

A Question of Respect: A Qualitative Text Analysis of the Canadian Parliamentary Committee Hearings on *The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*

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*Abstract*

We evaluate the Canadian parliamentary hearings on *The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* to determine whether respectful and fair deliberation occurred. Our focus is on the content, tone, and nature of each question posed by committee members in hearings in both chambers. We find that, on the whole, the vast majority of questions met this baseline, but that committee members were biased toward witnesses in agreement with their position and against witnesses in opposition to it. In addition to our substantive findings, we contribute methodological insights, including a coding scheme, for this kind of qualitative text analysis.

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· Esther Shannon provided the initial inspiration for this paper, and we would like to express our gratitude to her for planting the seed that led not only to this paper but also to its methodological appendix (deposited in the Qualitative Data Repository [<https://qdr.syr.edu/>]). We also wish to thank Mark Pickup and Eline de Rooij, as well as the Journal's anonymous reviewers, for their thoughtful and thought-provoking comments on this paper and methodological appendix. Finally, thanks to Nadine Flagel for her help finalizing the accepted manuscript. We accept full responsibility for lingering weaknesses and errors. Research for this paper was funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Insight Development Grant.

*Introduction*

In 2007, three sex workers from Ontario, Canada, launched a constitutional challenge to the country's prostitution laws. Terri-Jean Bedford, Amy Lebovitch, and Valerie Scott challenged sections of the *Criminal Code of Canada* concerning activities related to prostitution, including keeping or being found in a common bawdy house, living off the avails of a person in prostitution, and communicating in a public place for the purposes of prostitution. Upon considering the extensive evidence, the Supreme Court reached a unanimous decision to strike down these provisions because they represented an unjustifiable infringement of sex workers' rights to life, liberty and security of the person enshrined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Attorney General of Canada 2013). The decision, reached in December 2013, was suspended for a period of 12 months to give the government an opportunity to respond with a new legal framework.

In Canada and beyond, academic researchers, legal experts, and sex worker activists have over decades been amassing evidence that they hoped and continue to hope will inform prostitution policy (e.g., Allen et al. 2014; Amnesty International 2016; Atchison et al. 2015; Atchison, Vukrimovich & Burnett 2015; Bowen 2006; Benoit & Millar 2001; Chu & Glass 2013; Canadian Alliance for Sex Work Law Reform 2014; Cler-Cunningham & Christensen 2000; Csete & Cohen 2010; Dodillet & Östergren 2011; Lazarus et al. 2012; Lowman 1989, 2000, and 2004; Lowman & Fraser 1995; Krüsi et al. 2014; Pivot 2004 and 2006; Shannon 2010; Shannon & Csete 2010; Shannon et al. 2008; Skarhed 2010; Skilbrei & Holmström 2013; UNAIDS 2016; World Health Organization 2012; and Wright, Heynen & van der Meulen 2015). Members of these epistemic communities hoped specifically that parliamentarians in Canada would engage in a

careful consideration of evidence and arguments in developing a new legal frame.

Beyond these specific hopes, there is a broader normative – if not empirical – expectation that democratic governments engage in deliberation with experts, stakeholders, and members of the public on important policy decisions and that their deliberations are respectful, fair, and non-partisan. At least in principle, the committee system within representative governments ought to provide forums for such deliberation.

We evaluate the parliamentary hearings on Bill C-36 to determine whether this kind of deliberation occurred. We justify our examination on two interrelated grounds. Firstly, while prostitution laws are a timely and important topic, not much has been written about them from a policy studies perspective that includes how they are formulated (see Wagenaar & Altink 2012).<sup>1</sup> In addition to the academic literature concerning the impact of criminal laws on the health and safety of sex workers (Allen et al. 2014; Atchison et al. 2015; Atchison 2015; Benoit & Millar 2001; Bowen 2006; Chu & Glass 2013; Csete & Cohen 2010; Cler-Cunningham & Christensen 2000; Dodillet & Östergren 2011; Lazarus et al. 2012; Lowman 1989, 2000, and 2004; Lowman & Fraser 1995; Krüsi et al. 2014; Shannon 2010; Shannon & Csete 2010; Shannon et al. 2008; Skarhed 2010; Skilbrei & Holmström 2013; and Wright, Heynen & van der Meulen 2015), certain research focuses on sex workers as they face barriers when accessing health and social services (e.g., Csete & Cohen 2010; Farley 2004; Krüsi et al. 2014; Lazarus et al. 2012; Reid 2011; Shannon & Csete 2010; and Shannon et al. 2009) and in their relationships with clients, partners, and family members (e.g., Atchison et al. 2015; Atchison 2015; Benoit & Millar 2001; Bowen 2006; Bowen & Bungay 2016; Clancey &

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<sup>1</sup> For exceptions, Crowhurst 2012; Scoular and O’Neill 2007; and Wagenaar 2006.

MacKenzie 2015; and Farley 2006). All of this is important research, but more can be gained from a policy studies perspective. Through a policy lens, we see that prostitution is a classic case of morality policy, which often vexes researchers for not being based on sound arguments and evidence (Wagenaar & Altink 2012). Examining this case, we can develop insights into how committee members deliberate on issues that are deeply polarized and polarizing, and how they interact with and respond to witnesses who may strongly agree or strongly disagree with them.

Secondly, this case offers an opportunity to develop a methodological framework from an under-researched policy area that may be used by other researchers. Although there are several recent studies of parliamentary committees, they often focus on evaluating impacts (e.g., Hindmoor et al. 2009; Monk 2010; Russell & Cowley 2016; and Tolley 2009). Little analysis has been done on the interactions between committee members and witnesses, especially witnesses from, or witnesses representing or allying with, historically marginalized and stigmatized populations (in this case, sex workers and survivors of sexual violence) and engaging in deeply contentious policy debates.<sup>2</sup> Because we do not have examples of past work on similar data, and thus were not able to apply an *a priori* model, we took an inductive approach based on grounded theory (see Bryant & Charmaz 2007; Corbin & Strauss 2008; Hood 2007; Kuckartz 2014; Moghaddam 2006; Suddaby 2006; and Tan 2010). We established coding categories and rules as we progressed with our data collection and analysis, and refined them as we became more familiar with the hearing transcripts. An important contribution of this

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<sup>2</sup> For research on interactions between committee members and witnesses, see Grube 2014; Holli 2012; and Pedersen et al. 2015.

essentially exploratory work is that our coding scheme can be developed, applied, and tested by other researchers interested in similar projects (see On-Line Appendix B, deposited in the Qualitative Data Repository [<https://qdr.syr.edu/>], for more detail).

We qualitatively analyzed the transcripts from the hearings of the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights and the Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, which took place in the summer and fall of 2014. Our focus was on the content, tone, and nature of each question posed by committee members to witnesses either in favour of or in opposition to the bill. We found that the vast majority of questions were respectful, neutral, and fair, but that committee members were biased toward witnesses in agreement with their position and against witnesses in opposition to it. While this may not be surprising to observers of parliamentary politics, this finding is derived from a systematic analysis that makes contributions to the literatures on prostitution, morality policy, and qualitative methodologies. Before turning to a discussion of our study, we briefly review the literature on parliamentary committees.

#### *Parliamentary Committees in Canada and Beyond*

Parliamentary committees play an important role in policy development. As Josie Schofield and Jonathan Fershau write, “the committee of the whole House, which consists of all elected members of an assembly,” is responsible for reviewing draft legislation and spending estimates (2007: 355). Parliamentary committees meeting outside the chamber are smaller groups of private members who together represent officially recognized parties in proportion to their respective total seats. According to C.E.S. Franks, committees “offer the prospect of more channels for processing legislation

and reducing in the demands on the time of the House, and consequently the promise of getting more business through parliament” (1987: 161). Activities include studying bills, which involves examining evidence and hearing from witnesses. As Helene Helboe Pedersen, Darren Halpin, and Anne Rasmussen write, committees “function as an important linkage between state and civil society” (2015: 409).

David Docherty argues that parliamentary committees are valuable in large part because of their non-partisan tendencies (2005). In his words, they “operate outside the more formal atmosphere and media glare of the chamber,” in a “more relaxed mood,” where there is “often less overt partisan tension” and greater cooperation; they “are more directly engaged in policy discussions than the legislature as a whole”; they encourage specialization, which can result in members being less inclined to participate in “partisan heckling”; they have greater authority over activities under their remit, “particularly regarding the calling of witness testimony and documents;” and they are “staffed with employees of the legislature” who are non-partisan (Docherty 2005: 165-66). However, despite the general tenor of committees being more collegial than that of the chamber (Docherty 2005; Franks 1987; Hindmoor et al., 2009; Samara 2011a and 2011b; Stewart 1977; and Skogstad 1985), they are often characterized by intense debate and entrenched positions.

Grace Skogstad notes that committees fulfill two overarching roles, conflict management among groups and representation of individuals, and that both can be derailed by partisan politics (1985). Partisan manoeuvres by committee members and deep divisions among their clientele groups may bring these two roles into conflict. The representation of specialist interests on committees decreases the likelihood of conflict

management. In such circumstances, “the intense adversarial relationship between government and opposition committee members is unlikely to promote consensus-building between divergent groups (Skogstad, 1985: 771). Other factors inhibiting non-partisan deliberation within committees include party discipline, which is often enforced by member substitution and rotation. The non-profit organization Samara finds in a recent study of former Canadian parliamentarians that “many MPs complain that their parties directly interfered with their Parliamentary work by disrupting committees . . . .” (2011a: 17). As Michael Atkinson and Kim Nossal write, “the pervasiveness of party discipline means that committee members will never be entirely willing or able to insist on the integrity of committee proceedings . . . .” (1980: 290). Hong Min Park also notes the prevalence of party politics within committees (2011). Similarly, Andrew Hindmoor, Phil Larkin, and Andrew Kennon discuss the role of politics in committee deliberations (2009).

Despite the interest group politics and party influences, the epistemic communities centering on prostitution law reform hoped that the new policy would be based on a serious consideration of the evidence in a respectful, fair, and non-partisan manner. Moreover, harking back to Franks, there remains a normative expectation that committees should be a place for the collective deliberation of committee members and witnesses with a diversity of expertise and insights. In the following sections, we outline the parliamentary hearings on Bill C-36, discuss our methodology, and present our findings.

*Parliamentary Hearings on Bill C-36*

In June 2014, the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights invited individuals and groups to submit briefs concerning Bill C-36. The Standing Committee included seven Members of Parliament from the governing Conservative Party of Canada (CPC), two from the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) and one from the Liberal Party, although during these hearings, eight CPC members, three NDP members, and one Liberal Party member participated at various times. The committee's Chair was a CPC MP and the Vice Chair was from the NDP. The hearings were held in Ottawa on 7, 8, 9, 10 and 15 July 2014. On average, each session had seven witnesses representing either an organization or themselves as individuals. Organizations could have multiple witnesses but were given a total of 10 minutes for their opening statement. As Senate appointments can only be made by the Government of Canada, the Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs included eight Senators appointed by the Conservatives, three appointed by the Liberals, and one appointed by the Conservatives but sitting as an independent. A Conservative appointee chaired the committee and a Liberal appointee was the Vice Chair. The hearings were held in Ottawa on 9, 10, 11, 17, and 18 September and 29 and 30 October 2014. The bill passed in the House on 6 October and in the Senate on 4 November. It received Royal Assent on 6 November and came into force and effect on 6 December 2014.

In terms of the numbers of witnesses either against or in favour of the bill, there was an imbalance (Tables 1a and 1c) (see On-Line Appendix A).<sup>3</sup> For the commons

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<sup>3</sup> Our classification of witness as individuals or groups differs from the hearing transcripts in the following ways: 1) In his presentation, Tyler Megarry explicitly stated



committee, the total number of individual and organizational witnesses taking a *pro* stance on the bill was 37 (67.27%), whereas the total number of witnesses taking a *con* stance was 18 (32.73%). For the senate committee, there was a more equal distribution of witnesses but still a larger number of those in favour: 24 (58.54%) to 17 (41.46%) (Tables 2a and 2c).

Table 1a: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights – Summary by Pro and Con Witnesses			
Stance on Bill C-36	Number of Individuals	Number of Organizations	Total Witnesses
Pro	7	30	37 (67.27%)
Con	4	14	18 (32.73%)
Total	11	44	55

Table 1b: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights – Summary by Pro and Con Briefs Submitted			
Stance on Bill C-36	Number of Individuals	Number of Organizations	Total Submissions
Pro	4	20	24 (41.38%)
Con	13	21	34 (58.62%)
Total	17	41	58

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that he was speaking on behalf of the group, RÉZO. Therefore, we count his testimony as that of a group. Similarly, K. Brian McConaghy, speaking for Ratanak International, is counted as a group; 2) Ed and Linda Smith, as well as Jeanne Sarson and Linda MacDonald, presented respectively on the same topic together and were allocated a single timeslot. We count them as single individuals.

Table 1c: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights – Briefs and Witnesses					
Stance on Bill C-36	Total Briefs Submitted	Submitted Brief Only	Submitted Brief and Testified	Testified Only	Total Witnesses Who Testified
Pro	24 (41.38%)	8	16	21	37 (67.27%)
Con	34 (58.62%)	23	11	7	18 (32.73%)
Total	58	31	27	28	55

Table 2a: Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs – Summary by Pro and Con Witnesses			
Stance on Bill C- 36	Number of Individuals	Number of Organizations	Total Witnesses
Pro	6	18	24 (58.54%)
Con	7	10	17 (41.46%)
Total	13	28	41

Table 2b: Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs – Summary by Pro and Con Briefs Submitted			
Stance on Bill C- 36	Number of Individuals	Number of Organizations	Total Submissions
Con	11	27	38 (66.67%)
Pro	3	16	19 (33.33%)
Total	14	43	57

Table 2c: Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs – Briefs and Witnesses					
Stance on Bill C-36	Total Briefs Submitted	Submitted Brief Only	Submitted Brief and Testified	Testified Only	Total Witnesses Who Testified
Pro	19 (33.33%)	9	10	14	24 (58.54%)
Con	38 (66.67%)	29	9	8	17 (41.46%)
Total	57	38	19	22	41

Looking at the pool of prospective witnesses who submitted briefs to both committees (Tables 1b and 2b), we find that the inequality of representation was not based on the initial distribution of perspectives for and against the bill. There were more witnesses articulating serious critiques of the bill than those highlighting its strengths (24 [41.38%] in favour and 34 [58.62%] against submitted briefs to the commons committee, and 19 [33.33%] in favour and 38 [66.67%] against submitted briefs to the senate committee). Of the 24 pro individuals and organizations that submitted briefs to the commons committee, 16 (66.67%) were asked to testify. Of the 34 con individuals and organizations, 11 (32.35%) were asked to testify. In addition, the committee invited 21 pro and 7 con individuals and organizations that did not submit briefs. The senate committee invited 10 (52.63%) of the 19 pro individuals and organizations that submitted briefs and 9 (23.68%) of the 38 con individuals and organizations from the group who submitted briefs. An additional 14 pro and 8 con individuals and organizations that did not submit briefs were invited (see Table 2c).

#### *Description of Methodology and Analysis*

Our overarching question centers on whether committee members treated witnesses testifying on Bill C-36 respectfully and fairly. It is important to highlight that our methodology is interpretative and qualitative but that our findings are expressed in numeric terms amenable to statistical analysis. Like most qualitative analyses, ours is inductive (see Hood 2007 and Maxwell 2005). Our justification for taking an inductive approach derives from the fact that we cannot find in the academic literature any content analyses of parliamentary hearings involving policy issues that are polarized and that

involve marginalized populations, and their representatives and allies. Little – if any – study has been done on the *content, tone, and nature* of committee member questioning of witnesses.<sup>4</sup> Our approach is appropriate because we are engaging in exploratory

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<sup>4</sup> Based on a frequency count of individual words, computer-aided analysis is effective at assessing the overall tone of a document. It is less effective when the unit of analysis is smaller (Young & Soroka, 2012: 209). Moreover, as Young and Soroka note, “automation counts but does not rate entries; it identifies but does not interpret semantic patterns; it quantifies concepts but not symbols (2012: 208-09). It was our initial intention to take advantage of this technology (specifically, we had set out to analyze sentiment using Lexicoder [Daku et al., 2015]), but the small size and noisiness of our dataset precluded statistically significant results. While short in general, individual questions tended to be of sufficient length necessary for computer coding (question ranged from 5 to 875 words, with a mean length of 112 words and median of 83 words). However, the variance in content and the committee members’ intended witnesses created the greatest obstacle to achieving significance. Many questions, particularly those exceeding 200 words, are preceded by discourse covering multiple topics and often appear to be directed towards multiple and changing audiences (e.g., the general public, other committee members, witnesses that are not being questioned); it is common for only a few sentences of a long address to be directed at the witness who ultimately responds. Thus noise intrudes as content that is unrelated to the question or questions being asked of the witnesses and is often intended for other audiences (see Françoise Boivin to Christa Big Canoe, Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 10, 2014, Meeting 41, 11). While these asides do provide valuable contextual information

research (Campos 2004) into a phenomena about which “little is known” (Gerbic & Stacey 2004, 50; see also Chong & Yeo 2015; Robson 2002; and Wright 2009).

Our analysis of the hearing transcripts is informed by grounded theory. Grounded theory approaches build and refine coding categories as researchers become more immersed in the data. As Jane Hood writes, drawing from Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, the key components of grounded theory include the following: A “spiral of cycles” of data collection, coding, analysis, writing, design, and categorization; “constant comparative analysis” of theoretical categories throughout each cycle; theoretical sampling of categories developed from ongoing data analysis; codes that emerge from the data and that are not imposed *a priori* on it; and resulting theory that is “developed inductively from data rather than tested by data” and that is “continuously refined and checked by data” (2007: 154).

In mid-fall of 2014, the three authors began reading the transcripts, examining the micro level of single words and phrases with the intention of identifying macro level patterns. Working consensually, we identified our unit of analysis as the question, standing out as the most prevalent form of communication by committee members to witnesses. Most were easily identified by a question mark at the end. On occasion, questions would appear as statements and not contain a question mark. We identified these implicit questions by asking ourselves if they could be followed by “Is that what you meant?”, “Do you agree or disagree?”, or “Do you care to comment?” If these

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that informs our judgment as manual coders as to the content, tone and nature of the questions, in the context of machine coding they create unbalanced error, potentially biasing results.

statements still made sense, and if the witness or witnesses responded as though they believed these statements were questions, we counted them as such.

Our initial reading of the transcripts led us to conceptualize three dimensions of question; we saw that each question could be understood in terms of its content, tone, and nature. We refined questions as our unit of analysis by incorporating a focus on these dimensions, which we developed into both measurable and generalizable core categories and evaluative codes. Our process resulted in three categories and eight codes. For content, we evaluated each question as either respectful or disrespectful; for tone, we evaluated each question as either positive, negative, or neutral; and for nature, we evaluated each question as either sympathetic, combative, or fair.

As we became increasingly familiar with the content of the transcripts, we refined our core categories and began defining evaluative codes. We then began coding the transcripts in the chronological order of the sessions. It is important to point out that we coded each question in terms of content, tone, *and* nature. Udo Kuckartz writes that “qualitative text analysis tends to use a procedural approach that aims at minimizing coding differences by discussing and resolving any questionable or conflicting codings as a research team” (2014: 46). Kuckartz notes that coders do not have to calculate coder-reliability coefficients but that they must use appropriate procedures, such as consensual coding, to ensure that they “agree in their understanding of how to apply the category system.” (2014: 47). We engaged in consensual coding, which involved weekly meetings to check our individual coding of session transcripts, confirm our consistent application of codes, resolve differences among our applications, and further tweak our codes. We viewed validation as an on-going comparison of our established interpretations against

new data emerging from the session transcripts, and we conducted a continuous comparison of our codes to validate our interpretations and ensure generalizability across the entirety of the transcripts. While we focused primarily on the print transcripts, we often referred back to the video and audio.

Seventeen months after we finished our consensual coding, two authors repeated the coding of the entire set of transcripts to test and refine our coding scheme.<sup>5</sup> For this second round in 2016, we were careful to code separately and to record our individual coding before consensually deciding on the final codes. We were thus able to test the *inter-coder* reliability and agreement between our individual coding (i.e., before the final coding). In addition, we compared the results of the 2014 and 2016 final rounds of (consensual) coding. We refer to the comparison of the two rounds of coding as an *inter-transcript* reliability and agreement test. For both tests, we provide kappa coefficients and percent agreements (see Tables 3 and 4).

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<sup>5</sup> Since one of our authors is a sex worker rights activist and testified in the hearings, we decided to exclude her from this second round of coding as an additional step to ensure greater impartiality.

Table 3: Inter-coder Reliability (between 2016 coders)			
	Content	Tone	Nature
Kappa Coefficient ( $K_w$ ) *	0.82	0.69	0.63
Percent Agreement	99.56%	92.30%	81.19%
n = 909			

\*Weighted Kappa (Cohen 1968)

Table 4: Inter-Transcript Reliability (between 2014 and 2016 rounds of coding)			
	Content	Tone	Nature
Kappa Coefficient ( $K_w$ )*	0.63	0.53	0.51
Percent Agreement	98.87%	84.42%	75.26%
n = 873			

\*Weighted Kappa (Cohen 1968)

We have very high percent agreements, and the weighted kappa coefficients show substantial to “almost perfect” values for the 2016 round.<sup>6</sup> We have high percentages for inter-transcript agreement but moderate to low weighted kappa coefficients between the 2014 and 2016 rounds. These findings are very interesting, suggesting that our coding scheme became more refined and robust. Moreover, they suggest that we more consistently applied it in 2016. The following paragraphs provide a basic description of each of our core categories and evaluative codes (see On-Line Appendix B for more details [<https://qdr.syr.edu/>]).

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<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Allen, Judith Bara, and John Bartle write that “Kappa values above 0.61 are generally taken to represent ‘substantial’ agreement, while those above 0.81 indicate ‘almost perfect’ agreement” (2013: 174-5). J. Scott Matthews, Mark Pickup and Fred Cutler characterize a Kappa value of .55 as moderate (2012: 287).



*Content*

On our initial analysis of the transcripts, we observed that the content of questions, i.e., the phrases used by committee members, was generally respectful but, on occasion, disrespectful. We thus developed a core category for content and evaluative codes for respectful and disrespectful. Respectful content includes careful and sensitive language that communicates a deference to and appreciation of the experience, insights, and knowledge of witnesses as they pertain to the hearings. The following example includes clear indicators of respectful language, which we have bolded:

Mr. Sean Casey (Charlottetown, Lib.): **Thank you.** Back to you, **Dr. Bruckert.** **I know you were here this morning** when we heard the chief of the Calgary police say that a conviction under a summary offence does not result in a criminal record. **I don't know if you shared my reaction, but I'd be interested in yours first.** Secondly, **can you share your experience on what actually does happen** when there's a sweep or when people involved in the sex trade are criminally charged? (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 8, 2014, Meeting 37).

*-To Christine Bruckert, Professor, Department of  
Criminology, University of Ottawa (con witness)*

Conversely, we developed an evaluative code for disrespectful content to include gratuitous or inflammatory language that dismisses, diminishes, or trivializes the

experience and experiences of witnesses as they pertain to the hearings. The following is an example:

Mr. Bob Dechert (Mississauga-Erindale, CPC): A commercial enterprise, **for your edification**, refers to an organized brothel, a massage parlour, a strip club; it is not the individual prostitute providing her services or a cooperative between two, three, or more prostitutes working together in their own space, where they're sharing expenses equally. **That's what you're not understanding, and to say anything different would, in my view, be absurd.** (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 8, 2014, Meeting 37).

*To Elin Sigurdson, Lawyer, Pivot Legal Society*

*(con witness)*

### *Tone*

Also on our initial analysis of the hearings, we found that there were variations in the tone of questions. There were questions that were expressed in either friendly, “snarky,” or matter-of-fact tones. We thus created and developed a core category based on the tone of the question, i.e., how the question sounds, and evaluative categories of positive, negative, and neutral.

As an adjective describing a person's disposition, *positive* refers to someone having constructive attitudes or taking constructive action. It expresses a willingness to engage productively with others, hear their perspectives, and receive their insights. It

involves an affirmation of someone's views. The following is an example of a positive tone question, in which we see expressions of praise and goodwill:

Mrs. Joy Smith (Kildonan-St. Paul, CPC): Thank you so much. I would like to ask some questions now of Chief Hanson. **I have to congratulate you and the Calgary Police Service. They are doing amazing work** in terms of human trafficking and this whole issue. **Your coming here today and your thoughtful comments mean a great deal on this committee.** I have a couple of questions. You were talking about the exit strategies and the need for more money, and that has come out **very comprehensively**. You've also talked about the overrepresentation of Aboriginal women and the need to reduce the gender bias in our society. I thought that **very compelling** because 10 years ago we would not have heard that from police forces. Can you expand a little bit more clearly on what you've seen on the streets in terms of underage girls on the streets and also about the idea of how women are expected to be treated and accepted and this kind of involvement in the sex trade? Could you expand on what you were saying a little earlier more fully? (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 8, 2014, Meeting 35).

*-To Rick Hanson, Chief of Police, Calgary Police*

*Service (pro witness)*

Conversely, the adjective *negative* expresses, conveys, or implies a denial, refusal, or dismissal of something or someone. It expresses a lack of affirmation. Thus negative

tone questions sound irritated, dismissive, or discouraging and use phrases to indicate these meanings. Negative tone questions are often expressed repeatedly or persistently, in ways that cut off the witness. In the following example, we see a committee member almost haranguing witnesses:

Mrs. Stella Ambler (Mississauga South, CPC): Do you agree that johns should be criminalized and that the buying of sex should be illegal in Canada?

Ms. Christa Big Canoe: That would be our opposition to the bill, that the criminalization – **[cut off]**

Mrs. Stella Ambler: **In principle you disagree that we should criminalize the mostly men who buy sex.**

Ms. Christa Big Canoe: Yes, because of the adverse impact it will have on sex workers. The adverse impact it will have on sex workers is the driving of the most vulnerable, the street-level sex workers or survival sex workers, into darker corners or into places where they become unsafe. Contrary to what the Supreme Court had to say about them having the measures – and I don't say "screening" in quotations because it's an actual valid exercise. In doing that, you've pushed – **[cut off]**

Mrs. Stella Ambler: **We've had witnesses here who've said there is no such thing as "underground" or "in dark corners"** because when johns want to purchase sex, they have to find the prostitutes (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 10, 2014, Meeting 41).

*To Christa Big Canoe, Legal Advocacy Director,  
Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto (con witness)*

We also created an evaluative code for neutral tone questions. The adjective *neutral* implies something or someone not belonging to either of two established categories. On our reading of the transcripts, questions expressed in a neutral tone sound neither discouraging nor encouraging. They generally include phrases indicating impartiality and dispassion. In the following example, we do not include bold formatting because the entire passage indicates a neutral tone, containing neither explicitly positive nor negative phrases:

Mr. Bob Dechert: If we don't do anything, what do you think Canada will look like in terms of the prostitution business in 10 years? (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 10, 2014, Meeting 42).

*-To Mélanie Sarroino, Quebec, Canadian  
Association of Sexual Assault Centres (pro  
witness)*

### *Nature*

Finally, on our initial analysis of the transcripts, we noticed that the nature of questions also varied. Some seemed to be “soft-ball” questions. Some appeared to be designed to confuse or provoke the responder. Some tended to be open-ended, inquisitive questions. We therefore created a core category for the nature of questions and corresponding

evaluative codes for sympathetic, combative, and fair questions.

The word *sympathetic* refers to an affinity or correspondence between individuals. We defined sympathetic questions as those intending to elicit or highlight an agreement between a committee member and witness. These questions appear to reinforce the argument of the committee member asking the question. They are often expressed in the same language as the witness in her or his opening statement. The following is an example of a sympathetic question, with key phrases in bold:

Mrs. Joy Smith: Thank you very much. Keira and Hilla, **you've been amazing over the years. I've just loved partnering with you in so many ways**, and you are in the real world, on the ground. For the committee today, **what is the most important message this committee has to get, because you deal with trafficking victims every day of the week?** That's for either one of you.

(Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 10, 2014, Meeting 41).

*-To Hilla Kerner, Collective Member, and Keira Smith-Tague, Front Line Worker, Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter (pro witnesses)*

Conversely, we define *combative* questions as those appearing to highlight disagreement between a committee member and witness, to bring out contradictions in the witness's position, to put him or her in a difficult position, to confuse him or her, or to shut him or her down. Combative questions appear to be attempts to force witnesses to respond in particular ways, casting them in an unfavorable light. Like negative tone

questions, combative questions are often persistent or repeated and can contain a demand for a closed response. The following is an example of a combative question, with key phrases in bold:

Senator Donald Plett [CPC appointed]: You have been emphatic here on saying that you haven't been able to find where people actually want to be violent. Senator Frum asked you and Senator Batters asked you. We had a lady here yesterday who said that at the age of 15 she had to have 15 stitches in her cervix and could not have children because of the way she had been abused. We have heard over and over and over about this. **And then you sit here and you somehow self-righteously say that we shouldn't be calling those people perverts.** We haven't called one person around this table a pervert, nor have we any of the other sex workers present here this week. I don't believe they are. I believe they are trying to eke out a living. These two men right here are trying to make a living. I haven't called them perverts. Robert Pickton is a pervert. He's a killer. I won't apologize for calling him that. **And for you to suggest that we should somehow call them something else and for you to sit here and suggest that we don't have violence, continued violence, I find objectionable. Is this the way you usually conduct yourself when people disagree with your point of view?** (Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, September 11, 2014).

*-To Chris Atchison, Research Associate,*

*Department of Sociology, University of Victoria*

*(con witness)*

*Fair* questions, as we define them, seek to explore or clarify a witness's position. They are open-ended and exploratory, and typically expressed in qualified language. They encourage the responder or responders to elaborate. They tend to be discursive, in the sense of carrying on a conversation with no pre-established conclusion in mind. The following example contains no bolding because the entire passage is expressed in fair manner:

Mr. Sean Casey: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Ms. Phillips, we've heard from a couple of lawyers who have expressed some concern over the reverse-onus provisions. You describe it in your brief as an assumption of guilt in regard to persons who live with or are habitually in the company of persons. I know you talked about that in your opening statement. I get the sense, however, that your concern over this provision is more from a policy perspective than from a legal and constitutional one. So tell me whether or not that is the case, and feel free to expand on why you find this offensive outside of the legal constitutional context. (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, July 10, 2014, Meeting 42).

*-To Rachel Phillips, Executive Director,*

*Peers Victoria Support Society (con witness)*



Each question was coded three times, corresponding to the three core categories and their evaluative codes. The following is an example of how we did this for a respectful (bold), positive (bold and italics), and sympathetic question (bold and underscore):

Mrs. Joy Smith: **Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you to all the witnesses for coming here today to give us your opinions. Mr. Swan, I applaud you** for all the work you do in Manitoba. *I really applaud your support of Bill C-36, and your advice on some amendments.* For the first time in Canada, the purchase of sex will be illegal, and that will help a lot of things. First-time advertising by third parties will be addressed, and for the first time we have compassion in the bill. Having said that, **could you expand a bit on what a victim actually needs? With living in the part of Winnipeg you live in and being on some of the streets that both of us have been on, perhaps you could give the committee insight as to what really happens** (Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, Meeting 34, July 7, 2014).

*-To Hon. Andrew Swan, Minister of Justice  
and Attorney General, Government of  
Manitoba (pro witness)*

### *Findings*

We present our findings from our 2016 coding. We coded 909 questions, with the CPC asking 485, Liberals 271, and NDP 153. The pro witnesses were asked more questions

than the con witnesses at a ratio of approximately 3:2 in both absolute numbers (Table 5) and percentages (Figure 1). The CPC and the NDP asked significantly more questions to pro than to con witnesses. Liberal members asked questions to both con and pro witnesses at an equal ratio. This distribution of more questions to pro witnesses than to con witnesses can be explained by the distribution of witnesses either for or against the bill. Again, there were more pro than con witnesses; a bias toward those favourable to the bill was effectively built into the line-up of witnesses.

	CPC	Liberal	NDP	Total
Con Witnesses	205	134	59	398
Pro Witnesses	280	137	94	511
Total	485	271	153	909

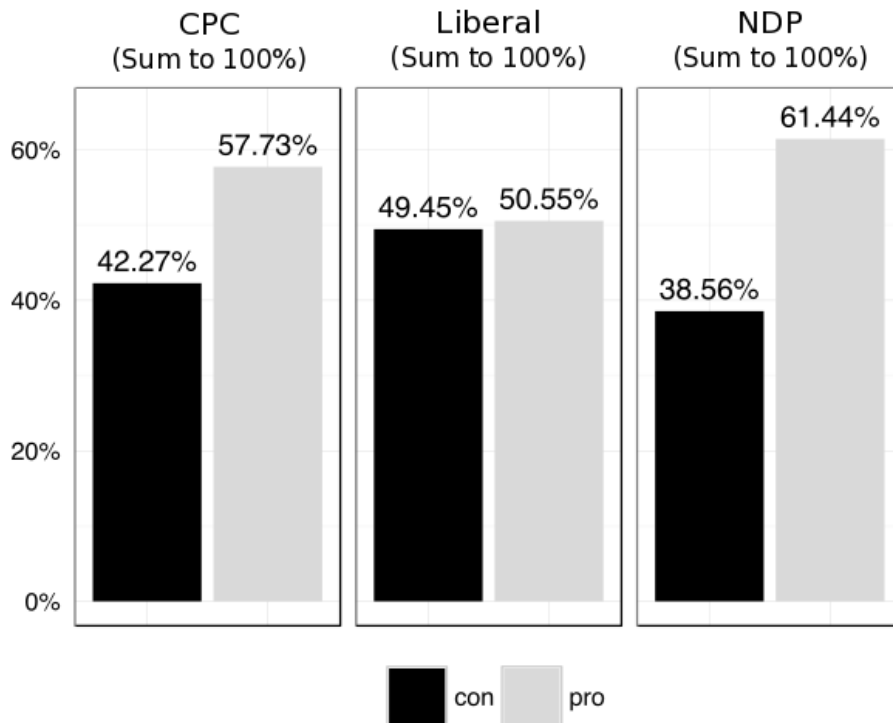


Figure 1: The distribution of questions addressed to pro and con witnesses for each party.

In terms of the content of the questions (see Table 6 and Figure 2), we found that nearly all questions were respectful (CPC = 97.53%; LIB = 100%; NDP = 100%). The only disrespectful questions were asked by the CPC (n = 12), amounting to 2.47 percent of the party's overall questions. When looking at the distribution of respectful and disrespectful questions to either con or pro witnesses, we see that 91.67 percent of disrespectful questions asked by the CPC were directed to con witnesses (n = 11 disrespectful questions to con witnesses and 1 disrespectful question to a pro witness).

Table 6: Content – Total Questions by Party and Witness		
Witnesses	Party: CPC	n = 485
	Disrespectful	Respectful
Con	11	194
Pro	1	279
Total (CPC)	12	473
	LIB	n = 271
Con	0	134
Pro	0	137
Total (LIB)	0	271
	NDP	n = 153
Con	0	59
Pro	0	94
Total	0	153
	Summary	n = 909
Content Total	12	897

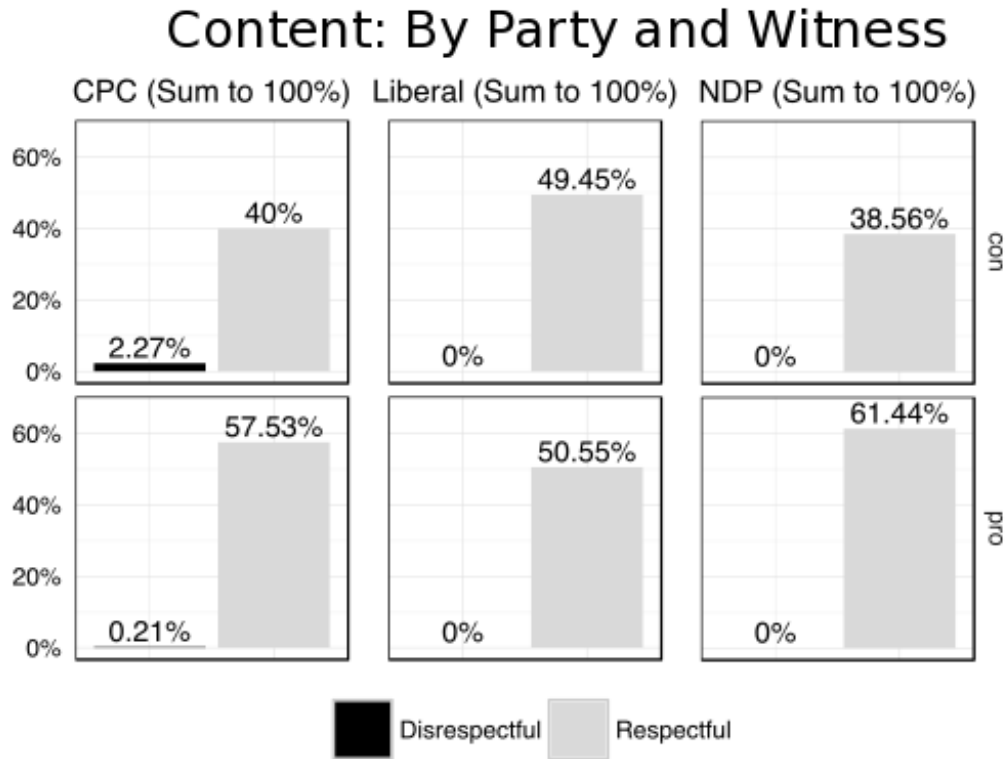


Figure 2: The distribution, measured in terms of percentage (%), of disrespectful and respectful question addressed to con and pro witnesses by each party.

With respect to tone (Table 7 and Figure 3), we found that the vast majority of questions asked by all parties to all witnesses were neutral (CPC = 80.62%; LIB = 86.71%; NDP = 92.16%). All parties asked positive tone questions. Negative tone questions were asked infrequently. CPC members addressed all of their 23 negative tone questions to con witnesses, while a Liberal member addressed his 1 negative tone question to a pro witness. Of the positive tone questions asked by the CPC, almost all were directed to the pro witnesses (92.96%; n = 66 positive tone questions asked by the CPC to pro witnesses and 5 to con witnesses). NDP members posed 9 positive tone questions to pro witnesses and 3 to con witnesses (75% to pro witnesses and 25% to con

witnesses). The Liberals asked 21 positive tone questions of pro witnesses and asked 14 of con witnesses (60% to pro witnesses and 40% to con witnesses).

Table 7: Tone: Total Questions by Party and Witness			
Witnesses	Party: CPC		n = 485
	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Con	23	177	5
Pro	0	214	66
Total (CPC)	23	391	71
LIB		n = 271	
Con	0	120	14
Pro	1	115	21
Total (LIB)	1	235	35
NDP		n = 153	
Con	0	56	3
Pro	0	85	9
Total (NDP)	0	141	12
Summary		n = 909	
Tone Total	24	767	118

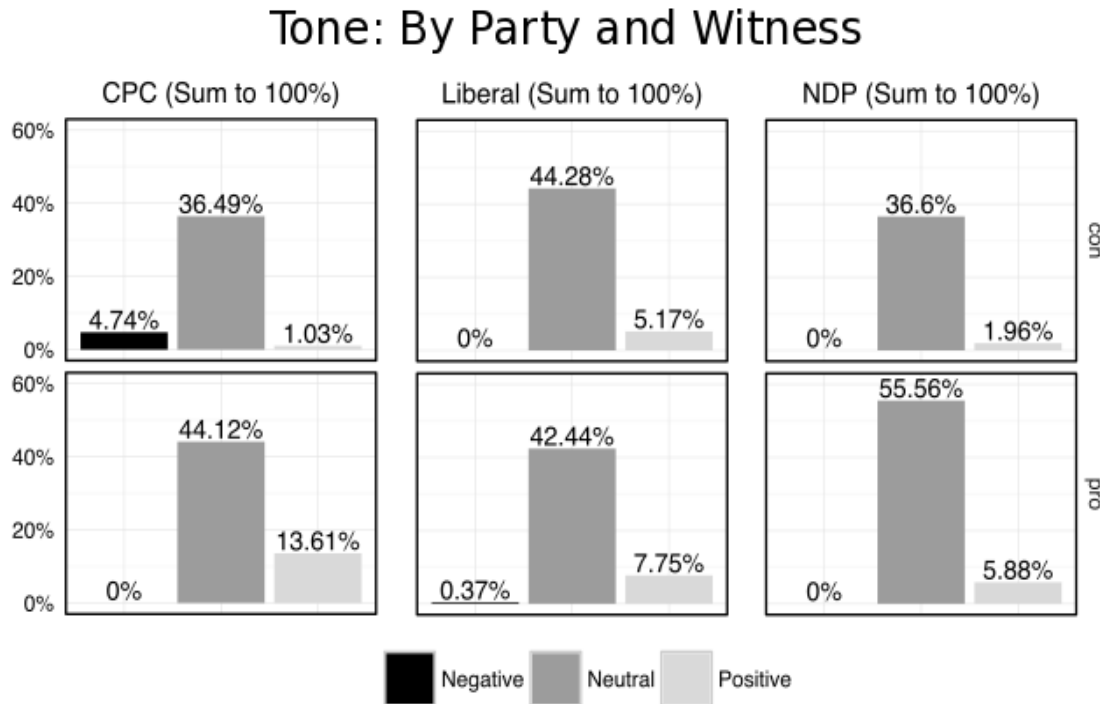


Figure 3: The distribution, measured in terms of percentage (%), of negative, neutral and positive question addressed to con and pro witnesses by each party.

Concerning the nature of questions (Table 8 and Figure 4), a substantial majority of questions asked by all parties to all witnesses were of a fair nature (CPC = 65.15%; LIB = 85.24%; NDP = 68.62%). All parties asked combative questions, but the CPC asked the most. All parties asked sympathetic questions, but the NDP and the CPC asked the most. All combative questions asked by the CPC were directed to con witnesses (n = 58 combative questions). Nearly all combative questions asked by the NDP were directed to pro witnesses (n = 6 to pro witnesses and 1 to a con witness). The 3 combative questions asked by Liberals were directed to pro witnesses. Virtually all sympathetic questions asked by the CPC were directed to the pro witnesses (99.09%; n = 110 sympathetic questions asked by the CPC to pro witnesses and 1 to a con Witness). Sympathetic questions by NDP members were more evenly distributed between pro and

con witnesses, with 58.54% to pro witnesses and 41.46% to con witnesses (n = 24 sympathetic questions to pro witnesses and 17 to con witnesses). Of the sympathetic questions asked by the Liberal Party, most were directed to the con witnesses (72.97% to con and 27.02% to pro (n = 27 sympathetic questions asked by the Liberal Party to con witnesses and 10 to pro witnesses).

Table 8: Nature: Total Questions by Party and Witness			
Witnesses	Party: CPC		n = 485
	Combative	Fair	Sympathetic
Con	58	146	1
Pro	0	170	110
Total (CPC)	58	316	111
LIB			n = 271
Con	0	107	27
Pro	3	124	10
Total (LIB)	3	231	37
NDP			n = 153
Con	1	41	17
Pro	6	64	24
Total (NDP)	7	105	41
Summary			n = 909
Tone Total	68	652	189

### Nature: By Party and Witness

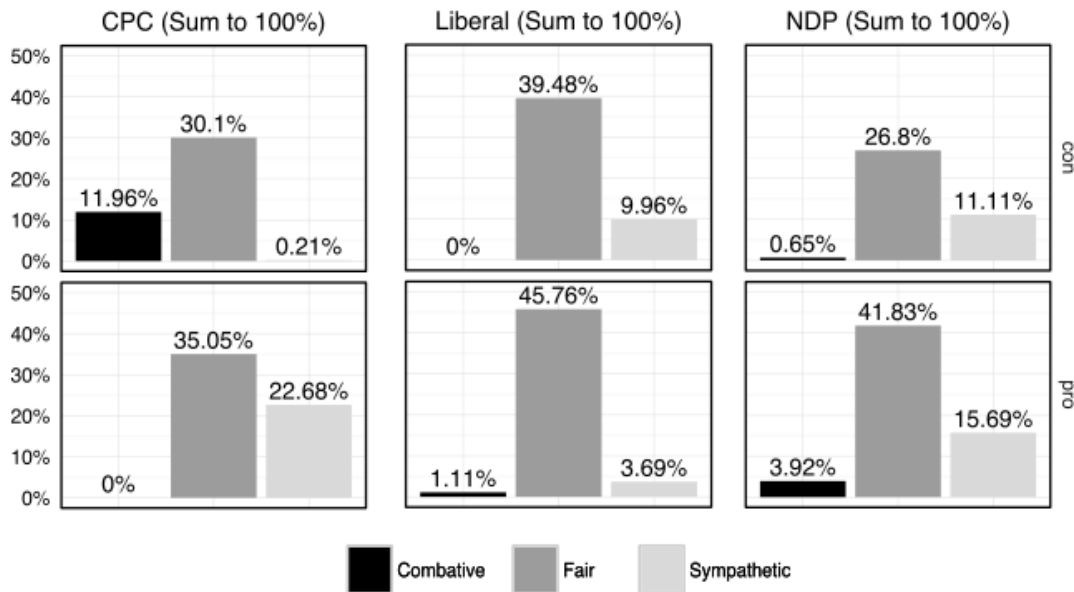


Figure 4: The distribution, measured in terms of percentage (%), of combative, fair, and sympathetic question addressed to con and pro witnesses by each party.

#### Conclusion

In such an ideologically charged area as prostitution policy, there is a normative expectation that elected politicians will deliberate with experts, stakeholders, and members of the public, and that these deliberations will be fair and respectful.

Deliberations on Bill C-36 were, on the whole, fair and respectful, but they were also significantly biased.

We found an inequality in the distribution of pro and con witnesses. Despite the larger number of potential witnesses articulating serious critiques of the bill in their written submissions, more witnesses praising the bill were selected to testify. Since the CPC held a majority of seats on the committee, they were able to select more witnesses taking a more favourable stance and vote down witnesses who were critical of the bill and proposed by the NDP and Liberal members. Their decisions concerning the



participation of witnesses reveal both an inclusionary bias toward those in favor of the bill and a representational exclusion of those in opposition to it thus building partisanship into the very foundations of the hearings.

Moreover, our findings indicate bias in the content, tone, and nature of questions, especially those from CPC members. When looking at the content of questions, nearly all questions were respectful. However, all disrespectful questions were asked by members of the CPC, and all but one were posed to individuals testifying against the bill. The tone of the vast majority of questions was neutral, but CPC members asked the largest percentage of negative tone questions, all of which were directed to con witnesses. CPC members also asked the largest percentage of positive tone questions, nearly all of which were directed to pro witnesses. Although a substantial majority of questions asked were fair, we see biases in the nature of questions as well. CPC members posed all of their combative questions to witnesses opposing their position and virtually all of their sympathetic questions to witnesses favouring their position. The NDP and Liberal members showed similar biases but not nearly as pronounced.

Our study provides insights into how committee members deliberate on deeply polarized issues, and how they interact with witnesses with whom they strongly agree or disagree. It provides insight into what witnesses can expect when invited to appear before a parliamentary committee. This is important especially for witnesses who are, or have been, marginalized and/or stigmatized, and for those representing them or allying with them. Such individuals engaging on these kinds of issues can expect to be treated consistently well insofar as they support the bill for which they are appearing. However, those expressing more critical views can expect a few disrespectful questions, some

negative tone questions, and a few more combative questions. Numerically, these types of questions may not be significant, but from a qualitative perspective, they can seriously taint the experiences of witnesses. Witnesses opposing a contentious bill may experience a deep unease with respect to a process that *should be* respectful, fair, and non-partisan, as well as focused on sound evidence and arguments, but that is in fact not. This can be very upsetting, indeed traumatic, for certain individuals and it may cause them to disengage from important policy discussions. This is an important conclusion, especially for public hearings on morally contentious policy, in which we hope a broadly inclusive diversity of actors – representing different epistemic communities – participate.

In addition to our substantive findings, we provide a methodology for qualitative analysis and consensual coding that can systematically capture three dimensions of text: content, tone, and nature. We hope that our core and evaluative categories, our grounded theory approach, will inspire other qualitative researchers to further this kind of analysis.

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## On-Line Appendix A:

A Question of Respect: A Qualitative Text Analysis of the Canadian Parliamentary Committee Hearings on *The Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act*

Genevieve Fuji Johnson, Mary Burns, and Kerry Porth

## Briefs and Witnesses

Table 1: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights Con Witnesses

<b>Con Witnesses As Organizations</b>	
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Representatives</b>
Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto	Christa Big Canoe, Legal Advocacy Director
Adult Entertainment Association of Canada	Rudi Czekalla, Consultant, Principal, Municipal Policy Consultants Tim Lambrinos, Executive Director, Ontario Region
British Columbia Civil Liberties Association	Josh Paterson, Executive Director
Canadian Alliance for Sex Work Law Reform	Émilie Laliberté, Spokesperson Naomi Sayers, Spokesperson
Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network	Sandra Ka Hon Chu, Co-director, Research and advocacy
Criminal Lawyers' Association	Anne London-Weinstein, Director, Board of Directors Leonardo S. Russomanno, Member and Criminal Defence Counsel
Maggie's: Toronto Sex Workers Action Project	Chanelle Gallant, Outreach and Community Support Worker Jean McDonald, Executive Director
PACE Society	Laura Dilley, Executive Director Sheri Kiselbach, Coordinator, Violence Prevention
Peers Victoria Resource Society	Natasha Potvin, Member, Board of Directors Rachel Phillips, Executive Director
Pivot Legal Society	Kerry Porth, Chair of the Board of Directors Elin Sigurdson, Lawyer
Prostitutes Involved, Empowered, Cogent – Edmonton	Elizabeth Dussault, Member
Prostitutes of Ottawa/Gatineau Work Educate and Resist (POWER)	Emily Symons, Chair

Sex Professionals of Canada	Amy Lebovitch, Executive Director Valerie Scott, Legal Coordinator
Stella, l'amie de Maimie	Robyn Maynard, Spokesperson and Outreach Worker
<b>Sub-total Organizations 14</b>	
<b>Con Witnesses As Individuals</b>	
Chris Atchison, Research Associate, Department of Sociology, University of Victoria	
Christine Bruckert, Professor, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa	
Kyle Kirkup, Trudeau Scholar, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto	
John Lowman, Professor, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University	
<b>Sub-total Individuals 4</b>	
<b>Total Con Witnesses 18 (32.73%)</b>	

Table 2: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights Pro Witnesses

<b>Pro Witnesses as Organizations</b>	
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Representatives</b>
Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution	Alice Lee, Member Suzanne Jay, Member
BridgeNorth	Casandra Diamond, Program Director
Calgary Police Service	Rick Hanson, Chief of Police
Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies	Kim Pate, Executive Director
Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres	Lisa Steacy, British Columbia Mélanie Sarroino, Quebec
Canadian Police Association	Tom Stamatakis, President
Canadian Women's Foundation	Barbara Gosse, Director of Research, Policy and Innovation Diane Redsky, Project Director, Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls in Canada
Centre to End All Sexual Exploitation (CEASE)	Kate Quinn, Executive Director
Concertation des lutes contre l'exploitation sexuelle	Diane Matte, Community organizer Rose Sullivan, Participant
Defend Dignity, The Christian and Missionary Alliance	Glendyne Gerrard, Director
Evangelical Fellowship of Canada	Julia Beazley, Policy Analyst, Centre for Faith and Public Life
Exploited Voices Now Educating	Trisha Baptie, Community Engagement Coordinator
Government of Manitoba	Hon. Andrew Swan, Minister of Justice and Attorney General
Hope for the Sold	Jared Brock, Co-Founder Michelle Brock, Co-Founder

London Abused Women's Centre	Megan Walker, Executive Director
Mothers Against Trafficking Humans	Glendene Grant, Founder
Native Women's Association of Canada	Michèle Audette, President Teresa Edwards, In-House Legal Counsel, Director, International Affairs and Human Rights
Northern Women's Connection	Heather Dukes, Co-founder Larissa Crack, Co-founder
Ratanak International	Brian McConaghy, Founding Director
Resist Exploitation, Embrace Dignity (REED)	Michelle Miller, Executive Director
Rising Angels	Katarina MacLeod
Servants Anonymous Society of Calgary	Marina Giacomini, Executive Director
Sex Trafficking Survivors United	Natasha Falle, Co-founding Member Bridget Perrier, Co-Founding Member
Sextrade101	Natasha Falle, Founding Member
SIM Canada	John Cassells, Street Youth Specialist
Sisters Inside	Deborah Kilroy, Chief Executive Officer and Legal Counsel
U R Home	Deborah Pond, Chair of the Board of Directors
Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter	Hilla Kerner, Collective Member Keira Smith-Tague, Front Line Worker
Walk With Me Canada Victim Services	Robert Hooper, Chair Timea E. Nagy, Founder and Front-Line Victim Care Worker
York Regional Police	Eric Jolliffe, Chief of Police, Office of the Chief Police Thai Truong, Detective, Drugs and Vice
<b>Sub-total Organizations 30</b>	
<b>Pro Witnesses as Individuals</b>	
Gwendoline Allison, Foy Allison Law Group	
Janine Benedet, Associate Professor, University of British Columbia	
José Mendes Bota, Member of the Portuguese Parliament, General Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe	
Gunilla S. Ekberg, Lawyer, University of Glasgow School of Law	
Georgiale Lang	
Linda MacDonald and Jeanne Sarson*	
Ed and Linda Smith*	
<b>Sub-total Individuals 7</b>	
<b>Total Pro Witnesses 37 (67.27%)</b>	

\*These witnesses shared their time and are counted as one individual.

Table 3: Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs Con Witnesses

<b>Con Witnesses As Organizations</b>
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<b>Organization</b>	<b>Representative</b>
Canadian Bar Association	Ian M. Carter, Member of the Executive, Criminal Justice Section Gaylene Schellenberg, Lawyer, Legislation and Law Reform
Canadian Council of Criminal Defence Lawyers	Graeme Hamilton, Representative Nana Yanful, Representative
Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network	Stéphanie Claivaz-Loranger, Senior Policy Analyst Kara Gillies, Member
Coalition of Body Rub Parlours of the Greater Toronto Area	Konstadia Spooner, Representative
Criminal Lawyers' Association	Leo Russomanno, Member and Criminal Defence Counsel
Maggie's Toronto Sex Workers' Action Project	Nicole Matte, Vice-Chair, Board of Directors Jean McDonald, Executive Director
Pivot Legal Society	Katrina Pacey, Litigation Director Kerry Porth, Chair, Board of Directors
RÉZO	Tyler Megarry, Street Worker, Sex Workers Program
Sex Professionals of Canada	Valerie Scott, Legal Coordinator
Stella, l'amie de Maimie	Anna-Aude Caouette, Spokesperson
<b>Sub-total Organizations 10</b>	
<b>Con Witnesses As Individuals</b>	
Alan Young, Law Professor, Osgoode Hall, Counsel for the respondent/appellant on cross-appeal, Canada v. Bedford (2007)	
Chris Atchison, Research Associate, Department of Sociology, University of Victoria	
Chris Bruckert, Professor, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa	
Edward Herold, Professor Emeritus, University of Guelph	
Frances Mahon, Lawyer, Sack Goldblatt Mitchell LLP	
Maxime Durocher, Women's Escort	
Terri-Jean Bedford, Respondent/appellant on cross-appeal, Canada v. Bedford	
<b>Sub-total Individuals 7</b>	
<b>Total Con Witnesses 17 (41.46%)</b>	

Table 4: Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs Pro Witnesses

<b>Pro Witnesses as Organizations</b>	
<b>Organization</b>	<b>Representative</b>
Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution	Suzanne Jay, Member Alice Lee, Member
BridgeNorth	Casandra Diamond, Director
Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies	Kim Pate, Executive Director
Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres	Michèle Léveillé, Member, Gatineau Lisa Steacy, Representative
Canadian Police Association	Tom Stamatakis, President
Canadian Women's Foundation	Barbara Gosse, Senior Director, Research, Policy and Innovation
Concertation des luttes contre l'exploitation sexuelle	Diane Matte, Coordinator
Evangelical Fellowship of Canada	Julia Beazley, Policy Analyst
EVE (Formerly Exploited Voices now Educating)	Trisha Baptie, Community Engagement Coordinator
Government of Manitoba	Hon. Andrew Swan, M.L.A., Minister of Justice and Attorney General
London Abused Women's Centre	Megan Walker, Executive Director
Mothers Against Trafficking Humans	Glendene Grant, Founder
Native Women's Association of Canada	Michèle Audette, President Teresa Edwards, Director of International Affairs and Human Rights
Northern Women's Connection	Larissa Crack, Founder, Director Cheryl Link, Assistant Director
Ratanak International	K. Brian McConaghy, Director
Sextrade 101	Bridget Perrier, Co-Founder, First Nations Educator Natasha Falle, Founder
Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter	Keira Smith-Tague, Front Line Anti-Violence Worker
Walk With Me Canada Victim Services	Robert Hooper, Chairperson, Board of Directors Timea E. Nagy, Founder and Front-Line Victim Care Worker
<b>Sub-total 18</b>	
<b>Pro Witnesses as Individuals</b>	
Gwendoline Allison, Lawyer, Foy Allison Law Group	
Janine Benedet, Associate Professor, Faculty of Law, University of British Columbia	
Gunilla S. Ekberg, Lawyer, University of Glasgow School of Law	
Georgiale Lang, Lawyer	
Bernard Lerhe	



Ed and Linda Smith*
<b>Sub-total 6</b>
<b>Total Pro Witnesses 24 (58.54%)</b>

\*These witnesses shared their time and are counted as one individual.

Table 5: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights Con Briefs

<b>Con Briefs Submitted by Organizations</b>	
Adult Entertainment Association of Canada	Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres
Big Susie's	PACE Society
Canadian Alliance for Sex Work Law Reform	Peers Victoria
Canadian Association for Equality	Pivot Legal Society
Canadian Criminal Justice Association	POWER
Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network	South House Sexual and Gender Resource Centre
Chiefs of Ontario	Stella
Editors/Contributors "Selling Sex"	Stepping Stone
Feminist Coalition	STREET
FIRST Decriminalize Sex Work Now	Vancouver Coastal Health and City of Vancouver
Living in Community	
	<b>Sub-total Con Briefs Submitted by Organizations 21</b>
<b>Con Briefs Submitted by Individuals</b>	
Anne Mercedes Allen	John Lowman
Chris Atchison	Maria Nengeh Mensah
Sonya J.F. Barnett	Victor Ng
Chris Bruckert	Fran Shaver
Vickie Bungay	Jason Strader
Maggie DeVries	Jim Wiggins
Lucie Lemonde	
	<b>Sub-total Con Briefs Submitted by Individuals 13</b>
<b>Total Con Briefs Submitted 34 (58.62%)</b>	

Table 6: Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights Pro Briefs

<b>Pro Briefs Submitted by Organizations</b>
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Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution	Exploited Voices Now Educating
Association for Reformed Political Action	London Abused Women's Centre
Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres	Manitoba, Government of
Canadian Council of Churches	Northern Women's Connection
Centre to End All Sexual Exploitation (CEASE)	Real Women of Canada
Concertation des luttes contre l'exploitation sexuelle	Salvation Army
Confederation des syndicats nationaux	Sextrade 101
Conseil du statut de la femme	U-R Home
Covenant House Toronto	Vancouver Rape Relief
Evangelical Fellowship of Canada	Walk With Me Canada Victim Services
	<b>Sub-total Pro Briefs by Organizations 20</b>
<b>Pro Briefs Submitted by Individuals</b>	
Gwendoline Allison	Gunilla Ekberg
Martin Dufresne	Linda MacDonald and Jeanne Sarson*
	<b>Sub-total Pro Briefs by Individuals 4</b>
<b>Total Pro Briefs Submitted 24 (41.38%)</b>	

\*These individuals submitted a joint brief and are counted as one.

Table 7: Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs Con Briefs

<b>Con Briefs Submitted by Organizations</b>	
Action Santé Travesti(e)s and Transsexuel(le)s du Québec	Humanist Association of Ottawa
BC Coalition of Experiential Communities	Maggie's
Big Susie's	OASIS
Butterfly Asian and Migrant Sex Workers Support Network	PACE Society
Canadian Bar Association	Peers Victoria
Canadian Criminal Justice Association	PIECE Edmonton - brief only
Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network	Pivot Legal Society
Egale Canada	POWER
Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime	Rézo
Feminist Coalition	Stella
FIRST Decriminalize Sex Work Now	Vancouver Coastal Health and City of Vancouver
Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women	Victoria Sexual Assault Centre
Global Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP)	Waterloo Region Crime Prevention Council
Human Rights Watch	
	<b>Sub-total Con Briefs Submitted by</b>

	<b>Organizations 27</b>
<b>Con Briefs Submitted by Individuals</b>	
Chris Atchison	John Lowman
Cecilia Benoit	Madame Dolly
Chris Bruckert	Karen O'Connor
Anna-Louise Crago	Fran Shaver
Maggie DeVries	Jim Wiggins
Edward Herold	
	<b>Sub-total Con Briefs Submitted by Individuals 11</b>
<b>Total Con Briefs Submitted 38 (66.67%)</b>	

Table 8: Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs Pro Briefs

<b>Pro Briefs Submitted by Organizations</b>	
Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution	Defend Dignity, The Christian and Missionary Alliance
Calgary, City of	Evangelical Fellowship of Canada
Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres	London Abused Women's Centre
Canadian Association of Social Workers	Northern Women's Connection
Canadian Women's Foundation	Real Women of Canada
Centre to End All Sexual Exploitation (CEASE)	Servants Anonymous Society of Calgary
Concertation des luttes contre l'exploitation sexuelle	Vancouver Rape Relief
Conseil du statut de la femme	Walk With Me Canada Victim Services
	<b>Sub-total Pro Briefs Submitted by Organizations 16</b>
<b>Pro Briefs Submitted by Individuals</b>	
Gwendoline Allison	Max Waltman
Linda MacDonald and Jeanne Sarson*	
	<b>Sub-total Pro Briefs Submitted by Individuals 3</b>
<b>Total Pro Briefs Submitted 19 (33.33%)</b>	

\*These individuals submitted a joint brief and are counted as one.