even looking at the mental health aspect of those who are trafficked, traffickers, anyone involved in it – it becomes very telling. I mean, I am not completely sure with regards to
I don’t know how it is for Canada, but in terms of other countries, I know one of the fastest roots to spread HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases – it’s happening through trafficking. A lot of girls don’t have a say whether they’re going to use a condom or not. So it’s just in terms of protecting the community from sexually transmitted diseases – that’s also a big thing. Also, unwanted pregnancies that the girls might be having, so kids are born into, you know, not a loving family but into hardship and tough circumstances.

GBA+ also made it clear that human trafficking-related community safety initiatives targeting specific populations should go hand-in-hand with large-scale prevention efforts, such as public information campaigns, multi-sector collaborations, and correctional system reform:

I think a key for change really is going to be the mobilization of York Region … as a larger community to not only be aware of this issue but to say, ‘It’s not okay that this happens here.’ If you’re really going to look at prevention and really reducing the incidence of trafficking within York Region, it’s going to take the preventative end – not just how do you identify and help people after the fact, but how does this become a community where this isn’t happening. … I think part of that comes from addressing demands as well and being able to engage with, again, that larger sphere of community. So, practically, I would say that looks like engaging more with business, engaging more with those who can address the demand aspect of things. And I’m not sure who that would necessarily be, but getting the community at large, the general everyday person who lives in York Region not only aware of this issue but concerned enough to get involved in some measure of saying, ‘I don’t want this to happen here.’ And, yeah, I think that’s it’s a tall order in a region that has over one million people, so that may look like really engaging community even on more of an individual town and city level. So I think members of government are important in that as well, members of council, regional council, the media and how they are portraying trafficking within York Region, definitely the education system. So I think there are a lot of other stakeholders within the region that have yet to be engaged…

How great is it that these guys are arrested, charged, locked up in a correctional facility for however long – with no correction in place? And then we wonder why we have such high rates or recidivism. You know, it doesn’t make sense. Where are they learning
anything differently about women? They’re not. They’re being warehoused with 5,000 of their closest friends and coming out exactly the same or worse, and just reoffending. So we’re not doing anything to help stop this cycle. These are larger systemic pieces… You can’t just address one side of an issue.

I think that unless we have a larger campaign that is aimed at the larger community and residents, our communities will remain at risk. Everyone remains at risk: our children that are on the social network sites everyday are at risk, our young women and men, regardless of race, ethnicity, culture – they’re all potential targets. So I think that we need something that will inform a community resident that may not be exposed to this field in any way. … It’s almost like, you know, WSIB [Workplace Safety and Insurance Board] commercials or a large media campaign that is going to get that information out there.

The stakeholders concluded that it was essential to continue using GBA+ as part of future counter-trafficking projects.

XIII. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

GBA+ conducted as part of the Anti-Human Trafficking Project of the Women’s Support Network of York Region determined that widespread public perceptions of the nature of human trafficking, particularly in Canada and York Region, could be summarized as follows:

- Trafficking does not happen in Canada or happens on a small scale, and only in major urban areas, such as Central Toronto. It does not happen in York Region.

- Human trafficking means sex trafficking.

- All victims of sex trafficking are foreign women, who are recruited into prostitution under false pretenses – by promise of legitimate jobs and good income.

- These females are trafficked from impoverished countries to wealthy industrialized nations.

- Victims of sex trafficking are usually very young – under 25 years of age.

- Victims of sex trafficking come from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds.

- The victims are usually non-Caucasian or Slavic Caucasian (from the former Eastern Bloc countries).

- Traffickers are always adult males who are members of the Mafia.

- There is no difference between traffickers and recruiters – i.e., recruiters are always adult men who are members of the organized crime groups.

- Clients purchasing sexual services are male.
A more complex picture of human trafficking emerged as a result of in-depth GBA+. Specifically:

- There are many forms of human trafficking, but sex trafficking of women and girls is the most prevalent; however, labour trafficking – of men, in particular – is a growing trend in Canada and globally.

- While the overwhelming majority of the identified and suspected victims of sex trafficking are female, boys, men and transgender/transsexual persons also are trafficked for the purposes of CSE.

- Persons of all ages can be trafficked into the sex trade, although most identified victims are under the age of 30.

- Persons can be trafficked domestically – i.e., within the national borders of their countries of citizenship/legal residence. In Canada, it is estimated that more than half of the women and girls trafficked into the sex trade are Aboriginal.

- Not all victims of sex trafficking are destitute: some are searching for a better life in a politically stable country, others simply fall for wrong men. Many victims have histories of child sexual abuse.

- Recruiters and traffickers are not always adults – they can be minors.

- Women are not always victims of trafficking – they also can be recruiters and traffickers.

- Recruiters are not necessarily traffickers – they can be victims of trafficking themselves who have been forced, coerced or manipulated by the traffickers into recruiting others. These recruiters can be women who see becoming a recruiter as the only way out of the situation of sexual exploitation or empower themselves.

- The overwhelming majority of the clients purchasing commercial sexual services are males, although female clients have been noted in some statistics in comparably lower numbers.

The project stakeholders found GBA+ to be very useful, as it helped them move beyond the prevalent stereotypes and gain a better understanding of the multifaceted realities of human trafficking, particularly its gender and power dynamics. This understanding translated into better informed public education and service provider training initiatives, which increased community awareness about the problem. It resulted in stronger organizational collaborations and better assistance to trafficked persons, all of which in the long-run should help improve community safety. The stakeholders suggested that future anti-human trafficking projects could benefit from the use of GBA+.

At the same time, the following issues with the use of GBA+ tool have been identified:

- GBA+ is a new and advanced analytical tool, and its proper use requires a certain level of theoretical knowledge and conceptual understanding that the staff in many organizations may not possess, especially when it comes to such complex issues as human trafficking.
• Organizations may have trouble figuring out how to link GBA+ findings to practice.

• As a tool aimed at ensuring gender equality, GBA+ is difficult to implement within gender-specific services. For example, the WSN’s mandate as a women-focused sexual assault/rape crisis centre restricted the AHTP’s ability to engage with male trafficking victims/survivors.

• The expectation that all stakeholders in a large-scale community partnership initiative, such as the AHTP, will uniformly engage in GBA+ is unrealistic, as organizations vary greatly in terms of size, mission, priorities, practice approaches, capacity, level of commitment, etc. Further, they are involved in community partnerships on voluntary basis, and lead agencies, such as the WSN, have no administrative authority over them and cannot enforce the use of GBA+.

We should also acknowledge several limitations of the project’s GBA+:

• Victims/survivors of sex trafficking served by the AHTP were unavailable for interviews and focus groups, and much of the information about their background could not be collected due to the concerns around women’s confidentiality and/or a brief nature of their involvement with the project. Further, the project’s focus was on direct assistance to these women, rather than on research and data collection.

• While GBA+ addressed trafficking of men, including for the purposes of labour exploitation, an in-depth examination of this problem was restricted by the stakeholders’ lack of direct experience with male victims/survivors and, overall, was beyond the scope of the AHTP, since the focus of the project was on trafficking in women and girls for CSE, and there were no other known cases of human trafficking in York Region at the time. As many Canadian and international studies have pointed out, human trafficking affects females differently than males. Specifically, women and girls are much more likely to be targets of sexual violence, including sex trafficking. Ontario’s rape crisis centres have been providing support to male victims of sexual assault for a number of years (Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres, 2013), but cases of male labour trafficking present their own unique set of issues and challenges.

• The lack of male and LGBTQ voices at the partnership table also restricted the scope of GBA+.

The following recommendations are offered in regards to future use of GBA+ to examine and address human trafficking:

• GBA+ should be viewed as a gradual, long-term process of awareness- and consciousness-raising. While a two-year Anti-Human Trafficking Project allowed for a significant progress to be made in examining and addressing the gendered nature of human trafficking in York Region, much more work needs to be done.

• As part of GBA+, detailed data should be collected on backgrounds and circumstances of trafficking victims/survivors, particularly domestic victims/survivors of sex trafficking, and victims representing high-risk groups (e.g., Aboriginal women and girls, youth leaving care).
To ensure gender equality in the provision of assistance to trafficked persons, attention needs to be paid to the situations and needs of non-female victims.

GBA+ should include examination of TIP categories other than trafficking for CSE, such as marriage trafficking, in which non-commercial sexual exploitation occurs, and labour trafficking.

GBA+ should attempt to examine and address increasingly complex TIP situations, wherein victims can be subjected to more than one form of trafficking (e.g., sex and labour trafficking, marriage trafficking and CSE), or cases involving both female and male victims, such as married couples, or mothers and sons. While the AHTP has not encountered these types of cases, they do happen and some have been reported in the GTA (see, for example, Timoshkina & McDonald, 2009). Therefore, the community should be prepared to deal with them and GBA+ can inform relevant service provision.

As the WSN starts its new project “Working Together,” which also has a GBA+ component, it is recommended that the aforementioned recommendations and concerns be taken into consideration by the community partners.
# LIST OF ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AHTP</td>
<td>Anti-Human Trafficking Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSE</td>
<td>Commercial sexual exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISC</td>
<td>Strategic Intelligence Service of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBA+</td>
<td>Gender-Based Analysis Plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBTQ</td>
<td>Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual, queer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWAC</td>
<td>Native Women's Association of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACT</td>
<td>Persons Against the Crime of Trafficking in Humans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWC</td>
<td>Philippine Women’s Centre of B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Research Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCMP</td>
<td>Royal Canadian Mounted Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIP</td>
<td>Trafficking in persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSN</td>
<td>Women's Support Network of York Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YRAHTC</td>
<td>York Region Anti-Human Trafficking Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YRP</td>
<td>York Regional Police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A. LITERATURE & VISUAL RESOURCES REVIEWED FOR GBA+ PURPOSES

(a) Literature


144. National Alliance to End Homelessness (2011) Issue Brief: Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CESC) and Youth Homelessness. Washington, DC: National Alliance to End Homelessness. [http://b.3cdn.net/naeh/5dc068b9cfebb00db6_wsm6ii9g.pdf](http://b.3cdn.net/naeh/5dc068b9cfebb00db6_wsm6ii9g.pdf)

145. National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2009). Homeless Youth and Sexual Exploitation: Research findings and practice implications. Washington, DC: National Alliance to End Homelessness. [http://b.3cdn.net/naeh/c0103117f1ee8f2d84_e8m6ii5q2.pdf](http://b.3cdn.net/naeh/c0103117f1ee8f2d84_e8m6ii5q2.pdf)


151. Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres (OCRCC) (2013) OCRCC, Ontario Sexual Assault Centres, and services to male survivors of sexual violence. Kingston, ON: OCRCC.


174. Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) (n.d) I’m not for sale. Ottawa: RCMP.


177. Sams T (2012, October 1) Cleveland woman sentenced Monday to 11 years in prison for sex trafficking. *The Plain Dealer* [http://www.cleveland.com/metro/index.ssf/2012/10/cleveland_woman_sentenced_mond.html#incart_river_default%C2%A0%C2%A0under](http://www.cleveland.com/metro/index.ssf/2012/10/cleveland_woman_sentenced_mond.html#incart_river_default%C2%A0%C2%A0under)


(b) Visual Resources

   http://www.cbc.ca/documentaries/sexslaves.html


   http://vimeo.com/10668783

   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D58dc6l264c&feature=related


   An audio documentary on Human Trafficking in Canada. Ottawa: PACT Canada.


APPENDIX B. GBA+ SURVEYS

(a) Survey Form

1. Who are the victims-survivors of trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) ("sex trafficking")?

Was your answer above informed by: (Check answer that best applies)

A. Direct experience with victims-survivor(s) of trafficking for CSE?
B. Non-direct experience? (Please check all that apply)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)
C. By both direct and non-direct experience? (Please check all that applies)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)

2. Who are the traffickers (person who controls through force, coercion, and fraud, and exploits victims through commercial sexual acts with others)?

Was your answer above informed by: (Check answer that best applies)

A. Direct experience with victims-survivor(s) of trafficking for CSE?
B. Non-direct experience? (Please check all that apply)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)
C. By both direct and non-direct experience? (Please check all that applies)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)

3. Who are the recruiters (persons who introduce victims to commercial sexual exploitation)?
Was your answer above informed by: (Check answer that best applies)

A. Direct experience with victims-survivor(s) of trafficking for CSE?

B. Non-direct experience? (Please check all that apply)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)

C. By both direct and non-direct experience? (Please check all that applies)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)

4. Who are the people that buy commercial sexual acts from victims of commercial sexual exploitation?

Was your answer above informed by: (Check answer that best applies)

A. Direct experience with victims-survivor(s) of trafficking for CSE?

B. Non-direct experience? (Please check all that apply)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)

C. By both direct and non-direct experience? (Please check all that applies)
   - Attended training/presentation
   - Media (television, internet, newspaper, etc.)
   - Other (explain)

5. Who are the target groups when it comes to educating the public about trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation?

6. Who are the educators/trainers of the above target groups?

7. Please indicate your gender:
(b) Results (N=42)

1. Who are the victims-survivors of trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly women and children/youth</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be anyone</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure/Question misunderstood</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing percentages of responses](chart.png)
2. Who are the traffickers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant people/organized crime/pimps</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be anyone</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure/Question misunderstood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Graph showing percentages of different response categories for who are traffickers]
3. Who are the recruiters?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant People/ Pimps</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be anyone (includes women and men; family, gangs, friends, partner)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure/Question misunderstood</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing recruiters and their corresponding percentages]
4. Who are the clients (people that buy commercial sexual acts from victims of commercial sexual exploitation)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be anyone (includes Women and Men)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure/Question misunderstood</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Graph showing percentages of clients/customers]
5. Who are the target groups when it comes to educating the public about trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly women and children/youth</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly women and vulnerable people of society (e.g., immigrants)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those working with victims (such as professionals/service providers/community organizations, police)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be anyone (includes women and men)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure/Question misunderstood</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Target Groups when it comes to Educating the Public About Trafficking
6. Who are the educators/trainers of the above target groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Category</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survivors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those working with victims (such as professionals/service providers/community organizations, police)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survivors AND those working with victims</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be anyone (includes women and Men)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure/Question misunderstood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX C. PROFILE OF THE TRAFFICKED WOMEN SERVED BY THE AHTP**

(a) Ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown – approximately in their 20s</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 40 100.00

![Age Distribution Chart]

Unknown – Approximately in their 20s
(b) Ethnocultural Background (n=27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-identified ethnocultural background</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Canadian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian-Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian Canadian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30.769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese (international student)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyanese-Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican-Canadian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laotian-Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino-Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani (one born in Pakistan; one Pakistani-Canadian)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian-born (adopted to Canada)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil (born in Sri Lanka)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish-Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Ethnocultural Background Chart](chart.png)
### (c) City/Town of Residence Prior to Trafficking Situation (n=26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City/Town</th>
<th>Population size</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrie, ON (Simcoe County)</td>
<td>136,063</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.6923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brampton, ON (Peel Region)</td>
<td>523,911</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtice (Clarington), ON (Durham Region)</td>
<td>84,548</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax, NS</td>
<td>390,096</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innisfil, ON (Simcoe County)</td>
<td>32,727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markham, ON (York Region)</td>
<td>301,709</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.6923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississauga, ON (Peel Region)</td>
<td>713,443</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newmarket, ON (York Region)</td>
<td>79,978</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.3846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orangeville, ON (Dufferin County)</td>
<td>27,975</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plattsville (Blandford-Blenheim), ON (Oxford)</td>
<td>7,359</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, ON (Carleton County)</td>
<td>4,482</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto, ON</td>
<td>2,615,060</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>38.4615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100.000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Six of these women were from Scarborough.*
(d) County/Region of Residence Prior to Trafficking Situation (n=26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County/Region</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carleton County, ON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dufferin County, ON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham Region, ON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax, NS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford County, ON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simcoe County, ON</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel Region, ON</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto, ON</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>38.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York Region, ON</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Six of these women were from Scarborough.*
APPENDIX D. THE AHTP STAKEHOLDERS/MEMBERS OF THE YORK REGION ANTI-HUMAN TRAFFICKING COMMITTEE

1. AIDS Committee of York Region
2. Addiction Services for York Region
3. Crown Attorney's Office
4. Community Living Services York
5. Canadian Mental Health Association
6. Domestic Abuse and Sexual Assault Care Centre of York Region, York Regional Hospital
7. ETA (Empowerment Through Achievement) Vaughan Women's Shelter
8. Georgina Island Aboriginal community
9. John Howard Society
10. JVS Markham Youth Outreach
11. LOFT Street Outreach
12. Multilingual Community Interpretation Services
13. Ontario Shores/Street Outreach
14. Pathways for Children, Youth and Families of York Region
15. Sandgate Women's Shelter of York Region – Community Programs
16. Social Services Network
17. Victim Services of York Region
18. Victim Witness Assistance Program
19. Women & Children's Shelter of Barrie
20. Women's Support Network of York Region
21. Yellow Brick House
22. York Region Abuse Program
23. York Region Children's Aid Society
24. York Regional Police (YRP):
   - YRP Community Services
   - YRP Drugs and Vice
   - YRP Victim Assistance
25. Violence Against Women Coordinating Committee
### APPENDIX E. GLOBAL DATA REGARDING FEMALE TRAFFICKERS & RECRUITERS

**Table 1.** Data from Countries where Females Comprised the Majority of Offenders in TIP-related Cases, 2003-2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage of females convicted</th>
<th>Percentage of females prosecuted</th>
<th>Percentage of females investigated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Azerbaijan</td>
<td>86% (2007)</td>
<td>90% (2006)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Georgia</td>
<td>82% (2005-06)</td>
<td>88% (2005-06)</td>
<td>75% (2005-06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tajikistan</td>
<td>77% (2004-06)</td>
<td>75% (2003-06)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Armenia</td>
<td>68% (2003-06)</td>
<td>63% (2003-06)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Montenegro</td>
<td>56% (2005-06)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nigeria</td>
<td>52.5% (2004-08)</td>
<td>62.5% (2003-06)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Brazil</td>
<td>51% (2004-08)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Uzbekistan</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>63% (2003-06)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Liberia</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>73% (2004-06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>59% (2007)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. Proportion of Females in Convictions for TIP vs. for All Crimes Combined in Select European Countries (2003-2006 averages)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Proportion of females in convictions for TIP</th>
<th>Proportion of females in convictions for all crimes combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Latvia</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. France</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cyprus</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Czech Republic</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hungary</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Portugal</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Romania</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Slovakia</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Germany</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Netherlands</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Percentage of Trafficked Victims Recruited by Female Recruiters and Male/Female Couples in Select Countries of South-Eastern Europe (2003-04)\textsuperscript{iii}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Recruited by Female Recruiters</th>
<th>Recruited by Male/Female Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina*</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bulgaria</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Macedonia**</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Moldova</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Romania</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data on foreign victims only.

**Data on foreign victims of sex trafficking only.

Table 4. Percentage of Minor Victims of Sex Trafficking Recruited by Female Recruiters in Ohio, the USA\textsuperscript{iv}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Females in the Recruitment of Victims</th>
<th>Percentage of Victims who Reported being Recruited in this Manner*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment by a female friend who was selling herself</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced by an unrelated female friend who first acted like a friend</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment by an unrelated female who the victim didn’t know that threatened or beat the victim</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment by a female who was not involved in selling herself</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages do not add up to 100% because more than one recruiter may have been involved in a victim’s life.

\textsuperscript{i} Source: UNODC. (2009). \textit{Global report on trafficking in persons}. Vienna: UNODC.
\textsuperscript{ii} Source: UNODC. (2009). \textit{Global report on trafficking in persons}. Vienna: UNODC.