Community Service Providers and Human Trafficking:

Best Practices and Recommendations for Northeastern Ontario

Report

NORAHT
Northeastern Ontario Research Alliance on Human Trafficking

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Executive Summary

Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is undoubtedly occurring in northeastern Ontario but we are behind southern Ontario in terms of research, information, coordination, and collaboration. Responding to this dearth, in August 2013, we formed the Northeastern Ontario Research Alliance on Human Trafficking (NORAHT) — a partnership between Amelia Rising Sexual Assault Centre of Nipissing, the Anishinabek Nation: Union of Ontario Indians, the AIDS Committee of North Bay and Area, and Nipissing University.

The complexity of the needs of trafficked and sexually exploited persons necessitates collaboration across multiple sectors. These include housing and homelessness, trauma-informed care, mental health, addictions, health services, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, legal services, youth crisis, and Indigenous healing centres. Coordination with law enforcement and/or child welfare services at a system level facilitates client protection and institutional relationship-building. Culturally appropriate and gender relevant approaches and practices are integral for responding to the needs of trafficked and sexually exploited persons. In the northern Ontario context, Indigenous healing programmes are likely especially relevant. Most of all, listening to experiential voices and having peer mentoring is crucial for meaningful and effective support.

With respect to best practices and key recommendations, our research indicates that the ideal approach is to have a dedicated safe house and organization for trafficked persons.

Where this is not feasible, NORAHT has identified eight main principles that service providers might heed in building collaborative networks or coalitions aimed at comprehensively responding to human trafficking and sexual exploitation:

1. Focus on the harms, risks, and indicators of human trafficking;
2. Identify and redress gaps and barriers in local/regional access to short term and long term supports;
3. Maintain open communication, common intake forms, and referral protocols within the collaborative network;
4. Employ a non-judgemental, harm reduction approach;

* We acknowledge Nipissing First Nation, on whose traditional territory we are located.
5. Commit to providing supports for several years for each trafficked and sexually exploited individual;
6. Provide support that is flexible and available 24/7;
7. Provide support that is relational. Traffickers often meet the immediate physical and emotional needs of persons who are being trafficked, albeit in harmful ways. Healthy relationships must, therefore, replace those relationships and meet their needs in alternative ways;
8. Be person-centric and provide culturally appropriate and gender relevant supports as appropriate.

The appendices to the report provide examples of different toolkits that NORAHT researchers found to be good models for adaption in our region.

Due to the sheer size of northern Ontario, we felt it best to restrict our study to the northeast.
I. Introduction

The Northeastern Ontario Research Alliance on Human Trafficking (NORAHT) seeks to enhance community and institutional capacities in our region to respond to human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. For us, northeastern Ontario refers to the geographical location that includes Parry Sound as a southern boundary, Sault Ste. Marie to the west, James Bay to the north and the Ottawa River to the east. NORAHT, formed as a research partnership between Amelia Rising Sexual Assault Centre of Nipissing, the Anishinabek Nation: Union of Ontario Indians, the AIDS Committee of North Bay and Area, and Nipissing University, originated in response to rumours and suspicions of trafficking in the North Bay area. We were distressed by the lack of concrete information and the lack of service provider preparedness in our communities.

This report is one component of our larger research project. In Phase One of the project, we conducted survey research across the region (Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, North Bay and Timmins) with 42 service providers. Our findings confirmed that many service providers faced similar challenges as NORAHT members. Specifically:

- 67% of service providers are aware of human trafficking but for many this is through rumour, media and suspicions rather than disclosure or other evidence;
- 61% feel they lack the confidence and/or ability to identify trafficked persons, and;
- 58% of service providers have not had training in human trafficking.

This is despite the fact that, according to the same survey and secondary literature, indicators of human trafficking are quite present in the region.

Overall, there is limited data regarding patterns and processes of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in the north, particularly in comparison to southern Ontario. Likewise, service provision specific to human trafficking is more developed in urban centers such as the Greater Toronto Area. We recognize the uniqueness of northeastern Ontario, most especially the large geographic spread, the isolated and underserviced rural and remote communities, and the diverse Indigenous cultures. At the same time, there is no need to entirely re-invent the wheel; some existing practices in the south can be adapted for the particular circumstances of the north.

Thus, this report (Phase Two of the project) draws on the secondary literature and interviews with 19 service providers and non-governmental organizations, mainly from southern Ontario. We identify best practices and recommendations as we work toward rectifying service gaps and barriers and developing collaborative networks that are specific to human trafficking and sexual exploitation across northeastern Ontario.
We plan to operationalize these objectives in Phase Three of the project, which consists of Community Engagement Sessions using participatory action research (PAR) with service providers and people with lived experience (who are in a healthy place) in 8 different sites across northeastern Ontario. The objective of these community engagement sessions is to collaborate in identifying key issues and responding to human trafficking in the area. The end goal is a collaborative network or coalition of service providers, the creation of service provider toolkits and other resources, and undertaking whatever research is further identified by session participants as necessary. We presented this report to participants during the community engagement sessions in the spring and fall of 2017 as groundwork for further discussion. Very slight edits have been made for the public release of the report in June 2018.

II. Methodology

NORAH takes a feminist intersectional approach because of the complexity of the risk factors and root causes of human trafficking. These include poverty, substance abuse, the legacy of colonization and residential schools, intergenerational trauma, lack of awareness, isolation and the need for belonging, racism, sexism, intimate partner or family violence, neurobiology of trauma and mental illness, and exposure to the child welfare system. Given the disproportionate rates of violence against Indigenous women and girls in Canada, we are particularly aware of the importance of taking a decolonial approach that (a) recognizes the importance of oral tradition and cultural knowledge and (b) challenges colonial structures and attitudes. While this report focuses mainly on human trafficking of women for the purpose of sexual exploitation, we also recognize that men, transgender and two-spirit people, as well as youth, are vulnerable to human trafficking, and we acknowledge the need to further develop our research in these areas.

Intersectional theory holds that people have multiple identities that converge to produce distinct, rather than additive, experiences of discrimination, privilege, and oppression. An intersectional framework emphasizes the many ways in which lived experiences are shaped by the interaction of overlapping factors including:

different social locations (e.g. ‘race’/ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender, class, sexuality, geography, age, disability/ability, migrant status, religion).
These interactions occur within a context of connected systems and structures of power (e.g., laws, policies, state governments and other political and economic unions, religious institutions, media). Through such processes, interdependent forms of privilege and oppression
shaped by colonialism, imperialism, racism, homophobia, ableism and patriarchy are created.\textsuperscript{6}

Intersectionality necessitates a "bottom-up" approach to the complex and dynamic experiences of how policies and practices shape people’s lives.\textsuperscript{7} Because our primary goal was to identify best practices and to solicit advice for building a collaborative network, we chose to conduct interviews with frontline service providers and NGOs. However, a repeated theme in the interviews was the importance of listening to experiential persons. This is an approach that we wholeheartedly endorse, provided it is done safely and with informed consent, as we plan to do in the community engagement sessions. Furthermore, we have learned the importance of extensively involving experiential persons (who are in a healthy place) in leading programs or sitting on boards. It is crucial to avoid re-exploiting people for their stories.\textsuperscript{8}

Using purposive sampling, we conducted semi-structured interviews that typically lasted for an hour with frontline service providers, non-governmental organizations, and one municipality. We relied on referrals, media and research reports, and our own networks to invite potential participants from organizations based in Ottawa, Toronto and London, as well as nationally-based organizations. Some interviews were in person; others were over the telephone. A couple of interviews involved two or more respondents from the same organization. Participants provided informed consent in writing or verbally.\textsuperscript{9} Recruitment consisted of three attempts to find someone willing to do an interview in an organization. Not all attempts were successful; in particular, despite our efforts, Indigenous organizations are under-represented in our sample. We also had people reach out to us as a result of a local newspaper article.\textsuperscript{10} Due to this and other serendipitous developments, we also conducted interviews with several people/organizations located in northeastern Ontario and Manitoba. All interviewees are based in urban centers. This may be in part due to selection bias, but it also reflects the fact that larger communities simply have more social service resources.

We used an interpretive/descriptive methodology to design, conduct and analyze interviews. In this style of qualitative research, the emphasis is on how meanings are generated within specific contexts. Researchers go into the process with open-ended, exploratory research questions, rather than specific hypotheses to prove or disprove. Interview participants are co-generators of knowledge, rather than “subjects” of study, and researchers look for thick description and contextuality.\textsuperscript{11} Interpretive research design does not aim to determine a singular “truth” but, rather, to make sense of multiple truths and the interactions between shared and contested truths. Of course, we recognize the importance of factual accuracy. But methodologically this is not the same as a positivist approach that seeks definitively to identify “what’s really going on” or to
“prove” a testable hypothesis\textsuperscript{12}

Rather, our objective is to explore and analyze in an iterative learning process. As Schwartz-Shea and Yanow remark in their discussion of interpretive research:

there are no 'conclusions' in the sense-making research cycle: there are only momentary stopping points, to collect one's thoughts, perhaps to publish or otherwise disseminate what one understands at that point in time, before one continues on the interpretive path.\textsuperscript{13}

Following this, we wish to emphasize that this report is indeed a momentary stopping point in our research process. The findings here are an important start but the study is limited by several factors. First, as noted previously, Indigenous organizations and voices are underrepresented in our study. Second, we also lack a representative set of interviews from northeastern Ontario, but decided to include the few that we do have for now. Third, we also believe it would be highly beneficial to reach out to service providers in northwestern Ontario but have not yet done so. We also did not conduct interviews with local law enforcement, who might provide quantitative information about patterns of trafficking as well as insights into their responses and training. Finally, in this report we have tended to default to adults in our discussion of trafficking and responses. One of our interviewees noted the importance of recognizing that children and youth may require different supports than harm reduction, including more protective interventions aimed at reducing victimization.\textsuperscript{14} However, this view may be contested by youth in the sex trade as denying their agency and self-determination.\textsuperscript{15}

Analysis of the interviews, most of which were recorded and transcribed, was conducted independently by four members of NORAHT. We identified key themes that emerged from the interviews and corroborated our findings with one another. Where possible, we triangulated and contextualized our findings within the secondary literature. This report was further sent to all participants for approval of any direct reference to their words and for comment. See Appendix A for the list of interviewees and questions. As a general rule, because participants agreed to varying degrees of identification, we only specify the source of direct quotes or specific information and otherwise tend to refer to respondents generically.

III. Finding Common Ground

A. Definitions and Terminology

Following the United Nations Palermo Protocol on Human Trafficking and the Canadian
Criminal Code, there are three elements to human trafficking: the Act (what is done), the Means (how it is done) and the Purpose (why it is done).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>MEANS</th>
<th>PURPOSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment</td>
<td>Threat of force</td>
<td>Exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>Use of Force</td>
<td>- Sexual exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer</td>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td>- Forced labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbouring</td>
<td>Deception</td>
<td>- Slavery or servitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt of Persons</td>
<td>Abduction</td>
<td>- Organ removal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holding</td>
<td>Fraud</td>
<td>- Forced marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concealing</td>
<td>Abuse of a position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise of control,</td>
<td>of trust, power, or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direction or influence</td>
<td>authority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over the movement of persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canada’s National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking states that:

Human trafficking involves the recruitment, transportation, harbouring and/or exercising control, direction or influence over the movements of a person in order to exploit that person, typically through sexual exploitation or forced labour.¹⁶

Under this definition, one does not need to cross borders to be trafficked; indeed most human trafficking in Canada is domestic. Notably, as per the Criminal Code of Canada, persons under 18 years of age cannot consent to exploitation. Thus, in the eyes of the law, underage prostitution is trafficking. All participants agreed that human trafficking is a problem in Canada. However, what constitutes human trafficking of adults for the purpose of sexual exploitation in practice is debatable.¹⁷

While opinions run across a spectrum, the debate over prostitution, sexual exploitation, and human trafficking can sometimes be polarizing. This means that even terminology is contentious.¹⁸ Anti-trafficking abolitionists consider all forms of sex work to be inherently exploitive. They either do not see a radical distinction between prostitution and “sex trafficking,” or they understand “prostitution as the gateway to sex trafficking.”¹⁹ Tackling male demand through criminalization (i.e. the Nordic model) is, in their view, the best way to eradicate all forms of sexual exploitation. The Native Women’s
Association of Canada (NWAC), which takes an abolitionist approach, further understands sexual exploitation to be the normalization of colonial violence, structural inequalities, and gendered, racist stereotypes.\textsuperscript{20}

In contrast, advocates for the human and labour rights of sex workers argue that a distinction between prostitution and human trafficking does exist. They argue that consent to prostitution does occur even if individuals exercise choice within constrained circumstances. Sex work advocates focus on making the conditions of sex work safer through decriminalization and rights protection. Furthermore, they are leery of the very term “sex trafficking” because of its abolitionist history, arguing that abuse is covered by existing legal terminology such as “sexual assault,” “kidnapping” and “assault.”

Two respondents explicitly took an abolitionist position while two other respondents supported sex workers’ rights against injustice, inequalities and oppressions. There were four who identified as neutral.\textsuperscript{21} Three respondents also stressed the importance of dialogue and communication across both sides of the debate, noting that common ground exists. For instance, a focus on harm reduction and safety planning emerged as common theme across the interviews, something we elaborate upon in Section V. While “harm” may mean different things to different agencies, we heard affirmations from various organizations that they are willing to help anyone who asks for help, regardless of how that person self-identifies or whether they decide to stay in the sex trade or leave.

\begin{flushleft}
\textbf{B. Coalitions and Collaboration}
\end{flushleft}

The complex needs of persons who have been trafficked and/or sexually exploited and abused will inevitably require collaboration amongst agencies. Dr. Karlee Sapoznik Evans, who has research and policy experience with Tracia’s Trust (Manitoba) and the Alliance Against Modern Slavery (Ontario), noted:

\begin{quote}
The necessary ingredients for anything to kind of work [means] you need to have … those frontline service providers, you need to have the law enforcement, you need the NGOs, you need the experiential and the survivor voice, that piece, the community voice, and lastly you need political will. So in any given city, any given province, if you don't have all those things, it’s not going to be as successful as it could be.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

However, four respondents also observed that competition for the same pots of funding may hinder collaboration.

We found little consensus amongst interview participants regarding the involvement of
police services. We heard about the importance of law enforcement as a source of information, street outreach, crisis response, resource referral, and data collection. We heard about police officers “with a social worker heart” doing good work at the community level and units who respond well to calls. We also heard about the intense mistrust of police that exists amongst marginalized populations including Indigenous peoples, sex workers, transgender persons, trafficked persons, and persons engaging in drugs or other illegal activities. Police activities may cause harm—as we have seen with, for example, allegations of police abuse in Indigenous communities in Val d’Or, Quebec, and the “Highway of Tears” in northern British Columbia. More locally, and specific to human trafficking, Maggie’s Sex Workers Action Project of Toronto found numerous elements of Operation Northern Spotlight to be an abuse of power. This included police booking appointments that resulted in sex workers losing money/time and the deportation of at least 11 women by the Canadian Border Services Agency in connection with the 2015 edition of the Operation. In Midland, another respondent noted that the police did not even show up when a woman called and asked for extraction. Two frontline respondents felt that gaining trust and building a relationship with clients is easier if police are not involved or affiliated with their organizations. Multiple barriers to reporting to police exist for trafficked persons, some of whom will not recognize and/or identify themselves as “victims” of a crime. On this view, police are perhaps best involved at the system level only, for example, as participants in umbrella organizations or roundtables. Another approach may be to keep police apprised of frontline activities through minutes or updates for ease of communication and establishing a basic level of institutional understanding and/or trust. At the same time, police can provide protection, prevent traffickers from hurting others, and connect those who want justice to the courts. If officers are given the time to work with communities and people who are being exploited/trafficked, we may see positive outcomes. Certainly, whatever approach a community takes will depend on local relationships and organizational philosophies. If individual clients wish to involve law enforcement, they should be fully supported, including by accompanying them when they speak to police and by not over-promising what police may be able to do. Whether law enforcement is involved or not, this should not become a barrier to accessing necessary services.

Overall, it is important to recognize that collectively responding to human trafficking and sexual exploitation will possibly require navigating difficult philosophical tensions. In building coalitions or collaborative networks, it will be important to be very clear about
who the partners are and what are their reasons for getting involved. To function effectively, members of a coalition or collaborative network ought to:

- Set aside philosophical differences;
- Avoid moralizing talk;
- Maintain open communication regarding the types of supports offered and requirements for being able to get support;
- Build trust with one another;
- Be person-centric in their approach;
- Listen to and meaningfully involve experiential persons; and
- Focus on indicators and risks, rather than labels.

All of these factors will be key in providing a comprehensive response to women and girls asking for help or seeking supports. Furthermore, building in evaluation for collaborative networks—which may be neglected because networks are not typically funded—is important for assessing the degree to which the vision and goals of the collaborative network are being met.

IV. The Need for Research and Data on Human Trafficking

A. General Challenges

Data on human trafficking is needed to develop policy, prevention, and responses. It is also needed, as several of our respondents noted, in order to obtain funding. One respondent cautioned that organizations might use the language of human trafficking or exaggerate or sensationalize things in order to increase chances for funding. Conversely, one respondent remarked that the complexity of human trafficking does not always fit gender–based violence categories in government funding.

Nearly half of our respondents (9) identified the lack of data and research as highly problematic. When it comes to statistics and collecting data, there are at least three challenges. First, due to philosophical differences, there is, not surprisingly, limited agreement about what to count as human trafficking. Internationally, for example, definitional differences lead to estimates of human trafficking that range from 63,251 worldwide (UN 2016 Global Report on Human Trafficking) to 21 million worldwide (International Labour Organization) to 45.8 million worldwide (Walk Free Foundation).

Secondly, and not unrelated, there are methodological challenges when it comes to keeping track. Barbara Gosse, CEO of the Canadian Centre to End Human Trafficking, notes:
There is a lack of mandatory reporting across this country by police services to a centralized data collection agency. Police services are collecting data on human trafficking incidents; however, there is a lack of similar intake systems...so that collecting comparable data on the incidents of human trafficking in Canada is exceedingly difficult, if not almost impossible.\textsuperscript{33}

Human trafficking statistics produced by the RCMP are further problematic due to unreported cases, cases that are recorded as something else (like assault or prostitution), and ambiguous concepts such as psychological coercion that leave wide discretionary room for police and may lead to over-counting.\textsuperscript{34} Furthermore, a national survey conducted by the Canadian Women’s Foundation with 266 agencies serving trafficked and sexually exploited women and girls revealed that almost half of the agencies did not keep statistics.\textsuperscript{35} Perhaps in some instances this is due to fears of losing a woman if she is asked to sit through a ten-page intake process.\textsuperscript{36} Nonetheless, where intake occurs, the use of a (short) common intake form will assist in community or regional data collection.

“People don't necessarily identify as trafficked or want to identify as trafficked. You have to look for red flags. To me one of the red flags is that control piece. If you don't have control of your own life and the choices that you're pursuing, to me that's a red flag.”

-- Kimberly Haycock, At’Lohsa Native Family Healing Services, Inc., London, Ontario

Third, human trafficking may present as something else, such as a domestic violence case, parent-child conflict\textsuperscript{37} or as a “complicated relationship” rather than “desperation and needing to escape.”\textsuperscript{38} Some people may not wish to disclose that they have been trafficked due to fear for their safety or fear of stigmatization. Disclosure places a person in a position of vulnerability because they do not know where the information is going, and service providers may not have the time to build a rapport because the trafficked population is transient.\textsuperscript{39} Moreover, some people will reject the trafficking label, either because they are unaware or unwilling to accept that this is what is happening to them or because the term does not reflect their lived experience. These challenges not only complicate the collection of statistical data but, perhaps more importantly, the ability to
identify trafficking and respond to needs, as we address later below.

**A person might be trafficked if they:**

- Cannot leave their job to find another one
- Do not have control over their wages or money
- Work but do not get paid normal wages
- Have no choice about hours worked or other working conditions
- Work long hours, live at a work site, or is picked up and driven to and from work
- Show signs of physical abuse or injury
- Are accompanied everywhere by someone who speaks for him/her
- Appear to be fearful of and/or under the control of another person
- May have health issues that have not been attended to
- Owe money to their employer or another person whom they feel honour bound to repay
- May describe moving or changing jobs suddenly and often
- Are unfamiliar with the neighbourhood where they live or work
- Are not working in the job originally promised to them
- Are travelling with minimal or inappropriate luggage/belongings
- Lack identification, passport or other travel documents
- Are forced to provide sexual services in a strip club, massage parlour, brothel or other locations
- May appear to be malnourished

Source: [British Columbia Office to Combat Trafficking in Persons](https://www possono.gov.bc.ca/)

Note: while lists of indicators are helpful in identifying the presence of trafficking, respondents in a 2014 study conducted by the [Committee of Action against Human Trafficking National and International (CATHII)](https://www.cathii.org/) warned against using indicators without a contextual analysis.

**B. The Northeastern Ontario Context**

Although we asked all interview participants whether they have come across women and girls being trafficked from northeastern Ontario, only four had direct experience. Five respondents in southern Ontario had heard about north-to-south trafficking from sister organizations, media reports or other non-indicated sources, while 4 had not heard anything. Respondents located in Manitoba pointed to research and reports of
Most Human Trafficking in Canada is Domestic

The 2012 National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking reported that 90% of human trafficking charges laid by the RCMP have been domestic. The Alliance Against Modern Slavery’s 2014 research report on human trafficking in Ontario found that 64% of trafficked persons were Canadian citizens or Canadian permanent residents, with the remainder coming mainly from Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, and Africa. Given lower rates of immigration to the north, we expect that human trafficking in northeastern Ontario will have an even higher proportion of Canadian citizens than province-wide findings.

It is also likely that a disproportionate number of Indigenous women and girls are being trafficked. We surmise this due to the high number of Indigenous communities in our region, alongside the disproportionate levels of violence against Indigenous women and girls in Canada, in particular, those in the north. Between 12% and 20% of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls and Two-Spirited people were involved in the sex trade. We don’t know how many of the MMIWG2S may have been trafficked in general, or specifically from the north.

Finally, our respondent in Thompson, Manitoba noted that being a mining town results in a transient worker population that is buying sex from exploited Indigenous women and girls. This observation has been corroborated in the oil sands region in northern Alberta and in oil fields in the Dakotas, where Indigenous women and girls in particular are being exploited. It will be necessary to ask whether the same thing is occurring in
northeastern Ontario, particularly if the Ring of Fire chromite mining in the James Bay area ever gets underway.

C. Patterns of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation

Our respondents’ discussions of patterns of human trafficking in southern Ontario largely map onto that which is already detailed in the literature on domestic trafficking. Indeed, it was our sense that some of the interview responses relied heavily, if not entirely, on secondary sources, since not all respondents had direct experience. The following pertains to the human trafficking and sexual exploitation of women and girls; very few of our respondents mentioned other genders in their interviews.

The common narrative that emerged from our interviews is that women and girls in the south of Ontario are mainly being lured and groomed by traffickers who pose as boyfriends. Sometimes traffickers will make other women or other youth do the recruitment, including as a means of exit for adults. Luring occurs in places such as teen parties, group homes, online, truck stops, bus stations, motels, high schools and malls. In the Toronto Metro area, men may approach girls with the offer of a car or condominium for paid sex work. They may offer food, a taxi ride or a place to sleep in exchange for sex. People, especially youth, may not recognize themselves as being sexually exploited or trafficked in these circumstances. The women and girls are subject to emotional manipulation, emotional abuse, and physical abuse, including extreme violence in some cases at the hands of both traffickers/pimps and buyers. Traffickers may threaten women with exposure to their families or hold them in debt bondage. The women may be tattooed or branded in order to make everything seem permanent and inescapable. Drug abuse may serve as a means of recruitment, a means of entrapment, and/or a means of coping. And the relationship that the trafficker provides, even if unhealthy and violent, nonetheless provides a sense of belonging or love, fulfilling emotional needs and offering the promise of a better life.

Youth trafficking was a repeated theme in the interviews (note: five respondents work specifically with youth). Although some participants expressed concerns with the child welfare system itself, “aging out” of the system was highlighted as a major challenge. On the one hand, involvement in child welfare services places youth at greater risk because of the particular vulnerabilities that lead to child welfare involvement in the first place. On the other hand, youth who “age out” of the system — typically around the ages of 17-to-18 — are further made vulnerable due to lack of resources, such as housing, to meet their basic needs. Jennifer Richardson notes a trend that Tracia’s Trust has discovered in Manitoba: aging-out youth are being exploited for approximately a year before the exploitation is discovered. Most often, it is the Street Reach team that
discovers the exploitation, not social workers or care providers.\textsuperscript{53}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{A trafficked person may be reluctant to seek help because they:
}
\begin{itemize}
\item Are threatened that if they tell anyone, they or their families will be hurt
\item May have complex relationships with their traffickers that involve deep levels of psychological conditioning based on fear or misplaced feelings of love
\item Do not see themselves as a trafficked person or victim
\item May be unfamiliar with their surrounding and do not know who to trust
\item Do not know help exists or where to go for it
\item Fear law enforcement and other authorities
\item Are embarrassed or humiliated
\item May be addicted to drugs
\item May be in debt to their traffickers
\item May be sending much needed money back 'home' and worry about not being able to do this
\item Fear being deported if they are from another country
\item May have limited English skills
\end{itemize}

Source: British Columbia Office to Combat Trafficking in Persons
\end{quote}

In addition to systemic factors that render youth vulnerable, traffickers prey on emotional needs such as the sense of loneliness, a need for belonging, and the desire to feel special, valued, loved and protected. Five respondents stated that the average age of entry was getting younger and younger, typically 13-15 years of age.\textsuperscript{54} Yet, two respondents questioned 13-15 being the age of entry, with one arguing that it is a faulty statistic that has been uncritically repeated over and over in the research and media.\textsuperscript{55} This debate reminds us of the constant need for accurate information and critical reflection on the collection and use of data.

Turning specifically to northeastern Ontario, our baseline survey with service providers across the region (including law enforcement) showed that the trafficked persons they encountered were overwhelmingly Canadian (94\%) and female (95\%), with an even split between Indigenous and non-Indigenous women. Most were recruited by a boyfriend (66\%) or through other personal contacts. As per the chart below, most of the trafficked people encountered by 15 of our survey respondents believed they would be engaged in the commercial sex industry upon final arrival at their destination.\textsuperscript{56}
To provide some qualitative insight, Cristina Scarpellini, Founder and Executive Director of Angels of Hope in Sudbury, has worked with twenty trafficked women in the past year. She indicated that traffickers use a lot of different recruiting and grooming strategies, and a lot of it is done online through social media such as Facebook. Traffickers are either recruiting directly or getting other women to do it, including women that they had previously trafficked. All twenty of the women abused drugs. Some faced threats and were beaten up; some of them suffered the “Stockholm Syndrome” whereby they came to trust and care for their traffickers. According to Scarpellini, most but not all of her clients were Indigenous.\textsuperscript{57}

Huronia Transition Homes, based in Midland, Ontario, also reported working with women from northeastern Ontario. In general, women who access Huronia Transition Homes are originally self-employed [assumedly in the sex industry] but meet up with someone posing as a boyfriend. The respondent noted emotional manipulation, physical abuse, including using another woman as an example that they must watch.\textsuperscript{58} She described the trafficked women using Huronia’s services as “broken girls,” many First Nations.\textsuperscript{59}
These two interviews and the baseline survey suggest that patterns in northeastern Ontario are similar to those elsewhere, but with greater likelihood of Indigenous women and girls being trafficked (a suggestive pattern supported by generally disproportionate levels of violence against Indigenous women and girls and demographics of the north). However, we emphasize the limitations of this study in that the majority of our respondents are based in southern Ontario. Quite clearly, more research is needed, and the community engagement sessions will further help us to assess and reflect upon the situation in northeastern Ontario.

V. Responding to Human Trafficking

While this report identifies common themes and patterns, such as the need for stable and safe housing, we recognize the necessity in future research of taking into account the complexities of how individuals experience those issues differently. For example, Kimberly Haycock of At’Lohsa Native Family Services Inc. emphasized the need for Indigenous-centric healing practices for Indigenous people but stressed that how those practices are taken-up will vary from person-to-person, in part because Indigenous practices vary across different Indigenous nations. Intersectional approaches consider the root causes of inequality and structural barriers while also taking into account how individual lived realities are shaped in unique ways. Thus, when developing strategies to combat sexual exploitation, it is important to understand the multifaceted ways in which settler colonialism has affected Indigenous peoples’ lives in a broad sense, such as how experiences of systemic racism may impact survivors’ ability to access resources. Other factors to consider for all trafficked persons when developing strategies might include: language barriers, mobility issues, poverty, and more. Such issues may be further complicated by personal histories, including but not limited to, trauma and addictions.

A. Committing to Support the Needs of Trafficked and Sexually Exploited Persons

Service providers and coalition members need to be aware of the complex and intersecting systemic factors related to human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. These include colonialism, intergenerational trauma, racism, sexism, rape culture, including the impact of pornography, poverty, homelessness, domestic and intimate partner violence, involvement in the child welfare system, lack of safe public transportation, and the growing use of online technology and social media.

The needs of trafficked persons are similarly complex due to the compounded nature of systemic and interpersonal violence that they experience. Though personal experiences
will vary, it is clear that **comprehensive, long-term supports** are required. As one respondent indicated:

> When they are in hotel rooms, they aren't psychologically present. They shut down. Afterwards, it can take months to build trust, then months to look at the intensity. Compared to mainstream rape survivors, we need to magnify their needs by one thousand. *Their needs are just so complex, and therapeutic needs, they won't be healed in a year. They need deprogramming. They have been tortured psychologically. If you can't commit the time, then don't get engaged at the outset.*

Three respondents noted that it takes between **one and four years, usually three**, to **exit someone** after they have been trafficked. As the Children of the Street Society (BC) writes in its report, there are multiple barriers to exiting a situation and trafficked and sexually exploited persons "may require second, third, and even fourth chances...to access services." The healing journey is long, complicated and requires a sustained commitment.

Moreover, as four of our respondents stressed, trafficked and sexually exploited persons require **24-7 access** to support. **Flexibility** is key: it is important to meet people where they are, physically and/or emotionally, rather than fitting them into mandates. For example, one service provider met with a client during the one hour the client was allowed to herself to grocery shop. Another has met clients in the park when they are sufficiently advanced in their healing journey, and it is a safe location for both client and service provider. Nine out of our twelve front-line respondents (75%) emphasized the importance of providing **non-judgmental** support and taking a **harm reduction** approach for adults.

Interventions should be **relational**; that is, service providers need to meet the emotional needs that traffickers previously fulfilled and model healthy relationships. As one respondent put it, “they need a friend, someone they can trust.” The use of **paid** peer mentors and outreach, peer support groups and the inclusion of trafficked individuals in governance structures is essential for building trust, connecting people to services, and enhancing an organization’s or network’s responsiveness. Four respondents further noted the significance of family reunification (where appropriate), and/or personal, peer, and community networks as important sources of support.
It is useful to distinguish between short-term and long-term needs. Short-term needs, especially if clients are in crisis, might include:

- Safe shelter
- Sleep
- Food
- Hygiene
- Cigarettes
- Emergency medical care
- Detox or addiction management
- Safety planning.

We were also advised to never assume that the person accompanying the trafficked individual is a friend, and to have taxi chits, toothpaste, a phone charger/card, etc. ready.\textsuperscript{68}

Longer-term supports for exit and reintegration --if desired by the client-- might include:

- Safe, affordable housing
- Trauma-informed counselling
- Mental health and addictions support
- Skills training, education and stable employment
- Family reunification
- Peer support
- Tattoo removal
- Safety planning
- Health care
- Assistance navigating services

Four of our respondents identified the lack of safe, affordable housing as one of the biggest challenges that communities and service providers face.\textsuperscript{69} This echoes our previous survey research findings with 18 service providers in the northeast region who have directly encountered trafficking. See the chart below for an overview of requests for services and resources made by trafficked persons.
There are deep interconnections between colonization — in particular, residential schools and the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in child welfare — and human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and violence against Indigenous women, girls and two-spirit people. Indigenous culture, knowledge and communal self-determination are therefore crucial supports for exiting and healing for Indigenous persons who have been trafficked. Various models of Indigenous healing developed in response to historical trauma and residential schools may be relevant for developing culturally-specific programs for trafficked women. Healing specific to sexual exploitation and trafficking through a “decolonizing perspective …[might] include family/community support, traditional spiritual practices and medicine, and a positive Native identity.” For example, one of our respondent organizations, the At’Lohsa Native Family Healing Services Inc. in London, Ontario, emphasizes the importance of a holistic approach—mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual. Healing furthermore pertains to the whole community, all genders, and At’Lohsa has programs to reintroduce men to traditional ways of life.

The Children of the Streets Society (B.C.) similarly notes the importance of a psychosocial care model to heal the emotional, physical, spiritual and social damages of
human trafficking. A psychosocial care model emphasizes reintegration and “this can be incredibly helpful for trafficked individuals due to the high degree of social isolation they experience.”

B. Operationalizing Support

Our research indicates that the ideal approach is to have a dedicated safe house and organization for trafficked persons because of the complex nature of their situation and the length of time they will need to recover. The National Experiential Women’s Roundtable, conducted by the Canadian Women’s Foundation National Task Force in 2013, emphasized the importance of “creating and funding survivor-run ‘safe spaces’ for both women who are entrenched and those who have exited.” These safe spaces, which might include shelters or community drop-in centres, should be advertised in hospitals, detox centres, police stations and public washrooms.

Individuals are reportedly more likely to disclose they have been trafficked to a dedicated organization. Furthermore, regular services may not be sufficient or safe for trafficked persons. A shelter, for instance, can be site for grooming and recruitment. Peer support is not likely to be found in regular shelters, and trafficked clients may be unable to meet sobriety requirements that some shelters require. Simple credit counselling is another example of a service that doesn’t fit well because people panic when they need quick money to pay off debts. A dedicated case-worker is also very important because it saves women from telling their story over and over and ensures smooth coordination of services. Moreover, as two respondents stressed, it is very difficult “do” human trafficking off the side of one’s desk.

Financial realities, however, may mean that a dedicated safe house and organization are not possible, at least not immediately. Thus, an alternative approach is collaboration amongst local service providers through a formal coalition, network, roundtable, etc. We have already touched upon finding common ground in Section III. To reiterate, a focus on indicators, harm reduction, safety planning, and helping anyone who asks for help can all serve as common objectives amongst collaborating agencies. The advice we received from various respondents regarding the operationalization of a collaborative network includes:

- Training, especially for emergency health care providers who may be the first point of contact
- Open communication and regular meetings
- Meaningful consultation with sex workers and survivors of human trafficking
- Service mapping
• Identification of gaps and barriers
• Developing community action plans
• Developing trafficking protocols for referrals and acceptance criteria
• Developing common intake forms and keeping track of data
• Developing a self-evaluation process
• Coordination with law enforcement, where applicable
• Arranging for immediate medical treatment without an OHIP card (e.g. for methadone treatment)

Whether a dedicated organization or coalition is pursued, there are several additional points of note. First, taking a **person-centric, sex positive, non-judgmental** approach is key. It is important to support clients in determining their goals and plans without telling them they must leave their situation. Second, individuals are **less likely to disclose to law enforcement or child services** that they have been trafficked. Therefore, an organization’s involvement or relationship with these agencies, real or perceived, could influence disclosure rates. Third, agencies not working directly in human trafficking may nonetheless come across trafficked persons and not know how to access resources or make referrals. Fourth, it is imperative to recognize the frustration and difficulties that clients will have in navigating different services and facing stigma and discrimination. A “**walk with me**” approach that assists clients through every stage, including taking them to appointments (rather than a taxi cab) may be an effective strategy. Fifth, we must recognize the **additional barriers that Indigenous women and girls** face in terms of colonization, systemic racism, distrust of police and the criminal justice system, and so forth.

**C. Prevention and Early Intervention Strategies**

Policy recommendations for systemic social transformation may be beyond the institutional capacity of service providers. Nonetheless, there are important local strategies that may be undertaken for the prevention of and early intervention in human trafficking. These include:

• Working with taxi cab drivers, truckers, and hotel concierges;
• Working with sex workers who might alert agencies or networks to cases of coercion;
• Working with junior high and high school teachers and guidance counsellors to recognize the signs of abuse, sexual exploitation, and human trafficking;
• Working with foster families to recognize the signs of human trafficking;
• Recognizing the importance of personal networks and community networks as sources of support for vulnerable persons;
● Increasing public awareness, including buyers, of indicators of human trafficking;
● Challenging the stigmatization of sex work, at the very least because stigma impedes disclosure of trafficking;
● Working with counterparts in different regions, as well as cities and the Province’s new Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office; and,
● Collecting data using common intake forms.

“'I think it is very difficult [to tackle human trafficking] without a stronger social safety net for women and girls who are living in poverty and are making the decision to enter into the sex industry because they need to… I think we need a stronger social safety net to preclude that from happening...We would rather have a world where women and girls don't have to turn to prostitution for incomes.”'--Barbara Gosse, CEO, Canadian Center to End Human Trafficking

Social services are "really good at band-aid approaches…but where's the education and prevention to take place before these things happen?"--Kimberley Haycock, At*Lohsa Native Family Healing Services, London

VI. Conclusion

This report is a preparatory effort to identify and understand best practices for collectively responding to human trafficking and sexual exploitation in northeastern Ontario. NORAHT identified eight key principles for responding to human trafficking and sexual exploitation in order to address the short-term and long-term needs of persons who have been trafficked. It is clear that adaptation of these practices in our region will require time, commitment, capacity-building, trust and collaboration. It will also require more localized research and may require more funding to develop regionally specific strategies.

This report is written not from a position of so-called authoritative expertise, but as part of our own learning and self-education process. Areas to further research and discuss include:

● Distinguishing between youth and adults with regard to service provision strategies and principles;
● Identifying specific patterns of sexual exploitation and human trafficking for LGBTQ2S persons and how best to respond;
- Determining patterns of sexual exploitation and human trafficking of Indigenous persons, urban and rural, and best practices amongst Indigenous-led and allied service providers;
- Addressing the demand for commercial sex, including in specific contexts of mining or other primary resource extraction;
- Understanding data collection processes and responses to human trafficking amongst local police services;
- Recommending policy directions and activism at the systemic and structural levels.

NORAHT members are committed to further developing research in these areas. We look forward to engaging and working with other organizations and individuals in response to the pressing issue of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in northeastern Ontario.
Endnotes


2 We use the term Indigenous to mean all first peoples of Canada, including: First Nations, Métis, Innu, Inuit, Status Indians and non-status Indigenous people.


6 Olena Hankivsky, Intersectionality 101, published by The Institute for Intersectional Research & Policy, SFU 2014.


8 See Canadian Women’s Foundation, Task Force on the Trafficking of Women and Girls in Canada, Report from the National Experiential Women’s Roundtable, 2013, p.12. Thank you also to Jennifer Richardson, former Senior Manager of Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia's Trust: Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Strategy Tracia’s Trust (now Director of Ontario’s Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), for raising this point in a follow-up email (23 May 2017).

9 This research was approved by the Nipissing University Research Ethics Board, File #101068.


12 Ibid. ch. 1.


14 Jennifer Richardson, former Senior Manager of Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia's Trust: Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Strategy (now Director of Ontario's Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), follow-up email, 23 May 2017.


The Criminal Code defines exploitation in s.279.04 as: “Causing a person to provide their labour or service by engaging in conduct that, in all the circumstances, could reasonably be expected to cause that person to believe their safety, or the safety of someone they know would be threatened if they failed to provide their labour or services.”


The polarization of positions did not come up during conversations with the remaining respondents.

Dr. Karlee Sapoznik Evans, Tracia’s Trust (and formerly the Founder/CEO of the Alliance Against Modern Slavery), interviewed 18 November 2016.


Ibid., 50.
29 Ibid., 48.

30 Jennifer Richardson, former Senior Manager of Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia’s Trust: Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Strategy (now Director of Ontario’s Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), follow-up email, 23 May 2017.

31 Ibid., 49.


33 Barbara Gosse, CEO of the Canadian Centre to End Human Trafficking, follow-up email, 5 June 2017.


35 Barbara Gosse, CEO, Canadian Centre to End Human Trafficking, interviewed 19 October 2016.

36 Staff member, Women’s Support Network of York Region, interviewed 20 July 2016.

37 Jennifer Richardson, then Senior Manager of Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia’s Trust: Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Strategy (now Director of Ontario’s Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), interviewed 8 November 2016.

38 Dr. AnnaLise Trudell, Manager, Education & Outreach, Anova (formerly Sexual Assault Center of London), interviewed 25 October 2016.


Nicole Werstroh, Children’s Counsellor, Thompson Crisis Centre, Manitoba, interviewed 30 April 2017.


Carly Kalish, Clinical Manager of the Gender-Based Violence Program, East Metro Youth Services and Chair of the Human Trafficking Intervention Prevention Strategy (H.I.P.S.) Toronto, interviewed 28 April 2017.


Nicole Werstroh, Children’s Counsellor, Thompson Crisis Centre, Manitoba, interviewed 30 April 2017.


Jennifer Richardson, former Senior Manager of Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia’s Trust: Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Strategy Tracia’s Trust (now Director of Ontario’s Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), follow-up email, 23 May 2017.

While two of our respondents had direct experience with children, as young as 10 years old in one case, this is not the same as claims that the average age of entry is 13-15.

See also John Lowman, “Hyperbole Exposed: Brief to the Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs on the Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act,” n.d., available at https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/Committee/412/lcjc/Briefs/C-36/SUMC-36_brief_John_Lowman_E.pdf. Dr. Melissa Farley is quoted extensively for her research on prostitution and trafficking; however, some critics question her methodological approaches. Ontario Superior Court Justice Susan Himel, for example, found Farley’s findings to be

Out of 42 services providers surveyed, 22 indicated they had encountered a trafficked person in the last six months. However, respondents did not answer all questions regarding the details of the trafficked women or man they had encountered. These missing details very likely reinforce the need for data collection using common intake forms. For the full baseline survey report, see http://noraht.nipissingu.ca/noraht-research/.

Cristina Scarpellini, Founder/Executive Director, Angels of Hope, Sudbury, Ontario, interviewed 31 October 2016.


Ibid.


Staff member, Women’s Support Network of York Region, interviewed 20 July 2016. Emphasis added.


See also Canadian Women’s Foundation, Report of the National Experiential Women’s Roundtable, p.17.

Staff member, Women’s Support Network of York Region, interviewed 20 July 2016.


Cristina Scarpellini, Founder/President, Angels of Hope, Sudbury, Ontario, interviewed 31 October 2016.


Aura Burditt, Chairperson, London Anti-Human Trafficking Committee, interviewed 17 November 2016

Other biggest challenges include funding (4 counts), setting aside politics/personal views (4 counts), and lack of research (2 counts) and public awareness (2 counts).


72 Melissa Farley, Nicole Matthews, Sarah Deer, Guadalupe Lopez, Christine Stark, and Eileen Hudon, Garden of Truth: The Prostitution and Trafficking of Native Women in Minnesota (Saint Paul, Minnesota, Minnesota Indian Women's Sexual Assault Coalition and Prostitution Research & Education: 2011), 53.


74 Canadian Women's Foundation, Report from the National Experiential Women’s Roundtable, p. 17.

75 Jennifer Richardson, then Senior Manager of Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia's Trust: Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Strategy Tracia’s Trust (now Director of Ontario’s Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), interviewed 8 November 2016.


77 Staff member, Emergency Shelter, interviewed 19 October 2016.

78 Cristina Scarpellini, Founder/President, Angels of Hope, Sudbury, Ontario, interviewed 31 October 2016. See also Dyck, “Addressing the Trafficking of Children & Youth for Sexual Exploitation,” 35.

79 Jennifer Richardson, then Senior Manager of Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Unit and Tracia's Trust: Manitoba's Sexual Exploitation Strategy Tracia’s Trust (now Director of Ontario’s Anti-Human Trafficking Coordination Office), interviewed 8 November 2016; Nicole Werstroh, Children's Counsellor, Thompson Crisis Centre, Manitoba, interviewed 30 April 2017.

80 The phrase, “walk with me” comes from human trafficking survivor and activist Timea Nagy’s approach and organization of the same name (which shut down in 2015).

81 These recommendations are drawn from the interviews and the Canadian Women’s Foundation Report from the National Experiential Women’s Roundtable.