'VULNERABILITY' TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING:
A STUDY OF VIET NAM, ALBANIA, NIGERIA AND THE UK

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University of Bedfordshire

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Appendices

Tables

This literature review was undertaken between October 2017 and March 2018 as part of a broader study of vulnerability to human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK.

The review aims to explore the social, historical, economic and political contexts that create the environment in which 'vulnerability' to and capacities that protect against human trafficking and modern slavery in Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK.

This is a scoping review that has been undertaken in line with Department of International Development guidelines on critical appraisal and evidence assessment.

The nature of the evidence base relating to human trafficking and human slavery means that the review has included both peer reviewed literature and grey literature including secondary reviews and discussion papers, official reports and statistics, and reports from non-governmental organisations.

The literature review process involved: identification of the scope of the review; establishment of inclusion and exclusion criteria; searching a range of academic databases and grey literature sources; double blind screening of samples; analysis of a final sample based on IOM's matrix of vulnerabilities and capabilities.

The review process has been complemented by the information available from the broader research study, including the findings from shared learning events in Tirana, Hanoi and Lagos and annotated bibliographies produced by expert researchers in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria.The review has generated findings that are both methodological and shed light on the nature and processes associated with human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK.

The size of the body of evidence can be described as growing, and as such reflects global concern about the issue.

Critical appraisal of the evidence base highlighted a number of challenges. Overall, there is a lack of empirical studies and considerable unevenness in terms of methodological quality and diversity. A significant gap is the lack of studies exploring the perspectives of those who have experienced human trafficking.

There is a high level of consistency regarding the issues identified as causes or drivers of trafficking. There is a lack of research examining the relationship between these drivers and specific groups of individuals defined as victims of trafficking.

In parallel with this, there is limited evidence regarding good practice. The political dynamics of human trafficking as an issue are important here; there is a lack of agreement on what may or may not constitute 'good practice' and a need for more critical analysis of how this is being assessed.

Evidence relating to the lived experience of communities within specific historical, social and geographical contexts is critical in understanding patterns and processes of migration and human trafficking, and the ways in which different types of population movement change over time.

The nature of good practice will depend on the wider legislative and policy context, but it is important that these frameworks are flexible enough to respond to new learning regarding different types of trafficking.

The review concludes that the contested nature of language and conceptualisation of human trafficking and human slavery, and the relationship between these and other forms of migration, is central to analysis of the evidence base and understanding of the nature of human trafficking.

This report forms part of a two-year research study into the 'vulnerabilities' to, and capacities against human trafficking in three source countries – Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria, plus the UK as a destination country – conducted in partnership between the University of Bedfordshire and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The study also seeks to improve understanding of the support needs of people from these three countries who arrive into the UK having experienced trafficking.

The literature review was carried out between October 2017 and March 2018 by researchers from the University of Bedfordshire, with additional help and support provided by Expert Researchers employed in Tirana, Hanoi and Lagos.

It has enabled assessment of the nature and quality of the evidence base relating to human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. The themes identified will help shape subsequent qualitative research with people who have experienced trafficking and key informants who work closely with them.

The choice of these countries is based on numbers of referrals to the UKs NRM. During both 2015 and 2016, numbers of people referred to the NRM from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria consistently represented the top three referral countries of origin. These countries present very different social, economic and geographical contexts. The way in which research has evolved into human trafficking and the support needs of individuals who experience human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria is also distinct. This literature review tries to provide insight into these differences, and to provide an overview of the shape and quality of the research evidence available.

The review also tries to address cross cutting themes. These include recognition of the significance of context, but also ways in which the available literature provides insight into the nature of vulnerabilities and risk factors, how structural, situational and individual capabilities contribute to responses to trafficking, and how these are mediated through the practice of local, national and international organisations.

The aims of the literature review are aligned to the research study and are to:

1. Explore socio-economic and political conditions plus other contextual factors that create 'vulnerability' to adult and child trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria.

2. Utilise and refine the IOM Determinants Model of Vulnerability.

3. Outline routes taken from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria to the UK.

4. Review existing academic and 'grey' literature on trafficking within and from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria, particularly focussing on any 'good practice' identified.

5. Explore the support needs of people who have experienced trafficking from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria who have arrived into the UK.

The specific aims of the literature review were:

1. To identify and analyse English language literature on human trafficking and modern slavery relevant to the four countries included in this study - Viet Nam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK.

2. To identify and analyse academic and 'grey' literature with a focus on prevention, identification, protection and interventions involving 'good practice' during frontline work with people who have been or are at risk of being trafficked.

3. Working with Expert Researchers in the four countries, to identify and analyse academic and grey literature that may not be accessible via the traditional routes of the academic literature search.

The literature review therefore provides contextual information for the wider study, in addition to helping identify the overall shape and strength of the evidence base, and ways in which the wider study may help develop this.

The review begins by describing the research aims and the methods adopted for the literature review, including the parameters of the review and the outcomes of the search process. This includes consideration of the nature of the evidence base, analysis of methods used in the sources identified, and differences between the Viet Nam, Albania and Nigeria in respect to that evidence base.

The remainder of the review is divided into three main sections, a conclusion and a bibliography of literature is provided with a separate, supplementary annotated bibliography available of included evidence.

Section 1 reviews research literature on human trafficking and modern slavery in Viet Nam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK.

Section 2 addresses some of the thematic issues arising within this literature, notably use of the concepts 'vulnerability', 'risk', 'capacity' and 'resilience'.

Section 3 provides a country specific discussion of evidence available on prevention, identification, protection and interventions involving 'good practice' during frontline work with people who have been or are at risk of being trafficked.

The language relating to human trafficking is frequently debated within the literature, and aspects of this will be discussed later in the report. However, as a starting point and in line with the rest of the research study, the following definitions have informed the literature review.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

People are 'trafficked' for a range of reasons, including for the purposes of sexual and labour exploitation, domestic servitude and a range of other exploitative practices.

Global concerns about 'human trafficking' during the 1990s led to the UN General Assembly adopting the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime in November 2000, supplemented by an additional protocol – the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children – widely referred to as the Palermo Protocol 2000. This protocol provided the first internationally agreed and most used definition of 'trafficking' which states that:

'…"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.'

This definition contains three interrelated yet distinct elements, the 'act' (recruitment, transportation and transfer), the 'means' (use of violence, threats or other use of force or coercion) and the 'purposes' (a range of forms of exploitation). This Protocol was signed by the UK in December 2000, coming into force in February 2006. The UK also ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking which became operational from April 2009, including the establishment of the UK National Referral Mechanism (NRM) to proactively identify 'victims' of 'human trafficking'.

MODERN SLAVERY

In 2015 a Modern Slavery Act gained Royal Assent in the United Kingdom. This Act made provisions about slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour as well as about human trafficking, including provisions for the protection of 'victims' and establishing a role for an Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner. Under this Act, human trafficking is considered an offence in that Under this Act, human trafficking is consdered an offence in theat somebody arranges or facilitates somebody arranges or facilitates the travel of another person for the purposes of exploitation; travel meaning arriving into, travelling within and departing from any country.

In March 2017, the UK government announced a commitment to tackling 'modern slavery' around the world in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Target 8.7, of eradicating modern

slavery and human trafficking. Awards for 10 organisations were announced, to work in source countries to reduce vulnerability to exploitation, support 'victims' and improve the evidence-base. Later that year, on 19 September 2017 the UK Prime Minister made a Call to Action to End Forced Labour, Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking at the 72nd Meeting of the UN General Assembly, reflecting the political commitments of 37 Member and Observer States to achieve Target 8.7 of the SDGs.

This was not a systematic review, but used features of systematic review procedures to ensure a robust and transparent review process. This approach corresponds to the aims of the review, which were relatively broad in scope and did not focus on evaluating the evidence base in relation to a specific type of intervention. Arksey and O'Malley (2005) suggest that there is no ideal type of review, and that the review methods will reflect the state of knowledge relating to the research topic. In this instance, there were a number of features of the evidence base relating to human trafficking that made this degree of methodological flexibility desirable.

 An important aspect of this is the multi-disciplinary nature of trafficking as a phenomenon. This results in an interesting but challenging array of disciplinary perspectives, including law, criminology, sociology, anthropology, social policy, politics and economics – each of which has a specific methodological tradition which may not lend itself so easily to 'gold standard' empirical research[1] or may not be ethically or methodologically possible in relation to the research area. Account also had to be taken of the important role of national and international NGOs in delivering services and undertaking research in the three countries which made it important to ensure that grey literature was recognized as critical to answering the research questions (see also Zimmerman, McAlpine and Kiss, 2016).

The review was undertaken as far as possible in line with Department for International Development (2014) guidelines on critical appraisal and evidence assessment. The guidelines state that research for the department takes place for different purposes, including research into the development of new technologies; research aimed at understanding what kinds of development intervention are likely to work, and in what context; and research to strengthen understanding of the diverse political, social, economic and cultural contexts in which development work may be taking place (p2). This review corresponds to the latter categories, in aiming to understand the nature of trafficking from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria to the UK, and in seeking to identify examples of promising practice in the areas of prevention, identification, protection and in direct work with people who have been or are at risk of being trafficked.

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[1] Gold standard' research relates to evidence that is capable of isolating cause and effect through the use of experimental and quasi-experimental studies.

DFID also acknowledges that different types of research are important to answering different types of research questions. In this review, the following types of evidence were identified as potentially significant, and therefore included in the search:

- Empirical peer reviewed evidence

- Literature reviews

- Critical commentary and discussion papers

- Official reports/guidance/statistics

- Reports from NGOs and third sector organisations

The review process aimed to assess the quality of evidence in individual studies and for the body of evidence.

Specifically, the review process took place as follows:

1. Identification of the scope of the literature review

2. Identification of search terms and broad inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Appendix 1)

3. Searching using academic databases and grey literature sources (see Appendix 2).

4. Double blind abstract screening of initial sample.

5. Further screening following full text reading.

6. Analysis of methods and sources

Human trafficking is a complex, multi-dimensional process, described in a variety of ways. The search string (see Appendix 1) was wide ranging and had to be used flexibly and in multiple combinations, making for an intensive search process. Seventeen academic databases were used for searching, with varying success in relation to different aspects of the search – for example, some databases proved more fruitful in relation to international sources.

This is also an area where grey literature plays an important part, and a range of organizational sites were also searched. These included United Nations agencies, international NGOs and UK government sites.

CODING AND ANALYSIS

Following abstract screening, literature sources were coded in relation to the type of literature and research methods, using the categories defined by DfID and entered on an Excel database. Additionally, literature was coded in relation to IOM's vulnerabilities matrix (see Appendix) and in relation to whether the item evaluated or indicated good or promising practice.

The types of literature, and the findings from this are presented in Table 3 below. It has not been possible to break down the sample further, as methodologies within papers and reports are not sufficiently clear – for example, papers that involved some analysis of secondary sources combined with policy discussion or theoretical commentary.

Table 3:1 Types of literature identified according to country

Country	Empirical Research	NGO reports	Totals
Albania	20	11	31
Viet Nam	20	11	31
Nigeria	29	6	35
UK	10	6	16
Totals	**69**	**33**	**113**

The table above illustrates the lack of empirically based literature regarding human trafficking (see also van der Lann et al, 2011). It is worth noting that methods were not always transparent, and that reviews of the literature were especially unclear in this respect. Critical commentary and discussion papers often involved review of existing, secondary sources.

It is also important to consider the type of methods being used, in order to assess the strength of the evidence base. DfID distinguishes between primary and secondary approaches. Within the primary category, a further distinction is drawn between primary experimental studies[2] and primary quasi experimental studies[3]. No studies were identified that met DfID criteria for experimental or quasi experimental studies. 33 studies were identified across the sample that fall within the 'primary observational category'. These studies used a mixture of qualitative interviews, ethnography and case study design.

The methodological problems associated with research into human trafficking research are well established. Methodologically, peer reviewed literature tended towards the descriptive rather than empirical or evaluative. A significant issue in the literature, especially in regard to trafficking in Nigeria, was the difficulties associated with gathering data, resulting in a high level of dependence on secondary sources. This should be considered a major weakness of the evidence base overall: many sources proved to be reviews of government reports, without description or discussion of any systematic methods being applied. The overall nature of the evidence base makes it difficult to exclude such sources entirely, and in some instances

[2] Primary experimental studies

[3] Quasi experimental studies

such papers provided helpful insight into local sources or arguments relating to human trafficking. It is also worth noting that to exclude such sources would skew the papers towards research that has been undertaken by researchers who are based in Western Europe or the United States.

Sources noted other methodological challenges. In relation to the absence of quantitative studies, Hernandez and Rudolph (2011) note the challenges associated with accessing data, and the problem of cross-country comparison in the absence of common systems of data collection and analysis. Others comment on the lack of qualitative studies that examine the dynamics of human trafficking within specific contexts (Meshkovska et al, 2016). It is important to recognize that this is, in part, a consequence of the practical difficulties of undertaking research in this area. Phuong (2015, regarding Viet Namese domestic migrants) and Vushnatari (Roma and Egyptian communities in Albania) noted the importance of 'insider' status in undertaking observational research, not only in terms of language but also in gaining access and acceptance. At the same time, while such qualitative studies may be more sensitive to understanding contextual issues, they also require considerable time and resource (Camfield, Crivello and Woodhead, 2009). Several sources highlight the tendency of research to focus on specific aspects of human trafficking, for example the quantity of research focusing on human trafficking for sexual exploitation, rather than other forms of human trafficking. This becomes self-perpetuating, as secondary analyses and reviews then tend to focus on human trafficking for sexual exploitation (van der Lann, 2011).

ASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE BASE

A key challenge in the search process concerned the extent to which literature focused on the three source countries (Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria) or, alternatively, made explicit links between trafficking from these countries to the UK. Although UK statistics highlight that Albanians, Viet Namese and Nigerians represent the largest known groups of people referred to the UK's NRM as victims of trafficking, research samples in the UK context tend to be mixed in terms of the country of origin (see, for example, Bick et al, 2017), while, in contrast, literature focusing on the Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria give scant reference to the UK. There is, therefore, something of a disjuncture between UK statistics (and policy priorities), the nature of trafficking research, including the significant challenge of accessing research samples, and perhaps also the extent to which trafficking is understood as a contextualized phenomenon. Literature from each of the three countries also identifies a lack of reliable data and empirical information (see, for example, IOM, 2017 regarding Nigeria; see also van der Lann, 2011).

Overall, the quantity of research relating to trafficking was smaller than anticipated. This point is also made within the literature (see Alsop, 2018; Gozdziak et al, 2015; Bektshi, Gjermeni and Van Hook, 2012 regarding Albania). This lack of research in terms of the nature of trafficking was highlighted in literature relating to each of the three countries, despite assertion of the extent and seriousness of the problem. This extended to

an absence of research relating to specific types of trafficking – so, for example, in relation to baby trafficking in Nigeria (Huntley, 2013). One consequence of this is that some papers – Huntley (op cit) regarding baby trafficking is a good example – achieve high status despite the absence of other, supporting research. However, there is a reasonable balance across the sample in terms of the number of items identified. The slightly lower number of items for Viet Nam can be explained by the quantity of literature relating to specific issues relating to migration, rather than specifically human trafficking.

The number of items excluded after full text reading is worth some comment. A small number of items were excluded on the grounds of duplication. The majority were excluded for reasons of relevance, principally the lack of explicit discussion of human trafficking or slavery, a focus on Albania, Nigeria or Viet Nam, or a focus on routes other than between those countries and the UK.

Another challenge relates to the review's focus on achieving a contextual understanding of human trafficking. Studies of human trafficking are not necessarily 'contextual' in their focus; equally, research that focuses on the 'contexts' (whether geographical, economic, political, cultural). In order to develop contextual understanding, it was important to read and understand the issues affecting Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. This point is also important in terms of the analysis of the literature according to IOM's vulnerabilities model.

THE SHARED LEARNING EVENTS AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

It is important to note that the review has benefited from a degree of triangulation. During the period of the review, three shared learning events took place in Tirana, Hanoi and Lagos, with the aim of providing an opportunity to hear from experts about policy, practice and lived experience relating to trafficking in the three countries. The themes identified at the events chime closely with those identified within the literature review (Hynes et al, 2018a, b and c). All three shared learning events highlighted difficulties with the quantity and quality of data available, and revealed different narratives regarding the nature of the issue within the country context.

The Annotated Bibliographies represented an additional exercise undertaken in collaboration with the Expert Researchers based in Hanoi, Tirana and Lagos. The aim was to identify additional literature relating to human trafficking from each of the three countries, ideally in the language of the source country. As with the main literature review, this could include both peer reviewed and grey literature, and the items generated were not restricted to human trafficking between the source country and the UK.

Table 3:2 Distribution of literature in the Annotated Bibliographies

Country of origin	Peer reviewed literature	Grey literature	Totals
Albania	5	10	**15**
Viet Nam	5	6	**11**
Nigeria	14	6	**20**

Within the annotated bibliographies, it is notable that items were identified by the Expert Researchers that also emerged in the literature review. This is interesting and useful in terms of a practice-based validation of the search process, and providing some indication of the nature of the knowledge base accessible to experts in the field. However, the items identified by the expert researchers were more likely to come from organisations working in the field, though in the case of Nigeria and Vietnam they were in English. There were a greater number of Albanian language publications. Importantly, grey literature in the field is often the best source of empirical information and local statistics.

ASSESSING THE BODY OF EVIDENCE

DfID describes assessing the overall strength of a body of evidence through consideration of the quality, size, consistency and context of the body of evidence. Evidence can be categorised as very strong, strong, medium, limited or having no evidence. The guidance recognises that application of these may be challenging, especially in an emerging area of expertise. As noted earlier, assessment is especially challenging in the area of human trafficking and human slavery (see also Bales, Hedwards and Silverman, 2018), in light of the range of disciplinary perspectives adopted in this area of research, and the considerable challenges associated with undertaking primary research.

What, then, can be concluded from the evidence relating to human trafficking from Albania, Nigeria and Viet Nam to the United Kingdom?

- The size of the body of evidence can be described as growing, and as such reflects global concern about the issue. However, the number of empirical studies is best assessed as limited.

- The methodological quality of studies varied according to country. There is greater diversity in the range of methods used in relation to Viet Nam and Nigeria.

- There is a need for more detailed description and analysis of research samples, and critical consideration of how these are identified.

- There is clear evidence of the value of detailed qualitative studies, which as DfID state help provide nuanced and contextualised understanding of human trafficking.

- There are remarkably few accounts from the perspectives of those who have experienced human trafficking. This methodological gap has important consequences in terms of understanding both the processes through which human trafficking takes place, and also the support needs of those involved.

- There is a high level of consistency regarding the issues identified as causes or drivers of trafficking. There is a lack of research examining the relationship between these drivers and specific groups of individuals defined as victims of trafficking.

- There is limited evidence regarding good practice. The political dynamics of human trafficking as an issue are important here; there is a lack of agreement on what may or may not constitute 'good practice' and a need for more critical analysis of how this is being assessed.

- There is a lack of analysis relating to the support needs of different groups of individuals who are viewed as victims of trafficking.

Section 1 reviews research literature on human trafficking and modern slavery in Viet Nam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK. In particular, it examines what the literature says about the definition and nature of trafficking, including the routes taken by migrants.

The scale of trafficking is outside the scope of this review. All three countries, however, have been identified as major sources of supply in global human trafficking (see, for example, refs). All three countries were identified as having histories of formal and informal migration within the region and externally, but were also identified as transit countries.

THE NATURE OF TRAFFICKING

The body of literature is critical of a simplistic definition of trafficking which does not take account of its inter-relationship with wider patterns of migration. As noted above, changes in the nature of the global economy are widely viewed as significant in understanding current patterns of migration and/or trafficking, though these should be set against the socio-economic histories and cultures of individual countries. A major theme in the literature for all three countries was the blurred nature of trafficking as a phenomenon, and how this related to other patterns of migration. All three countries had strong histories of migration, though across very different time periods.

Within this, economic transitions and change are identified by some commentators as opening up social, political and economic spaces where trafficking can more easily occur, or where certain 'push and pull' factors are more likely to be present (Bales, 2007; World Bank, 2011). The implication of this argument is that trafficking flourishes at a particular stage of socio-economic development, and that structural responses – in the form of regulatory frameworks – are required. In Viet Nam, for example, data indicates improved literacy rates and communications, but these developments are also associated with new uncertainties and a shifting in social statuses and gender relationships (World Bank, 2011). These may include the issues associated with environmental change or the collapse of specific industries such as shellfish fishing. Economic statistics highlight the economic significance of migration for all three countries, most obviously in relation to remittances. Ahsan et al (2014) note the overall significance of remittances in East Asia for national economies, but at household level contribute to rising income and poverty alleviation, for example through education. At the same time, these changes in local and national economies need to be considered within the wider context of globalization, including the greater ease of communication, access to different technologies, and changed opportunities for international travel and – potentially – access to cultural and ethnic communities abroad.

These changes open up new opportunities, but also include a lack of attention to domestic or international regulation of labour markets (Jiang and Lafree, 2016). There is an increased demand for foreign workers as domestic servants or in the sex and entertainment industries,

but a lack of supporting regulations associated with these industries (Ellis and Akpala, 2011). McLean (2012) discusses the way in which more specific gaps, for example in marriage registration laws, can be exploited so that traffickers can obtain immigration visas that allow them to move victims across borders.

Discussion of the nature of trafficking also involves questions of its construction as a social problem, and the associated construction of 'victim of trafficking' and perpetuation of the problem by 'criminal' traffickers. Campbell (2013) argues that 'a narrative steeped in assumptions of violence, criminality, coercion and naivety informs the recognition of victims of trafficking' and that victims are primarily understood through 'a gendered narrative of foreign traffickers kidnapping, deceiving, exploiting and sometimes enslaving naïve women' (p85). Others argue that experiences of exploitation need to be recognized as violating individual human rights, and take place in the context of other ways in which human rights are being abused, often related to gender and a wider context of inter-personal violence and social and economic marginalization (Bekteshi, Gjermeni and Van Hook, 2012).

TRAFFICKERS
Literature relating to the three countries places slightly different emphases in terms of the characteristics of traffickers and criminal organization associated with trafficking. Shelley (2012) compares the nature and structure of criminal organization in drug trafficking and human trafficking, arguing that it is not possible to identify large, named multinational crime groups that engage solely in human trafficking: instead, the 'human trafficking business often consists of more smaller to medium sized networks rather than very large criminal organisations' (p244). However, she also acknowledges regional and national differences in the way criminal networks relating to human trafficking are organized.

These distinctions are apparent in the literature. In the case of Albania, traffickers tend to be positioned either as organized criminals and part of gangs, or as individuals close to the victims of trafficking. Davies (2007) in a study of trafficking from Albania to Lyons in France, emphasizes the significance of deception, namely women being deceived into marriage then finding themselves exploited (see also van Hook). Leman and Janssens (2011) analysed 43 Albanian judicial files in Belgium from 1995-2005. They identified both Albanian only and inter-ethnic groups of traffickers. Albanian traffickers made extensive use of travel agencies to co-ordinate routes. Overall, trafficking and smuggling operations were small scale, as far as possible holding onto control of routes by, for example, bribing individual drivers.

In relation to Nigeria, Ellis and Akpala (2011) argue that organised crime is 'not always self-evident or substantial' but can be present in all phases of the activity – recruitment, transport and work in the host countries. The literature also refers to the role of corruption amongst government

officials in sustaining illegal migration, for example through turning a blind eye at border controls (Bowers, 2012). At the same time, and like Nigeria, considerable emphasis is given to the role of individuals and groups who are known to migrants, and the literature on both all three countries identifies the importance of recognizing the incursion of trafficking into the household sphere. As Shelley (op cit) also points out, trafficking tends to be dependent on multiple human actors and facilitators. In Nigeria, the victim's initial contact with the facilitator is usually through a relative, friend or acquaintance and negotiations usually take place in the victim's home.

Davies and Davies (2008) consider this argument within a framework of resilience, or what can enable migrant women to avoid or mitigate trafficking harms. They argue that the current debate over trafficking involves a contest of control over migrant women between criminal traffickers and political actors such as governments and NGOs. They suggest that these represent different forms of control and, therefore, 'there is a need to question if any of these interventions are welcomed by a trafficked person, or whether such action is just a matter of a change of controlling agent from traffickers to law enforcement or NGO' (p7). The same writers suggest that political arrangements, such as freedom of movement within the EU, can be variously deployed by migrant women to protect themselves from abuse; equally, women who are not able to access these arrangements become more dependent on criminal traffickers for their irregular migration. This argument is based on the extent to which different groups of women report trafficking abuse in the context of changes in frameworks for migration in Europe.

HISTORIES OF MIGRATION

Timelines have been developed for each of the three countries, and these represent an important accompaniment to the literature (Hynes, 2018a; 2018b; 2018c). These demonstrate visually the interaction between the histories of Albania, Nigeria and Viet Nam and patterns of trafficking.

It is outside the scope of this review to discuss these histories in detail, but it is important to acknowledge that the evidence base was generally awake to the significance of history to the incidence and pattern of human trafficking, though interpretations of these histories varied. In relation to Viet Nam, the literature identified a series of 'waves' of trafficking. The current review identified 2007 as a start date, which could be viewed as a point of transition between waves three and four. In Wave 4, which is dated as beginning in around 2010, a number of changes were identified in relation to the pattern of trafficking. These included a shift in the parts of Viet Nam where migrants were coming from, with more people smuggled and/or trafficked from the North Central Coast provinces of Nghe An, Quang Binh and Ha Tinh to Europe and the UK (Silverstone & Savage 2010; Silverstone and Brickell, 2017; Tan and Nguyen, 2017). This group are more likely to be male, and to arrive alone and without families (Tan and Nguyen 2017).

For Nigeria, the issue is more one of historical legacy. Lawal (2013) highlights the significance of the impact of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) and especially the six week occupation of the Bendel State by

"Biafran" soldiers who 'raped girls and women recklessly' as well as other political and economic factors, including the military regimes in power between the mid 1960s and 1990s. Others emphasise the role of slavery and colonialism in structuring gender and sexual relationships (Aderinto, 2007; Akor, 2011). In particular, the Nigerian literature tended to give greater weight to social change and/or disintegration, specifically the breakdown in family and community cohesion and 'moral values' (see, for example, Abdulraheem and Oladipo, 2010). A consequence of globalization is perceived to be greater materialism and greed, as the population has access to global media (Attoh, 2009). Only one study explored the views of the general public in any of the countries considered. Ogwokhademhe (2013) investigated the consequences of women trafficking as perceived by working class people in Edo State, Nigeria. Simple random sampling was employed to select 500 workers who were sampled from government workers from the various federal government ministries, self-employed and traders in six local government areas in Edo State. Those surveyed were less concerned about the impact of human trafficking on individuals than on the moral wellbeing of 'society' as a whole.

A second dimension of the significance of history lies in the experience of other countries in receiving migrants – generally and in respect to Albanian, Vietnamese and Nigerian migrants more generally. Discussion of this was piecemeal, with some sources examining the geographical location of Albania and the importance of short-term economic migration for many families and migrant experiences in Italy and Greece, and indeed rural to urban migration within Albania (King and Mai, 2009; Caro, 2013; Sergi and Morabito, 2016). Barber (2018) discusses the changing experience of the Vietnamese experience in the UK, including the economic experience. She traces the growth of the nail bar industry for Vietnamese living in the UK and the relationship of this and the restaurant industry for undocumented migrants, noting that in media discussions there has often been a conflation between human trafficking and illegal migration. Nail bars have become viewed as a 'front' for both forms of migrant experience.

TYPES OF TRAFFICKING

In all three countries different types of trafficking were identified, but the majority of the literature for all three countries focused on human trafficking for sexual exploitation (see, for example, Braimah, 2013 regarding Nigeria; Van Hook, 2012, regarding Albania; Duong, 2014, regarding Vietnam). Literature for Vietnam included more diversity in terms of types of trafficking, though some types of trafficking related to destinations other than the UK. During initial screening, trafficking as marriage migration (McLean, 2012) and trafficking for labour exploitation emerged more frequently as issues (Pocock et al, 2016; see also Duong, 2014).

There are different ways of classifying trafficking, but the focus on sexual exploitation meant these were not, to date, extensively discussed in the peer reviewed literature. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) uses a typology of human trafficking based on size and the level of organisation employed by offenders – so, distinguishing between small local operations, medium sub-regional operations and large, trans-national operations (United Nations, 2014). In the UK, a Home Office (2017) report aimed to produce a typology of different types of to create an evidence-based typology of modern slavery offences in the UK. This is, in turn, has permitted examination of the scope of research taking place in relation to these different categories.

Section 2 addresses some of the thematic issues arising within this literature, notably use of the concepts 'vulnerability', 'risk', 'capability', 'capacity' and 'protective factors'. As noted above, a key element in this study has been the use of IOM's Determinants of Vulnerability model. This explores contextual factors that create vulnerabilities to trafficking and capacities against trafficking. Further details about this model are provided in Appendix 4.

Figure 1

BALANCING RISK, VULNERABILITY AND CAPABILITY

Overall, the literature review bears out the value of the model in seeking to rebalance the relationship between 'risk', 'vulnerability' and the capabilities and resources of those who are trafficked. Risk and vulnerability feature much more prominently in the literature than issues of resilience. There is some recognition of this trend in the literature: Ellis and Akpala (2011) attribute the tendency to ignore the autonomy of those who are trafficked to the nature of trafficking research, and the fact that samples are often drawn from post-trafficking services and include highly traumatised victims. At the same time the language of vulnerability is often applied uncritically, with little consideration of the processes through which vulnerabilities may wax and wane, or the experiences of different groups of individuals, or the role of individual or group resilience and capabilities (Hynes, 2010). This can be linked to the overall absence of literature that examines in depth the experiences and perceptions of those who have been trafficked.

Some of the literature also challenges the emphasis on victimhood within trafficking discourse. Lo Lacona (2014) argues that the 'sharp dividing line' between trafficking victims and offenders is misplaced, and that women who are trafficked frequently occupy more than one role within the trafficking nexus. Leman and Janssens (2011) note that trafficked women from Albania who were interviewed considered themselves 'candidate migrants' (see also Davies, 2007; Davies and Davies, 2008; Campbell, 2013).

The relationship between 'vulnerability' and individual agency is challenged by Vanderhurst (2017) in an ethnographic study of a women's shelter in Nigeria. She argues that many women she encountered had chosen to emigrate, and were well aware of the associated dangers. However, anti-trafficking legislation resulted in their being prevented from leaving the country, and being moved into re-integration programmes. Similarly, Akpomera (2017) argues that there has been a paradigmatic shift in perceptions of trafficking. Using data from a study of 120 victims of trafficking from different districts in Edo State, he suggests that the view that female victims were deceived into being trafficked is outdated. It has been replaced by a 'knowledge based' paradigm, resulting from the experience of the community who have seen the economic benefits of trafficking in the lives of families whose daughters have been trafficked abroad (see also Osuoza, 2013; 2016). This argument should be viewed in the context of a region which, on balance, has received an especially high level of research attention and, therefore, contextual understanding regarding the definition and nature of trafficking (Braimah, 2013).

In the context of both peer reviewed and grey literature, structural factors tend to emerge most strongly, alongside a recognition that these interact in different ways at the levels of community, household and individual experience (see, for example, Vullnetari, 2012; Caro, 2013). There is much less detail on how structural factors are translated into experience at the level of the individual or household. The research literature is weakest in respect to situational factors, but the lack of support for this dimension of the model can be explained methodologically, in light of the absence of narrative or life history accounts from individuals.

Nevertheless, the literature indicates a high level of consensus in terms of vulnerability factors. Structurally, Albania's history and the impact of this on socio-economic development – for example, the collapse of pyramid schemes in the 1990s, high levels of poverty and migration, and the transition to a neo-liberal economy, are all seen as important elements of the backcloth to this (Vullnetari, 2012; Bekteshi, Gjeermeni and Van Hook, 2012; Ngucaj and Elezi, 2014; Mece, 2016). The structural context also includes Albania's geographical location, combined with the country's longer history of migration and the ways in which this intersects with the social and economic consequences of globalization (Gallagher and Holmes, 2008; Leman and Janssens, 2011; Gallagher, 2015). Within Albania, it is acknowledged that political progress has been made in, for example, ratifying international agreements regarding trafficking and introducing legal measures against organized crime (Tota and Mecka, 2014; Kelmendi, 2015). At the same time, the nature of the polity – for example, corruption and a relatively weak state – have been unhelpful in challenging criminal networks and, in community contexts, result in distrust of the criminal justice system (Muco, 2013; Mece, 2016). There has also been an absence of health, educational and other civil organisations that can raise awareness and work to prevent trafficking, or support the reintegration of individuals who have been trafficked (Surtees and de Kerchove, 2014).

In Vietnam, gender and age are both identified as significant in relation to vulnerability. Although there is a strong focus on the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation, the literature on human trafficking from Vietnam tends to acknowledge the experiences of men and boys to a greater extent (Kiss et al, 2015). There is a growing body of literature relating to men and boys working in the commercial fishing industry, but also in agriculture, factory work and agriculture (Kiss et al, 2015; Pocock et al, 2016). Women are also trafficked for forced labour, for example in for domestic work (Shelley, 2010).

The literature emphasizes the role of economic factors as fundamental to the vulnerability of victims of human trafficking. Poverty continues to be a significant issue, especially in rural areas (Hoang Le, 2017). While there has been economic growth and this has led to improvements in literacy rates and communications, these developments are also associated with new uncertainties and a shifting in social statuses and gender relationships (World Bank, 2011). There is extensive evidence relating to the large numbers of migrant Vietnamese workers, who are vulnerable to trafficking by virtue of their insecure status, work conditions and lack of up to date documentation (Zimmerman, McAlpine and Kiss, 2016).

MEASURES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Traditional practices and religion have also been identified as means by which traffickers coerce their victims. Ikeora (2016) examines the use of 'juju' and traditional oath taking in Nigeria as elements in this. She defines juju as a fetish or charm believed to have magical or supernatural powers. Oath taking, on the other hand, is an acceptable practice which is often integrated into customary legal resolutions. The trafficking process may involve the trafficked victim being required to take an oath to pay back debts and obey traffickers under all circumstances. However, it may also make use of the personal items – including hair and nails – of the trafficking victim – as part of the ritual. The process is used to invoke fear and enhance the power of the traffickers (Baardo, 2016; Dunkerley, 2017).

Ikeora (2007) argues that there has been a failure on the part of European commentators to understand the meaning of these practices, which are complex and vary in nature, and that too often they have been associated with 'brainwashing'. Instead, the paper proposes that African traditional religion should be acknowledged as a legitimate form of religion with the potential to be harnessed in anti-trafficking efforts. Ikeora suggests, for example, that in the same way anti-trafficking initiatives might work with faith leaders, efforts should be made to work with traditional faith leaders.

In Albania, data from organisations working to protect women and children emphasise that most victims come from a background of poverty, including homelessness and low levels of education (Meshi, Picari and Pinderi, 2009; Voko and Tahsini, 2014). A survey by a local NGO found that the majority of identified victims of trafficking had lived in poverty prior to becoming

trafficked (NCATS, 2011). However, it is also important to acknowledge the importance of understanding how human trafficking and other patterns of migration link to wider discourses of poverty, and the social policies developed to address this (see Tahirej, 2007).

For children who are trafficked, a lack of stable family support – whether through family breakdown, abandonment or separation resulting from migration – means that children lack important protective structures. The Roma and Egyptian populations in Albania are identified as experiencing disproportionately high levels of poverty, insecure accommodation, low levels of school attendance and, concomitantly, high levels of illiteracy. This is attributed to a history of stigma and discrimination against these communities, which has resulted in their experiencing greater economic pressures and heightened vulnerability to different types of exploitation, including trafficking (Vullnetari, 2012; Simon, Galanxhi and Dhono, 2015).

Historical and cultural factors have a direct bearing on the lived experience of communities. Vullnetari (2012; see also People's Advocate, 2014), examining the experience of Roma and Egyptian communities, describes the way in which discrimination against these groups is reflected in their community location, typically living in neighbourhoods on the outskirts of villages, socially marginalized and lacking access to basic health and education services. Poverty in rural areas is also important, placing extreme economic pressure on families that may result in individuals recruiting family members for trafficking (Meshi, Picari and Pinderi, 2009; Puka et al, 2010), and a more general desire for a better life.

Gender

Gender emerges as a powerful factor in the literature as a risk for human trafficking and slavery, but also an area where there is an imbalance in the body of evidence available, with research tending to focus on the experience of women and girls. This can be attributed to the greater emphasis on human trafficking for sexual exploitation (see, for example, Hodge and Lietz, 2007), though girls and women may also be over-represented in some other forms of exploitation. The literature acknowledged the under-representation of boys and men in discussion of human trafficking and exploitation (Braimah, 2013; Alsop, 2018). Gender risks may also be linked to other economic structures – for example, their roles in agricultural work, and the need to find other types of employment where the agricultural economy is failing (Ofuoku, 2010).Osezuo (2016) argues that a cultural preference for male children, the resulting low priority given to girls' education in Edo State in Nigeria, coupled with the wider economic downturn in Nigeria, increases their vulnerability to – and concomitantly their capacity to resist – trafficking for sexual exploitation.

In Viet Nam, girls and women are identified as most vulnerable to human trafficking (Ahsan et al, 2014) though there is also acknowledgement of ways in which men and boys are exploited (see, for example, Pocock et al, 2016). Data regarding gender differences indicates a narrowing in many traditional areas of inequality, including education and employment and health (World Bank, 2011). At the same time, Vietnamese culture is identified as patriarchal, with roots in Confucian belief systems which place a high premium on sons providing economically, but also as having higher status and providing more social capital (Long, 2004). Duong (2014) argues that Vietnamese policy regarding human trafficking has been highly gendered, and that national policy – notably in the form of the Vietnamese National Action Programme Against Trafficking in Women and Children (VNAP) which operated between 2004 and 2009 (now the National Action Programme Against Trafficking) – defined human trafficking as exclusively meaning trafficking in women and children, and consequently ignored men as potential policy beneficiaries' (p2).

Research undertaken within Albania often provides the best picture of the characteristics of individuals who have been trafficked. The literature overall focuses on women, with very little, if any, reference to cases of young men or boys being trafficked. Victims tend to be young (Puka et al, 2010; Meshi, Picari and Pinderi, 2009). There is also overlap between structural factors and the context of family/household arrangements. The unequal nature of gender roles and relationships have discriminated against women and made them vulnerable to violence and exploitation (Bekteshi, Gjeermeni and Van Hook, 2012). Families exercise considerable authority over young women in terms of betrothal and marriage, making it difficult for women to exercise choice, and resulting in women being trapped into prostitution (Van Hook, Gjermeni and Hazhiymeri, 2006; Leman and Janssens, 2011; Simon, Galanxhi and Dhono, 2015). At the same time, women often lack access to the education and employment that would enable them to avoid exploitation (Van Hook, Gjermeni and Hazhiymeri, 2006). Research with victims also supports a more direct relationship, namely that families are frequently involved in recruiting young women for trafficking (Meshi, Picari and Pinderi, 2009; Zhilla and Lamallari, 2015).

Section 3 provides a country specific discussion of evidence available on prevention, identification, protection and interventions involving 'good practice' during frontline work with people who have been or are at risk of being trafficked.

As noted earlier in the review, robust research demonstrating the existence of good practice proved hard to identify. There was also an absence of literature within the sample identified that considered the definition and nature of good practice regarding human trafficking and modern slavery, both in source and destination countries (see also Duong, 2014). IPPR (2013), within discussion of anti-trafficking strategies in the UK, note that there is too often a lack of clarity in use of the term 'addressing trafficking' and that this may involve, variously, addressing trafficking as an avenue for criminality, irregular migration, in relation to violence against women, child abuse, and slavery. Discussion of good practice also tended to take place within the context of case study methodologies, rather than, for example, surveys of different types of practice, or multi-level research designs that were able to evaluate different elements of the contexts in which the intervention was taking place. As a consequence, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the extent to which 'good' or 'promising' practice operates within different domains.

A broad distinction can be drawn between intervention at state and community level. At the level of community based programmes, there is growing emphasis of the need for more rigorous evaluation. Zimmerman, McAlpine and Kiss (2016) note the importance of improving systems for data collection and monitoring when new practice initiatives are introduced. In their analysis of interventions relating to labour migration indicated that establishing data collection systems at programme level, ensuring culturally sensitive information is provided in awareness raising campaigns and material, establishing regular monitoring and including evaluative activities to capture impact that use qualitative methods and cost-effectiveness analyses.

Caretta's (2015) case study of a shelter for Nigerian women in Italy used Goodey's (2004) six criteria of whether an intervention aiming to assist individuals defined as victims of trafficking and aiming to eliminate the associated criminal organisations could be considered to represent good practice. These included improvements in the condition of 'victims'; the use of innovative solutions to protect and assist; assistance that was sustainable and durable beyond criminal trials; replication of interventions in other settings; cooperation between criminal justice and civil society and NGOs nationally and internationally; and that the process of assistance should be ethical, taking account of the opinions and concerns of victims.

Nwogu (2014) argues that in relation to Nigeria, anti-trafficking initiatives tend to focus on prevention, prosecution and the voluntary return of migrants, rather than safe migration or effective migrant re-integration. It is important to acknowledge the relationship between discussions of 'good practice' and the way in which trafficking is defined and conceptualised. An important strand in the critique of 'good practice' in the area of trafficking

concerns the relationship between international NGOs and project interventions. While there is far from a consensus on the issue, there is some criticism of the extent to which NGOs are culturally sensitive, and the extent to which the mission and roles of individual NGOs may influence perceptions of good practice. Overall, the literature can be said to highlight the importance of considering context and the political, social and economic lens through which practice is being evaluated.

THE IMPACT OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Surprisingly little empirical information was available regarding the experience of individuals who had been trafficked. Where this information was available, the issues described included the damaging physical, emotional and psychological effects of the exploitation linked to human trafficking and slavery. In light of the differential emphases given to gender and different ethnic and cultural communities, the literature also raises questions about the extent to which the impact of human trafficking has been examined in relation to the range of individuals and groups who experience this.

Kiss et al (2015) aimed to explore the health consequences of trafficking for child and adolescent survivors of trafficking. This involved a survey of 387 children and adolescents aged 10-17 in post-trafficking services in Cambodia, Thailand and Viet Nam. Participants were interviewed within two weeks of entering the programmes. Most (52 per cent) had been trafficked for sex work, though boys were most commonly trafficked for street begging (20%) and fishing (19%). A third of the sample reported sexual violence during trafficking, and all of the sample had experienced a high level of labour exploitation. Mental health assessments of the sample identified high levels of PTSD, anxiety disorders and self-harm.

In the UK, Oram et al undertook a cross-sectional survey of 150 men and women who had contact with post-trafficking services. Although this sample was not confined to the three countries that are the focus of the current study, 21% of men and 24% of women reported ongoing injuries, 8% of men and 23% of women reported diagnosed sexually transmitted infections. A very high proportion – more than three quarters of women and over a third of men – reported high levels of depression, anxiety, or posttraumatic stress disorder. Bick et al (2017), in research with a sample of 98 women identified as trafficking survivors (including trafficking for sexual exploitation, domestic servitude and manual labour) in the UK, found that 29% reported one or more pregnancies while trafficked, and 12 of those reported at least one termination of pregnancy while in a trafficking situation. Twenty-five (89.3%) experienced some form of mental health disorder.

However, commentators also highlight the challenges faced by survivors of trafficking in terms of social stigma and the difficulties of returning to home and family (Skilbrei and Tveit, 2011). Alternatively the impact may be material and associated with finding alternative employment and income. It may also be related to health issues – for example, social stigma associated

with HIV diagnosis. Vijeyarasa (2010) considers the inter-relationship between state, family and the language of 'social evils' in Viet Nam. She argues that while the Viet Namese state can be commended for prioritising action against trafficking, the discourse associated with this is problematic.

The role of the state

A strong theme in the literature is a criminological and legal discourse regarding trafficking as organised crime, requiring state action in the form of legislation.

Gallagher and Holmes (2008) identify a number of features of national policy that can assist in the development of an effective criminal justice response. These include a comprehensive legal framework compliant with international standards; specialist law enforcement units about to investigate and co-ordinate trafficking investigations; the capacity of frontline police officers to respond effectively to cases of human trafficking, with the support of the judiciary, and specialised support for victims (see also Mece, 2016).

Even where national policy appears proactive, the experiences of those identified as victims of human trafficking may be much less positive. Gallagher and Holmes emphasise the need to recognise the fears of individuals for themselves and their families if they act as witnesses; in turn, they suggest realistic incentives need to be available for those identified as victims to participate within the criminal justice process. This is supported by Meshkovska et al (2016), in research into criminal proceedings relating to trafficking in five European countries including Albania, found that criminal proceedings were often very lengthy and can be traumatic for victims. Kelmendi (2015) highlights measures for the protection of trafficking victims during criminal justice procedures, including provisions for individuals to change their identities, giving evidence through different methods and providing legal and financial support for victims.

There was a strong view within the literature that the Albanian government has moved from a position where they 'turned a blind eye (Bekteshi, Gjermeni and Van Hook, 2012; Mece, 2013; Zitnanova, 2014; Kelmendi, 2015) to introducing stronger legal measures which comply with European and international frameworks. This includes legislation such as the National Albanian Strategy in the Fight Against Human Trafficking (2001-2003), the Strategic Framework and Action Plan (2005 to 2007) and the National Albanian Strategy of the Fight Against Human Trafficking (2008-210). Reports from NGOs within Albania suggested that these efforts had resulted in a reduction in the numbers of individuals being trafficked abroad, though the numbers of women internally trafficked had increased (Bekteshi, Gjermeni and van Hook, 2012). Perrin (2010) highlights the importance of training for police and border patrols in spotting irregular migrants, and argues that this has helped reduce illegal entry to Albania by boat. He also notes the role of foreign governments, for example the UK in funding an anti-trafficking witness protection and support programme see also Mece, op cit).

While recognising the value of these efforts, the same commentators take the view that further, more robust action is necessary (Bekteshi, Gjermeni and Van Hook, 2012). The US State Department Report (2011) on human trafficking places Albania in the second group of countries in terms of efforts to comply with TVPA minimum standards on trafficking, so as making significant efforts, but with ongoing challenges and continued significant problems with trafficking.

Mece (op cit; see also Kelmendi, 2015) identifies lack of sustained funding and widespread corruption, especially amongst the judiciary, as barriers to anti-trafficking efforts, as evidenced by low levels of prosecution and confiscation of assets as a legal measure. Kelmendi (op cit) points out that Albania's location and size means that measures for European and international co-operation are essential. Others question the political nature of the relationships between countries and international donors: Nwogu (2014) argues that Nigeria's dependence on external funding for anti-trafficking strategies has been detrimental, resulting in certain areas of work being favoured and a lack of consultation with and accountability to beneficiaries, which has in turn limited opportunities for learning and improvement.

There are questions about the extent to which measures undertaken by the state respond to the specific social and cultural context of the three countries. In Nigeria, Ikeora (2007)notes that the Edo State Criminal Code was amended to include the criminalisation of any oath performed by women or girls for the purposes of prostitution. However, the efficacy of such measures is dependent on other work being undertaken to address the socio-economic and cultural drivers of the issue.

Awareness raising and education initiatives

Nwogu (2014) is sceptical of awareness raising, arguing that in light of the 'harsh economic realities of life in Nigeria today' (p7) awareness campaigns are unlikely to discourage individuals from migration, even where this includes trafficking. Bettio and Nandi (2010) in an analysis of the extent to which human 'basic' rights are available or violated for women trafficked for sexual exploitation, argues that public awareness of trafficking and exploitation within the woman's country of work is important in protecting rights. Zimmerman, McAlpine and Kiss (2016) reviewed labour migration programmes. The literature sample included 19 evaluated interventions, 11 qualitative and eight mixed-methods. They conclude that general awareness-raising campaigns about the risks of trafficking are 'unlikely to be effective' (p7) unless it is informed by context-specific research on issues such as what migrants and potential migrants in different settings know already – given they are often already aware of the associated risks; what are the most important risk and protective factors and how these differ by setting and population; and how migrants are making decisions about whether to migrate and how to migrate.

RESPONSES TO TRAFFICKING IN THE UK

There has been a growing awareness of human trafficking and modern slavery in the UK, reflected in new legislation regarding Modern Slavery (see, for example, Craig, 2017). However, the accessibility and acceptability of services will vary considerably, in part because of how they are mediated through the legislative and policy framework including the National Referral Mechanism. The services individuals receive will therefore depend on the extent to which an individual is defined as being trafficked, their identification as being trafficked, and their relationship with the associated legal processes. It will also depend on the knowledge and understanding of the professionals they encounter.

In terms of the available research, Bales, Hedwards and Silverman (2018) in their review of UK research into slavery, conclude there is a need for ongoing monitoring and evaluation of programmes and interventions including victim support services, targeted awareness raising campaigns and law enforcement activities. It is difficult to distinguish between the needs of individuals coming to the UK from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria, as most samples are mixed, even though there may be reference to the inclusion of participants from the three countries.

Two sources were identified that highlight the needs of women and parents and included Albanian, Vietnamese or Nigerian participants. Bick et al (2017) undertook a cross-sectional survey and qualitative interviews with trafficking survivors recruited from statutory and voluntary sector organisations, plus qualitative interviews with health professionals. They emphasise the significance of front line maternity services for the identification, support and referral of trafficked women and girls, and the women interviews were generally positive about the quality of care they had received. At the same time, there were significant barriers to accessing these services, owing to restrictions placed on the women by traffickers, and the women's lack of understanding of the health care system and their entitlements. Brotherton (2017) considered evidence from organisations working in the field of human trafficking regarding the needs of pregnant women and parents, and undertook interviews with frontline professionals. This research highlighted the wide variety of circumstances of the individuals involved, and the many different ways in which pregnancy and parenthood might intersect with their experiences – so, for example, some had children in their home country, others became pregnant in the UK as a result of rape by traffickers or others, some brought children into the UK. Such sources indicate the importance of examining and evaluating the role of a range of services in the identification of the specific needs of individuals who experience human trafficking.

THE ROLE OF REINTEGRATION PROGRAMMES
IN ALBANIA, VIET NAM AND NIGERIA

Overall, more literature emerged in the sample regarding reintegration than prevention. The way in which reintegration is defined and discussed in the literature regarding the three countries is complex. Zimmerman (2007) defines reintegration as a long-term and multi-faceted process that is not complete until the person becomes an active member of the economic, cultural, civil and political life of a country and perceived that she has reoriented and is accepted by her community (p153). However, the individual and structural vulnerability factors described earlier, that may have contributed to the individual's trafficking, are likely to militate against such a process. Brennan and Plambech (2018) highlight the different ways in which return and resettlement can take place, but remind that this is likely to be a fraught process for the returning individual, potentially involving fraught family relationships and also practical difficulties arising from ongoing debt.

The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings requires States Parties to seek social reintegration of victims, including reintegration into education and labour systems. Broadly speaking, the literature adopted two different positions in relation to re-integration programmes: firstly, that trafficking resulted in high levels of emotional and psychological distress, and that reintegration programmes were important and necessary; or, secondly, that the efforts of reintegration programmes were misplaced by dint of their inappropriate focus or methods.

In Albania, NGOs have established shelters to provide reintegration and support. This may be essential for individuals who are stigmatised and lack any other form of support (Van Hook, Gjermeni and Haxhiymeri, 2012; Surtees and de Kerchove, 2014; Zitnanova, 2014). Shelters provide counselling, help with education and training and in finding jobs, as well as a place of safety. It is emphasised that reintegration can be a lengthy process, and that psychological support that enables women to address the trauma they have experienced and take control over their lives (Van Hook, Gjermeni and Haxhiymeri, 2012). Concern has also been expressed that women who have been trafficked and returned may be vulnerable to re-trafficking (Tahiraj 2017; Alsop, 2018).

A key issue in relation to reintegration programmes concerned their funding and sustainability. In relation to Albania, Surtees and de Kerchove (2014) argue that despite the 'critical importance' of sustainable, long-term re/integration services in the lives of trafficked persons, there are significant barriers against these, including the length of time required for such reintegration, which is both costly and required the involvement of a number of services. They highlight the role of international NGOs, noting that this has not always augured well for sustainability, that programmes have too often been short-term and that there has been a lack of attention to evaluation of outcomes. They argue, therefore, for a more diverse funding base, that includes civil society and private enterprise.

Ogonor and Osunde (2007) investigated the impact of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme on female trafficking in South-South Nigeria. This policy aims to improve access to education for school-age children, but also provides services via human trafficking service provider centres. The study investigated what was offered to returnees, including the nature of the training provided, the extent of support for formal education, and perceptions of trafficking. A sample of 130 repatriated victims of trafficking,100 teachers who helped provide the service, and 420 non-trafficked female students and their parents, was surveyed. The evaluation found that some courses were viewed more positively than others, but some – for example, catering and hairdressing/beauty therapy did not provide students with the practical skills they needed to find employment in their chosen area.

A theme that emerges across the good practice literature is how programmes change attitudes or views of trafficking, and this in turn varies according to the degree of agency attributed the individuals involved. So, for example, Aborisade and Aderinto (2008) highlight ways in which women and staff describe the processes of 'rehabilitation', noting that the individuals who are regarded as survivors have very little control over what is being done to them (p943). Ogonor and Osunde (2007) criticise the Universal Basic Education Programme for failing to make use of the opportunity of the educational programme to 'incorporate some transformative content and pedagogy aimed at reorienting students to change their values' (p617) and so to resist human trafficking. They argue this is especially important in view of the lack of awareness amongst the students and their parents of the dangers associated with trafficking – and, in turn, their positive views of trafficking as an option.

The majority of the literature on practice is polarized, focusing either on the role of the state or, alternatively, on the interventions of NGOs. There is therefore little analysis of the role of the wider community,or other social agencies. Le Hoang (2017) examined the role of inter-agency cooperation in anti-trafficking activities, including strategies to prevent trafficking and protect victims. Interviews were carried out with 25 professionals from different agencies, including police officers, border guards, women's union staff, social welfare staff and staff from the Ministry of Information and Communication, in addition to documentary analysis.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION AND FAITH BASED APPROACHES

Religious and faith based approaches were identified as having an important role in Albania (Gjermeni and Van Hook, 2012) and Nigeria (Plambech, 2017; Raimi, 2012).

There was no reference to religion in the information collected regarding Viet Nam, though Vijjeyarasa (2010) considers the cultural meaning attached to sex work and women. Specifically, she notes the way in which a language of 'social evils' detracts attention from the political and structural inequalities she identifies at the root of human trafficking in Vietnam.

Raimi (2012) argues that faith based advocacy programmes are essential accompaniments to other forms of state action. He defines faith based advocacy as involving representatives from religious groups to 'sensitise, mentor, coach and educate' (p5) their congregations or groups about the dangers of trafficking. Vanderhurst (2017) considers the role of religion within reintegration programmes. In her ethnographic study of a state-run shelter in Nigeria, she observes the high level of resistance on the part of returnees. Most were angry and upset at their informed decision to leave. In response, and in light of the significance of religion in Nigerian culture, shelter staff used the language and precepts of Christianity to encourage the women to adopt a different perspective, for example the view that the state's intervention had been God's will or plan for the individual.

Gozdziak et al (2015) comment that the amount of writing about human trafficking is not matched by the amount of literature based on empirical research. This is borne out by the findings of this literature review in relation to human trafficking and human slavery in Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK. At the same time, the amount and quality of literature should be considered in the context of human trafficking and human slavery as issues that have been subject to redefinition and renewed debate. Empirical research is often behind policy and practice development, though it is important that research from the different disciplines involved tries to respond to the changing environment, both within the source and destination countries, and through international comparisons. The growing interest and concern about these issues is reflected in a developing research community and empirical projects, and in efforts to synthesise that knowledge base (Bales, Hedwards and Silverman, 2018).

The literature review aimed to review and analyse English language literature relating to human trafficking and modern slavery in Viet Nam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK. The literature identified has tended to focus on the language of trafficking, rather than human slavery, though more literature relating to human slavery is emerging in the UK. Overall, the discourse is one of victimhood and vulnerability, and there is an absence of discussion regarding the capabilities and resilience of individuals or groups. The literature review therefore highlights the importance of understanding the conceptualization and narratives associated with human trafficking, and the direct relationship between such conceptualization, the methodologies of empirical studies and the effects of this on definitions of trafficking as a phenomenon and perceived 'solutions'. Central to this is the degree of agency attributed to those positioned as 'victims' of trafficking.

There is therefore a need for an overall strengthening of the empirical evidence base, but the literature review also suggests that more specific issues need to be addressed.

- There is a need for greater diversity of methods in research relating to human trafficking.

- The review has demonstrated the importance of robust literature review methods in evaluating the strength of the evidence base and the nature of methodological and substantive gaps within this.

- There is a need for research that focuses on the lived experiences of those who are defined as having experienced trafficking, and their associated support needs.

- There is broad agreement on the drivers of human trafficking, but a need for more research that unpicks the detail of the 'situational' in understanding the economic context for specific groups and within particular communities.

- Human trafficking and human slavery are gendered phenomenon, but the dynamics of the gender relationships vary according to geographical, social, political and economic context. It is important that research approaches appreciate the need for exploration of these dynamics, and extend the reach of empirical research to take greater account of the experiences of males.

- In addition to investment in strategies that support those who experience human trafficking and slavery, it is important that there is also investment in research and evaluation into these issues within source countries, in order that the indigenous evidence base is developed.

The research study of which this literature review is part will contribute to the strengthening of the research base and in contributing to filling some of these gaps.

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APPENDIX 1: SEARCH ENGINES AND DATABASES

CINAHL	**Searched by Abstract (2007-2017)**
The Campbell Collaboration	
The Cochrane Library	**Searched by Abstract (2007-2017)**
(2007-2017)	
Conference Proceedings Citation Index	
ERIC	
International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)	**Searched by Abstract (2007-2017)**
MedLine	
PubMed	
PsychINFO	Searched by Abstract (2007-2017)
Scopus	
Social Services Abstracts	Searched by Abstract (2007-2017)
Sociological Abstracts	
SocIndex	
Social Care Online	**Searched by Abstract (2007-2017)**
Web of Science (with conference proceedings)	Searched by Topic (2007-2017)
All databases on ISI Web of Knowledge (incorporating Web of Science, Web Citation Index and Social Sciences Citation Index)	**Searched by Topic (2007-2017)**

APPENDIX 2: INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION CRITERIA
Inclusion and exclusion criteria*

INCLUDE

Peer reviewed and grey literature contains primary research relating to human trafficking (qualitative and quantitative)

Systematic or comprehensive reviews on human trafficking / modern slavery

Literature relates to human trafficking/modern slavery in Albania/Viet Nam/Nigeria/UK or their regions

Literature that provides conceptual or critical commentary on human trafficking/modern slavery

Literature relates to human trafficking routes from Viet Nam, Nigeria, Albania and UK

Literature relates to Good Practice, prevention, identification and protection in human trafficking / modern slavery

Literature relates to individual, family, household, peer, community, societal, structural or situational factors that create spaces for human trafficking to occur, and make specific links with trafficking*

Literature looks at the support needs of people who have arrived into the UK from Viet Nam, Nigeria and Albania

Literature provides contextual information about 'vulnerabilities', 'risk factors', 'protective factors', 'resilience' or 'capabilities' of people who have experienced trafficking/modern slavery

Literature relates to 'internal' or cross-border trafficking in the three source countries

Literature that fulfills one or more of these criterion and dates from 2007

EXCLUDE

Literature that is not peer-reviewed or represents an authoritative source e.g.media reports

Literature that discusses structural disadvantage without reference to trafficking/modern slavery/exploitation

Literature that focuses discussion of trafficking on countries outside Viet Nam/Nigeria/Albania/the UK

APPENDIX 3: BRIEF FOR ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
Details required for annotated bibliography

Full reference

This should be provided in Harvard format.

Electronic link to be provided as appropriate

Language

Geographical focus

(i.e. Albania; Viet Nam; Nigeria; UK; other)

Methods

What is the key question the research is designed to address?

Is the source based on primary or secondary research?
Or is it a theoretical or policy discussion paper?

If primary, how was the research designed? Was the approach qualitative
or quantitative? Is it related to a review of the literature?

How big was the sample and who was the focus of the study?
 What data collection methods were used e.g. experimental or
quasi experimental/survey/interviews/focus groups/observation)?
If secondary research, what kind of data was used?
What were the advantages/disadvantages of using this?

How was the data analysed? Is there any reference
to a theoretical approach or framework?

If the discussion of methods is limited, then it is
also important to note this.

Ethics

Are ethical issues addressed in the article? What kind of ethical approval
was obtained? How were issues of anonymity and confidentiality
approached? Were there any ethical challenges and how were these
addressed?

Findings

What were the key findings from the paper?

Does the source address questions of policy or practice? Is there
discussion of different vulnerabilities (a/c the vulnerabilities framework –
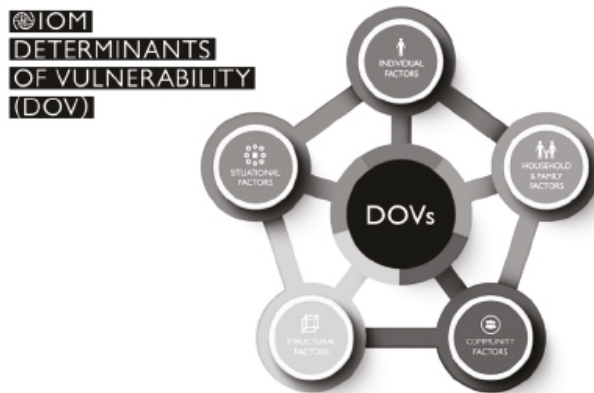individual/household and family/community/structural/situational)?

Which themes are addressed by the paper? Does it evaluate trends
relating to trafficking? Or the identification and referral of individuals
who are at risk of or have been trafficked/the protection of and
assistance to victims of trafficking/investigation and prosecution/
prevention issues?

APPENDIX 4: IOM'S VULNERABILITIES MODEL

An innovative aspect of this study is the application of IOMs recently introduced Determinants of Vulnerability Model. This is a model to address the protection and assistance needs of people who have experienced or are vulnerable to violence, abuse, exploitation or rights violations before, during and after a migration process. It is important to recognize that this model has not been specifically designed for the purpose of understanding the vulnerabilities of trafficked persons. It does however give equal consideration to what might contribute to migrant capacities and resilience.

This model provides a key conceptual tool for this project to enable exploration of contextual factors at these different levels plus incorporating both the vulnerabilities and capacities of those who have experienced or are vulnerable to violence, abuse, exploitation or rights violations.

Figure 2 below shows the IOM Determinants of Vulnerability model

The model has five different levels:

- Individual
- Household and family
- Community
- Structural
- Situational

Within each of these five levels there are different risk and protective factors. There is no hierarchy between the levels and different risk and protective factors. The risk factors are those that increase vulnerability – or create space for vulnerabilities to emerge. The protective factors are those which build resilience against vulnerability. IOM recognizes resilience as the capacity to avoid, resist, cope with, or recover from violence, exploitation, abuse and/or rights violation.

Others have described 'resilience' at an individual level as meaning individauls' abilities in being able to deal with past traumatic or stressful circumstances, being able to withstand present difficult circumstances and having the capacity to recover and develop coping skills for their future (Luthar, 2003; Rutter, 2007). Newman (2004) argues that it is never too late to build resilience. How people cope in adversity (Colson, 1991) and the non-linear process of building resilience will be explored throughout the research. Resilience at community or morestructural levels relates to systems or mechanisms put in place to reduce risk.

The first level of the Determinants of Vulnerability model relates to an individual and demographic characteristics, including ascribed characteristics such as gender, age or ethnicity over which the individual concerned has no control. There may also be disability, physical, sexual or mental health factors at this level.

Some individual factors can be risk or protective factors depending on the context. For example, being in a particular ethnic group may be a protective factor when that ethnic group is the majority but may be a risk factor when that group is a minority. However other individual factors may largely be recognized as eithr always being a risk or a protective factor. For example, literacy is almost always a protective factor, while illiteracy could be considered almost always as a risk factor.

The second level is the household and family level. Household and family factors can include family size, household structure, social-economic status, migration histories, employment, livelihoods, education levels, gender norms and family dynamics. Households and families can cause both risk and protective factors. Risk factors can include inter-personal violence between family members, households headed by a child or a single parent, and a history of unsafe migration. Protective factors may include having a supportive home environment, equitable distribution of resources and opportunities between male and female children.

The third level is the community level. In this study the relationships between people will be included, particularly those of friends, peers, acquaintances, community leaders, close and extended family members to view how these influence 'vulnerabilities to trafficking. The community level includes settings in which individuals interact, the local climate or acceptance levels of violence or abuse. Community factors include educational opportunities, quality of available health care and social services, livelihood and income generation opportunities, the natural environment, and social norms and behaviours. Community risk factors

include practices such as early marriage or gender-based violence. Examples of protective factors include a good education system that is accessible to all, and access to good health and social welfare systems.

The fourth level is the structural level. Structural factors might enable an economic or political climate that renders – or creates spaces – for vulnerability to trafficking. For example, there may be social norms that support patriarchy or condone high levels of sexual, gender-based or other forms of violence. Structural factors include those at a transnational level that will inform choices made by individuals migrating via safe or unsafe routes and mechanisms. Risk factors include conflict, marginalization and discrimination, poor governance and weak rule of law. Protective factors include good governance and respect for human rights.

The final level is the situational. The model includes situational factors to ensure that change and deviation from 'normal circumstances' is factored into the model (IOM, 2017). This includes situations or statuses at the individual, household, community, and/or structural levels, that can change quickly, and/or in an unforeseen way, and that increase or decrease the exposure of individuals, families and communities to violence, exploitation, abuse and/or rights violations. This could include armed conflict, humanitarian crisis or other contexts that enable human trafficking as a result of organizational structures. These situational factors are different from factors at the individual, household, community or structural levels because they are shorter-term, sudden, and/or unforeseen.