

**‘Between Two Fires’:
Understanding
Vulnerabilities and the
Support Needs of People
from Albania, Viet Nam
and Nigeria who have
experienced Human
Trafficking into the UK**

Final Report
Patricia Hynes, Patrick Burland,
Angela Thurnham, Jenniffer Dew,
Lola Gani-Yusuf, Valbona Lenja, and
Hong Thi Tran with Aye Olatunde and
Alketa Gaxha

**‘Then he started saying things like
“I can help you I can take you to
Italy”... I thought I would get out of
the slavery I was in, I thought I was a
slave. My mum treated me badly, her
husband worse, I was **between two
fires**. For one-month things went
well. Then after a month he started
introducing me [to] his friends,
friends he used to drink with ...’**

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ACRONYMS

CAMHS	Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services
CP	Child Protection
DoMV	Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability model
DV	Domestic Violence
GCM	Global Compact on Migration
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NAPTIP	National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (Nigeria)
NCG	Negative Conclusive Grounds
NRM	National Referral Mechanism (UK)
PRG	Positive Reasonable Grounds
PCG	Positive Conclusive Grounds
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLEs	Shared Learning Events
TSA	The Salvation Army
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act (USA)
UoB	University of Bedfordshire
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
VAC	Violence Against Children
VAW	Violence Against Women

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The opinions expressed in the report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout the report do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of IOM concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning its frontiers or boundaries.

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This is a report of a two-year research study into understanding the causes, dynamics and 'vulnerabilities' to human trafficking in three source countries – Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria – plus the support needs of people from these countries who have experienced trafficking and are now in the UK. The report focuses on these countries because they have consistently been among the top countries of origin for potential trafficked persons referred into the UK's National Referral Mechanism (NRM). The study was carried out as a partnership between the University of Bedfordshire and the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

1. Explore socio-economic and political conditions plus other contextual factors that create 'vulnerability' to, and 'capacity' against, human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria
2. Utilise and refine IOM's Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability (DoMV) model
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
5. Explore the support needs of people who have experienced trafficking from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria and have arrived into the UK, plus highlight examples of good practice in human trafficking work across these countries

RESEARCH APPROACH

This study is qualitative in its approach and follows country-specific Shared Learning Event reports about Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. A total of 164 semi-structured interviews with adults who had experienced human trafficking (n=68) and key informants (n=96) with knowledge about human trafficking were conducted in Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK. Data collection took place between February and November 2018.

The voices of those who have been directly affected by human trafficking are still largely absent from research in this area. In this report the personal testimony of trafficked persons is used to understand vulnerabilities to trafficking and the routes and journeys of people trafficked from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria to the UK. The report also captures the reflections of trafficked persons on their support needs and practices, plus what could be done to improve such work in the future.

This research uses an IOM DoMV model as a framework for analysing vulnerabilities to trafficking. This is a model to address the protection and assistance needs of migrants who have experienced or are vulnerable to violence, abuse, exploitation or rights violations before, during and after migration. The model includes four levels - individual, household and family, community and structural levels - to facilitate more comprehensive understanding of vulnerabilities during migration.

KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

The key findings are highlighted below. Each one is followed by recommendations as to how it could be addressed.

1. Vulnerability to trafficking is influenced by a constellation of overlapping and interconnected risk factors which cut across individual, household and family, community and structural levels and vary from country to country. Individual level factors were most often discussed by respondents, however these are firmly embedded within broader family, community and structural factors that can create enabling environments for trafficking. Respondents provided **detailed contextual descriptions of factors at the household and family level which appear to be particularly significant in the lives of people who have been trafficked.** These include households affected by specific social issues (such as gender discrimination, domestic abuse, substance abuse, physical and sexual violence), or households in which there are pressures to migrate, particularly in the context of sudden shocks, such as the death of a family member. En-route, and in

destination locations, vulnerabilities rapidly change and are influenced by factors such as the journeys people take, their levels of isolation and/or ability to access help, the nature of their exploitation and their dependency on people who exploit them.

- **Implement multi-faceted responses to address vulnerabilities at all levels.** These should be based on an analysis of the most significant risk factors, which should have a broader focus than the individuals alone, incorporating family, community and structural considerations, and an understanding of which of these factors can be meaningfully addressed or changed.
- **Complement the DoMV model as a framework to understand vulnerability factors with a political economy analysis** in locations of origin of victims to understand the influence of historical, political, economic and structural factors which may be more complex and systemic (e.g. legislation, policy and governance issues) and not fully described by victims of trafficking or key informants. Ensure that the role of peers and social networks are fully analysed at the household and community levels.
- **Enhance protection activities associated with the home, family and intra-familial environments.** This could include whole-of-family approaches to improve intra-household gender relations, responses to maltreatment, abuse and violence against women and children, which focus on family members working together to improve relations and decision-making. These interventions should be coupled with improvements and enhanced access to social care provision for families to promote the well-being of vulnerable children and adults.

2. Harmful social norms and practices exist and intersect with human trafficking, often in a gender-specific way. Such harmful norms and practices were most often discussed in Albania and Nigeria within household and community settings, and included examples of conservative gender norms, such as early and forced marriage or limited access to education or livelihood opportunities for women and girls. In these circumstances, women and girls may seek to avoid or resist these vulnerabilities by seeking opportunities to leave their household or community settings, increasing the risk of accepting offers from people offering to facilitate this process.

- **Conduct in depth analysis of community and social contexts** in which trafficking is known to take place to understand the influence of social norms.
- **Explore intervention opportunities to challenge traditional attitudes about gender and violence against women and girls with both men and women, building on learning from other sectors focused on these issues.** In Nigeria, this may include training of faith and community leaders to speak out and make these practices less socially acceptable.

3. Limited financial, educational, employment or healthcare services within a community can create a mismatch between an individual or family's opportunities and aspirations to improve their standard of living and socioeconomic status. People feeling constrained by their circumstances or perceived limited opportunities in their community settings was raised by key informants as a risk factor within a community setting which can create or exacerbate socio-economic challenges at the individual and household and family levels. Across all countries, there appeared to be a mismatch between hope and aspiration which can influence decisions to migrate. In Viet Nam an individual's view about their role in providing for the family and perceived rewards from work abroad, meant individuals (most of whom were men) sought out or accepted offers of well-paid employment to economically provide for family members, often accepting risks of hardship in the short term. In Nigeria, prioritising educational opportunities for children overseas was a feature in family decision-making, with offers accepted from people who claim to be able to facilitate this.

- **Strengthen health, education or community services** and enhance access for all community members, including those who may not be being reached by the current provision, especially in settings outside of the large cities.
- **Link, enhance or partner with existing livelihood programmes** being implemented by government or non-government actors, or identify locations that are not adequately covered.

- **Explore community-based methodologies** that focus on enabling communities to identify and mobilise existing, but sometimes unrecognised, assets and strengths.
- **Explore the potential of expanding productive employment opportunities** for men and women through labour migration programmes.

4. Journeys often begin with rational decision-making which is based on limited or unreliable information about costs, length, dangers, legal requirements, alternatives, or situation en route and at destination. Once journeys begin, they can become progressively precarious with individuals facing new and rapidly changing vulnerabilities. These include violence, extortion, abuse, exploitation, lack of food or water and social exclusion, and sometimes death. Risk and harm tend to increase over time while capacities to mitigate or resist them reduces, as people become increasingly dependent on others that can cause them harm, when communication and access to support is limited and debts increase. In this study, journeys from Viet Nam were found to be particularly dangerous, with widespread violence, abuse and exploitation in multiple locations and over an extended period of time, while journeys from Albania to the UK often involved exploitation in another European country before coming to the UK.

- **Enhance protection at key stages of a journey** with interventions that are based on contextual realities about the ways people are being exploited, the most critical points and places to intervene, and the best mode of delivery. This could include information and resource centres which provide support and assistance to vulnerable migrants. The DoMV can help identify the vulnerabilities at play if used at different stages in a journey.
- **Consider the most appropriate ways to engage with the relevant diaspora communities** in these locations to strengthen their capacity to offer protection and reduce their potential for harm, particularly on routes from Viet Nam to the UK.

5. Cultural and religious beliefs about how luck and divine power can provide protection appear to influence attitudes towards risk and willingness to embark on journeys. In Viet Nam, ideas of luck and destiny appear to supersede what people may know about the dangers they could face on a journey or the potential for 'failed migration'. In some cases, approaches to risk were influenced by perceived short-term hardship for long-term rewards in improved opportunities and stability. In Nigeria, faith in God was described as a factor that provides people with a sense of safety even when they may be aware of potential dangers. Some key informants in Nigeria described how pastors may contribute to this perception by giving blessings for people who are going to travel to Europe. Key informants in Nigeria also described the role of oath-taking and ritual in keeping people in exploitative situations.

- **Conduct further research on attitudes towards risk** and how these can influence behaviour related to migration and seek to identify opportunities for intervention.
- **Work with religious leaders in Nigeria to raise their awareness** of the level of risk people are exposed to on journeys to Europe.
- **Explore the impact of the cultural/religious interventions** such as those that have taken place in Nigeria in which oaths made by victims of human trafficking are publicly revoked.

6. Stigma can be both a driver and an outcome of trafficking and exploitation. For example, moral and conservative codes for women around divorce, pregnancy out of marriage, early marriage, the shame and stigma of domestic violence and in some instances shameful employment such as sex work can leave people isolated and vulnerable. In Viet Nam, stigma towards people who have debts or who are perceived to have failed in their migration aims can lead to discrimination within community settings. Similarly, the fear of suffering stigma and discrimination from their community and even their own families for the experiences suffered during their exploitation could also be used as a means of coercion, keeping them in a trafficking situation, or impacting on their opportunities for recovery post-exploitation when people are marginalised on the basis of their experiences they have faced.

- **Develop interventions that seek to address stigma in household and community settings.** This can involve work with faith and community leaders, as well as institutions responsible for the provision of social care, law enforcement and justice, in the form of capacity building and training.
- **Engage and build the capacity of media** to help ensure that reporting of issues of trafficking or wider social problems do not reify discriminatory messages in respect of gender norms, gender-based violence or child sexual violence.

7. There were mixed views from survivors about the effectiveness of awareness raising efforts to prevent trafficking. Some survivors described how they thought it was important for awareness raising around the dangers of human trafficking to try and prevent people from being affected in the future. However, other survivors were keenly aware of the limitations and appropriateness of such awareness raising approaches, considered against the strength and importance of beliefs and practices in determining their choices, or in the absence of credible alternatives. Among key informants, awareness raising featured heavily in discussions around prevention although its effectiveness was rarely discussed, evaluated or clearly understood.

- **Carry out formative assessments, before implementation,** in the specific locations in which awareness raising interventions are being considered to understand the likelihood of such messages being viewed as meaningful or credible by the target population and the most appropriate mode of delivery. In some locations, peer-to-peer models may be more appropriate, while in others, family based approaches could be more effective.
- **Evaluate existing awareness interventions for impact on behaviour,** ensuring that these are not limited to a focus on the number of people reached or knowledge gained.

8. Some Vietnamese nationals are not being identified as victims of trafficking within the UK's criminal justice and immigration enforcement systems. Testimonies of Vietnamese nationals who had returned home directly from UK prisons or immigration removal centres to Viet Nam and who were interviewed for this study, contained indicators of trafficking which did not appear to have been detected or acted upon while they were in the UK. Instead, individuals had often been treated as criminals or immigration offenders.

- **Strengthen detection and screening processes** in the UK's criminal justice and immigration enforcement systems to ensure that potential victims of trafficking that have been engaged in forced criminality and/or have an unresolved immigration status are identified and can be protected not punished. This could involve training and awareness raising for frontline workers within these agencies on indicators of trafficking and exploitation as well as how to overcome barriers to disclosure. In addition, improve awareness of Section 45 of the Modern Slavery Act among key actors in the criminal justice system, including the Crown Prosecution Service, solicitors and Judges to ensure the non-punishment of those who have been identified as victims of trafficking.
- **Engage with Vietnamese experts or community based organisations** to understand what role they could play in this process, such as the provision of culturally specific information with this process to provide culturally specific information to relevant government agencies and to help them spot the signs of trafficking and encourage victims to disclose their experiences of exploitation.

9. Key informants and trafficked persons in the UK stressed the negative impact of the waiting time of the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) and asylum system upon the wellbeing and recovery of trafficked persons. The uncertain nature of awaiting decisions leaves people feeling that they have no control over their lives which was reported as having negative psychological repercussions. The waiting time and perceptions that individuals may have their accounts disbelieved or mistrusted contributed to limited confidence in the UK's identification and determination processes among survivors and key informants, and can hamper the ability for support staff to build trust with survivors and

provide appropriate care. The government is seeking to address these concerns through the NRM reforms¹ but at the time the study was being completed, these had not yet come into effect so their impact is unknown.

- **Review the impact of NRM reforms** once they come into full effect to ensure they are achieving their aims of achieving quicker decision making and that good quality decisions are building confidence among stakeholders and victims. Government has committed to evaluate its programme of NRM reforms and their impact on timeliness and quality of the identification of victims of modern slavery. Work is currently underway to ensure there is robust evaluation of each strand of NRM reform activity.
- **Explore the provision of culturally specific information and training** to NRM decision makers to ensure they are aware of details about how victims from certain locations might present as well as country or location specific trafficking trends and cultural norms.

10. In the UK some of the committed and dedicated organisations carrying out a range of support services for victims of trafficking are operating outside of the NRM² without government funding. This includes the vital work of country specific community-based organisations who are providing culturally informed care to people in their own language. These organisations are providing informal care services and often supporting victims to understand the processes they navigate in the context of receiving care and support in the UK.

- **Support and strengthen the role that community-based organisations can play** in providing culturally informed care to victims of trafficking in their own language to aid recovery and support timely disclosure.

11. The recovery process for victims of trafficking requires a long-term approach, with a diverse range of services and assistance provided over an extended duration. This is particularly important given the length of time that it takes to build trust between support staff and victims, as described by both victims and key informants. **Mental health service provision** is particularly important given the traumatic experiences of victims in the UK, during their journeys and in the context of their personal histories in their communities of origin. However this research has found that limited availability and capacity of specialist mental health services means that such support is inaccessible for many victims of trafficking. Readily accessible and **good quality legal services** were also identified as key to ensure that victims of trafficking understand NRM and asylum processes and are aware of entitlements and are able to make informed choices about legal and immigration processes. The complexities of navigating the care, immigration and criminal justice systems was also identified as challenge for survivors in the UK.

- **Review structural and policy issues** which can impact on long-term service provision to aid recovery, such as Leave to Remain arrangements for victims of trafficking, as identified in Lord McColl's Modern Slavery (Victim Support) Bill.
- **Explore the feasibility of introducing advocates for adult victims of trafficking** to help them understand and navigate social care, immigration and asylum processes.
- **Provide longer-term funding for complex mental health needs** through existing specialist providers trained in working with trauma and past abuse
- **Implement trauma-informed approach training programme for staff** across all sectors who are working directly with survivors.
- **Enhance legal services for individuals referred to the NRM** through a national service for potential and identified trafficking victims.

¹ In October 2017, the UK government announced a series of reforms to “achieve quicker and more certain decision-making, that stakeholders and victims have confidence in”. These includes creating a single, expert case-working unit in the Home Office to handle all NRM cases; setting up an independent panel of experts to review all negative decisions and building a new digital system to support the NRM process.

² The National Referral Mechanism (NRM) is the UK's framework with the stated purpose of identifying and referring potential victims of modern slavery and ensuring they receive the appropriate support.

- **Ensure that social workers are trained on human trafficking and modern slavery** and how to provide appropriate care to survivors as they transition into community settings and access local services.

12. 'Good practice' is not defined and is almost absent from debates around human trafficking in all countries considered in this study, including the UK. However, interviewees provided details of pockets of what might be considered emerging, promising or good practice but many of these have yet to be evaluated, making any assessing their actual impact difficult. Similarly, there were mixed opinions on what 'successful' short-, medium- or longer-term outcomes look like in practice for victims in the UK, and these are not consistently measured or recorded within the NRM or other systems. Respondents noted that not going missing, or disappearing from view, was an indicator of success, as well as ensuring tenancies were maintained, enrolling adults into appropriate levels of English classes, and gaining Leave to Remain. Questions around where people go beyond immediate or short-term interventions remain.

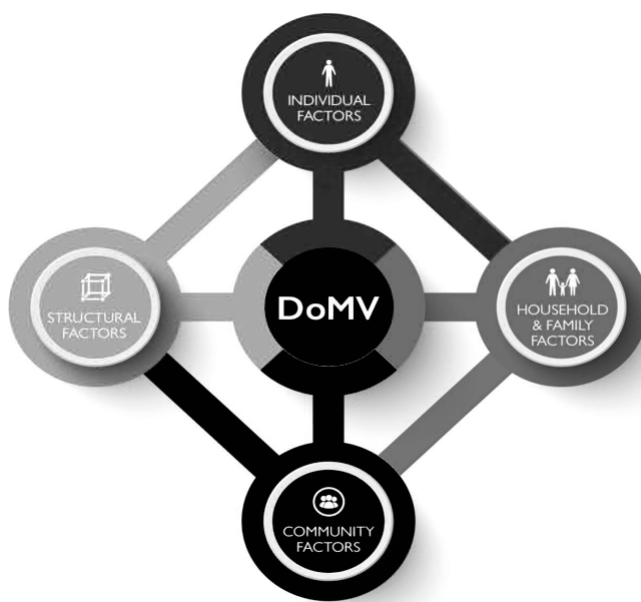
- **Ensure that monitoring and evaluation activities are integrated into interventions** so that good practice can be better identified, and to enable successful interventions to be developed, replicated and up-scaled. Ensuring that support organisations are adhering to the updated Slavery and Trafficking Survivor Care standards can be a helpful starting point, but this needs to be complementing by evaluations of which approaches have been particularly effective in different contexts.
- **Explore the potential of establishing a framework to understand outcomes for victims** of trafficking supported in the UK and for those who may choose to return to their countries of origin.
- **Explore potential intersections with - and draw out learning from - other complex social problems**, such as violence against women and children which may have a longer history of practice and greater understanding of what interventions can be most effective in particular settings.

This is the final report of the two-year study into the ‘vulnerabilities’ to human trafficking across Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria with the UK as a destination country. This study has been conducted in partnership between the University of Bedfordshire and the International Organization for Migration (IOM)³.

This report provides an analysis of situations of vulnerability to human trafficking within and from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria and what this means in terms of supporting nationals from these countries in the UK. These countries are the subject of this report because they have consistently been among the top referral countries for potential victims of trafficking referred into the UK’s National Referral Mechanism (NRM)⁴. In the four years from 2014 to 2017 these three countries represented 38% of the total referrals (5,485 referrals out of a total of 14,556) to the UK’s NRM.

Whereas a number of studies on human trafficking have considered individual level factors, such as age and gender, use in this study of the IOM’s Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability (DoMV) model has allowed for examination of the structural, community, family/household and individual level factors that contribute to human trafficking (see Appendix 1 for more details of the model). Including structural factors in this way has shed light on political as well as socio-economic explanations of human trafficking from and within these countries. Providing a historic look at each country has also allowed for social, economic and political factors to be considered⁵.

Figure 1: IOM Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability (DoMV) model



There is ongoing debate about whether the categorisations and labels constructed by policy makers or agencies with mandates to protect people who meet particular criteria are useful when thinking about migration. The terms ‘human trafficking’, ‘victim of trafficking’, ‘potential victim of trafficking’ and ‘survivor of trafficking’ are no exception⁶. As Crawley and Skleparis suggest, the dangers of using these categories uncritically can lead to dynamic processes of migration being concealed:

³ Funded by the Modern Slavery Innovation Fund.

⁴ The National Referral Mechanism (NRM) is the process by which potential victims of trafficking are referred to be formally identified as a victim of trafficking by the UK government and to access government funded specialist support and assistance for victims of trafficking.

⁵ See Shared Learning Event reports for each country which include a timeline of historical events: www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

⁶ It is understood that the terms ‘victim’ and ‘survivor’ represent an arbitrary, binary view and are contested but they are used in this report in absence of more appropriate terms and to reflect the language of participants in this study. Similarly, the words ‘trafficker’, ‘agent’, ‘broker’ and ‘facilitator’ are also contested terms – however they reflect the terminology used by the participants in this research and also reflect the complexities of how human trafficking occurs and is perceived.

'...Taking the dominant categories as the basis of our analytical approach can limit our understanding of migration and make us potentially complicit in a political process which has, over recent years, stigmatised, vilified and undermined the rights of refugees and migrants...'⁷

Zetter (2007)⁸ has also outlined the way in which the rights and entitlements people depend upon and how they are 'labelled' in the first instance are important. He argues that it is convenient for states to put people into neat bureaucratic categories – sometimes as 'political' refugees or 'economic' migrants – but these categories invariably do not reflect the reality of people's lives. As we see later in this report, people who experience human trafficking are often confused with other migrants.

People experiencing different forms of exploitation are categorised under the 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children [hereafter referred to as the 'Palermo Protocol'] 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.'

There is considerable power in definitions and defining a population in need may not always lead to appropriate responses to that need and policy categories that inform humanitarian organisations should not be taken for granted as forms of knowledge. How people are labelled, and the power of these definitions, do however inform policy responses based on such labels and definitions.

This study is about understanding 'vulnerability' to human trafficking, recognising that such 'vulnerabilities' are deeply contextual. In relation specifically to international migration, IOM defines 'vulnerability' as:

'... the diminished capacity of an individual or group to have their rights respected, or to cope with, resist or recover from exploitation, or abuse ... [and] ... the presence or absence of factors or circumstances that increase the risk or exposure to, or protect against, exploitation, or abuse.'⁹

Globally, at present there are two distinct Global Compacts, one for migrants and one for refugees, to establish international responses to migration. For people who are trafficked, the Global Compact on Migration (GCM) has a specific objective – Objective 7 – to address and reduce vulnerabilities in migration both of which were adopted in December 2018. Notably, previous language on 'vulnerable migrants' has shifted within the final draft to 'migrants who face situations of vulnerability' within this objective¹⁰. This objective also details how these situations of vulnerability may arise from circumstances during travel or conditions in countries of origin, transit and destination. Objective 10 is to 'Prevent, combat and eradicate trafficking in persons in the context of international migration.'¹¹

Also at a global level, in September 2015, representatives of more than 150 international Heads of State, Governments and other agencies met in the headquarters of the UN in New York to establish a new global development framework to replace earlier Millennium Development Goals set at the turn of the century. They established a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with 169 associated Targets to provide a measurable

7 Crawley, H. and Skleparis, D. (2017) *Refugees, Migrants, Neither, Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe's 'Migration Crisis'*, *Journal of Ethic and Migration Studies*, 44(1): 48-64

8 Zetter, R. (2007), *More Labels Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalisation*, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20 (2): 172-192

9 IOM (2016) *Understanding Migrants' Vulnerability: A Framework for Analysis and Programming*, IOM Geneva.

10 There has been a proposal in the Sutherland Report to develop a definition of what 'migrants in vulnerable situations' means. See the Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Migration, United Nations General Assembly, A/71/728, 3 February 2017.

11 See: www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/73/195

framework for efforts to achieve a global vision by 2030. With the arrival of these both SDGs, migration and human trafficking have, for the first time, been inserted into mainstream development policy.

Several SDGs and their associated Targets related to forced displacement, migration more broadly, human trafficking and causes of forcible migration¹². For example, Target 8.7 sets out to:

Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.

A focus on Target 8.7 has involved the establishment of Delta 8.7, a global knowledge platform designed to address this particular target to explore 'what works to eradicate forced labour, modern slavery, human trafficking and child labour.'¹³

AIMS AND APPROACH OF STUDY

This report presents the findings from this study and addresses the aims of the study which were to:

1. Explore socio-economic and political conditions plus other contextual factors that create 'vulnerability' to, and 'capacity' against, human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria
2. Utilise and refine IOM's Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability (DoMV) model
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
5. Explore the support needs of people who have experienced trafficking from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria and have arrived into the UK, plus highlight examples of good practice in human trafficking work across these countries

The methodology for this study was mainly qualitative. To ensure contextual understanding from the outset of the study, Shared Learning Events (SLEs) were held in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria between October 2017 and January 2018.)¹⁴ These SLEs also brought an iterative element to the study, with a range of nationally-based participants sharing their knowledge about human trafficking and co-creating research tools for the study. The process of holding these events also allowed for purposive samples to be drawn from each country. Thereafter, in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with both key informants and adults who have experienced trafficking. A total of 164 qualitative interviews were conducted and analysed, of which 96 were with key informants and 68 with adults who have experienced human trafficking. These interviews were conducted by the research team in the UK and three expert researchers based in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. As outlined in Table 1 below, the total number of interviews in Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK included in this study were:

¹² The SDGs most closely aligned to this study are Goal 5 (Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls), Goal 8 (Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all), Goal 10 (Reduce inequality within and among countries) and Goal 16 (Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels).

¹³ See: www.delta87.org

¹⁴ Reports and historical Timelines were constructed during the SLEs to contribute to the achievement of the first aim in that they have explored a range of country-specific contextual factors and, in developing the Timelines, have allowed for a political and historical framing for this study. The methodology behind them is detailed in the country specific reports which can be viewed at www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

Table 1: Qualitative Interviews Conducted

	Key informants	Adults who have experienced human trafficking	Total male adults who have experienced human trafficking	Total female adults who have experienced human trafficking	Total
Albania	29	12	4	8	41
Viet Nam	9	21	18	3	30
Nigeria	27	14	2	12	41
UK	31	21	8	13	52
Total	96	68	32	36	164

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING GLOBALLY?

Measuring human trafficking poses a considerable challenge as collecting data on trafficking is fraught with methodological difficulties. Estimates of trafficking therefore require caution and cannot be replicated uncritically. Conducting research into human trafficking involves engaging with fervent debates around the lack of empirical evidence and statistics¹⁵.

Currently the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Global Report is one international source of information on trafficking in persons. Since 2010 UNODC have collected data and produced biennial reports on trafficking in persons and of patterns and flows at national, regional and international levels. In its most recent 2018 report, that focusses on detected victims, the UNODC provides an overview of patterns and flows of human trafficking at global, regional and national levels plus a separate overview of human trafficking in contexts of conflict. UNODC highlights how data and reporting of human trafficking is increasing globally, potentially as a 'result of increased capacity to identify victims and/or an increased number of trafficked victims'¹⁶. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has conservatively estimated that there are now 20.9 million people who are 'victims' of forced labour globally at any one time (during the period studied of 2002-2011)¹⁷.

The US State Department also produces Trafficking in Persons Reports (known as TiP Reports), ranking governments based on their anti-trafficking efforts in prosecution, protection and prevention based on US Embassy assessments. A system of ranking divides countries into different 'tiers' according to compliance with a US piece of legislation - the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) – denotes Tier 1 countries as those that comply with the TVPA minimum standards; Tier 2 those that do not fully comply but are making efforts to do so; Tier 2 (Watchlist) countries are making efforts to comply and have significant numbers of trafficking; Tier 3 are those that do not comply with the minimum standards advocated. In the 2018 TiP report Albania and Viet Nam were considered to be Tier 2 countries. Nigeria was listed as a Tier 2 watchlist country¹⁸.

¹⁵ Laczó, F. and Gramega, M. (2003) Developing Better Indicators of Human Trafficking, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, No.1, p.179-94; Salt, J. (2000) Trafficking and Human Smuggling: An European Perspective, *International Migration*, Vol.38(3), p.31-56; Tyldum, G. (2010), Limitations in Research on Human Trafficking, *International Migration*, Vol.48(5), p.1-13.

¹⁶ UNODC, *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018*, Vienna: United Nations.

¹⁷ International Labour Organization, (2012) *ILO Global Estimates of Forced Labour: Results and Methodology*, Geneva: ILO.

¹⁸ For details see: www.state.gov/documents/organization/282798.pdf

Other international organisations have trafficking or modern slavery as their main focus and collect data. In 2017, the Walk Free Foundation and the ILO, together with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), developed the Global Estimates of Modern Slavery which estimated that there are 40 million people living in modern slavery in 2016¹⁹.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE LITERATURE ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING WITHIN AND FROM ALBANIA, VIET NAM AND NIGERIA?

This report can be read in conjunction with the Literature Review for the study which has reviewed available literature on human trafficking within and from Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK²⁰. This review considers the overall strength of evidence through consideration of the quality, size, consistency and context of evidence available by analysing English language literature sourced through academic databases and identified by researchers based in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. In this review, it is suggested that there is a need for an overall strengthening of the empirical evidence base. Furthermore, Brodie et al (2019) advise that more specific issues should be addressed including the need for a more diverse evidence base and greater clarity about the theoretical lens through which research into human trafficking is being undertaken. It also suggests that research should be more contextualised within countries, including further development of research originating within countries or regions of origin. As Oosterhoff et al. (2018)²¹ suggest, systematic reviews on interventions or the reduction of prevalence to trafficking currently tend not to focus on particular countries but rather focus on forms of exploitation²² or community-based interventions in low and middle-income countries²³.

The Literature Review also outlined how existing literature focussing on Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria gives scant reference to the UK as a destination country²⁴. The link between these three countries and the UK was also found to be little understood or prioritised during the SLEs which, as outlined later in this report, has consequences for support both within the UK and upon to return to countries of origin. The Literature Review discussed how trafficking within the regions of each country was the dominant concern in each country. This was also found to be the case throughout this research and during the SLEs plus, in the case of Nigeria, issues around exploitation of Nigerian nationals in Libya en-route to Italy and other EU countries. In each country there was discussion about people returning from the UK. For example, in Nigeria, the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), the agency responsible for the formal identification of people as victims of trafficking, had less than 10 recorded cases over the past decade of Nigerian nationals trafficked to the UK who they had worked with after they had been returned from the UK to Nigeria²⁵.

19 In developing the Global Estimates of Modern Slavery, the Walk Free Foundation and the ILO adopted a methodology that combined survey research involving face-to-face interviews with more than 71,000 people in 53 local languages with administrative data on victims of trafficking who had been assisted by the IOM. See: www.global-slaveryindex.org/2018/findings/global-findings/

20 Brodie, I., Spring, D., Hynes, P., Gani-Yusuf, L., Lenja, V., Hong Thi Tran, Burland, P. and Thurnham, A., (2019) 'Vulnerability' to Human Trafficking: A Study of Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK: Literature Review, University of Bedfordshire.

21 Oosterhoff, P., Yunus, R., Jensen, C., Somerwell, F. and Pocock, N.S. (2018) Modern Slavery Prevention and Responses in South Asia: An Evidence Map, London: Department for International Development.

22 Cockbain, E., Bowers, K. & Dimitrova, G. (2018) Human trafficking for labour exploitation: the results of a two-phase systematic review mapping the European evidence base and synthesising key scientific research evidence, *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1-42; van der Laan, P.H. et al. (2011) Cross-border Trafficking in Human Beings: Prevention and Intervention Strategies for Reducing Sexual Exploitation, *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 9.

23 Zimmerman, C., McAlpine, A. & Kiss, L. (2016) Safer labour migration and community-based prevention of exploitation: The state of the evidence for programming, The Freedom Fund & London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

24 Brodie, I., Spring, D., Hynes, P., Gani-Yusuf, L., Lenja, V., Hong Thi Tran, Burland, P. and Thurnham, A., (2019) 'Vulnerability' to Human Trafficking: A Study of Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK: Literature Review, University of Bedfordshire.

25 See Nigeria SLE report available at www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

Accounts of human trafficking are based on facts available at a given point in time and our understanding is based on available data and informed by media accounts and associated stereotypes.

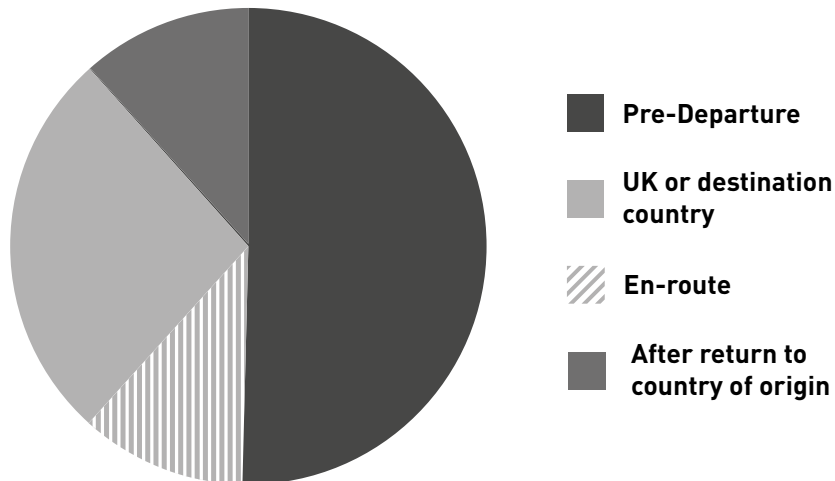
An overarching finding, across the full range of countries in this study, is that it is **often people who are actively resisting 'vulnerability' within their immediate, family or community-based circumstances who then set out on migration pathways in an attempt to address their own 'vulnerable' positions and fulfil their basic needs.** From there, accounts describe how they then encounter various structural and exploitative circumstances that render them 'vulnerable' due, in part, to the political climate surrounding migration. This finding corresponds with the shift in language from 'vulnerable migrants' to 'migrants who face situations of vulnerability' within Objective 7 of the GCM outlined above. **Single factor explanations appear inadequate.** Instead, multiple and intersecting factors – or **constellations of factors** – around particular individuals provide more appropriate explanations. Utilising an ecological framework that considers the interrelations between individual, family/household, community and structural factors proved particularly useful.

It was also found that dominant narratives around human trafficking tend to focus on economic explanations, be this for the initial impetus for travel, the way in which 'smugglers' or 'traffickers' benefit from the journeys people undertake, or the forms of exploitation then experienced. Within the Literature Review, economic explanations of human trafficking dominate with changes to the nature of the global economy, neo-liberal explanations of 'push' and 'pull' factors, a focus on the transitions of the three countries into market economies as an explanation of human trafficking flourishing at a particular stage of socio-economic development and individual remittance levels. **In this study, an important acknowledgement is that while economic explanations are important as one element of the vulnerabilities faced by trafficked persons they alone are not enough to describe complex contextually based vulnerabilities.** There are a myriad of vulnerabilities affecting each person as an individual but also within their household, family and community. As we outline later in this report, individual sets of circumstances can be and are related to political events; undeveloped protection systems; gender imbalances within particular contexts; undeveloped responses to maltreatment, abuse and violence against women and children within families; the lack of a rule of law; impunity; corruption; state neglect of the provision of socio-economic opportunities for their nationals; broader migration patterns and, more directly, the need to seek protection from persecution as well as issues around social stigma and family rejection that can be both a driver and result of human trafficking. **Wide implementation gaps between legislation and policy and practice** on the ground was another key discovery, warranting further research. The inclusion of structural level examination within IOM's DoMV model provides for such a rounded and ecological understanding of human trafficking.

Within the Literature Review, the focus in peer-reviewed literature on sexual exploitation within and from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria was found to not account for the multiple forms of exploitation discussed at the SLEs and outlined in qualitative interviews. As such, this report broadens the discussion by providing rich and nuanced accounts of human trafficking within and from these countries. Although the methods of access to 'survivors' meant that dominant narratives could have been reinforced as a result of 'gatekeepers' understanding of trafficking, there were in fact what we refer to as **stories within stories** encountered as a research team. For example, within Albania, a familiar dominant narrative around young, uneducated females being the most prone to exploitation or trafficking by tight networks of organised crime groups was much more nuanced. It was found, for example, that education levels defied this stereotype, with individuals with university level education also being deceived into entering highly exploitative situations. Across Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria there were issues with the formal identification of people as potential victims of human trafficking which was partly compensated through identification by civil society. In Viet Nam, people selling or mortgaging land to enable travel was a clear example of individual agency, although followed by subsequent levels of debt and harsh treatment en-route. We also found that there were challenges for Vietnamese males to be identified as potential victims of trafficking by those working within the criminal justice system.

It is noteworthy that across the journeys involved, precarity en-route is often emphasised, whereas in this study coding of spatial and temporal elements of interviews revealed that more than half of 'vulnerabilities' recounted related to pre-departure circumstances and a significant proportion within the UK or other countries of destination. This is not to understate the dangerous and difficult journeys people undertake but, as shown below in Figure 2, this provides some indication of where vulnerability was experienced by interviewees in this study.

Figure 2: Nature of Data Relating to 'Vulnerabilities' Outlined during Interviews



The contextual qualitative data collected from semi-structured interviews with 164 interviewees was coded using NVivo11, social science software designed to facilitate analysis of qualitative data. The coding framework included coding the temporal element to vulnerabilities discussed. This was broken down into four different temporal situations; 'Pre-departure' vulnerabilities for individuals while in their country of origin before they migrated such as their socio-economic status. 'En-route' vulnerabilities for individuals during a migration experience. 'UK or destination country' vulnerabilities for individuals once in the UK or in the country of final destination. 'After return to country of origin' for vulnerabilities for individuals once they were returned to their country of origin. Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the number of references to temporal vulnerabilities coded.

To explore these and other examples, this report firstly outlines **the methodological and ethical considerations** of the study. Details of human trafficking databases referred to, plus research limitations of their use, are outlined. Thereafter, **Section 1** presents findings on human trafficking across the three source countries in relation to the IOM DoMV model, across individual, family/household, community and structural level factors. **Section 2** looks at the routes and journeys undertaken and the experiences during these to reach the UK. **Section 3** then considers the way in which 'good practice' was discussed by trafficked persons and key informants from these three countries and in the UK. Data generated for this study included substantial material around support on return to countries of origin but, as this was not within the initial aims of this study, this will be discussed in subsequent publications. Section 3 also looks at the support needs of survivors in the UK and, importantly, the views of those who have experienced this form of abuse. **Specific recommendations for policy and practice** are provided at the end of the report. Throughout, this report includes the views and recommendations of 'survivors' of human trafficking driven by qualitative data generated around the aims of the research. The report builds on a conceptual framework from Zimmerman's conceptual model to inform policy, intervention and research²⁶, making this applicable to the countries and contexts of this study.

Human trafficking is a sensitive topic to research and ethical principles have been a key consideration throughout the study²⁷. Conducting research on sensitive topics often involves exploring topics that may be considered taboo, morally or legally ambiguous and/or emotionally challenging. Whilst some topics might be considered inherently sensitive (for example, child abuse) other topics are rendered sensitive by the moral or political climate that surrounds the activity being investigated. Human trafficking can be considered such a topic, with competing and conflict agendas, plus highly charged debates around who constitutes a ‘victim’ or ‘survivor’²⁸.

This section presents an overview of the methodology, ethical framework and research governance of this research. The primary approach used was qualitative in nature and placed emphasis on complexities and rich descriptions²⁹. This was supplemented by quantitative data extracted from the qualitative interviews. The foundations of the study were SLEs in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria during the early stages of research to share and incorporate what was already known about human trafficking within those countries and what was known about the links between them and the UK.

As outlined in Table 2 below, in summary, methods were:

Table 2: Summary of Methods

Method	Outputs and Outcomes
Shared Learning Events	Three country-specific reports outlining contextual understanding of human trafficking in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria
Participatory exercise to generate Timelines of key political events and key events relating to human trafficking or migration	Three Timelines of country-specific contextual factors in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria
In-depth semi-structured interviews with key informants	96 interviews completed
In-depth semi-structured interviews with adults who have experienced trafficking	68 interviews completed

It was critical to ensure ethical practice when conducting research into this sensitive area and, to do this, a ‘living’ Ethical Research Protocol was discussed, co-developed at SLEs in each country and refined over the lifetime of the study. Research governance was put in place to ensure appropriate scrutiny and accountability. The remainder of this section outlines each aspect of the methodology in turn:

27 Zimmerman, C. and C. Watts, (2003), *WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women*, World Health Organisation and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine: London.

28 Agustin, L.M. (2007), *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry*, London and New York: Zed Books; Anderson, B., (2014), *Trafficking, in the Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Doezema, J., (2010), *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking*, London and New York: Zed Books; Jobe, A. (2008), *Sexual Trafficking: A New Sexual Story?* in Alexander, F. and Throsby, K. (Eds.), *Gender and Interpersonal Violence*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

29 Geertz, C. (1973), *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books.

SHARED LEARNING EVENTS (SLEs) AND TIMELINES

The establishment of SLEs in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria allowed for contextually-based discussions to take place in each of these countries. The aims of these SLEs were multiple³⁰ and brought together relevant stakeholders in each country from civil society, government, law enforcement and academia. One of the main focuses was to explore evidence from experts in each country on their knowledge of vulnerabilities and resilience to human trafficking as well as what was already known about human trafficking within those countries and what was known about the links between them and the UK.

SLEs were held in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria between October 2017 and January 2018. In total there were ninety-four participants across all three SLEs. These events provided a valuable opportunity for stakeholders to come together to pool and share knowledge face-to-face. This involved giving presentations, providing moderated panels and leading workshops designed to stimulate the sharing of knowledge. Outputs from the events were recorded and shared in individual country reports³¹. The SLEs also provided the opportunity to co-design and refine research tools, discuss translation and interpretation questions, as well as addressing data protection and safeguarding concerns.

The first SLE took place in Tirana, Albania, between 24-26 October 2017. Thirty-three participants attended, including representatives from IOM UK, IOM Albania and UoB. The second SLE was held in Viet Nam between 6-7 December 2017. This included thirty-two participants, including representatives from IOM UK, IOM Viet Nam and UoB. The third and final SLE took place in Lagos, Nigeria, between 17-18 January 2018. This included twenty-nine participants with Professor Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, the former UN Special Rapporteur in Human Trafficking, who attended to give a presentation on her previous work and the experiences of Nigerian nationals in countries across the globe.

During these SLEs a range of country- and context-specific issues emerged that required adaptation of research tools subsequently applied to all countries. For example, in Nigeria, questions about sexuality were consciously omitted from research tools due to the severe criminalisation of homosexuality within the country. To ensure a logic of comparison in the design of research tools, these questions were omitted across the full range of countries.

Part of each SLEs focussed on the development of a Timeline of key political events and key events relating to human trafficking or migration more broadly in each country. In order to capture historical, structural and situational factors that may influence the occurrence of human trafficking, reports and historical timelines were partially developed prior to SLEs and then completed within workshops during each SLE. Attendees were invited to add additional key dates, including the dates of prevention campaigns, dates shelters were opened in the country, dates of key associated legislation, key prosecutions, publication of reports, examples of good practice, details of remittances and any other associated migration, labour migration or internal migration processes, events or patterns known to participants.

These Timelines helped to explore a range of country-specific contextual factors and their development has allowed for a political and historical framing for this study. In informing this study, these Timelines have been particularly helpful in providing a historic and structural understanding of human trafficking. They also partially compensate for the lack of focus in interviews around the more structural considerations element of trafficking with, as anticipated, interviewees mainly focussing on casework, community, family or individual level experiences.

³⁰ See: www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

³¹ Although it was originally anticipated that these events would support and inform the study, after holding the events it was considered by the research team that individual country reports should be published as stand-alone documents. These are additional outputs in this research.

IN DEPTH SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interviews with key informants and adults who had experienced trafficking provided a wealth of personal experiences and a rich source of qualitative data. We were also able to capture some quantitative data from these interviews. Interview tools were compiled following information emerging from SLEs and designed in ways that would lead to discussion on vulnerabilities, capabilities, risk and protective factors. Interviews were conducted in English, Albanian and Vietnamese dependent on the first language of interviewees. All interviews were fully transcribed to allow full review and examined using thematic analysis³² utilising NVivo11 social sciences software.

It was agreed that we would not interview children as part of this research study. This decision was largely based on ethical and legal considerations around interviewing children across four different countries. It was also recognised that the research study was already attempting to examine a broad range of complex issues and that trying to simultaneously study the vulnerabilities, experiences and support needs of children alongside adults was beyond the scope of this study.

INTERVIEW SAMPLING STRATEGY

Sampling discussions at the SLEs agreed that it was important that both male and female adults were interviewed, with the split being consistent with the numbers of men and women being referred into the UK NRM from the research country. The original intention was to interview 20 adults in each country who had been formally identified as trafficked.

However, it became clear, following the SLEs that the numbers of accessible individuals who had been formally identified as a victim of trafficking was low, requiring an additional sampling strategy to be developed. A sampling decision tree was designed for this purpose (See Appendix 2) with inclusion/exclusion criteria and a process to decide whether the individual was interviewed or not. This strategy was particularly used in Viet Nam with returnees who had not been identified as trafficked in the UK but, upon return, presented with strong indicators of trafficking. As such, a range of necessary statuses, formal and informal identification as a 'victim' or 'survivor' of trafficking were ultimately accepted and included in the sample, ranging across:

- Those who were trafficked to the UK and who had a Positive Conclusive Grounds³³ decision in the UK and/or had been formally identified as a 'victim of trafficking' or 'potential victim of trafficking' in Albania, Viet Nam or Nigeria
- Those who were trafficked to the UK and who had a Positive Conclusive Grounds decision in the UK but had not been formally identified as a 'victim of trafficking' or 'potential victim of trafficking' in Albania, Viet Nam or Nigeria
- Those who were trafficked to the UK and who had a Negative Conclusive Grounds decision in the UK but had been formally identified as a 'victim of trafficking' or 'potential victim of trafficking' in Albania, Viet Nam or Nigeria
- Those who were trafficked to European country(ies), who were formally identified as trafficked in those countries and had been formally identified as a 'victim of trafficking' or 'potential victim of trafficking' in Albania, Viet Nam or Nigeria
- Those who were not formally identified as trafficked in a European country but had been formally identified as a 'victim of trafficking' or 'potential victim of trafficking' in Albania, Viet Nam or Nigeria
- Those who were not formally identified as trafficked in the UK or a European country or their country of origin but who had strong or compelling indicators of being a potential victim of trafficking.

In Viet Nam we were able to interview adults who had been to the UK. However, we were unable to identify any Vietnamese nationals in Viet Nam who had returned from the UK

³² Miles, M.B. and Huberman, M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis*, Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

³³ The Conclusive Grounds decision refers to the second stage of identification through the NRM. The first stage is a 'Reasonable Grounds' decision, where the decision makers 'believes but cannot prove' that the person is a victim of human trafficking. The Conclusive Grounds decision assesses whether 'it is more likely than not' that the person is a victim of human trafficking.

and who were known to have been formally recognised as a victim of trafficking in the UK or Viet Nam. None of the adult interviewees in Viet Nam had any formal status as a victim of trafficking, or if they did they were not aware of this. Each of the transcripts of the adults interviewed in Viet Nam were examined and analysed by researchers in the UK. A sampling inclusion form was completed using the interview transcript, which recorded the trafficking indicators discussed in the interview using the ILO Operational Indicators of Trafficking in Human Beings³⁴. Whilst none of these adults were formally identified as a victim of trafficking whether through the UK NRM or through the formal recognition procedures in Viet Nam, all but one of the interviewees included in this research were considered by the UK research team to have described experiences which would meet the definition of human trafficking as provided by the Palermo Protocol.

While there are some methodological challenges with this there are also some methodological strengths with the inclusion of such persons in this research. As has already been discussed, the labels, definitions and categorisations used in human trafficking and migration are strongly contested. When research methodologies on human trafficking do include people who have been directly affected, it is frequently only those who have been formally identified as trafficked who are included. The consequences of this are those who have not been identified as trafficked or who have been misidentified are excluded from the discussion and debate around the experiences of trafficked persons and the responses to them.

Given the space for improvement in the identification of trafficked persons it is important to acknowledge that many people who have been trafficked will never have been formally labelled as trafficked. Only by shedding light on the experiences of this group will it be possible to improve victim identification in the future.

ANTICIPATED AND ULTIMATE SAMPLE SIZES

Initially, it was planned that interviews would take place with a minimum of 20 key informants and 20 adults who had experienced human trafficking from each country, resulting in a total of 160 interviews across Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK. The actual sample achieved and analysed to date exceeded this total number slightly (n=164) and can be seen in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Anticipated and Ultimate Sample Size

Country	Number of Key Informants Interviews		Number of Adults ³⁵ Interviews	
	Anticipated	Achieved	Anticipated	Achieved
Albania	20	29	20	12
Nigeria	20	27	20	14
Viet Nam	20	9	20	21
UK	20	31	20	21
Totals	80	96	80	68

Targets of 20 interviews with key informants were achieved and exceeded for key informants in Albania, Nigeria and the UK. However, only nine were carried out in Viet Nam due to challenges around the sensitivity of the topic, the lengthy and complicated procedure for permissions from superiors and the fact that the potential interviewees acknowledged limited knowledge of human trafficking of Vietnamese people to the UK.

³⁴ See: www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@declaration/documents/publication/wcms_105023.pdf

³⁵ This report uses the word 'adult' to refer to adults who have experienced trafficking who were interviewed in the course of the study.

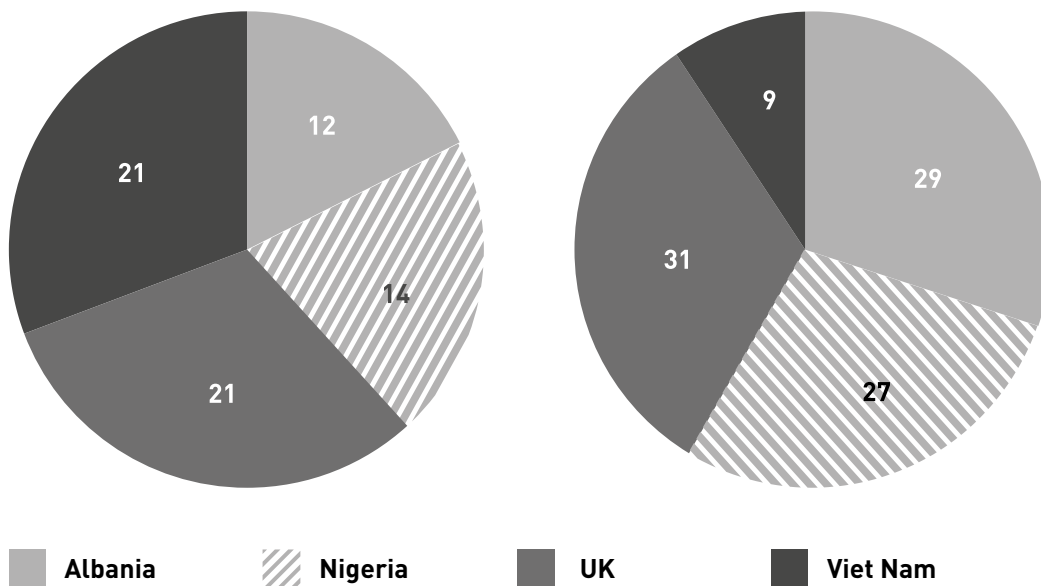
In addition, human trafficking from Viet Nam to the UK was not considered a priority for potential interviewees whose work was more focused on responding to the large numbers of cross border and regional trafficking cases. Given this context the research team decided that this number of key informants was sufficient and that interviewing key informants who did not focus on the UK would not provide useful data. The difficulty in reaching the required number of key informants was evidence in itself that the state and other members of the anti-trafficking sector in Viet Nam did not see the UK as significant in relation to greater number of regional cases.

Targets of 20 interviews were met for adults who had experienced human trafficking in Viet Nam and the UK but fell short in Albania (12) and Nigeria (14). Within Albania there were difficulties locating and accessing adults, but the geographical range of interviewees was broader than in Viet Nam and Nigeria. In Nigeria, the focus of most agencies at the time was on the high numbers of people returning from detention centres in Libya and other countries.

Ultimately the number of interviews conducted differed across the four countries but was sufficient to reach 'saturation'³⁶ point within the data for each country. The qualitative data gathered constitutes a rich and significant dataset and resource for future analysis beyond that carried out for this report. As can be seen below, the ultimate split across adult and key informant interviews was:

Graph 1: Number of Adults who had Experienced Trafficking interviewed (left)

Graph 2: Number of Key Informants interviewed (right)



³⁶ 'Saturation' point refers to the point in a research process when there is no new information or themes discovered during data analysis, providing a signal that data collection is sufficient.

Key informant interviews spanned a range of sectors, as outlined in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Breakdown of Key Informants by Sector

Stakeholder type	Albania	Nigeria	UK	Viet Nam	Total
Academic	0	0	0	4	4
Civil Society	4	15	24	4	47
Governmental	15	10	5	0	30
International organisation	6	1	2	1	10
Law enforcement	4	1	0	0	5
Total	29	27	31	9	96

Of the 21 adults interviewed in the UK, 9 were Albanian, 4, were Nigerian and 8 were from Viet Nam. This results in a total number of interviews for each country in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Nationalities of Adults Interviewed who had Experienced Human Trafficking

Nationality	Number of Interviews	Percentage
Albania	21	30.9
Nigeria	18	26.5
Viet Nam	29 ³⁷	42.6
Total	68	100³⁸

Places of origin of adults interviewed who had experienced human trafficking:

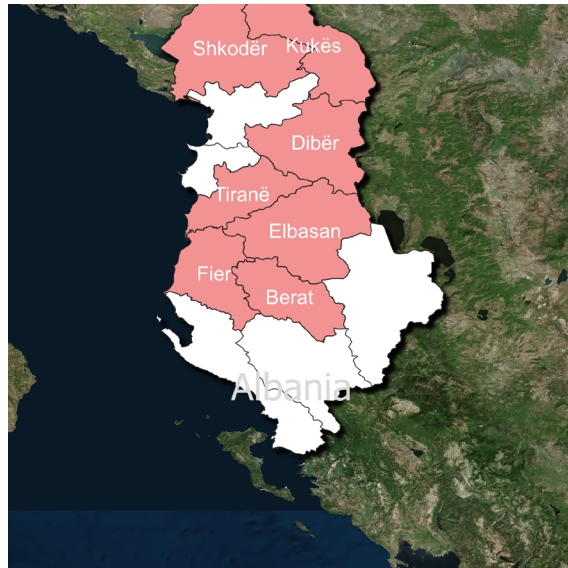
At the SLE's it was highlighted that trafficked persons in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria do not come from just one particular region. The geographical spread of counties, states and provinces where people in each of the countries were being trafficked from as highlighted at the SLE was significantly greater than expected.

The maps below show the states, counties and provinces which the adult interviewees for this research study came from.

³⁷ Following analysis of transcripts specifically for purposes of confirming indicators of trafficking for Vietnamese adults who had not been formally identified as a victim of trafficking in either Viet Nam or the UK one interviewee was considered by the UK research team not to have met the Palermo Protocol definition of trafficking despite some general indicators.

³⁸ Of the 21 Albanian adults who had experienced human trafficking who were interviewed for this research, 9 were interviewed in the UK and 12 were interviewed in Albania. Of the 18 Nigerian adults who had experienced human trafficking who were interviewed for this research, 4 were interviewed in the UK and 14 were interviewed in Nigeria. Of the 29 Vietnamese adults who had experienced human trafficking who were interviewed for this research 8 were interviewed in the UK and 21 were interviewed in Viet Nam.

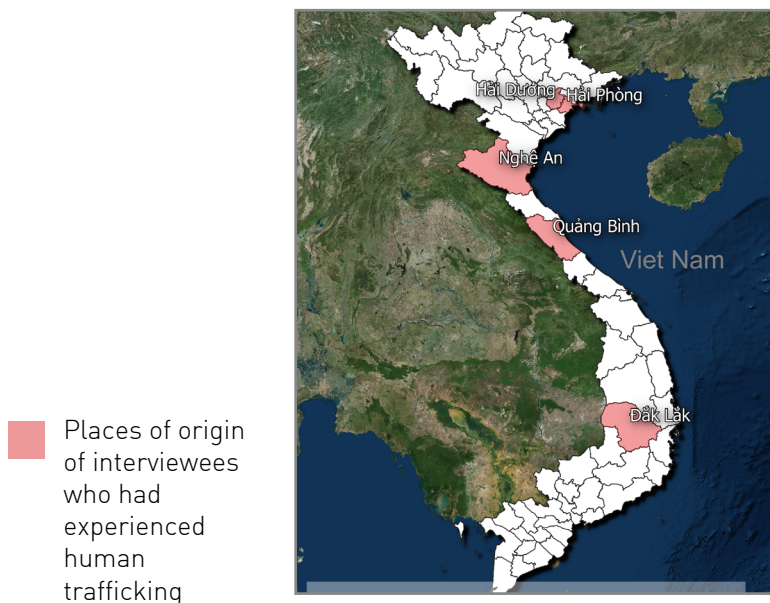
Map 1: Map of places of origin for Albanian adults



Map 2: Map of places of origin for Nigerian adults



Map 3: Map of places of origin for Vietnamese adults



Of the 68 interviews with adults, the gender split was 51.5% female and 48.5% male as shown below:

Table 6: Gender of adults interviewed across Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria

Gender	Albania	%	Nigeria	%	Viet Nam	%	Total	%
Female	15	22.1	16	23.5	4	5.9	35	51.5
Male	6	8.8	2	2.9	25	36.8	33	48.5
Total	21	30.9	18	26.5	29	42.6	68	100

Ages were provided for 65 of the 68 Adults at the time they were interviewed by researchers and ranged from 18 to 56 years. The mean³⁹ was 32.2 years (standard deviation 10.8) and the mode⁴⁰ 22 years.

Of the sample of 68 adults, at the time of the interview with one of the researchers, 55.9% were single and 32.4% married (Table 7) and just over half of those interviewed had children or dependents (51.5%) while 45.6% did not, with Vietnamese nationals having the most children or dependents (29.4%) (Table 8).

Graph 7: Marital Status by Country

Marital Status	Albania	%	Nigeria	%	Viet Nam	%	Total	%
Single	17	25	15	22.1	6	8.8	38	55.9
Married	0	0	2	2.9	20	29.4	22	32.4
Divorced	1	1.5	1	1.5	1	1.5	3	4.4
Separated	2	2.9	0	0	1	1.5	3	4.4
Missing data	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.9
Total	21	30.9	18	26.5	29	42.6	68	100

In terms of the numbers of children and dependents of participants, as can be seen below, the highest percentage was for adults from Viet Nam (29.4% with children/dependents) and the lowest from Nigeria (10.3%).

Table 8: Children/Dependents by Country⁴¹

Children/Dependents	Albania	%	Nigeria	%	Viet Nam	%	Total	%
No	13	19.1	11	16.2	7	10.3	31	45.6
Yes	8	11.8	7	10.3	20	29.4	35	51.5
Missing	0	0	0	0	2	2.9	2	2.9
Total	21	30.9	18	26.5	29	42.6	68	100

³⁹ The mean is the sum of all the ages of all respondents, divided by the total number of respondents.

⁴⁰ The mode is the most frequently recurring age recorded, i.e. the age held by the majority of respondents. This is interesting to report as it shows the most frequently recorded age.

⁴¹ Numbers were not rounded up as this would distort the 100% total.

A NOTE ON ACCESS TO ADULTS IN THE UK

For the UK based interviews, sub-contractors to the Adult Victim Care contract⁴² and other key stakeholders were contacted for interviews. It is important to point out that the access to adults who have experienced human trafficking has mainly taken place as a result of organisations that are not Home Office sub-contractors facilitating access to individuals under their care. Of nine organisations who are sub-contractors under the Adult Victim Care contract who were approached by the researchers for this study, six provided key informants for interview. Of these 6 organisations only one provided access to adults who had experienced human trafficking (seven interviewees).¹⁴ of the adults who had experienced human trafficking who were interviewed in the UK were accessed through non-contracted support organisations and other stakeholders.

Adults who had experienced trafficking and key informants were interviewed in English, Albanian and Vietnamese and interpreters were used when appropriate.

QUANTITATIVE DATABASE AND DATASET

Throughout the project we searched for existing databases for trends in quantitative data in the three countries of interest. While we were able to find some useful comparisons between countries, this information was limited. It was not possible to access information from NRM data as this data is not available via Freedom of Information Requests⁴³. In Nigeria some statistics were available from NAPTIP, as outlined in the Nigeria SLE report. In addition, it was found that statistics within countries are often conflicting, non-existent or not available for analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

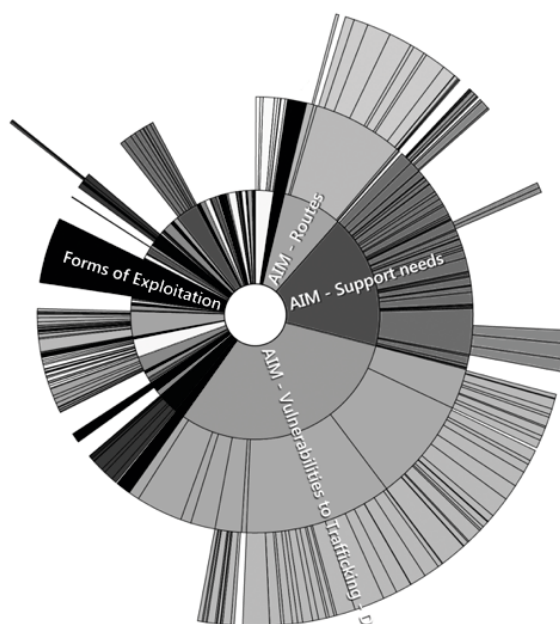
Qualitative data from SLEs and interviews were audio recorded and fully transcribed. The qualitative data set was analysed using the software package Nvivo11. Data was coded thematically using a range of descriptive and analytic categories⁴⁴. As can be seen in the below chart imported from NVivo11, the extent and nature of data generated for this study has clearly met the aims of the research, with a significant proportion relating directly to vulnerabilities at the DoMV levels, data on routes, and support needs. As can be seen in Figure 3 the aim around exploring vulnerabilities to trafficking produced the most data followed by the aim around support needs.

42 The Home Office funds the Adult Victim Care Contract with provides specialist support and assistance for trafficked adults in England and Wales. This contract is managed by the Salvation Army who sub-contract out to a number of organisations who provide support to trafficked men and women referred into the NRM

43 A specific request to access NRM anonymised case data was not approved due to the introduction of GDPR regulations.

44 Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.564.

Figure 3: Nature of Qualitative Data generated for this Study



Quantitative data from interviews and existing datasets was compiled into spreadsheets and analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics, Version 22. Crosstabulations of the data were produced and frequencies percentages were used to describe the demographic sample.

ETHICS

A 'living'⁴⁵ Ethical Protocol was designed to ensure the involvement of adults in this research was ethically sound throughout the lifetime of the project. Ethical issues are dynamic and, as such, it was important to ensure that ethical considerations were followed at all times and at the highest level, to protect those taking part. While it was decided early on in the study not to interview children, it was necessary to consider adults who may have been trafficked as a child.

The research was informed by ethical frameworks for conducting social science research within the UK such as those provided by the Social Research Association (2003)⁴⁶, British Sociological Association (2017)⁴⁷ and Economic and Social Research Council (2010).⁴⁸ The research was also conducted in accordance with the ethical requirements of the UK Government's Economic and Social Evaluation Unit ethical guidelines⁴⁹.

Particular attention was paid to ethical guidelines available on interviewing trafficked women⁵⁰. Beyond this, books⁵¹, journal articles⁵² and other publications that cover this topic were considered. There are also useful ethical guidelines available for conducting research on forced migration⁵³ and peer-reviewed papers on conducting research with

45 This was a 'living' document that evolved over the lifetime of the study.

46 For details see: the-sra.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/ethics03.pdf

47 For details see: www.britisoc.co.uk/media/24310/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice.pdf

48 For details see: www.esrc.ac.uk/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/

49 For details see, viewed on 2 October 2017 at: www.civilservice.gov.uk/networks/gsr/publications

50 Zimmerman, C. and C. Watts, (2003), WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women, World Health Organisation and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine: London.

51 Siegel, D. And de Wildt, R. (Eds.) (2016) Ethical Concerns in Research on Human Trafficking, Springer: Switzerland.

52 For example see: Cwikel, J. And Hoban, E. (2005) Contentious Issues in Research on Trafficked Women Working in the Sex Industry: Study Design, Ethics and Methodology, *The Journal of Sex Research*, Vol.42, No.4, p.306-316; Kim Anh Duong, (2015) Doing Human Trafficking in Research: Reflections on Ethical Challenges, *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, Issue 2, p.171-190.

53 Refugee Studies Centre, (2007), Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol.24, Issue 3, DOI:10.1093/rsq/hdi0250

refugees⁵⁴. Current gaps in ethical guidance include issues around boys and men who have experienced trafficking.

More broadly there are recommended principles and guidelines on human rights and human trafficking, developed to provide rights-based policy guidance on prevention and protection in human trafficking cases as well as facilitate the integration of human rights perspectives into anti-trafficking legislation and policy⁵⁵.

Ethical approval involved a two-stage University application between the Institute of Applied Social Research and University of Bedfordshire Research Ethics Committee. The 'living' Ethical Research Protocol addressed key ethical issues at each stage of the research, incorporating standard research practice of minimising 'harm', data protection, and confidentiality. It also enabled exploration and development of key contextually-based ethical issues throughout the life of the project through a mentoring role. Approval was given by NAPTIP and the Data Protection Commissioner in Albania. No ethical approval was required for Viet Nam.

Ethical considerations were given prominence at the design stage and during Days 2 and 3 of the SLEs, alongside country researchers. Thereafter, a 'culture' of ethics was fostered through ongoing mentoring⁵⁶ and discussions across the team. This was to ensure that ethical considerations remained pertinent and considered throughout the lifetime of the project and beyond the fieldwork stages. The 'living' Ethical Protocol will be published separately after this study is completed.

Initial stages of gaining informed consent were discussed during these SLEs and refined for use within Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria thereafter (Figure 4):

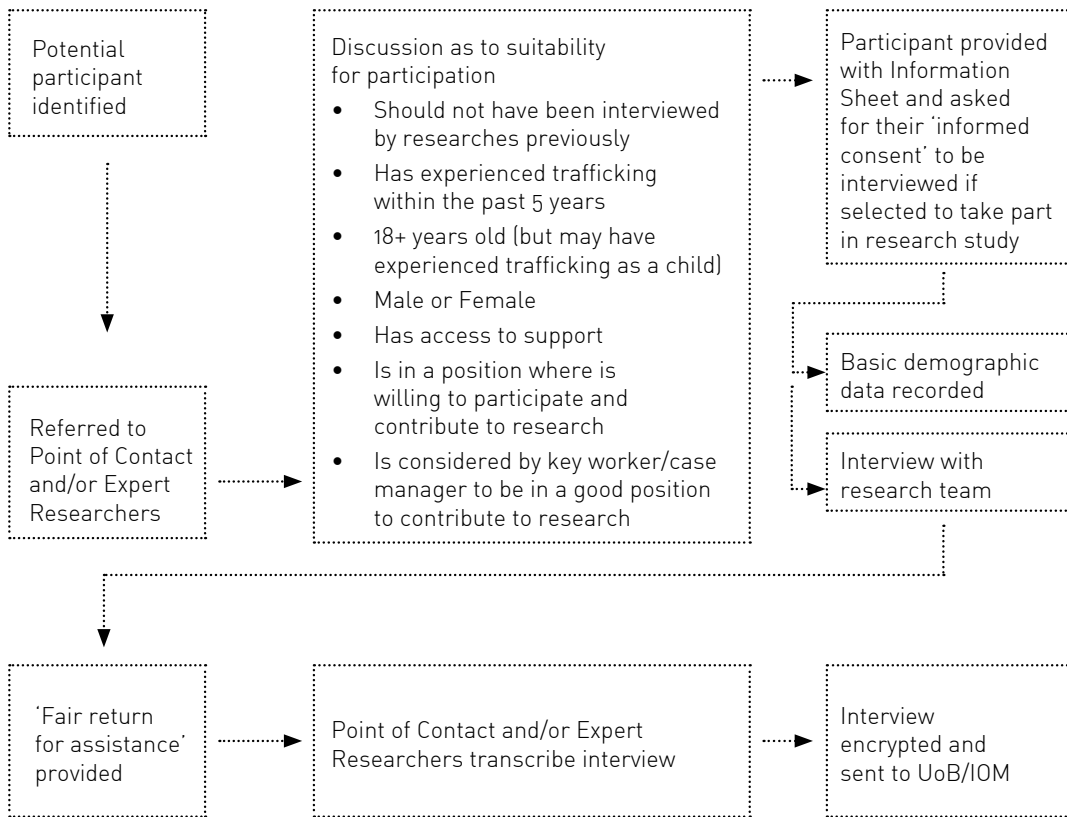
54 Mackenzie, C., McDowell, C. and E. Pittaway, (2007), Beyond 'Do No Harm': The Challenge of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol.20, No.2, p.299-319.

55 For details see, viewed on 5 March 2018 at: www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Traffickingen.pdf

56 A dedicated University member of staff provided mentoring across all three IOM researchers in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria.

Figure 4: Stages of Informed Consent in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria

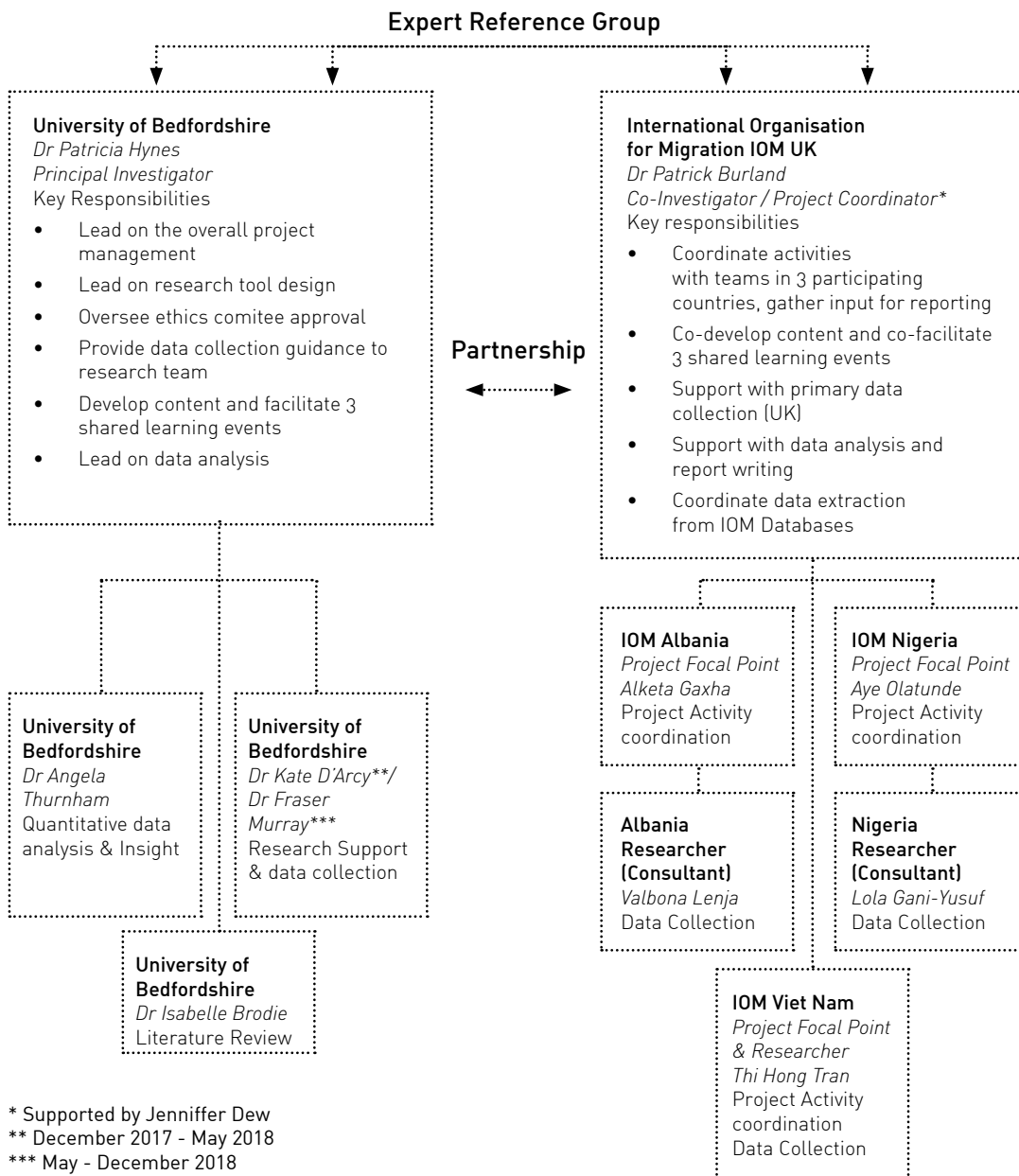
Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria: Stages of Informed Consent for Participants who have Experienced Human Trafficking



RESEARCH TEAM AND RESEARCH GOVERNANCE

The research process was carried out by researchers from the University of Bedfordshire and the International Organization for Migration as outlined in Figure 5 below:

Figure 5: Structure of Research Team



Both the University and IOM co-led on the establishment of an Expert Reference Group (ERG) to provide oversight and quality assurance for this project. The ERG also assisted in the formulation and delivery of the study through contributions to the research design and systematic appraisals of the data, and draft reports and outputs. Expertise was drawn from key stakeholders in the UK across a range of professionals, experienced practitioners and academics with knowledge of the topics and the specific country contexts. The ERG met every six months at key stages of the study and provided input throughout.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Conducting research across different countries and contexts raises a range of challenges, not least of which relate directly to accessing a difficult to reach group of people who have experienced traumatic events in their lives or have worked with those who have experience this form of abuse.

In this study, during co-design and refinement of research tools at the SLEs outlined above an attempt was made to embody a logic of comparison across our sample in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria, accepting that a strictly comparative design may not have allowed for context-specific access to participants, approach during interviews or, ultimately, completely comparable quantities of qualitative data to emerge. As there were three Expert Researchers employed across the three countries and a research team in the UK, to ensure potential differences in the use and interpretation of questions, a single mentor was assigned across the three source-country research teams. In this way, as much continuity in the interpretation of questions as possible was conducted over electronic mail and/or Skype conversations. Across all contexts, and wherever feasible, purposive samples designed at SLE events were ensured to provide a sense of equivalence across contexts and provide meaningful contrasts.

As in many studies around human trafficking, most knowledge is based on people who receive assistance rather than those who decline, avoid or are otherwise not reached by support services⁵⁷. This study was no exception as our sample was identified through multiple gatekeepers with a high proportion through service providers and country-specific, community-based organisations. In Viet Nam, Albania and Nigeria interviewees were accessed through assistance and support services, in the UK as outlined above, access to adult interviews was necessarily outside the formal structures of support provided to 'victims' of trafficking, with only one Home Office sub-contractor providing access to people had experienced trafficking for this study. Whilst there are understandable safeguarding issues, it was unfortunate that the lives of those receiving support through these structures have been under-represented in this report. In the UK, some 'survivors' interviewed had previously applied for assistance and had subsequently been declined by the authorities and were not, at the time of interview, receiving financial support or support with their accommodation but were receiving informal support through charitable organisations.

A key limitation has been that, in all three countries of the study, the number of adults who are known to services to have experienced trafficking to the UK were small. Modifications to the sample throughout the lifetime of the research were therefore required, as detailed above. As previously described, concentration on non-UK populations was invariably the priority. In Nigeria there was also an emerging and strengthening focus on people returning from Libyan detention centres during the lifetime of this project, widely dispersed across the country and subsequently hard to reach. Whereas in Viet Nam, focus is placed on females and children returning from China and neighbouring countries.

As well as being cross-national, this research was cross-cultural and often across language. IOM Expert Researchers based in Tirana, Hanoi and Lagos carried out interviews in the languages of participants, translating them into English for the purposes of analysis. It cannot be automatically assumed that simply speaking the same language constitutes being of the same 'community' as participants and time was spent exploring this when designing and discussing research tools. Limitations of the approach of translating interview transcripts into English include the potential loss of different historical cues and context-specific concepts during the translation process. Implications for such cross-language research were discussed at SLE events, as were issues of insider-outsider debates and professional boundaries that might affect the dynamics of the local environments in which the research was conducted⁵⁸.

To mitigate limitations and issues of reliability during qualitative data analysis, two members of the UK research team worked on the analysis of data within NVivo11 – one conducting analysis on all adults who had experienced trafficking and another analysing all transcripts of key informants across the four countries of the study. In this way, inter-researcher reliability during data analysis was assured as far as possible.

57 Brunovskis, A. and Surtees, R., (2007) *Leaving the Past Behind? When Victims of Trafficking Decline Assistance, A research cooperation between Fafo AIS (Oslo) and NEXUS Institute (Washington)*; Tyldum, G. (2010), *Limitations in Research on Human Trafficking*, *International Migration*, Vol.48(5), p.1-13.

58 Temple, B., (1997), *Watch your Tongue: Issues in Translation and Cross-Cultural Research*, *Sociology*, Vol.31, No.3, p.607-618; Temple, B., (2002), *Crossed Wires: Interpreters, Translators and Bilingual Workers in Cross-language Research*, *Qualitative Health Research*, Vol.12, No.6, p.844-854; Temple, B. and A. Young, (2004), *Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas*, *Qualitative Research*, Vol.4, No.2, p.161-178.

This study has not been able to access the levels of quantitative data we had hoped to reach for this study and/or conduct any secondary data analysis. Quantitative data in this report is therefore not comparable in terms of the way in which it has been collected or categorised⁵⁹. The lack of reliable statistics around trafficking has been well-rehearsed and is outlined above⁶⁰. This study was no exception with no sense of accuracy of statistics outlined during SLEs or subsequent interviews. For example in Viet Nam, statistics about human trafficking are available through different Ministries and centralisation of these statistics was not apparent. In Nigeria, few cases identified for this study had formal status or profiles through the central agency, NAPTIP⁶¹. As discussed previously, only 6 of the Nigerian nationals recognised as victims of trafficking by NAPTIP had been trafficked to the UK.⁶²

The use of terminology throughout this report has been a continuous consideration. As outlined earlier terminology in this area is often highly contested. Use of the term 'modern slavery' was a limitation in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria as this term is not regularly used within these countries. Instead the term 'human trafficking' according to the Palermo Protocol definition was widespread and understood following several years of usage. It was also sometimes the case the Palermo Protocol's three key elements - the 'act', 'means' and 'purpose'; for trafficking led to confusion and the decision tree in Appendix 2 was utilised in such cases. Presenting the use of 'modern slavery' in this study became more problematic within Nigeria, a county with a historic relationship to the term 'slavery'⁶³. Other terms proved to be equally problematic. For example, the use of 'Victim of Trafficking' (VoT) or 'Potential Victim of Trafficking' (PVoT) and associated acronyms 'VoT' and 'PVoT' were often considered lacking in sensitivity by a range of stakeholders and those who had themselves experienced trafficking. The term 'irregular migration' was also sometimes considered inappropriate in these settings. Conceptually, understandings of terms within the study such as 'vulnerability' and 'resilience' have required ongoing discussions between the UK and Expert Researchers as direct translations have nuanced differences. In retrospect, more time could have been dedicated to ensure uniform understandings and use of terminology such as 'modern slavery' 'primary exploitation', 'secondary exploitation', 'community' and other terms embodied in the DoMV model.

This study cannot lay claim to producing generalizable results. Rather, this study aims to explore the different contexts in which human trafficking occurs, within similar timeframes, concentrating on providing a nuanced and rich picture within Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria to inform support needs in the UK.

59 Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.72-75.

60 Laczko, F. and Gramega, M. (2003) *Developing Better Indicators of Human Trafficking*, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, No.1, p.179-94; Mugge, D. (2017), *40.3 Million Slaves? Four Reasons to Question the New Global Estimates of Modern Slavery*, *BTS Policy Brief No.1*, Open Democracy; Salt, J. (2000) *Trafficking and Human Smuggling: An European Perspective*, *International Migration*, Vol.38(3), p.31-56.

61 See Nigeria SLE report at www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

62 See: www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

63 See: www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/eight-reasons-why-we-shouldn-t-use-term-modern-slavery

ANA FROM ALBANIA

Ana grew up in a family where only the father in her immediate family worked although the family was not considered to be a poor family in the community they lived in. She was one of four children, with one sister and two brothers. Throughout her childhood she witnessed domestic abuse of her mother and physical abuse of her siblings, something which she regularly faced. Close relations came and went without ever intervening or any discussion around bruising or other clear indicators of this abuse.

She, like most people in her town, studied at school until it was time for her to attend university. She was happy to be moving to Tirana “to get out of the horror” she was living in. On arrival in Tirana, she met a boy and they dated for three years. Her university course was going well, and she enjoyed studying but, increasingly, her boyfriend was becoming critical of her, started checking where she was going, checked her mobile phone regularly and began complaining when she called family or friends. Over time her confidence shrank and when he suggested they move to Italy she felt as though there was no option but to leave with him. When she got to Italy, she realised what had happened. She had moved away from a controlling family and was now in a controlling relationship. Now in Italy her boyfriend beat her, broke her arm and then told her she had to work for him.

She managed to escape and somehow made her way to the UK, seeking a “safe life”. On arrival in the UK, she was in her own words “used again” and, although she found the process of telling her account really difficult, disclosed enough to be identified as a victim of trafficking, something which she did not readily recognise as describing her own position given its focus on being first and foremost a victim.

Ultimately, a UK organisation helped her to return to Albania. This organisation did not work through formal return structures available in the UK because they had links in Albania with a grassroots organisation. On her return, she did not know who to trust. She faced stigma from both her family and wider society. Her family rejected her when she tried to see them, telling her she had dishonoured them and that they would “cut her neck” if she tried to see them again.

Very few people believed her account and one of her most vivid experiences was with a female interpreter who used “embarrassing words” to describe her situation. Her only feeling of safety or wellbeing in Albania came from the organisation that was helping her. She now lives with the stigma associated with her experiences but is getting support with this and wants to become a policewoman.

EXAMINING VULNERABILITIES TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING FROM ALBANIA, VIET NAM AND NIGERIA THROUGH THE FRAMEWORK OF THE IOM DETERMINANTS OF MIGRANT VULNERABILITY MODEL

One of the aims of this research was to utilise the IOM DoMV model in the context of trafficking. 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 migration. The IOM DoMV model includes four levels. The first level relates to 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. The second level is the household and family level. Household and family factors can include family size, household structure, socio-economic status, migration histories, employment, livelihoods, education levels, gender norms, and family dynamics. 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. The fourth level is the structural level. Structural factors might create an economic or political climate that may render people vulnerable. For example, there may be social norms that support patriarchy or condone high levels of sexual, gender-based or other forms of violence and discrimination.

The findings of this research emphasise the relevance of the levels and risk factors in the model to the experiences of trafficked persons from these three countries. Some of these factors can be viewed in Appendix 3 (IOM's General Classification of Risk and Protective Factors).

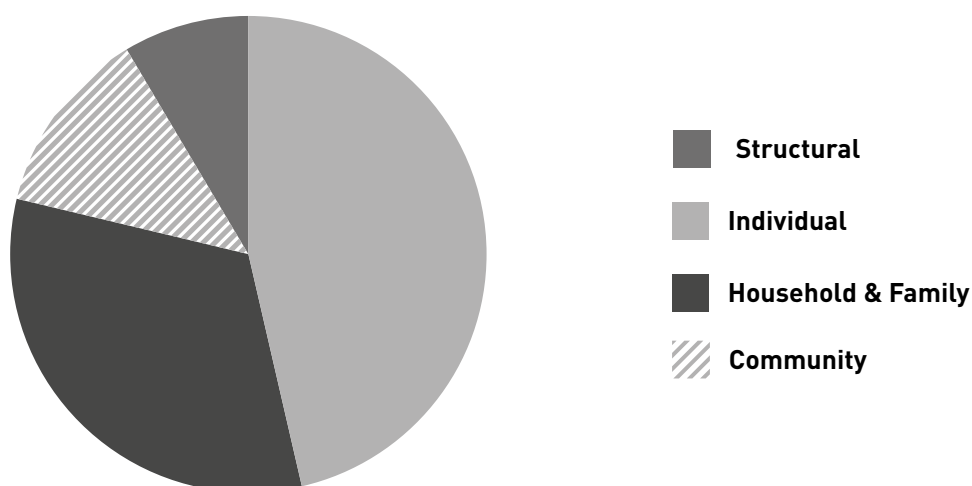
The act of human trafficking does not require transnational movement. However, this research has been focused on the trafficking of people from Viet Nam, Albania and Nigeria to the UK and to Europe. In this regard this section focuses on some specific vulnerabilities which are only relevant to transnational movement⁶⁴.

The research has identified that a multitude of risk factors creating vulnerability are significant in the backgrounds of trafficked persons from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. This report examines the risk factors across the four levels discussed above which were most commonly discussed by research participants. While the model establishes four separate levels of vulnerability these are deeply interconnected. As outlined in the introduction, in this research we describe **constellations of factors** experienced by individuals to reflect the close connection between multiple and interconnected factors creating vulnerability to human trafficking.

This acknowledges that vulnerability is not created by one risk factor alone. There are a series of contributing factors which ultimately contribute to a person becoming vulnerable to human trafficking. From a number of individual sets of circumstances, across the full range of countries in this study, a key finding has been that it is often people who are actively resisting 'vulnerabilities' within their immediate circumstances who set out on migration pathways to resolve their own 'vulnerable' positions and basic needs. Consideration of constellations of factors also acknowledges that journeys can begin with rational decision-making, hope, promises of employment, transport and accommodation but can become fragmented journeys towards 'vulnerability', precarity and exploitation en-route and within countries of destination. As such, interventions which seek to address and prevent the causes of vulnerability to human trafficking must adopt holistic approaches which are able to respond effectively to each and all of these levels if they can hope to be effective.

⁶⁴ The Palermo Protocol definition of 'human trafficking' does not even require the movement of a person. However, human trafficking does commonly involve the movement of persons both between and within countries. An act might constitute trafficking if a person has only moved from one part of a city to another.

Figure 6: Four Levels of Vulnerability:



This figure provides a visual representation of the number of references to the different levels of vulnerability in the IOM DoMV model from the coding of the transcripts of the 164 interviewees using Nvivo11. As the figure shows individual factors were most often discussed by participants in this study, followed by household and family factors, community factors and structural factors

HOPELESSNESS

It was acknowledged across the three countries that many people felt a sense of hopelessness about their lives in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria and saw no future for themselves if they remained where they were. A sense of hopelessness is not identified as a specific factor of vulnerability within the individual level of the IOM's Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability. The hopelessness that an individual might experience may be the result of vulnerabilities across the four different levels. Hopelessness is subjective and difficult to identify or measure. However, hopelessness is important in understanding vulnerability to trafficking. The research team encountered discussions of people feeling hopeless about their lives and consequently willing to take risks in search of a better or safer future. As one Albanian trafficked woman explained in describing why she had accepted the offer of work outside of Albania:

'It was the desire to have a future.'⁶⁵

A sense of hopelessness may mean people seek out or accept offers from recruiters and feel they have little choice but to overlook or reject any reservations they have about the potential risks or dangers which these recruiters might pose and to be willing to migrate despite having very little detail about where they would be going and what they would be doing once there. As one key informant from Nigeria explained:

'It all stems from a desperation.'⁶⁶

Hope and aspirations are becoming key themes in research around migration.⁶⁷ For example, in a chapter on understanding migration journeys from migrants' perspectives, IOM's World Migration Report in 2018 suggests:

65 Marina, Interview 4, Albania, July 2018.

66 Interview 105, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

67 Carling, J. and Collins, F. (2018), *Aspiration, desire and drivers of migration*, *Journal of Ethnic and*

'Today, just as happens every day, many thousands of people throughout the world will be setting off on journeys in the hope of being able to forge safe and meaningful lives in a new country. ... others will be setting off on journeys they know will be long and dangerous – so much so that they may allow themselves the realization that they may be abused, exploited or even die en route.'⁶⁸

In this study we have found that there was a relationship between hope and opportunity in the accounts of journeys from the interviews with adults who have experienced human trafficking as well as in a number of the key informant interviews. It is also of note that, during the SLE in Albania, a sense of 'anomie'⁶⁹ since 2010 was recounted by a participant, something which has also been discussed in the literature on human trafficking from Albania (Brodie et al 2019). 'Anomie' refers to society's ineffectiveness to regulate norms and behaviour. Some have argued that 'anomie' is a source of deviant behaviour when there is a lack of opportunity for advancement.

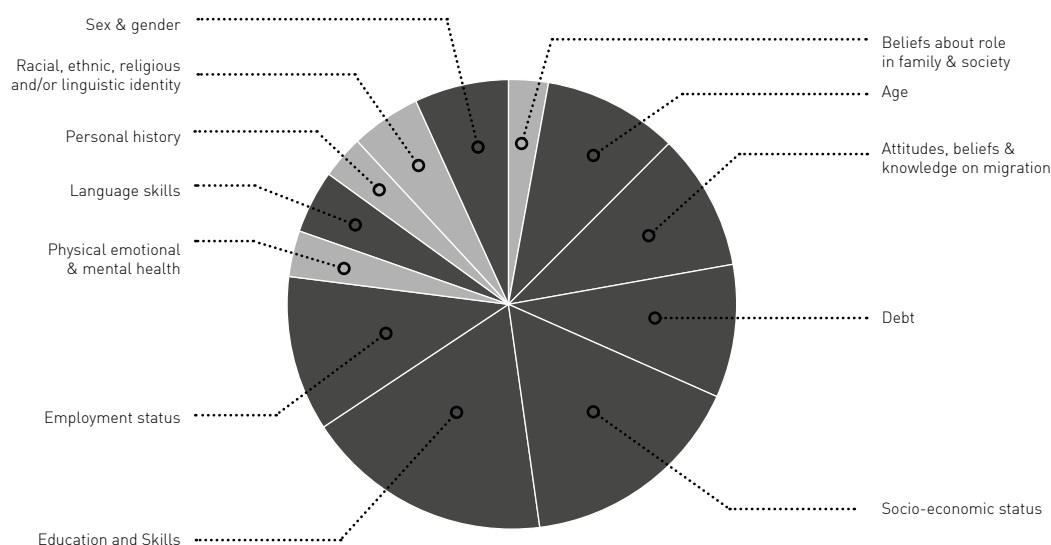
IOM'S DETERMINANTS OF MIGRANT VULNERABILITY MODEL

This section of the report does not look at the countries separately but, rather, is structured thematically in line with the individual, family/household, community and structural level of IOM's DoMV model. These levels are addressed in turn, detailing what was particularly emphasised in interviews with trafficked adults from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria as well as key informants working on human trafficking in those countries and the UK.

This section focuses on the factors across the four levels which were analysed as having been most commonly mentioned in interviews by the key informants and adults who have experienced human trafficking when talking about vulnerabilities to human trafficking. It was not possible for all the factors contained within the IOM DoMV which were discussed by the interviewees to be explored within this report.

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FACTORS

Figure 7: References to Individual Level Factors in Interview Transcripts



This chart visualises the number of references to individual level risk factors which were coded from the interview transcripts. Those which are shaded are specifically addressed here.

Many interviewees being trafficked from the three countries have faced similar difficult individual experiences and circumstances beyond their control prior to being trafficked. The most prominent factors discussed at this level were the characteristics of age, sex

Migration Studies, 44:6, p.909-926.

68 McAuliffe, M., Kitimbo, A., Goossens, A.M. and Ullah, A.K.M.A., (2018) Understanding Migration Journeys from Migrants' Perspectives, World Migration Report 2018, Geneva: IOM.

69 See, for example, the work of Robert Merton and Emile Durkheim.

and gender, education and skills level of those being trafficked, their employment status and socio-economic status. Interviewees also highlighted a lack of language skills in transit or destination countries as a significant vulnerability after they had departed their country of origin. The other significant risk factors discussed for trafficked persons related to their individual beliefs and attitudes. These are their attitudes, beliefs and knowledge about migration and their beliefs about their role in their family and society. (These will be discussed later in this section).

At an individual level across all the countries, there was limited discussion on people's 'racial', ethnic, religious or linguistic identity being an important factor in their vulnerability to trafficking. Participants across the countries did not discuss people being specifically targeted by traffickers because of racial, ethnic or religious identities. There were exceptions to this. In particular, key informants in Albania highlighted that trafficked children in Albania were commonly from the Roma population⁷⁰. A person's identity may not make them vulnerable because they are directly targeted by traffickers because of these identities. However, discrimination against people of these identities may impact upon their education, socio-economic status and employment which are within the general classification of risk factors within the IOM model. Participants also did not discuss the impact of the sexuality of trafficked persons. However, as previously discussed in the methodology section of this report, because of the severe criminalisation of homosexuality within Nigeria the semi-structured interviews conducted in Nigeria with key informants and trafficked adults did not include questions regarding sexuality as a potential cause of vulnerability. There was also limited discussion about the impact of physical, emotional or mental health on vulnerability.

AGE

The global response to human trafficking has focused on children and young people as particularly vulnerable to human trafficking. Children are specifically highlighted in the title of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children. A report published by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in 2018 states that 30% of trafficked persons in the world are children⁷¹. In 2017 41% of the potential victims of trafficking referred into the NRM were children⁷². In this study, there was a wide age range for the age at which interviewees for this research were trafficked, from Albanian women trafficked as teenagers to Vietnamese men trafficked in their forties and fifties. Age may create different vulnerabilities dependent upon factors at the household and family, community and structural levels.

Interviewees in this research have discussed how age may be a vulnerability for a person pre-departure but also during a migration experience. A trafficked woman from Albania described how they were young and not aware of the risks of human trafficking:

'I was 18 years old, I think age matters. I was young and not informed on this phenomena [sic].'⁷³

Age is also important because young people may not be able to resist those urging them to enter a situation which turns out to be trafficking. This can be connected to vulnerability at a household and family level when it is a young person's older relatives expecting them to take these risks.

'Because they're children in any case so there might be an added vulnerability where they can't actually speak up when the parents tell them you're going to travel with this uncle.'⁷⁴

Children and young people may also be unable to physically protect themselves against physical, sexual and emotional abuse and violence from traffickers prior to migration,

70 The Roma population in Albania have only recently been recognised as one of the nine national minorities according to law (No.96/2017).

71 See: [UNODC unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2018/GL0TiP_2018_BOOK_web_small.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2018/GL0TiP_2018_BOOK_web_small.pdf) p10.

72 Available at: nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/national-referral-mechanism-statistics/2017-nrm-statistics/884-nrm-annual-report-2017/file

73 Matilda, Interview 5, Albania, July 2018.

74 Interview 129, key informant, UK, March 2018.

during migration and in transit and destination countries. A child or young person may be vulnerable because they might be less capable of making good decisions or make decisions for themselves, they may be vulnerable to traffickers who can more easily manipulate them and make decisions for them. Key informants suggested this as a reason for why age can be a vulnerability:

'The age makes them vulnerable, yes, the age makes most of them vulnerable. Most of them cannot take a decision on their own they depend on people to take for them.'⁷⁵

'Children definitely are vulnerable. Children across the board, definitely. I used to think that we had more children in primary school, children who hadn't completed primary school, who are especially more vulnerable because they could not read and they could not think for themselves, they hadn't got to the stage where they could question authority.'⁷⁶

However, the research identified that in some circumstances being older may have a negative impact upon a person's vulnerability. For example, Nam from Viet Nam described how he had to seek opportunities for irregular migration because he was too old to meet requirements for a regular economic migrant scheme:

'The broker told me that if go in legal way . . . I may not be eligible anymore, because of my age. They only received 18-35 year-old people. They will not allow me to work at my age.'⁷⁷

While at the individual level being young and a child might be a vulnerability, the research found that becoming an adult⁷⁸ in terms of one's age can be a vulnerability post-arrival, once in the UK, as a consequence of the UK's migration management practices at the structural level. These practices may mean people become more vulnerable as they transition from childhood through into adulthood. A report by ECPAT UK discusses:

'uncertainty over a child's immigration status leaves children vulnerable to going missing and being trafficked or re-trafficked. The limited provision of Unaccompanied Asylum Seeking Child (UASC) leave until a child is seventeen-and-a-half, and long delays in asylum and other processes, make them especially vulnerable at this age.'⁷⁹

Unaccompanied children who have had some status in the UK and been able to access support may fear that when they become adults they will be refused asylum and will not be able to stay in the UK and continue to receive support from the State. An Albanian male explained how he was smuggled to the UK as a child and was looked after by social services. When he turned 18 he believed that he would be returned to Albania, so he left social services. He was then recruited by someone he had met in the UK who told him he would give him food and accommodation in exchange for working for him. He ended up working in a cannabis factory where he was only allowed out once a week to get food:

'I was, from social services I've moved because I was 18, you know? And then one guy who was working there he just told me like, "Go! Because the Home Office is going to arrest you", you know and take you back to Albania and I moved from there and I go to, I was knowing someone, [sic] he just said to me, "If you want to come to work for me, I'm going to find you a house and I'm going to give you food and work for me" and I worked for him.'⁸⁰

75 Interview 112, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

76 Interview 129, key informant, UK, March 2018.

77 Nam, Interview 48, Viet Nam, April 2018.

78 See also the work of Elaine Chase, 'Becoming Adult' research – view at: becomingadult.net

79 ECPAT UK and Missing People (2018) *Still in Harm's Way*, London: ECPAT UK and Missing People, p34

80 Guzim, Interview 41, UK, September 2018.

SEX AND GENDER

IOM defines gender as:

'... the socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviours, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to people based on their assigned sex. Gender is relational and refers not simply to women, men or other gender groups, but to the relationship between them. Although notions of gender are deeply rooted in every culture, they are also changeable over time and have wide variations both within and between cultures.'⁸¹

There has been much focus on women in the responses to human trafficking. As previously referenced, one example of this is the title of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Davidson and Anderson have argued that women have been 'lumped together with children as categories of persons requiring special protection and constructed as the passive victims and objects of third parties within the migration process.'⁸² It is argued that the focus on women and the focus on women as vulnerable to trafficking comes from a disempowering generalisation and assertion that women are inherently vulnerable⁸³.

Sex and gender were discussed as an important cause of vulnerability in the majority of interviews with key informants. However, some key informants discussed women as being vulnerable to trafficking in ways which appeared to accept a gendered notion of vulnerability. For example:

'... women are more vulnerable, they are exploited more because of inability to react.'⁸⁴

'Looking from the gender point of view, the females are more vulnerable.'⁸⁵

However, key informants did reflect on the ways that a person's gender can impact upon vulnerability pre-departure, highlighting societal level gender imbalances. A key informant in the UK who had worked with a large number of trafficked women from Albania explained:

'... the problem for Albania is that women, I'll say women, are in a very difficult position because of their gender, so the gender imbalances, and they've never had to make choices, so it's almost like every time their life has been decided for them. So, it's very tempting when you become aware that there might be better options outside your village or your town or your city sometimes, and you become very, you're very likely to fall in the traps of these facilitators who can take you somewhere else for a better future.'⁸⁶

Key informants recognised the impact of gender on other vulnerabilities. A key informant in Nigeria highlighted how women may be unable to access education, which again may cause other vulnerabilities which others may take advantage of:

'Gender is there obviously because when you have a case of maybe, you have 5 in a family and the gender they will ask to step back not to go to school is the female gender.'⁸⁷

These reflect how the individual level factor of gender as a vulnerability is determined by gender roles at the household and family. Being a man may also contribute towards vulnerability in circumstances where men might have to put themselves into dangerous situations to fulfil the expectations and requirements of male gender roles.

81 IOM (2015) IOM Gender Equality Policy 2015-2019, C/106/INF/8/Rev.1,p.12

82 Davidson, J. O. and Anderson, B. (2006) *The Trouble with Trafficking*. In: van den Anker, C. and Doomernik, J. (eds.) *Trafficking and Women's Rights*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.11-26

83 See Kapur, Ratna. (2002) 'The tragedy of victimization rhetoric: Resurrecting the native subject', *International/Postcolonial feminist legal politics*. *Harvard Human Rights Law Journal*. 15, pp.7-21, and Krieg, Sarah, H. (2009) 'Trafficking in human beings: The EU approach between border control, law enforcement and human rights.' *European Law Journal*. 15 (6), pp.775-790.

84 Interview 84, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

85 Interview 117, key informant, Nigeria, August 2018.

86 Interview 148, key informant, UK, August 2018.

87 Interview 110, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

A person's sex contributes to their vulnerability to trafficking differently depending on the requirements of the intended form of exploitation. Larger numbers of men and women and boys and girls might be trafficked from and to different countries. In 2017, 86% of Albanian adults referred into the NRM were female, for Albanian children (aged under 18 years old) 80% were male. In 2016, 65% of Vietnamese nationals referred into the NRM as a potential victim of trafficking were male^{88, 89}. One key informant in the UK reflected on how men and boys can be vulnerable:

'One of my perspectives on thinking about the vulnerability of male gender or why boys are trafficked, is it's borne out that traffickers feel they can use them more for more purposes, a more varied range of exploitation.'⁹⁰

A key informant in Nigeria offered their opinion on why more females are trafficked than boys:

'It's girls that are more trafficked than boys. Most of these traffickers traffic them with the mindset that they are going to do the work of prostitution there which fetches more money and higher fees for them. So that is why more girls are trafficked than boys.'⁹¹

From this research we recognise that sex and gender as a factor of vulnerability is greatly determined by a multitude of external factors across the household and family level, community level and the structural level in the country of origin and destination countries.

EDUCATION AND SKILLS LEVEL

IOM's research on thousands of migrants from 58 countries who travelled through the central and eastern Mediterranean migration routes found that migrants with secondary education were the least vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking⁹². There is a common perception that low education is a key factor in the ability to exploit another person. For example, in a discussion about the Human Development Index, the global knowledge platform Delta 8.7 outlined how a:

'Lack of education and illiteracy are key factors involved with the propensity of both children and adults towards exploitative labour conditions.'⁹³

In this research across the three countries it was emphasised during interviews that trafficked persons commonly have limited formal education. One key informant from Nigeria summarised the educational background of the trafficked persons their organisation had worked with:

'In terms of educational level, we've come to realize that a lot of them who are trafficked do not have the basic education and even when they have education, they are not well educated.'⁹⁴

A key informant from Viet Nam explained:

'They finish secondary school at the most, some only finish primary schools. Some others can finish high school and have no stable job.'⁹⁵

A trafficked man from Albania described their educational background:

88 See: www.antislaverycommissioner.co.uk/media/1159/iasc-report-combating-modern-slavery-experience-by-vietname-nationals-en-route-to-and-within-the-uk.pdf

89 It should be noted that statistics on the numbers of male victims may be a result in gaps in the identification of trafficked men.

90 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

91 Interview 105, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018

92 Galos, E., L. Bartolini, H. Cook and N. Grant (2017) *Migrant Vulnerability to Human Trafficking and Exploitation: Evidence from the Central and Eastern Mediterranean Migration Routes*, Geneva:IOM,p31.

93 www.delta87.org/news-desk-posts/measurement-of-related-issues/

94 Interview 108, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

95 Interview 159, key informant, Viet Nam, February 2018.

'I attended school up to the second grade. But then I discontinued attending school every day, I went once a year to give exams. So I passed almost the 9th grade.'⁹⁶

Having limited and or costly education may create vulnerability because it enables recruiters to target people using the promise of providing them an education. Key informants in the UK working with trafficked persons highlighted that young Nigerians in particular, can be recruited through this method:

'... two mothers were approached by different individuals saying actually I can take your daughter to London, my friend has a baby, she can just be there and she'll go to school. And the attraction I've found for a lot of these parents has been education and being educated in the UK.'⁹⁷

'... it is a vulnerability, definitely, that's one of the reasons why people want to come here. It's interesting how, within Nigeria, that education is held highly, "I just want to study", they come here, and they go, "I just want to go to school and study".'⁹⁸

While being illiterate or having received little or no formal education may be a vulnerability, people who have accessed formal education may still become victims of human trafficking. From the limited sample of adults who have experienced human trafficking who were interviewed in our research, only one person reported that they had never been to school. The majority of these interviewees, across the three countries, had accessed secondary education.

Table 9: Educational Level of Sample

Education	Albania	%	Nigeria	%	Viet Nam	%	Total	%
Primary	1	1.5	4	5.9	0	0	5	7.4
Secondary	17	25	14	20.6	28	41.2	59	86.8
No Education	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	1	1.5
Missing Data	2	2.9	0	0	1	1.5	3	4.4
Total	21	30.9	18	26.5	29	42.6	68	100

There is a further nuance around education in the case of Albanian women and some Nigerian women trafficked to the UK. It was highlighted throughout the research that people from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria with a higher level of education can also end up being trafficked. One interviewee in the UK explained:

'You can have people who have gone through school process, primary and secondary and university, and still end up being victims of trafficking.'⁹⁹

There was a recognisable cohort of women trafficked from Albania to the UK who had degrees or who were studying at a university in Albania when they were trafficked. This was recognised by several key informants. One of whom acknowledged:

'I've certainly come across cases of young Albanian ladies with degrees.'¹⁰⁰

An Albanian woman trafficked to the UK interviewed for the research described their education:

'I had a good life there, I would say comparing with other people. I went to university, I studied . . . I have a Degree in Albania, I finished the Bachelor in Art and Design.'¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Alket, Interview 7, Albania, July 2018.

⁹⁷ Interview 129, key informant, UK, March 2018.

⁹⁸ Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

⁹⁹ Interview 129, key informant, UK, March 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

¹⁰¹ Albana, Interview 27, UK, May 2018.

One key informant in the UK described how they struggled to see how a woman with a good education could become vulnerable to trafficking:

'To my mind, a 15 year old girl, who spent her entire life at home and is expected to stay there, get married, have kids, work the fields and die is different from a 22 year old woman who's spent three years living away from home studying to a good degree in Tirana. Those are two very different things and I can see the vulnerability in one a lot more easily than I can in the other.'¹⁰²

How people who have experienced trafficking present themselves can be key in terms of the responses from practitioners. As outlined later in this report, having the competence to see through the ways individuals present themselves is key to not only identification of 'victims', but also the responses to supporting and assisting them.

This research has identified that the vulnerabilities behind human trafficking are broad and varied and there will rarely be a single cause of vulnerability. Thinking about **constellation of vulnerabilities** around individuals helps us to recognise that there are multiple complicated and contributing factors which may result in a person being vulnerable to trafficking. A person's recognition as a victim of human trafficking should not be disregarded or undermined because they do not meet a narrow and rigid conceptualisation of the 'perfect' or 'ideal' victim.¹⁰³

EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The individual level of the DoMV model includes socio-economic status and access to resources and employment status as potential vulnerabilities. These two factors are closely connected. They were prominent in the descriptions about trafficked persons from the three countries from key informants. Trafficked adults interviewed for the research described their situations of poverty, indebtedness and a lack of resources in their lives before they were trafficked. They also described being unemployed or having a job which was poorly paid or doing work which was unpleasant and unsatisfying before they were trafficked. Across Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria, migration for work was seen to be the best way to address this. Key informants across the countries emphasised the importance of their employment status in creating vulnerability:

'If an order, a hierarchy of factors were to be established, unemployment would be the main factor.'¹⁰⁴

'If these kids are employed as an individual, I don't think they will have the urge to move out to fetch for money outside their village.'¹⁰⁵

'Financial difficulty is the most noticeable issue. Without the financial problems, they would not have been coerced that easily. Take the case of human trafficking for labour exploitation as an example. If actual income of a person in his/her province is only few hundred thousand dong a month [\$20-25], the promised income in somewhere at a few million dongs [\$90-200] would be a great opportunity for them.'¹⁰⁶

The false promises of employment or better paid employment than people currently have is another important means of recruitment. Those who are unemployed may seek to change their circumstances and improve their lives by accepting offers of employment and financial opportunities. The socio-economic challenges that people face in their country may strongly contribute to a sense of hopelessness which we discussed previously. Key informants across the countries summarised how people in situations of poverty were willing to take risks to improve their lives, such risks which result in them being trafficked:

'... they think they will be able to escape this extreme poverty here, without taking into consideration the consequences. Sometimes they take the risks, they understand

102 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

103 See Hoyle, C., Bosworth, M. and Dempsey, M. (2011) 'Labelling the victims of sex trafficking: exploring the borderland between rhetoric and reality' and Srikantiah, J. (2007) 'Perfect victims and real survivors: the iconic victim in domestic human trafficking law' and Uy, R. (2011) 'Blinded by red lights: why trafficking discourse should shift away from sex and the "perfect victim" paradigm.'

104 Interview 71, key informant, Albania, March 2018

105 Interview 105, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018

106 Interview 159, key informant, Viet Nam, February 2018

there are risks and they take them deliberately because they think that the risks are much smaller than the miserable situations in which they live.’¹⁰⁷

‘And if you look at the level of poverty also, the challenge is ‘will I remain poor forever? If I die let me die, let me go and take the risk like other people are going.’ So poverty plays a very big role in their vulnerability.’¹⁰⁸

Debt was a specific aspect of wider socio-economic status which was recognised as a significant cause of vulnerability pre-departure. However, debt is also greatly significant as a vulnerability for people when they are in the country of destination or after they have returned to their country of origin. Among the Vietnamese men interviewed for this research it was very common for them to describe how they had become greatly indebted to fund their migration to the UK. The people they were borrowing the large amounts of money from were often the same people or closely connected to the people who were offering to facilitate their migration and provide economic opportunities for them in these countries. These men also discussed how they used land or property as collateral to fund their journeys. One Vietnamese man explained one such common experience:

‘... the broker approached my house and asked me to borrow money for a deposit. After that, he started to collect the whole expense, it was all his people who gave out the money. They lent me money, but they were all the broker’s people. I borrowed money and he came to collect it. The broker introduced me a place to borrow money. I mortgaged my documents and land use certificate. They told me that the wage I sent home would be cut directly into my debt.’¹⁰⁹

It was found that this debt was then used as a means of making a person vulnerable to remaining in a situation of trafficking or ensuring they return to a situation of exploitation for the fear of the consequences of not repaying a debt they owe. As one Vietnamese trafficked man described:

‘I had worked more than three years, but I just paid off more than half of the debt. There must be something wrong . . . They just informed me that “keep working, I will tell you when you pay off all your debt”.’¹¹⁰

Another Vietnamese trafficked man explained the long-lasting powerful impact of an outstanding debt as a means of coercion:

‘I will go. Go even if I will die. I must to work and pay off the debt. I just fear debt, not fear hardships.’¹¹¹

One trafficked woman from Nigeria described how she had been deceived about the nature of work she had been promised by her trafficker and how she had been coerced into sex work to pay off the debt she owed:

‘So when I get there, the lady I met, the woman I want to stay with now told me that it’s not nanny, that I come here for prostitute. I told her ‘why?’ That, that is not what they told me from Nigeria. That I come here for nanny so why prostitute? She told me she can’t take me back to Nigeria, that I have to pay her because she spent a lot of money to bring me. I was so shocked because I don’t have any other way. So I had to do the job.’¹¹²

Key informants in the UK and in Nigeria working with trafficked persons highlighted a specific issue in people becoming indebted to those involved in helping them migrate because of a lack of understanding about the exchange rate between the Nigerian Naira and Pound sterling or Euro¹¹³. Nigerian nationals may believe that they are taking on a debt in Naira but are then told that the debt they owe is in pounds Sterling or Euros or they do not understand the significance of taking on a debt of thousands of pounds or Euros compared to thousands of Nigerian Naira. This was stated as being linked to the

107 Interview, 79, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

108 Interview 112, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

109 Nam, Interview 48, Viet Nam, April 2018.

110 Thang, Interview 52, Viet Nam, April 2018.

111 Nam, Interview 48, Viet Nam, April 2018.

112 Blessing, Interview 15, Nigeria, July 2018.

113 The approximate rate of exchange at the time of writing was 470 Nigerian Naira to 1 Pound sterling.

vulnerability of having limited education:

'I would say that there's an issue with literacy or education or just an understanding of general knowledge to say when they tell them that how much it's going to cost you, £70,000, they believe it's £70,000 because they relate £70,000 to 70,000 Naira and not really understanding how you do the exchange rate.'¹¹⁴

INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES, BELIEFS AND KNOWLEDGE ON MIGRATION

Within the literature on migration there is discussion about micro-level decision-making, individual choices and attitudes towards migration and a recognition that such decisions and choices are heavily influenced by families, friendships and community networks¹¹⁵. Aspirations and desires are also increasingly discussed in relation to drivers of migration¹¹⁶. This is linked to hope, as discussed above. In cases of human trafficking, the aspirations and desires of individuals are utilised with, as explained later in this section, family or community level pressures to migrate. This emerging literature also recognises that decision-making is rarely a singular moment in time and that migration is rarely a linear event, simply from point A to point B. Human trafficking, whilst often viewed as such a one-off 'event', is recognised within the Palermo Protocol as a process¹¹⁷.

This research found that trafficked persons may have had very limited knowledge and understanding about migration and the country they were seeking to migrate to. People may seek opportunities to migrate as a way of escaping and resisting the vulnerabilities of their situation at that time. However, people who lack knowledge about the requirements of migration, their rights as migrants in another country may be most vulnerable to being deceived. There is a large amount of work being done in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria by a wide array of state and non-state actors to raise awareness about human trafficking to those perceived as being vulnerable.

One Albanian trafficked woman highlighted that she had not envisaged that her journey could end so badly:

'I never thought he would do something bad to me, I was thankful he was helping me to go, to work, to have a better life. I never thought such things would happen to me.'¹¹⁸

An individual's beliefs and expectations about migrating and the opportunities to be successful as a migrant may also increase their willingness to take risks and the level of risk they are willing to accept as they believe the potential rewards and outcomes may justify the means.

The attitudes, beliefs and knowledge on migration that an individual might have are deeply influenced by the household, family and community they live in. A person from a community where many people, including their peers, have migrated, perhaps in risky circumstances, and are viewed as successful in their new lives, may feel a pressure to migrate themselves regardless of their ability to migrate safely. Offers for opportunities to make money and have a good job in a different country may be readily believed within such contexts. For example, a Vietnamese trafficked man acknowledged that they believed there were good opportunities in travelling to the UK:

'I heard the rumours in my community that it was easier to work and do business in the UK. However, only on arrival I realized that it was better to stay at home.'¹¹⁹

114 Interview 129, key informant, UK, March 2018.

115 Boyd, M. (1989), *Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas*, *The International Migration Review*, Vol.23, No.3, p.638-670.

116 Carling, J. and Collins, F. (2018), *Aspiration, desire and drivers of migration*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:6, p.909-926.

117 In relation to trafficking processes, see also: Anderson, B. (2014), *Trafficking*, in Fiddian-Qaamiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K. and Sigona, N. (Eds.) (2014) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Hynes, P. (2010) *Global points of 'vulnerability': understanding processes of the trafficking of children and young people into, within and out of the UK*, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol.14, No.6, p.952-970; Pearce, J., Hynes, P. and Bovarnick, S., (2013), *Trafficked Young People: Breaking the Wall of Silence*, New York: Routledge.

118 Ana, Interview 1, Albania, June 2018.

119 Dung, Interview 54, Viet Nam, April 2018.

Another Vietnamese man who was exploited in a restaurant and a cannabis factory in the UK explained:

'... people told me that the UK was like a heaven.'¹²⁰

A key informant in Nigeria highlighted the impact that the culture of migration in some areas of the country had on people's attitudes towards migrating:

'Some of them believe if I don't travel abroad I cannot succeed and that's a major challenge.'¹²¹

This was clearly reflected by a Nigerian trafficked woman:

'When I saw this opportunity I jumped at it, it was like a gold mine you understand me because I've also wanted to travel to, to travel out of the country because that was what was reigning back then. Everybody wants to travel . . . the decision I took, I took it because of the environment I was living, because everybody was leaving, everybody was traveling. You know, it's like when you don't travel you don't belong.'¹²²

However, a recurrent theme in the interviews with key informants and trafficked adults was a sense that people who were aware of the potential risks and dangers of migration were still willing to enter such situations. Providing people with awareness about the dangers of human trafficking will be insufficient to dissuade them from engaging with brokers, agents, facilitators or potential traffickers. Many people were aware from the experiences of others that the likelihood of migrating successfully was very low. One adult interviewee from Viet Nam explained:

'In [place of origin], I only know about the successful story of a person. But, the number of those who lost their land when returned is not small. I heard too many cases of them. They were more than the stories of successful ones.'¹²³

People who had knowledge about the risks of migration were willing to take such risks because of their need to work their way out of vulnerable circumstances. One man who had been trafficked from Viet Nam to the UK explained that he would still seek to return to the UK despite having personal experience of the extent of the dangerous and risks this can pose:

"With my economic situation, I still go again even when I know it will risk my life. But, the reality is harsh . . . The reality there was far different from what people dream of."¹²⁴

Examination of the data collected through this research also identified that people's negative attitudes towards engaging in dangerous forms of migration or their knowledge about the dangers of trafficking were inconsequential in protecting them against trafficking when the decision to migrate was strongly influenced or made by their family. This research found that the decision making behind an individual travelling and accepting offers of employment or education could be very strongly influenced by their family. A trafficked woman from Nigeria described how she had some awareness of the risk but her mother had forced her to travel:

'She [the interviewee's mother] say whether this suffering, whether I like this suffering? That 'is it not my mate that is travelling?' So, I now tell her that no, that's why I travel. No [I did not want to travel] because why? Because I've heard things about traveling outside before. So it's my mother that forced me.'¹²⁵

People's willingness to take risks could be affected by cultural and religious beliefs at the community level. A common view amongst interviewees was that cultural beliefs in luck and divine power in Viet Nam and Nigeria to protect people could be important for people prior to and during migration. People may be aware of potential dangers and risks but may

120 Thang, Interview 52, Viet Nam, April 2018.

121 Interview 111, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

122 Biggie, Interview 14, Nigeria, July 2018.

123 Phuong, Interview 55, Viet Nam, April 2018.

124 Nam, Interview 48, Viet Nam, April 2018

125 Sandra, Interview 19, Nigeria, July 2018.

feel that these cultural beliefs may provide some protection against vulnerabilities. For example, men from Viet Nam described how it had been their 'destiny' to travel¹²⁶:

'It's not different from buying a lottery. That's what I can see. There is a rich guy in my neighbourhood. ... Frankly, it's not the problem of ignorance. Remember that only one or two amongst ten people get rich. They do not look at the failed people but look at the rich ones. And they wish for luck. They think that they get that luck. However, I saw many people's homes shattered and its members are gone. That's the debt. People do not look at the failures but keep looking at the ones who managed. Amongst dozens of people I know, only few people reached their goals.'¹²⁷

'Generally, I just say that the journey depends much on your luck. Everyone has their own hopes, but there is destiny. Your luck is already destined by God.'¹²⁸

Following on from this theme of putting faith into destiny and religion, one trafficked woman from Nigeria described how they prayed for a safe migration experience:

'I always pray to God when I was going to lead my journey. So, when I see the journey was so rough and all, so I start praying to God to make my journey successful.'¹²⁹

[BELIEFS ABOUT] ROLE IN FAMILY AND SOCIETY

At the individual level, one factor in the DoMV model are the beliefs that a person has about their role in their family and society. This factor came through in this research as highly important. This individual level factor is deeply dependent upon the norms and behaviours at the household and family and community levels. Key informants and trafficked persons themselves described how the motivations behind decisions come from an individual's beliefs about their role in their family. This meant travelling and seeking and accepting offers of well-paid employment to economically provide for family members. Vulnerabilities at the household and family level therefore may be highly significant in determining the role that an individual feels they must adopt within their family. If the household and family have socio-economic difficulties or other family members are unable or unwilling to financially support dependents, then this may mean an individual becomes vulnerable as they feel under pressure to act as a 'breadwinner' and seek out or accept offers of employment. This was particularly significant in Viet Nam and Nigeria where duty towards family is of great cultural importance and imbedded in society. This was highlighted by one key informant from Viet Nam:

'For those living in an Asian country, it is inevitable that you take the responsibility for their family. The pressures of earning money from other members of the family is another vulnerability. The embedded driver of the migration is the family financial condition.'¹³⁰

A key informant from Nigeria highlighted the relevance of this to creating vulnerability:

'Unsuspecting children who are undertaking adult roles because of the situations they've seen themselves, either their parents are late [dead] or their parents are sick, and are able to run into these traffickers who would promise them heaven on earth. Because of their role in their family and they wanting to keep doing that they are doing for their family, for the betterment of their family.'¹³¹

It is clear from the data there is much victim-blaming and stigma against trafficked persons across all three countries. In Nigeria trafficked persons were frequently blamed for having been 'greedy', 'selfish' or 'lazy'. As one key informant described:

126 Tuan, Interview 50, Viet Nam, April 2018.

127 Khanh, Interview 58, Viet Nam, April 2018.

128 Dung, Interview 54, Viet Nam, April 2018.

129 Isoken, Interview 17, Nigeria, July 2018.

130 Interview 165, key informant, Viet Nam, May 2018.

131 Interview 107, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

'...some of them it's greed, it's not as if they don't have anything at all. They're involved in one form of work or the other but the search... the selfish and greedy search for greener pastures would lead them to the hands of smugglers and traffickers.'¹³²

This stigmatising of trafficked persons as greedy echoes research by Ogwokhademhe (2013), as referenced in the accompany Literature Review to this report, who identified perceptions of trafficked persons as 'lazy' and 'greedy'. However, trafficked adults interviewed in the research described how their decisions to migrate were made on more than self-interest and an individual's own personal gain. One trafficked adult from Nigeria described how their motivations were driven by wanting to provide for their family:

'They didn't force me but my family was pressed, telling me I should travel because of suffering. So I can't bear it. So I need to take them out of the suffering. So that was why I was still pressed that I have to travel.'¹³³

The research on trafficking from Albania found that belief about roles in family and society were important in the backgrounds of trafficked persons, but in a very different way to the example above. These beliefs about the role in the family and society were connected to gender roles and dynamics at the household and family level and gender roles and dynamics in society at the community level. Instead of seeking or accepting the offers of opportunities to support their family some young Albanian women and girls might seek to migrate to escape their families and to live freely and independently in rejection of conservative gender norms.

'Parents' attitude towards growing and developing girls is a factor. In order for them not to have problems, the parents do not allow girls to go to school and isolate them. They (the girls) then rebel by fleeing from home. Early marriages are factors of vulnerability, too. Forced marriages, the marriages not accepted by girls make them leave.'¹³⁴

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Vulnerabilities to trafficking and exploitation will exist at an individual level while a person is in their country of origin, but for people who are trafficked internationally new vulnerabilities emerge in transit countries and in the country of destination. The inability for migrants to speak or read or write in the language of a destination country or transit country may be a cause of vulnerability. A number of key informants in the UK emphasised this as significant:

'one of the other things on vulnerabilities was language, I needed to mention that, language being absolutely key and not having language in the country that you're going to or the particular region is a huge vulnerability for people because even if they wanted to try and get out of their situation, they can't verbalise that but language is also key to being able to obtain legitimate employment.'¹³⁵

'In terms of Vietnamese guests, working in nail parlours, one of the big things around exploitation there is precisely the lack of language, it's precisely the fact that you're completely at the mercy of people around you.'¹³⁶

One Vietnamese man who was trafficked to the UK for cannabis cultivation described how his inability to speak English exacerbated his already significant level of isolation in the UK:

"You could not imagine how it was when going on the street without knowing anybody and without knowing the language . . . But when I asked them why they just kept us in the house, not doing any nail [working in nail bars]. They even didn't allow me to go out. They threatened me that I would get caught if I went outside, so I didn't dare to go even if they opened the house. I didn't know the language, so I just stayed in the house.'¹³⁷

132 Interview 103, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

133 Blessing, Interview 15, Nigeria, July 2018.

134 Interview 71, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

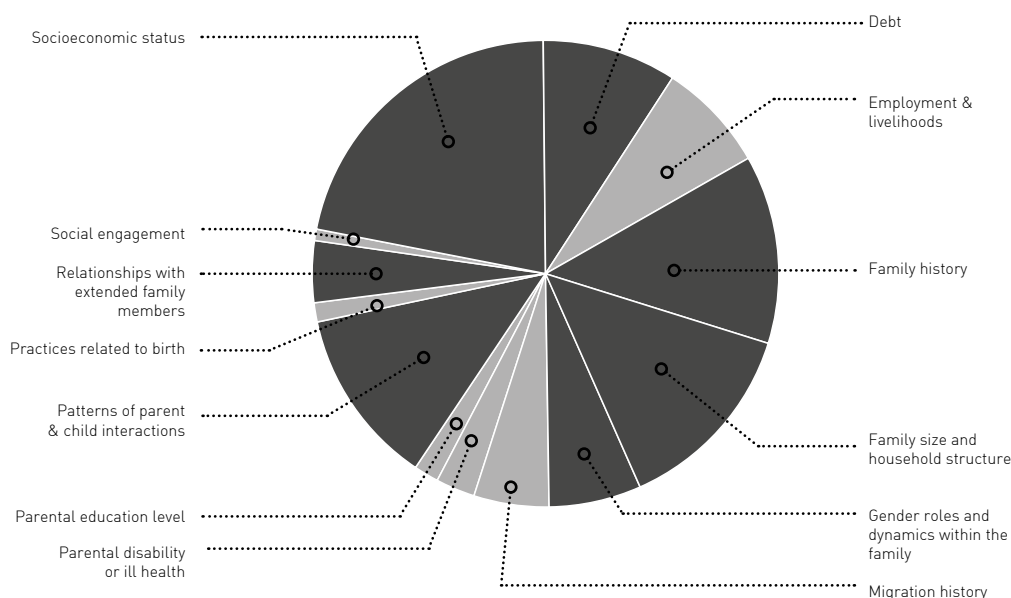
135 Interview 136, key informant, UK, May 2018.

136 Interview 139, key informant, UK, June 2018.

137 Nam, Interview 48, Viet Nam, April 2018.

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY LEVEL

Figure 8: References to Household and Family Level Factors in Interview Transcripts



This chart visualises the number of references to household and family level risk factors which were coded from the interview transcripts. Those which are shaded are specifically addressed here. It was not practical for all the factors to be discussed here.

Across the three countries vulnerabilities at the household and family level were particularly significant in the backgrounds of trafficked persons. We have already seen some of the ways in which the household and family may shape and influence vulnerabilities at the individual level. Here we will examine in more detail findings from the research on the ways in which the household and family can impact upon vulnerability to trafficking.

FAMILY SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Family size and household structure was commonly discussed as important in the backgrounds of trafficked persons in the three countries but in different ways.

Key informants in Albania and the UK highlighted that trafficked persons from Albania commonly came from backgrounds where parents had divorced, there was domestic violence, alcoholism and/or mental health issues and felt that these were factors in creating vulnerability:

'A lot of the accounts we receive are of unstable family background, basically there aren't two parents protecting their child and providing a safe, loving environment. I'd say that's for all three countries. To my mind that's essentially the root of where the problems seem to begin.'¹³⁸

'... the family has a very big role. In 85% of the cases we are dealing with destroyed families.'¹³⁹

Some key informants in Nigeria described how the size of a trafficked person's family was an important factor. Research participants discussed how trafficked persons often come from large families where there were many children for the parents to support. One key informant described how:

138 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

139 Interview 84, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

'... you find that maybe the head of the family is not wealthy enough to take care of these children. At times they abandon them and they flee out in search of greener pasture. As a result of that, the family will now be disbanded. And that gives room for the traffickers to come in and then capitalise. Say they want the children to come, say they want to take away the children to some other places in a view of supporting them or in search of greener pasture so they can get something for the rest of the family.' ¹⁴⁰

One frequent narrative from key informants discussing the vulnerabilities of children and young people being trafficked from Viet Nam was of them having been orphaned at a young age and not having any close family or being dependent upon extended family members who were unable to properly support them:

'The majority have been coming from very severe poverty backgrounds or most of them have had parents that have died, so their family situation has meant that they are left vulnerable.' ¹⁴¹

This was also discussed as important in the backgrounds of trafficked persons from Nigeria. A key informant in Nigeria discussed the backgrounds of returning trafficked persons they had worked with:

'The stories we hear, the feedbacks we've gotten from victims, referrals we've received, is mostly a case of, "I lost one of my parents" or "I lost both parents, I became orphaned and I did not have any means again, life became difficult I could not continue, I had to drop from school, I didn't have food to eat.' ¹⁴²

RELATIONSHIPS WITH EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS

Because of the separation of a person's parents and family breakdown, an inability or unwillingness for parents to look after their own children, or due to the death of one or both of a person's parents, people can become dependent upon extended family members. This might mean living with an aunt or an uncle or with elderly grandparents. An individual may become vulnerable if these extended family members are unable to support such new dependents economically or emotionally.

A Vietnamese trafficked man who was interviewed in the UK described how their parents had died and they had become dependent upon elderly relatives:

'My parents have gone, that's all, so I lived with my grandparents. Two years later, my grandfather died too and then I lived with my grandmother for two years, we lived with the money from the home and from a very poor family, it's like 115,000 a month, so keep selling, my grandmother keep selling the vegetables in market but my grandmother, she got too ill and she can't keep healthy . . . and then I go to every house in the village to try to ask them to give me a life.' ¹⁴³

Some people may be vulnerable because their extended family are unable or unwilling to look after them. However, the research also found that the relationship that a person has with extended family may be a more significant and direct cause of vulnerability. This is in situations in which a person's extended family is knowingly involved in trafficking them. A key informant in the UK described working with people whose extended family were involved in trafficking them:

'They've sometimes gone to live with grandparents, the grandparents have then died or can no longer take care of them or they've been given to an uncle or an aunt, who then either directly exploits themselves and internally traffics them first, before handing them over to other traffickers.' ¹⁴⁴

140 Interview 116, key informant, Nigeria, August 2018.

141 Interview 132, key informant, UK, April 2018.

142 Interview 103, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

143 Tho, Interview 43, UK, September 2018.

144 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

FAMILY HISTORY AND PATTERNS OF PARENT AND CHILD INTERACTIONS:

If we now turn to family history and the way in which parents and children interact with each other, the DoMV model recognises these as two separate factors at the household and family level. Through the research these two factors appear highly interconnected. Across the three research countries, but particularly within Albania, people having grown up in families and households where they had directly or indirectly experienced sexual and physical violence from a parent or other close or extended family member or witnessed domestic violence, was recognised as a very important element in the construction of present and future vulnerabilities. Within such environments the patterns of parent and child interactions could at best only offer limited emotional support and at worst be abusive and neglectful.

A number of accounts of human trafficking began with very similar dynamics of domestic violence, abuse, mental health issues and substance misuse. The elements of this so-called 'toxic trio'¹⁴⁵ were recognised in some of the descriptions of the lives of people who have been trafficked from the three countries, particularly in Albania. As one key informant from Albania reflected, the three elements were common in the backgrounds of victims of trafficking:

"They have problematic social status, parents being addicted, one parent with mental problems, separated parents, domestic violence."¹⁴⁶

One key informant in the UK described the common features of the trafficked boys and young men from Albania they had worked with:

'For Albania, very high levels of domestic violence in families, almost all of the boys I've worked with have experienced physical abuse from their fathers, witnessed a lot of abuse in their family.'¹⁴⁷

A key informant working on human trafficking in Albania also highlighted the importance of the person's experiences within their home and family and recognised that these conditions may encourage a person to seek opportunities to escape from where they are living:

'In nearly 100% of the cases, the problem starts in the family, both as parent-to-child and parent to parent attitudes. It is maybe to escape this kind of situation that they decide to leave the families.'¹⁴⁸

If a person experiences violence and abuse directly or indirectly within their family and home, their actions can be directed towards escaping that abuse to find a safer life elsewhere. Furthermore, young people who have directly experienced violence and abuse within their home may become vulnerable when violence and abuse and control have been normalised. As one key informant in the UK explained:

'That obviously makes them so much more vulnerable to when a trafficker comes along and they abuse them, they just see that as normal, they don't see it as exploitative, they don't challenge it or fight back, they don't necessarily look to escape it.'¹⁴⁹

In the case of Maria, from Albania:

'Then he started saying things like "I can help you I can take you to Italy" and I "What am I going to do in Italy, I am OK here, why should I go to Italy? And he starts complaining to me. I have separated from my wife, my wife left. And I started a relation with him, although it seemed a stupid thing to do. It was good for me at that time, I thought I would get out of the slavery I was in, I thought I was a slave. My mum

¹⁴⁵ See Cleaver HU. (1999) *Children's Needs--Parenting Capacity: The Impact of Parental Mental Illness, Problem Alcohol and Drug Use and Domestic Violence on Children's Development*. London: Stationery Office and Brandon M, Bailey S, Belderson P, Gardner R et al. (2009) *Understanding Serious Case Reviews and their Impact: A Biennial Analysis of Serious Case Reviews 20052007*. London: Department for Children Schools and Families.

¹⁴⁶ Interview 76, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

¹⁴⁷ Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

¹⁴⁸ Interview 71, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

¹⁴⁹ Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

treated me badly, her husband worse, I was between two fires. For one-month things went well. Then after a month he started introducing me his friends, friends he used to drink with.’¹⁵⁰

This recurrent focus on leaving an abusive circumstance provided the title for this report – ‘between two fires’.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND DEBT LEVELS

The socio-economic status of a person’s family was found to often be a significant and central element within any constellation of vulnerability.

One key informant in Albania highlighted, the extent to which trafficked persons had come from families with socio-economic difficulties:

‘In almost 99% of cases, there has been an economic problem.’¹⁵¹

One trafficked woman from Albania described the financial situation of their family:

‘Our house did not offer the minimum living conditions. We always had debts and we were the poorest in the neighbourhood.’¹⁵²

We describe the concept of constellations of vulnerability to reflect that vulnerability can emerge because of a series of complex and interconnected circumstances across the four levels. The complexities in understanding vulnerability was recognised by one key informant in Albania who still emphasised the socio-economic status of the family as being key to vulnerability:

‘The cases are so different, and I do not believe one can use a weight scale, the factors are related to each other; I do not believe that the factors should be divided in groups. However, I do think that the social economic status of the family is the most important factor.’¹⁵³

As discussed in the focus on the beliefs that a person has about their role in family and society people may end up being trafficked following their efforts to provide for their family in the face of economic hardship. One trafficked woman from Albania described how she consented to travel and have an arranged marriage as a means of preventing her family from living in poverty:

‘He told me I would marry his son that I could become a model. I was in a bad economic situation and I thought I would better go there, maybe I get married, I can be a model and I can help my parents. When I went there, it was not what I thought. I was pushed by the poverty and the desire to help the family.’¹⁵⁴

A trafficked woman from Nigeria described how she accepted an offer of work in Europe to be able to financially support her family:

‘Is because we are poor. We don’t have anything, so that’s why I travelled. My dad, my mum, suffering, they are not working. Yes, my dad is old. So, I started working for them to take care of them. So I said the money is too small. So, that’s why I now see someone who said that they want to take me to Europe to go and do nanny so that I can be able to support my family.’¹⁵⁵

The research also found that people may be under significant pressure from their parents or other relatives to find opportunities for work overseas or to accept what turn out to be false promises of employment. An individual may not support the beliefs that their role in their family and society is to provide for their family, but if they are being strongly influenced by their family then they may have to adopt such a role. Family decision making can be key in all three countries in a person seeking or accepting well-paying opportunities

150 Maria, Interview 12, Albania, date 2018.

151 Interview 86, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

152 Marina, Interview ,4, Albania, July 2018.

153 Interview 85, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

154 Ana, Interview 1, Albania, June 2018

155 Blessing, Interview 15, Nigeria, July 2018.

for work in a different country. A key informant in Nigeria described the extent of pressure that might be placed upon people to travel to financially support the family:

'We have had a case where the father had to seal up the daughter's shop. The man was asking the girl to travel, the girl said 'no, I don't want to go and make prostitution abroad'. The father was insisting that if she doesn't go then he was going to disown her and the next thing he did was to get a welder to weld a cross-bar across the door so that the daughter will not have access to the salon again because the father was more interested in her going abroad to make the money.'¹⁵⁶

People may also become vulnerable because of the family socio-economic status or debt when they are coerced into exploitation to pay off an existing debt owed by their own family. A key informant in the UK described how they had worked with a trafficked person from Viet Nam who had been trafficked to pay off a debt owed by their family:

'One of the cases I worked with . . . was quite sad, he was taken away against his will, against his grandmother's will, the grandmother is the only one that he lived with, the person that he came across, he said he never saw or heard about his parents since he knows what's going on around him, so the only person he knew and relative he has in life is just grandmother, he said, "One day I heard of this group of people coming into my grandmother's house, talking about some kind of debt and then they were arguing, a loud noise and the next day, they came and took me and my grandmother was running behind, trying to grab me.'¹⁵⁷

GENDER ROLES AND DYNAMICS WITHIN THE FAMILY

At the individual level we discussed how an individual's belief about their role in society and a family might create some vulnerability to trafficking. These roles in society were often focused on gender.

The risk factor of gender roles and dynamics was important across the three countries but this was particularly prominent in the discussions about trafficking from Albania. Participants in the research described trafficked women who had come from families where rigid conservative values and norms such as accepting a husband of their family's choosing and fulfilling expected gender roles of being a wife and a mother were of great importance. Where these conservative gender roles were strictly enforced this could create vulnerability. A key informant in Albania explained:

'We find it in our cases; parents see marriage as protection from all bad things from trafficking, from going down the wrong path. In their perception this is a kind of assurance that the girl does not slip out of their hands . . . They are predisposed to remove the girls from school because according to them, in schools children are more exposed to the risks, they are more vulnerable. They feel better, it's easier for them to have the girls at home, in front of their eyes, even though they know it well that the girl is going to have a closed life, will be raising children. Will be completely isolated from social life. These will be less traumatic consequences than drugs, rape, trafficking. They are choosing the lesser evil. After all, the life that parents, mothers had, is not very different from what they offer to their daughters.'¹⁵⁸

While families may seek to justify such responses as a means of reducing or preventing young women and girls from becoming vulnerable, such restrictive and oppressive approaches may ultimately result in young women and girls falling into the hands of recruiters and traffickers who pose as boyfriends who promise them a life of freedom and self-determination. They may be susceptible to the promises of young men who promise them a loving relationship and a happy life in another country. However, the wish to live

156 Interview 109, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

157 Interview 130, key informant, UK, March 2018.

158 Interview, 79, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

a free and autonomous life may make people willing to enter situations which result in realities in extreme contradiction to such ambitions.

Key informants in Viet Nam highlighted how the gender roles and dynamics within Viet Nam meant that there was a sense of responsibility and duty on men and the oldest male son to provide for their family. One explained:

‘As you are a man, the oldest child in family, you have to take care of the whole family or as you are a husband, you have to be responsible for making money.’¹⁵⁹

COMMUNITY LEVEL

The forthcoming IOM handbook ‘Protection and assistance for migrants vulnerable to violence, exploitation and abuse’ discusses the community level in the DoMV model. It explains:

‘Individuals and their families are situated within a broader physical and social community context. They are affected by their community’s economic, cultural and social structures, and their positions within these structures. Communities with strong social networks and access to resources can provide support and protection to individuals and families, whereas communities without such networks and resources can create risk factors for individuals and families. Some community factors may affect groups within the community differently, making some groups more vulnerable and others less so.’¹⁶⁰

The concept of ‘community’ is complex and full elaboration of its meaning is beyond the scope of this report. However, it is recognised that communities may simultaneously offer protective and risk factors to individuals. It was found that ‘community’ needs to be thought of as transnational. For example, in the case of Viet Nam, wherein migration has historically been a necessity, this ‘community’ extends across the globe and, sometimes, across different sets of circumstances. For example, one interviewee outlined:

‘I stayed in London, at the house where my friend also stayed before. People in that house also supported Vietnamese people. They arrived since the time when people crossed the border from Thailand. ... They felt for me when they knew that I had just arrived, had no job and no friends.’¹⁶¹

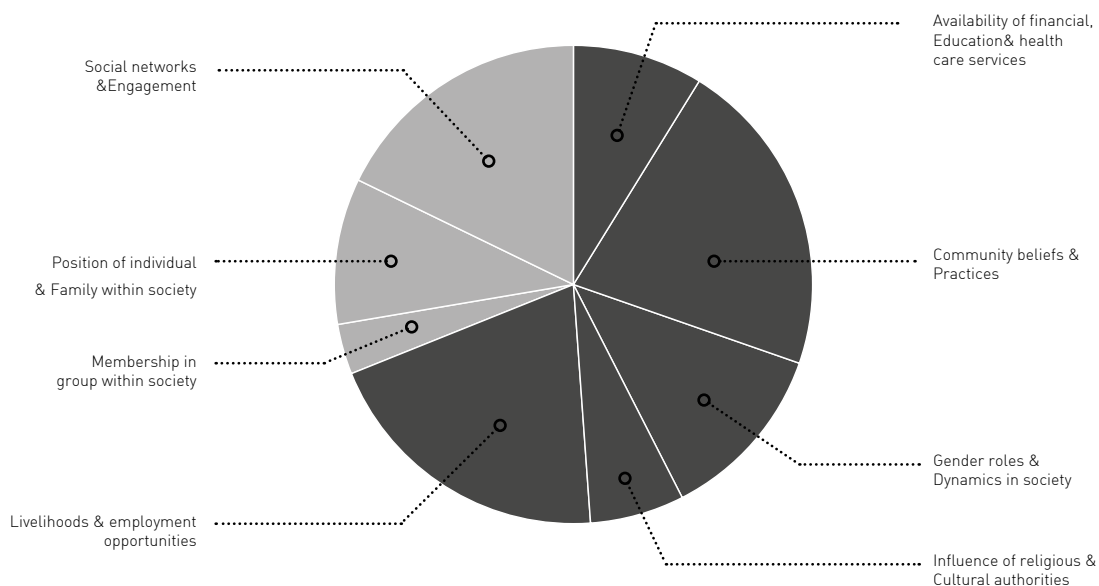
Participants discussed the importance of how the community can impact a person’s vulnerability to human trafficking. The research explored how the countries different economic, cultural and social structures may create risks which build vulnerability. The socio-economic vulnerabilities at an individual level and a household and family level may be a consequence of vulnerabilities at the community level.

159 Interview 165, key informant, Viet Nam, May 2018.

160 International Organization for Migration, 2018.

161 Tung, Interview 60, Viet Nam, April 2018.

Figure 9: References to Community Level Factors in Interview Transcripts



This chart visualises the number of references to community level risk factors which were coded from the interview transcripts. Those which are shaded are specifically addressed here. It was not practical for all factors to be discussed here.

LIVELIHOODS AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

An example of the connection between factors at the community and individual and household and family levels is the community level factor of livelihoods and employment opportunities. If there are limited opportunities at the community level, individuals and their household and families may experience economic vulnerabilities. Participants in the research discussed trafficked persons from the three countries who had lived in areas within their countries where there were very limited livelihoods and employment opportunities which would enable them to provide for themselves and their families.

'If a community is dynamic, affording opportunities for the individuals in that community, then its member would be less likely to migrate.'¹⁶²

One key informant from Albania highlighted the perception that trafficked persons often come from rural areas:

'Rural areas where the possibilities and opportunities are scarce.'¹⁶³

Key informants in Nigeria also acknowledged how people with good academic and vocational educations could be left with little choice but to seek opportunities for employment abroad. The individual level factor of a good education will not guarantee resilience against human trafficking if there a lack of livelihoods and employment opportunities within their community which will be able to satisfy their needs. A key informant in Nigeria described this vulnerability:

'Because of the economic situation of the country - no jobs for the youths, no thing for them. In fact, no future for them, so they just have a feeling that by the time they leave this country and go elsewhere where they will get greener pastures and they will have something to be doing even if it is menial jobs. They will have something to be doing instead of idling. You can see what happens here, graduates, polytechnic graduates, university graduates, no work.'¹⁶⁴

COMMUNITY BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The IOM model includes community beliefs and practices as a potential risk factor at the community level. This is a broadly defined factor which recognises that different

¹⁶² Interview 165, key informant, Viet Nam, May 2018.

¹⁶³ Interview 77, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

¹⁶⁴ Interview 104, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

communities may have markedly different beliefs and practices which may contribute to creating vulnerability. Some of the community beliefs and practices within the countries were recognised as contributing towards vulnerability to trafficking, particularly in responses to the circumstances of trafficked persons from Albania and Nigeria.

Existing literature on human trafficking within Nigeria has recognised that the traditional belief system of juju or oath-taking within communities in Nigeria is important in creating vulnerability to human trafficking. Key informants and trafficked adults from Nigeria discussed the significance of oath-taking as a cause of vulnerability. A belief in juju and oath-taking can contribute as a means of a person being trafficked and as a means of keeping them in a situation of exploitation. Individuals will be told that if they escape they will suffer the negative effects of a curse which has been cast over them. A key informant in the UK described the level of fear that the belief in juju can have on people:

‘These traffickers will do a juju ritual involving drinking blood and it genuinely puts the fear of God into some people, which obviously is coercion.’¹⁶⁵

A key informant from Nigeria described how:

‘Because of the oath they took here, some of them are afraid to go to the embassy, to go to the police to complain.’¹⁶⁶

A trafficked woman from Nigeria described how her belief in these oaths prevented her from trying to escape her traffickers:

‘Nothing will have saved me from her or such because I swear an oath, so I cannot run. I can’t just leave because the oath I took was strong that I even used my fingernails, my hair, private part, different things. I even ate heart of chicken, live chicken that they killed and they brought out the heart and said I should take and eat it. That was how, no, the oath was too strong, so I cannot run.’¹⁶⁷

In 2017 the most common nationality for people referred into the UK NRM as a potential victim of trafficking for domestic servitude was Nigerian. There were 18% of referrals for this exploitation type. Participants in the research highlighted the practice in Nigeria of young people living with extended family members perhaps a long way from parents, to have opportunities to receive an education or to be supported economically in exchange for helping with childcare and household chores. One key informant described in detail this cultural practice within Nigeria:

‘It’s also a culture here that people have nannies, that people have babysitters to support them and usually they bring in people from their immediate families, aunties, that kind of relatives, adults within the family, mothers especially and they bring them to the UK and they make them assist them in the home. If it were to be in Nigeria it might not be an offense as long as she eats in the house, they support her with some money to buy clothing . . . Occasionally she can visit home, even from the family she’s coming from it’s a good thing that she’s somewhere that they’re taking care of her as long as she’s working. . . But sometimes this system has been abused, it’s part of our culture.’¹⁶⁸

This accepted cultural practice means that offers to provide a child a western education in the UK or another European country in exchange for helping in the family home may not be automatically regarded as potentially being trafficking for domestic servitude.

For Albania, we found evidence of blood feuds affecting the lives of those interviewed. As one young Albanian male outlined:

‘Before 2012, something like that, my brother, my older brother left Albania ... and then I was getting older but my parents never told me where my older brother went. My brother left because he ... thought he would get killed or something and then he had to leave but they never told me, they never told to our family where he was going. Then I was getting older, my dad thought that I’d leave Albania ... and I’ll get killed,

165 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

166 Interview 112, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018

167 Precious, Interview 22, Nigeria, July 2018

168 Interview 114, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018

so he had to borrow some money from a gang in [town], a lot of money, and then he thought he would work and he would pay them off. ... he brought the money to give to the family that we were in blood feud with to stop. ... But then, after one year, the people that borrowed the money was like "you have to pay us off". ... he couldn't, he worked but he couldn't get all that money.'

He continued:

'... if you're a kid they won't do nothing but when you turn 16, I don't know 15 or I don't know what age, then they can kill you as well, you're not a kid anymore, they can kill you.'¹⁶⁹

He had not heard from his brother again and, after his father borrowed money to pay for his journey, he witnessed people driving slowly outside his house and had people threaten him at his school gate. At this point he left Albania.

The impact of the continued community belief in the Albanian Kanun of Leke Dukagjini (hereafter known as Kanun law) and the practices of arranged marriages and forced marriages and blood feuds as part of this Kanun law were recognised as contributing to vulnerability to human trafficking:

'Early marriages are factors of vulnerability too. Forced marriages, the marriages not accepted by girls make them leave.'¹⁷⁰

The Kanun law is a moral code originating from the 15th century which provides a legal framework covering all aspects of life which remains significant in northern Albania today¹⁷¹. Mece argues that the modern interpretation of the blood feud has significantly increased those who can be directly affected:

'The primary aim of the blood feud in the old Kanun was not punishment for murder, but retribution of honor [sic] to someone who has right to avenge for it. It stated that the family of the victim could kill the actual perpetrator but not the brothers, nephews or cousins of the murderer. But the new incarnated blood feud made permissible targets any male member of the family of the original offender despite his age . . . Moreover, according to the traditional Kanun, blood feud as a violent conflict was limited to the bloodshed of men excluding women and children less than 16 years old. But Kanun applied after 1991 in Albania made them permissible targets as well.'¹⁷²

The significance of blood feuds and the fear that they might invoke in a person may put a person in a situation where they and their family will decide it is necessary for the person to take whatever risks required to escape Albania. Out of the necessity of resisting the vulnerability of being a target of a blood feud the young person above entered a situation in which they become vulnerable to human trafficking. Key informants in Albania and those in the UK working with trafficked persons from Albania highlighted these as contributing to their vulnerability:

'You'll get cases where you've had, the family maybe involved in a blood feud and that's caused or has been a cause of the eventual exploitation.'¹⁷³

INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL AUTHORITIES

The importance of the influence of religious and cultural authorities as a cause of vulnerability to trafficking is dependent upon the general importance that religious and cultural authorities have in the community that people live in. There was little discussion about this factor as a cause of vulnerability in Albania and Viet Nam, but in Nigeria, a country where religious authorities are hugely important figures within their communities, this was regarded as having an impact on vulnerability. The beliefs that an individual has about migration was recognised as an important factor at the individual level. These beliefs

169 Meriton, Interview 37, UK, September 2018.

170 Interview 71, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

171 Mece, Merita (2017) *Living in uncertainty: Resurgence of Blood Feud in Albanian post-socialist Society and its Consequences on Children and Young Adults*, *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice*, 9(2):28-38

172 Ibid, pp33-34.

173 Interview 154, key informant, UK, August 2018

may be strongly influenced by religious and cultural authorities. Notwithstanding the recognition from key informants in Nigeria that many cultural and religious authorities are working to prevent human trafficking, key informants also highlighted that within Nigeria some religious authorities may support or encourage dangerous migration in situations in which people may be vulnerable to trafficking:

‘Pastors, most of these churches the pastor will be prophesying, ‘I have seen somebody is going to travel, somebody is going to be blessed’ and then ‘say amen’ and they will say amen. And them too they will tell the girl, ‘I have vision for you, your star is not in Nigeria it’s there.’¹⁷⁴

‘The mothers or family members will bring the pictures of their loved ones paying the pastors to pronounce some sort of safe travel, travelling mercies on somebody that they know is going to work in prostitution. You have churches who are promoting testimonies of people crossing into Spain or crossing into Italy which ultimately encourages people who are about to leave and so it’s deeply embedded.’¹⁷⁵

Religious and cultural authorities may have a harmful role in encouraging people to migrate irregularly or in building a false sense of safety about such processes which may impact on a person’s willingness to accept greater risks to achieve their ambitions of providing a better life for themselves and their families.

AVAILABILITY OF FINANCIAL, EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE SERVICES

The risk factor of the availability of financial, educational and health care services was raised by key informants as an important vulnerability in the lives of trafficked persons from Nigeria. It was argued that if these services are unavailable, then they may create or exacerbate socio-economic challenges at the individual and household and family levels. One key informant summarised how the Nigerian government could help prevent human trafficking by ensuring the availability of local services within rural communities:

‘Our government can also help in that area in making sure that they provide all those amenities and support to the rural villages it will go a long way in helping to curtail this human trafficking.’¹⁷⁶

Participants discussed how trafficked persons had been affected by an absence or inaccessibility of local services in education and health in their community. One trafficked woman from Nigeria described the absence of local state services and protections:

‘The situation of things in Nigeria is really, really bad you know. You can’t get no social help you know . . . you can’t get any help from anybody.’¹⁷⁷

Key informants explained how a lack of schools within a community left young people vulnerable to being deceived into situations of exploitation through promises of leaving their community to receive education:

‘Schools in particular, a village where there is no school, somebody who want to traffic my child from village to that particular city or local government can capitalise on lack of school and say, ‘let me take this child and take him to Kano and enrol him in school’, not knowing when he comes to Kano, he will send him for house chores or be doing menial jobs somewhere else.’¹⁷⁸

GENDER ROLES AND DYNAMICS IN SOCIETY

We have already discussed the impact of gender roles and dynamics at the household and family level. The IOM model also recognises gender roles and dynamics in society at the community level as a risk factor for migrant vulnerability. Key informants in Albania and Nigeria described the levels of patriarchy within their countries and discussed how the gender roles and dynamics under this patriarchy created vulnerabilities.

174 Interview 113, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

175 Interview 115, key informant, Nigeria, August 2018.

176 Interview 113, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018

177 Jennifer, Interview 13, Nigeria, July 2018

178 Interview 106, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

In this study we found that stigma can be a driver of human trafficking. Moral codes around divorce, pregnancy out of marriage, early marriage, the shame of domestic violence and in some instances shameful employment can add to the reasons to seek to migrate in the first instance. In Albania, the embedded code of honour, when breached involves life threatening processes of shaming and stigma. This vulnerability at a community level can be reinforced at a structural level through inadequacies in the rule of law. It was highlighted during the research that women in Albania may suffer significant levels of stigma and discrimination as single mothers, divorcees or sex workers. The stigma and discrimination towards such women who deviated from traditional conservative values about the role of women in society could contribute towards a woman's position of vulnerability to trafficking but also the fear of suffering stigma and discrimination from their community and even their own families for the experiences suffered during their exploitation could also be used as a means of coercion, keeping them in a trafficking situation.

One key informant in the UK with significant experience of working with trafficked women from Albania highlighted the challenges for a woman in Albania regarded as contradicting expected gender roles:

'If you've got a tagged name as a prostitute, no-one wants to know you so for you to live in that city or in that country will be impossible, it's a very small country where everyone knows everybody so it's really difficult for you to go, being with a small child and divorced to go and build a life because people will know why you are with a child in another city, so you won't have any opportunities to build a safer life for you and for your child.'¹⁷⁹

Livelihoods and employment opportunities may be broadly available within a community, but people may be excluded from the opportunities they are seeking because of harmful gender roles and dynamics within society. This was highlighted as contributing towards vulnerability to trafficking for women in Albania:

'A girl just graduated here can, at maximum, work in a call centre; therefore, the opportunities to have a sustainable job are almost zero. For a non-graduated girl or a girl from rural areas, the opportunities in Albania are zero. There [abroad] there may be a chance to find a job and may have, for example, a cleaning job and make an average life that she cannot make here in Albania.'¹⁸⁰

Key informants in Nigeria discussed patriarchal practices contributing to vulnerability for women in Nigeria. One key informant in Nigeria described an example of harmful gender practices impacting on vulnerability:

'There are some cultural practices that predisposes people to vulnerability. The issue of widowhood practices in some places where the women are treated with so much disrespect and disdain and are thrown out by . . . including family members. It's not really about tradition. Some people use tradition to perpetuate wickedness under the cover of tradition. I don't think there is any tradition that says women and children should be maltreated or be deprived of their rights, their home, the place they were living with their father. The man dies, and somebody comes from outside and says this place is my brother's, it's now my own and throws out the brother's wife and children because the children are small . . . What happens? The woman is thrown on the street. So, you can see that that kind of experiences can exert so much pressure on someone.'¹⁸¹

Another woman from Nigeria who was trafficked to the UK described how her journey had begun with running away from home to escape female genital mutilation:

'Because I don't want to do my circumcision, one of my sisters died because of circumcision, when they did her, at the age of 4-5 years old, she got infected and she died. So I couldn't stand it, I ran away, I started going from one village to another in order for me to still have a living.'¹⁸²

179 Interview 137, key informant, UK, April 2018.

180 Interview, 79, key informant, Albania, March 2018

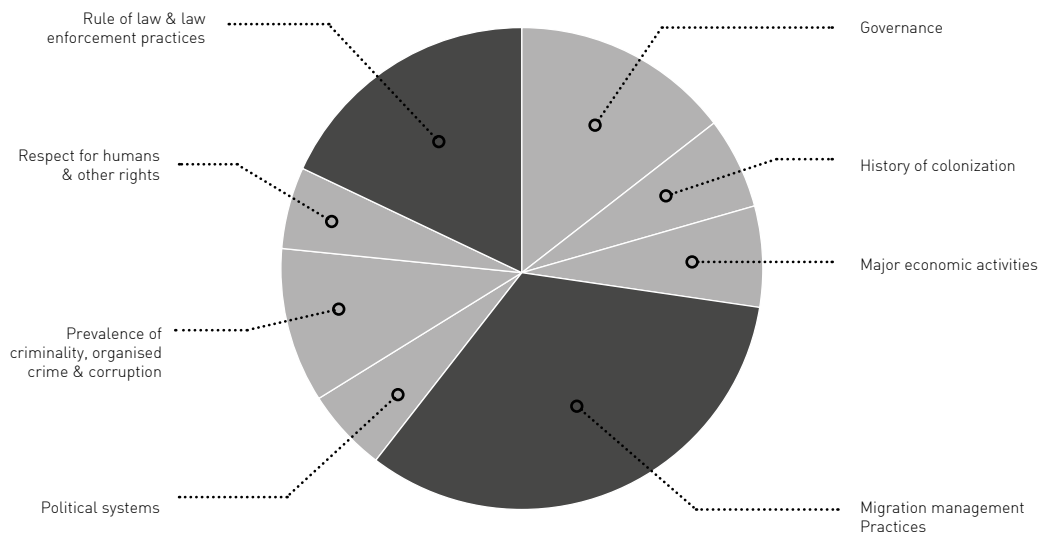
181 Interview 101, key informant, Nigeria, May 2018.

182 Ihuoma, Interview 46, UK, September 2018

STRUCTURAL LEVEL

The fourth level of the DoMV model is the structural level. This chart below visualises the number of references to community level risk factors which were coded from the interview transcripts. Those which are shaded are specifically addressed here. The chart highlights that there was a heavy emphasis on two factors at the structural level. These were access to migration channels and the rule of law, both were considered to be significant in people being vulnerable to trafficking.

Figure 10: References to Structural Level Factors in Interview Transcripts



MIGRATION MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

Migration always had been and always will be a normal component of human existence. People may migrate in order to improve their families' standard of living and achieve upward social mobility when local opportunities do not match their aspirations. Individuals will also seek to migrate as a strategy for overcoming vulnerabilities within their homes and communities. However, people in the greatest situations of vulnerability may be those with the least means and opportunities to migrate to alleviate these circumstances. In contrast, highly educated and wealthy people with lesser vulnerabilities may be able to secure necessary visas to enjoy regular and safe migration, access opportunities for employment and education abroad. People in vulnerable situations have constrained choices and limited options. Such persons have limited routes to seek out opportunities for employment, education and/or romance outside of their own country and may have to accept the necessity of irregular migration and the risks attached to realise their ambitions.

Participants in this research explained how a lack of access to migration channels presents significant vulnerabilities to people being trafficked. One key informant from Albania described how individuals with limited options for safe migration prior to visa liberalization ended up turning to those who promised them opportunities for travel and economic prospects:

'People, because they wanted to go, did find all sorts of tricks to go abroad, made pacts with the wrong people in order to leave. It was in this journey process that the vulnerability increased. For these reasons, we would be prone to believe that visa liberalization would minimize this risk.'¹⁸³

Within Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria much of the work on preventing human trafficking was about raising awareness on the potential dangers of human trafficking among communities believed to be at risk of being trafficked. Individuals may be broadly conscious of potential risks and dangers, however when a stranger offers them an

opportunity to travel when no such other opportunities might exist, they may decide to accept:

'So, when I went to market so I met this lady (the one that take me travel). I met her, she said that I'm looking good and she don't want me to suffer here, all those stuff. I told her that I'm on it already, so I don't have anything to do. So, she said that she can help me if I'm willing, want to help myself. I said 'okay'. Then she said she will take me to abroad with her that I will help her to carry her children, bath them, take them to school and all. I was like happy and I told my mum about it. So my mum said 'okay' if it's true but my mum told her then but that she had been hearing that they do a lot of prostitution there and a lot of secret things and she don't want her daughter to do that. Then she promised my mum that 'no' that she's not going to do that and she's even going to be paying me every month for the work and I said okay and my mum said okay that I should go with her, that's how I go with her.'¹⁸⁴

Participants also explained how a lack of access to migration channels contributes to people being vulnerable to remaining in a situation of exploitation or becoming vulnerable to exploitation once they have entered a country through 'irregular' means. People who are well educated, have good work experience, and professional qualifications will not be able to use these to help ensure they can access a good job free from abuse and exploitation if they travelled outside of regular migration channels from these countries to the UK. One key informant from Nigeria explained:

'There are some of them like I said who have education maybe degrees and all of that, but you arrive these countries, because you have arrived in an irregular means you can't work, even if you have a Ph.D. You can't work without your documents, even if you have skills.'¹⁸⁵

The significant vulnerabilities to human trafficking that exist for individuals who are in the UK without legal status was highlighted by key informants working with trafficked persons who were trafficked after they had arrived in the UK. One key informant explained in detail the multitude of vulnerabilities emerging for those without status in the UK:

'immigration status, particularly in light of things like the Immigration Act, means that you can't access employment, legal employment, you can't access housing very easily due to the consequences of the Immigration Act, you can't access a bank account, so all of these things effectively, unless your immigration status is regularised, it's going to paralyse you from anything that would create an opportunity for protection and create an opportunity for you to obtain legitimate work and move forward with your life.'¹⁸⁶

RULE OF LAW

Key informants from across the three countries recognised that there have been improvements in the laws that have been passed against human trafficking. The passing of anti-trafficking legislation was recognised in detail in the three SLE reports published as part of this research¹⁸⁷. However, despite such passing of anti-trafficking legislation key informants discussed how continuing challenges in the rule of law in their countries may create vulnerabilities. Problems related to the rule of law meant that traffickers may feel able to operate with impunity. These may have the greatest impact upon those with existing vulnerabilities. A key informant in Albania explained how they felt that poor families may not receive protection from the police:

'The area police did not blink an eye to the complaints that these target groups can make. If there are two families that have a problem, the police will take care of the family that has wealth, will deny the rights of the poor family.'¹⁸⁸

Those without legal status can be vulnerable because of a fear of the rule of law in the country where they are located if they have negative experiences with the police in their

184 Isoken, Interview 17, Nigeria, July 2018.

185 Interview 114, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018

186 Interview 136, key informant, UK, May 2018.

187 See: www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

188 Interview 76, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

home country. They may readily believe the threats from traffickers that the police will punish them for working illegally in the UK or for being irregular migrants. This means that people may become vulnerable to being trafficked or to remaining with a situation of trafficking. A key informant from Viet Nam described how people fear this:

'In their minds, they will be caught by the police if they go out, and if the police caught them, they would be prisoned and got no support. In that situation, they accept either being locked or remaining indoor.'¹⁸⁹

Key informants in Nigeria reflected upon the importance of the rule of law in Nigeria and its impact on vulnerability. This was not just limited to persons being vulnerable because those involved in human trafficking are not brought to justice and therefore not prevented from trafficking others in the future. The rule of law was also seen as important upon socio-economic vulnerabilities to trafficking:

'If there's rule of law in Nigeria, practical adherence to the rule of law, we would not be in the economic state we are now, we would not also be having the kind of unemployment we have. So, the rule of law is topmost for me. If we can get the rule of law, the rule of law talking about the three arms of government and the institutions complying to the rule of law every other thing will be addressed.'¹⁹⁰

SUMMARY OF SECTION 1

This research has found that the IOM DoMV model is sufficiently comprehensive in the factors it identifies at the four different levels of vulnerability, although in Albanian, Vietnamese and Nigerian contexts, some factors have been discussed more than others by key informants and trafficked persons. It was not practical for this section of the report to include examples of all the risk factors identified in the IOM DoMV model in relation to the experiences of trafficked persons. However, through this research examples of all the risk factors from across the four levels were discussed by key informants and adults who have experienced human trafficking.

What is clear from the research is that there are multiple sources of vulnerability impacting upon the lives of some people in Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. There are overlapping and interconnected risk factors at the individual level, household and family, community and structural levels. The findings of the research identify risk factors at the household and family level as particularly significant in the lives of people who have been trafficked. This level is key to understanding and addressing vulnerability to human trafficking.

As can be seen from Figure 2, most of the discussion regarding vulnerabilities was focused on those prior to a person leaving Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria. The impacts and consequences of risk factors across the different levels may continue to create vulnerability to trafficking once a person has left their country. The most important focus in discussions on vulnerability post-departure was the factor of migration management practices at the structural level. Tran from Viet Nam

189 Key informant interview 168, Key Informant, Viet Nam, May 2018.

190 Interview 103, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

Tran was a construction worker and was in debt before leaving northern Viet Nam, owing the Vietnamese equivalent of around £5,000. To get to Europe cost him an additional £20,000. To find this amount of money he sold his small plot of land and borrowed the rest of the money from family members.

He flew to Russia where he experienced significant violence. He was beaten several times and his movements restricted whilst in Moscow. He then travelled through forests for several weeks before arriving in France, where he was locked into a house for what he recalls being around 12 months.

His first attempt to reach the UK from Dunkirk was by clinging on to the chassis of a lorry after being told this was his only way of travelling to pay off the debt he owed. This attempt failed, and his second attempt was orchestrated by others who put him in a refrigerated lorry, during which time he "considered his own death". Altogether he made more than 10 attempts to reach to UK via Dunkirk, all of which were dangerous and life threatening.

On arrival into the UK he was, in his own words, "detained" in a house for six to seven months before being moved around England and Scotland, working for around 6 months ironing clothes behind a garment shop and 18 months in a restaurant. He was conscious that his pay was low because of his legal status but did not consider himself as being "exploited" because he was able to pay small amounts back towards his debt. He was then moved to a house which was being used as a cannabis factory where he had to grow cannabis plants. During this time, he was beaten up and starved to the point that his body was wasting away – in his own terms, "I atrophied". There was no way he could access healthcare. He managed to escape out of a window but was soon found and taken to another house to grow cannabis. He had been in this second cannabis factory a few weeks – less than one 'season' of growing – when it was raided by police and he was arrested and put into detention.

On being arrested he did not receive legal advice for either claiming asylum or the process of being identified as a victim of trafficking. He thinks that nobody in the UK believed his account of the dangerous work he had been doing or how he had tried to escape because he was middle-aged and male. He was advised to plead guilty to the charges around cannabis production to reduce the length of any subsequent detention. He was detained for a total of 17 months, returning to Viet Nam after more than nine years away. On his return to Viet Nam he now has a larger debt than the one he owed before he left.

On returning his wife wanted a divorce and his children had already left the family home. His debt is part of the reason his wife now wishes to divorce him. He is dealing with a significant amount of stigma in Viet Nam, directly related to coming back without money but instead with a significant debt and having served time in jail. He is now thinking about either travelling to China, Korea or Africa to try to pay this off.

COSTS, ROUTES, EXPERIENCES DURING JOURNEYS FROM ALBANIA, VIET NAM AND NIGERIA

Section 1 addressed some of the vulnerabilities across the individual, household and family, community and structural levels, experienced by trafficked persons. This section turns to examining the routes and journeys undertaken by people from Albanian, Viet Nam and Nigeria who have been trafficked in the UK.

There has been growing interest in the routes people take to Europe since 2015 when numbers of people crossing the Mediterranean increased, with thousands dying en-route. Whereas the focus on these perilous journeys became the subject of media attention, the socio-economic and political conditions within countries of origin and 'back stories' of those arriving remained largely untold¹⁹¹. Also, during this period the use of the terms 'smuggling'¹⁹² and 'trafficking' became largely interchangeable, despite their distinct differences in international law. Research at the time found more examples of smuggling than trafficking according to Convention definitions, but also found the dividing lines between the two to be unclear and cases of human trafficking evident, including people being sold for their labour¹⁹³. Clear examples of human trafficking involving Nigerian women brought to Italy to work in the sex industry were found.

Trafficking and smuggling are not mutually exclusive. A person who has been trafficked may have also been smuggled. Section 1 has outlined some of the 'back stories' behind people being trafficked and/or exploited. Often extreme abuse and violence is clear in the transcripts of interviews. An aim of this research was to understand more about the routes that trafficked persons from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria have taken to the UK.

This research is based on qualitative data from less than a fraction of the total numbers of people who have been trafficked from these countries to the UK. Therefore, the details of the specific routes and journeys that they have taken should be recognised as just some of the potential routes amongst a myriad of routes used from Viet Nam, Albania and Nigeria to the UK.

We also found some examples of people who appeared to have been smuggled to the UK who then became vulnerable to trafficking once in the UK¹⁹⁴. Other people may have been trafficked to another country and had then travelled to the UK seeking safety after having left that trafficking situation. In 2017, 31% of people referred into the UK NRM reported that their exploitation only occurred outside the UK¹⁹⁵. What this qualitative research is very powerfully able to do is document in rich and painful detail the experiences of some of those people who have travelled from the three countries to the UK.

It is an undeniable matter of geography that the journeys taken from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria to the UK will be extremely different. Because of the long distance, time taken and nature of the journeys from Viet Nam to the UK this research has collected significantly more data on the routes and journeys of people trafficked from Viet Nam than for Albania and Nigeria. One of the key findings from the research is the significant level of violence and abuse that the Vietnamese nationals interviewed for this research often experienced during their travels through these routes long before their exploitation in the UK began. It is important to recognise that the exploitation and experiences which trafficked persons have suffered in the UK before being identified as a 'victim' of trafficking may just be the final chapter of a long continuum of suffering throughout their journey as well as their experiences pre-departure as discussed in the previous section of this report.

191 Crawley, H., Düvell, F., Jones, K., McMahon, S. and Sigona, N. (2016) 'Destination Europe? Understanding the dynamics and drivers of Mediterranean migration in 2015', MEDMIG Final Report www.medmig.info/research-brief-destination-europe.pdf

192 The Smuggling of Migrants Protocol supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime defines the smuggling of migrants as the "procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident." (Article 3, Smuggling of Migrants Protocol)

193 Ibid., Crawley, et al., (2016), p.58.

194 See also: Lewis, H., Dwyer, P., Hodkinson, S. and Waite, L. (2015) *Prekarious Lives: Forced Labour, Exploitation and Asylum*, Bristol: Policy Press

195 See: www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/publications/national-referral-mechanism-statistics/2017-nrm-statistics/884-nrm-annual-report-2017/file

This section provides an analysis of the data collected in the research study that focuses on the journeys taken from Albania, Nigeria and Viet Nam to the UK. It starts with an overview of the financial costs of these journeys, followed by the routes taken and the experiences en-route.

COSTS OF JOURNEYS

ALBANIA

Adults who had experienced human trafficking from Albania had often not paid for their journeys or if they had they had paid quite small amounts in comparison with trafficked persons from Nigeria and Viet Nam. However, the vast majority of trafficked adults from Albania who were interviewed in Albania were not trafficked to the UK, so the descriptions of their costs for their journeys are for travel to closer countries such as Italy and Greece. Interviews with Albanian participants who had reached the UK rarely revealed the financial costs involved, but instead revealed a high level of abuse, violence and subsequent trauma in the lives of those involved. It was clear that the key purpose for many reaching the UK was to achieve a safe life.

The upfront costs that trafficked persons are expected to pay before migrating may be related to the nature of the relationships between the recruiters and those being trafficked. For example, one Albanian trafficked woman who was asked if she had to pay any money before her journey and if so how much. She replied:

'The boyfriend paid this.'¹⁹⁶

In circumstances where women are recruited by men posing as boyfriends then it would undermine the narrative to request money upfront from a woman for the journey. As discussed in Section 1, young women in Albania might be seeking to resist circumstance-imposed vulnerabilities from their home and family. Therefore, they may not be expected to pay money at the start of the journey because they are moving without consent or knowledge of their family and so are not able to call upon others to borrow money from to pay for their journey. However, while people might not have to pay significant sums of money upfront, quickly after arrival in the country of destination they may be told that they now owe a debt for the cost of the journey. This debt is then used as a means for exploiting them:

Interviewee: 'At the beginning they did not ask me money'

Interviewer: Did this amount increase after you had migrated?

Interviewee: 'Yes, they threatened me and asked me to pay the debt, my family did not know where I was.'¹⁹⁷

VIET NAM

The costs that trafficked persons had paid to be taken from Viet Nam to the UK or Europe were extremely high, with the highest amount discussed in interviews being \$37,000. [£28,500] One key informant in the UK described a significant range in the large debts that people had taken to pay for their journey:

'You get quoted all sorts of wild figures, to be honest, but it's probably anywhere between 10,000 [US Dollars] [7,700 Pound Sterling] and 30,000 [US Dollars] [23,000 Pound Sterling].'¹⁹⁸

The same key informant also highlighted that the vastly different costs were no indicator of a quicker or safer and more comfortable journey. This illustrates how the costs are about creating indebtedness as a powerful means for exploiting individuals rather than any reflection of the costs of transporting persons to the other side of the world:

'There doesn't seem to be much difference, it's just another element to the shark nature of the traffickers. The same two people can go the same route and one say yes I've taken on a debt of 10,000 [US Dollars] [7,700 Pound Sterling] and the other one

196 Matilda, Interview 5, Albania, July 2018.

197 Marina, Interview 4, Albania, July 2018.

198 Interview 154, key informant, UK, August 2018.

says I've taken on a debt of 30,000 [US Dollars] [23,000 Pound Sterling] and there's just no difference.'¹⁹⁹

One Vietnamese woman trafficked to the UK acknowledged the cost of her journey:

'I was told by my mother that it cost roughly about 20,000 US Dollars [15,400 Pound Sterling].'²⁰⁰

An interpreter for a Vietnamese trafficked woman described:

'... the total cost they said over 20,000 [Pound Sterling] again her family tried to put down a very small amount of deposit, the rest would be deducted from her working in the UK.'²⁰¹

As discussed in Section 1 the amounts being requested to pay for their journeys to the UK were often unlikely to be paid upfront. Sometimes basic costs were outlined, with additional expenses en-route for food. The expense of journeys was expressed in Vietnamese Dong, US Dollars, Euros and, much less frequently, in Pounds Sterling. While small deposits might be made upfront or at different stages in the journey, the extortionate amounts being demanded for the journeys were accepted as debts. This meant individuals were debt bonded and highly vulnerable to being coerced into forced labour upon arrival.

NIGERIA

Financial costs discussed by nationals of Nigeria related to either direct flights to the UK, or protracted and lengthy journeys from Nigeria, through the Sahara Desert, via Libya en-route to European countries and Russia. In the interviews with participants who had reached the UK, for those who had been brought to the UK as children to work within the houses of others, they rarely knew the costs of their travel.

For those Nigerians who have been trafficked to the UK under the false promises to them and their families that they will be educated in the UK, they may not be expected to pay any money for their journey to the UK. One key informant in the UK described how most of the Nigerian cases they had experience of had not been required to pay money prior to their journey:

'... so most of the Nigerian cases that I've seen, they're told if you come to the UK with me I'll get you educated, I'll get you a better life and once you're working then you can pay me back. That seems to be what they're told . . . So yes, there's no, they're not paying up front for anything.'²⁰²

Trafficked persons from Nigeria described how they were not required to pay anything for their travel prior to departure, however once the journey had been made they could be told that they had to pay back a debt to cover the costs of the journey, as Joy recounted:

'No, I didn't pay anything before I left Nigeria, everything was on her head. She told me, she said I would pay her back for the expenses, but she didn't tell me how much I would pay . . . I regret sometimes why I go. Sometimes I won't regret but at least during that period my family was okay, they pay some debt, even till now there are some debts we are still owing.'²⁰³

Precious, from Nigeria, who was trafficked to Italy explained how her trafficker did not request any money from her up-front and that she could pay it once she was in Italy:

'... she said I'm going to pay 35,000 Euro plus that fifty thousand naira. So, when I even told somebody in the crèche she said 'the money is easy there' that she has somebody there. She said I should not even think that the thirty-five thousand Euros, is something that is nothing there. That I will just pay it the first it in no time.'²⁰⁴

199 Lan, Interview 31, UK, July 2018.

200 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

201 Lan, Interview 31, UK, July 2018.

202 Interview 156, key informant, UK, August 2018.

203 Joy, Interview 20, Nigeria, July 2018.

204 Previous, Interview 22, Nigeria, July 2018

Precious had paid back 17,000 Euro during the following 18 months. This reflects how an individual's beliefs and knowledge about migration may be a cause of vulnerability. The woman believed her friend who told her that earning 35,000 Euro could be done quickly and easily. It seems that she was not aware of what a significant cost this was. The large costs for these journeys which individuals are invited to pay after departure provide a powerful means for exploitation. Other interviewees from Nigeria paid sums of 37,000 Euros, \$40,000 to \$45,000 to reach Europe and \$45,000 to \$50,000 to Russia, figures which sometimes increased upon arrival.

ROUTES TO THE UK

Key informants and trafficked persons interviewed for the research described some common directions of travel and routes from the three countries to the UK. However, it must be recognised here that some people have made very fragmented journeys to the UK. Some appeared to travel to the UK through what have been termed 'smuggling routes' only to experience exploitation and trafficking once they arrived in the UK. While trafficked persons were able to describe their journeys, some could only provide very limited information about these. Trafficked persons interviewed for the research described the extent to which they were both metaphorically and literally 'kept in the dark' through their journeys about where they had been, where they were and where they were going. One trafficked person from Viet Nam described being blindfolded as he was driven from one location to another. Some parts of journeys might have to be taken at night under the cover of darkness to avoid detection, thus impairing the ability for trafficked persons to describe their journeys. As Jetlira from Albania described her experience:

'I was the first to go to the UK. We went from Belgium to France without any problem. There were 2 other women and 2 guys. We walked in the darkness to get on a truck, the intention was not to see whom you were travelling with. I heard Albanian female voices and there were many of them.'²⁰⁵

Interviewees from Viet Nam particularly had very limited knowledge and insight into the journeys they had made to the UK. This lack of ability to identify where they had been and how they had travelled to the UK is a consequence of the nature of the travel and transportation throughout the journeys of some people. Trafficked persons hidden in the back of lorries for days on end may have had no view of their journeys and been extremely disorientated through such experiences. It is clear from the data that trafficked persons may have very confusing descriptions of where and when they travelled through certain places and countries. Some of the trafficked persons from Albania interviewed in the UK explained how they did not even realise that they were in the UK once they had arrived. One Albanian woman explained:

'I wasn't sure because when you're inside the lorry, you don't know where you're going. And I went into the lorry and it took me two days to come here from Italy to here, and by then when I saw myself on the street here, still I didn't know I was in the UK.'²⁰⁶

Another trafficked man from Albania described not knowing that they were in the UK or that the UK had been the intended destination of their journey:

'... all I hear was some Albanian guy speaking on the phone and then I waited for him to finish the phone call and I went up to him and I say, "Excuse me, can you help me please? I don't even know where I am" and he was, "You're in England here". I was, "Whoa!" because I never knew I was coming here and then I was, "Can you please help me because this is what happened to me, I don't know where I am."²⁰⁷

Phuong from Viet Nam described not knowing how he had travelled from Russia to France:

'I went through the forest route. I knew that I had arrived in France when I got out of the forest. But, I didn't know which countries I went through. In France, there were the people of the broker's network who took me to the UK.'²⁰⁸

205 Jetlira, Interview 6, Albania, July 2018.

206 Tina, Interview 34, UK, September 2018.

207 Meriton, Interview 37, UK, September 2018.

208 Phuong, Interview 55, Viet Nam, April 2018.

Another trafficked person from Viet Nam explained how those promising to take them to the UK did not explain their journey to the UK:

'In Viet Nam, they told me that they would take me to the UK only, through different stages and different countries, they did not tell me where I would go.'²⁰⁹

Some trafficked persons have very little knowledge about the routes of their journeys to the UK. Research has highlighted how trafficked persons may have been given negative NRM decisions on the basis that their stories lack credibility because they contain small inconsistencies²¹⁰. This research indicates that there are clear and understandable reasons why a person may be unable to accurately describe their journey to the UK, and that any inconsistencies in how they tell their story should not be seen as a reason to question a person's credibility within an NRM decision making process.

VIET NAM

Trafficked persons and key informants detailed common broad routes and directions of travel for Vietnamese nationals trafficked to the UK. Key informants in the UK with knowledge of cases of Vietnamese trafficked persons consistently described the routes that trafficked persons from Viet Nam had typically taken to the UK. With occasional exceptions, a typical route might begin with a plane flight to Russia or a flight to a different transit country such as China or Hong Kong before then flying to Russia. From Russia people may travel into Poland before then travelling to France across land. Key informants described:

'... a common route for Viet Nam is Russia, so you're looking at plane to Russia and then you're exploited in Russia, or it's a route for them to take them across Europe to other countries for exploitation or to bring them to the UK for exploitation.'²¹¹

Another key informant described:

'I think trafficker-smugglers work certain routes, Hanoi to China or China to Russia or Russia to Poland or Poland to Calais.'²¹²

Another key informant echoed these narratives:

'A lot of them flying to China and then to Russia or directly to Russia, flight at that point and then often the rest of the travel from that point being through vehicles.'²¹³

Once in Russia the journeys to France can be through multiple countries by foot, cars and lorries. We specifically mention by foot because key informants and trafficked persons themselves frequently discussed the incredibly long distances that people might have to walk during their journey. One key informant described an extreme example of the distances that people might have to walk:

'Then they get dumped somewhere in what I assume is Belarus, walk for 10 days with an armed Russian guard and then they're in Poland, so literally they're walking through forest for weeks on end across international borders. I remember one Vietnamese woman, she basically told me she climbed the Carpathians, she'd walked over the Carpathians to get into western Europe.'²¹⁴

This was reiterated by a Vietnamese adult who described walking to Germany by foot:

'I travelled to Russia, then in Russia, I had to walk for several months. They asked me to walk from Russia to Germany. ... I went to Germany on foot.'²¹⁵

Another Vietnamese person trafficked to the UK explained the distances that people may be forced to walk while crossing national borders through an interpreter:

209 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018.

210 See: www.antislavery.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/hidden_in_plain_sight_executive_summary.pdf

211 Interview 154, key informant, UK, August 2018.

212 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

213 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

214 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

215 Giang, Interview 64, Viet Nam, April 2018.

'So very cold and then when have the opportunity, they take him three days, three nights, they walk three days, three nights to the border to Poland.'²¹⁶

Once in France people may have to wait weeks or months to be able to make the final dangerous passage into the UK.

People from Viet Nam described a variety of circumstances regarding who was responsible for managing their journey to the UK. Some people described a multitude of different actors involved in controlling them through the journey with multiple transfers from one set of people to another in different countries. Other people described travelling with the same set of people for the whole journey:

'The three agents who left Viet Nam with us travelling to Russia, then to France, from France they changed to new agents and those two agents, they came with us to the UK.'²¹⁷

'It's the same two people who approach me in Viet Nam but for each of the journeys and every destination, they met and discussed with different groups of people, but the two same people who went with me throughout the journey and ended up in the UK.'²¹⁸

However, not all trafficked persons may have to take such long journeys across land. Trafficked persons from Viet Nam and key informants in the UK described a 'VIP' route to the UK, in which people fly direct from Viet Nam to France.

'I think richer Vietnamese fly into Paris from Vietnamese direct. I presume if you pay your trafficker or your smuggler more, you get the VIP treatment, miss out that whole horrible exploitative land journey. But you still end up in Calais.'²¹⁹

One Vietnamese woman who was in her forties even described having flown to the UK from Viet Nam. She was the only Vietnamese interviewee who had flown into the UK. She described how she had travelled with a couple of men for the whole journey who had arranged her travel documents and had promised her a well-paid job as a nanny in the UK. She took a couple of flights stopping in unknown countries before then flying into the UK where she was exploited for the purposes of domestic servitude and cannabis cultivation. The woman explained,

'I flew to the UK . . . The plane stopped by 2-3 places . . . On that day, there were also 2-3 people... I followed what they said . . . I remember that the plane stopped by 2-3 places. This was the first time I went abroad by plane, so I didn't know.'²²⁰

Key informants and trafficked persons described how it could take many months or even years before they reached the UK after leaving Viet Nam. These journeys may take such a long time because they may be kept in the same place for months during their journey where they may be exploited and physically and sexually abused.

'... the journeys tend to take quite a long time, some might take several months or a year and from what we're told, it's not unusual for them to stop off for a month or longer in Russia and Germany and France, and while they're stopping off, in some cases they might be expected to work but often they'll sort of be stuck and not really sure about what's happening, not feeling able to leave, not having any access to travel documents that would enable them to leave, not really having any idea where they are.'²²¹

'... but the journey took about two years . . . I have to travel in different ways and stay in different types of accommodation, and also I suffered from physical abuse, torture, beaten up, lied to by those agents.'²²²

216 Huynh, Interview 42, UK, September 2018.

217 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

218 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018

219 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

220 Khanh, Interview 68, Viet Nam, April 2018.

221 Interview 134, key informant, UK, March 2018.

222 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018.

'Depends on individual circumstances, I have learned some stories that their travelling journey up to six months, two years, one week, a few months, commonly it's less than six months or up to a year.'²²³

'We stayed in Russia for four months. During the time I was in Russia, I was raped by one of the agents.'²²⁴

The data from this research also shows that many trafficked persons from Viet Nam had been trafficked to a different European country before either being trafficked to the UK by different individuals or being smuggled into the UK and then being trafficked once inside the UK. There are an immeasurable number of different routes and journeys that persons from Viet Nam found in trafficking situations in the UK might have taken.

The research also found examples of Vietnamese trafficked persons making long journeys around the UK once arriving here, with individuals being moved around for exploitation in cannabis factories. For example, one trafficked man from Viet Nam described being moved between properties in England and Scotland.

'In England, they only took me to the house which had already been raided, then moved me to other locations. In Scotland, I went into a new house and started to do gardening.'²²⁵

NIGERIA

There were some contradictions between what key informants in the UK said about how Nigerians were trafficked to the UK with what key informants interviewed in Nigeria said about the routes that trafficked persons from Nigeria have taken to the UK. It is important to acknowledge that key informants in Nigeria had very limited experience of working with trafficked persons who had returned from the UK. This is most clearly illustrated in the data from NAPTIP on returnees from the UK contained in the Nigeria SLE report which showed that between 2013 and November 2017 NAPTIP had only identified 6 Nigerians who were trafficked to the UK.²²⁶

Key informants in the UK suggested that most trafficked persons from Nigeria in the UK flew directly from Nigeria to the UK or had flown from Nigeria to a different European country and then flown from there into the UK,

'Nigeria, it's always flying, they've always flown, often through Europe or sometimes straight to the UK, sometimes they don't know either, they talk about being on a plane, for most of them it seems to have come direct from Nigeria but sometimes they've flown to a different country and potentially, the ones in Italy, stopped off and were exploited there or some came to the UK to go out to Italy.'²²⁷

'... visas and flights, essentially. Literally it's Nigeria to London Heathrow.'²²⁸

'... it's been quite direct, they go and they get a passport, that can take time, they might go to another town within their country, so if I use Nigeria for example, they'll go to Lagos and they'll be used in a house there until their passport is sorted out and arrangements are made, then they fly straight over.'²²⁹

Nigerians who were trafficked from Nigeria to the UK who were interviewed for the research described how they had flown to the UK:

'From Nigeria to Amsterdam, from Amsterdam to [UK city].'²³⁰

223 Interview 140, key informant, UK, July 2018.

224 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

225 Nam, Interview 48, Viet Nam, April 2018.

226 Hynes, P., Gani-Yusuf, L., Burland, P., Dew, J., Olatunde, A., Thurnham, A., Brodie, I., Spring, D. and Murray, F. (2018), 'Vulnerability' to Human Trafficking: A Study of Viet Nam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK: Report of a Shared Learning Event held in Lagos, Nigeria, University of Bedfordshire and International Organization for Migration (IOM), London, p.24: www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking/nigeria

227 Interview 132, key informant, UK, April 2018.

228 Interview 155, key informant, UK, August 2018.

229 Interview 132, key informant, UK, April 2018.

230 Ihuoma, Interview 46, UK, September 2018.

'... they got visa for me to travel to the UK . . . I travelled alone by air.'²³¹

If the route used by traffickers to move a person from Nigeria to the UK is a direct flight to the UK or via another transit country, then they will need to obtain passports and visas for such persons. Key informants in the UK discussed their uncertainty about how such documents were gained and speculated as to whether the documents were false or whether they were genuine documents:

'Quite often Nigerians will have applied for a visa and legitimately been issued with a visa. And then sometimes I assume it's fraudulently obtained or, but I don't know what kind of document gets them on the plane.'²³²

One person trafficked from Nigeria to the UK only had a very limited memory of making a trip to an office somewhere in Nigeria to seemingly give their biometrics for their travel documents:

'Then along the line, I think she processed everything, when she processed everything, she came from London, came to Nigeria, so when she came, she just take me to, I don't know the place that I, just take me and put my hand down, fingerprint, something like that and then she go back, so if everything is ready, going to come and pick me up, okay.'²³³

Another person trafficked from Nigeria to the UK explained how they had been given a visa to travel to the UK by their trafficker:

'... he gave me the document . . . he processed it, then I came to the UK.'²³⁴

Key informants in Nigeria commonly highlighted that while there have been important improvements in preventing traffickers from acquiring and using false documents to move someone from Nigeria to the UK or another European country that this remains very possible:

'You know those days, before we rolled out our biometric passport, everybody travelled by air because all they needed to do was come to you, if you were willing, you have a British passport or a Nigerian passport with a British residency, we take your residence permit with your passport and then they will bring it to Nigeria, remove your picture and put her picture . . . But over time, it had become more difficult to pass through the airport. But there is still a lot of graft at the airport. There is still a lot of corruption going on at the airport. So people still pass through the airport if they are determined especially if they are able to secure the visa.'²³⁵

An immigration official in Nigeria described the limitations in the technologies and solutions available to them to identify false documents:

'... we need to have a finger print equipment; inside the passport has your finger print when you put it's supposed to match. If we have that it will make things easier, only when it proves to be a serious investigation that we use that but it's not here.'²³⁶

The rule of law is a risk factor in creating vulnerability at the structural level of the IOM DoMV model. The ability for false documentation to be used to traffic a person from Nigeria to the UK or other countries because of corruption or an inability to detect such false documents are significant examples of this risk factor creating vulnerability to trafficking.

Nigerian key informants in contrast to those in the UK highlighted that while trafficked persons from Nigeria may fly directly to Europe that it is more common for people to travel across land to reach Europe. One key informant in Nigeria explained:

'Sometimes, they start of from Lagos and they get to maybe Sokoto. From Sokoto, they start going towards the desert. Some of them might set out from Kano and get

231 Jennifer, Interview 13, Nigeria, July 2018.

232 Interview 156, key informant, UK, August 2018.

233 Adaora, Interview 45, UK, September 2018.

234 Ihuoma, Interview 46, UK, September 2018.

235 Interview 101, key informant, Nigeria, May 2018.

236 Interview 121, key informant, Nigeria, August 2018.

to Maiduguri and start going from there. They are not in control of the route they will take. It's wherever the trafficker or the middleman takes them to. Sometimes, they don't go straight, they don't take like a transport, maybe fly from Abuja Airport to the UK, it might happen but once in a great while. But they normally go through all these Sahara Desert.'²³⁷

These key informants acknowledged that the routes trafficked persons take are determined by the decision of the traffickers and whether they are able or not to finance direct travel to Europe:

'It depends on the trafficker and the financial capacity of the trafficker. For some of them, their trafficker had to pay for their flight. So it was like a direct flight for them to get to Europe. But some of them had to go through the desert, go through our Kano, the Morocco, whatever axis before they actually get there.'²³⁸

'... some of these victims, the very rich madams, if they can afford to take them outside the country through flight they do so, you know through the airport but some victims, majority of the victims they go through the desert.'²³⁹

There was some suggestion by Nigerian key informants that the increased use of biometrics meant more people are now travelling across land as the previous direct routes are no longer accessible:

'... now it has also become very difficult to get visas to travel so people now start to explore other means. Some people are now exploring, especially to get to Europe, the land borders, crossing the desert, the Mediterranean to get to Europe and many of them stay in the journey for as much as three years, as much as months, years, depending on the route they are going through.'²⁴⁰

The improvements in preventing illegitimate use or acquisition of travel documents may not have prevented trafficking but may have simply caused traffickers to adapt and move to sending people through the significantly more dangerous land routes to Europe.

ALBANIA

Key informants and trafficked persons suggested that most Albanians trafficked to the UK travel across land and sea with ferry journeys made from Albania to Italy and then a ferry journey from France to the UK. One Albanian woman trafficked to the UK described simply how she had been transported to the UK:

'I came by lorry.'²⁴¹

Some of the key informants in Albania described both routes for those being smuggled as well as those being trafficked. Hani I Hotit which is in the North-West of Albania and is the location of a border crossing between Albania and Montenegro, was mentioned by a number of key informants as a place which people would pass through on their journeys to the UK:

'The route to UK generally is from the north of Albania: from 'Hani I Hotit' to Croatia then Slovenia, France, then through tracks they enter to UK. The cases are a combination of smuggling and trafficking. The trip to UK can vary from 2 weeks to 2-3 months.'²⁴²

Another key informant from a governmental organisation highlighted both Hani I Hotit and another border crossing point called Muriqan by the border crossing between Albania and Montenegro:

'The itinerary used by both victims and minors is through the border crossing points, either Hani i Hotit or Muriqan Border Point.'²⁴³

237 Interview 102, key informant, Nigeria, May 2018.

238 Interview 99, key informant, Nigeria, May 2018.

239 Interview 117, key informant, Nigeria, August 2018.

240 Interview 114, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

241 Ana, Interview 1, Albania, June 2018.

242 Interview 82, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

243 Interview 88, key informant, Albania, May 2018

This description of ‘both victims and minors’ is reflective of the significant scepticism from many stakeholders in Albania about the problem of human trafficking in the country. There was a perception by some that young persons from Albania are not trafficked but are instead economic migrants sent by their families to western Europe to help financially support their families or are travelling independently from their family in search of a better life for themselves.

One key informant in Albania described people travelling across land to the UK through a variety of different routes and different countries. They described these journeys as taking no more than 3 days:

‘For the part going to the UK, at least for as far as I know, they pass either through other countries of transit, go Macedonia and then go to France, or through Italy, go as far as Spain, or in other cases they go to the Netherlands or Belgium and then through cargo transport to the UK. That can last 2 or 3 days no more.’²⁴⁴

Key informants discussed how many Albanians had travelled to Italy before then moving to the UK:

‘In terms of Albanians, the pattern we generally see is they’re taken to Italy and then driven to the UK.’²⁴⁵

As can be seen in the responses above there was much variation in how long journeys from Albania to the UK might take. This typically ranged from a few days to a few months. The differences in how long the journeys took was dependent upon whether an individual was exploited in different countries before moving to the UK or whether an individual was to be moved quickly to the UK where their exploitation would then begin. Later in this section we will address some of the types of experiences of trafficked persons from Albania during their movement to the UK.

EXPERIENCES EN-ROUTE

Given the intentions of those transporting, transferring and harbouring people being trafficked it is not unsurprising that the data from this research highlights that trafficked persons may suffer extreme and prolonged levels of physical, sexual and emotional abuse and violence during their journeys. These will also be used as a means of coercion to ensure that people are unable to resist exploitation whether in the UK or in the different countries they pass through along their journey. The DoMV model recognises the vulnerabilities that might exist before, during and after migration. At an individual level the abuse and violence that people suffer during a migration experience represents a significant risk factor.

ALBANIA

Some Albanians who are trafficked to the UK have experienced exploitation during their journey to the UK or in a different country, such as Italy before then being moved to the UK. One key informant in the UK described a case of an Albanian women they had supported:

‘One of the Albanian ladies that I’ve worked with, she was in a car from Italy for three days. Unfortunately, she was being exploited from the car throughout the entire journey.’²⁴⁶

One trafficked woman from Albania interviewed in the UK described being repeatedly sexually assaulted in multiple countries during many months before arriving in the UK. She explained:

‘I had to stay without food. All the men decided to come one by one, even if I didn’t have a shower or nothing. I was like imagine someone to sleep outside for weeks, and they didn’t care. They didn’t care I was in pain, they didn’t care.’²⁴⁷

Another key informant from a civil society organisation described the experiences of an Albanian woman they had worked with:

244 Interview 85, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

245 Interview 130, key informant, UK, March 2018.

246 Interview 130, key informant, UK, March 2018.

247 Vetone, Interview 39, UK, September 2018.

'Anyway, he took her to Italy. He was her boyfriend. He took her to Italy and the day she got there he told her that she was going to be a prostitute. When she refused she was gang raped and she prostituted for five years . . . They then sold her on to two Romanians, and they put her in the back of a lorry. She ended up in the UK.' ²⁴⁸

This case highlights the point raised earlier that many people will not be directly moved from Albania to the UK for the purposes of exploitation. As in this case they might have left Albania and gone to a different country before then being brought to the UK by their original traffickers or as in this case sold on to others who then take them on a different route to the UK. This woman's personal experience is a reminder of the need to recognise that a trafficked person found in the UK will need support and assistance to recover from trauma which began long before they arrived in the UK.

VIET NAM

One of the most significant findings from this research is the extreme levels of violence and abuse and exploitation that trafficked persons from Viet Nam have experienced during their journeys to the UK. We have already highlighted how long these journeys can take to the UK as well as the various countries that people commonly pass through as part of their fragmented journeys west. However, what was clear from interviews with key informants and those who have been trafficked themselves are the levels of violence and abuse which people may experience during these journeys. These experiences will further exacerbate vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation. One trafficked man from Viet Nam described his experiences en-route:

"I've been beaten up so many times, I'm so scared, plus they don't feed me properly, they have enough food to eat, they gave me scarcest food and drink in order for me to survive only. They kept me around three months in Germany, I remember yes, about three months. After three months in Germany, they took me to France, again they kept me in the basement.' ²⁴⁹

They explained how the violence they suffered en-route to the UK as well as once in the UK had long-term consequences on their health:

'They have beaten me up so many times . . . so consequently I'm suffering from occasional headaches and I suffer from loss of memory, sometimes I don't remember things very well. Sometimes I don't remember my appointments even with the bilingual counsellor here, I forgot my appointment and very often I have to refer back to my little book, kind of diary to remind me of my appointments. I came here, I received support for my outpatient appointment in hospital, for example, blood tests, they diagnosed that I have a problem with my head.' ²⁵⁰

Other Vietnamese men described long periods of being locked up for months at a time in different locations as they travelled towards the UK. One man explained:

'I live in that house for two months, the two couples in the house, sometimes they go out to buy some food and then they locked me in the house, live in the town for two months.' ²⁵¹

One key informant in the UK who had worked with a large number of young people from Viet Nam described how it was common for young men and boys from Viet Nam to experience multiple forms of exploitation en-route to the UK:

'Obviously, the vast majority of them are trafficked into cannabis cultivation but I think there's a false understanding that that's really the only thing that particularly boys and young men are being trafficked for, the picture that see is they're trafficked for multiple purposes and we have a very high proportion of those people who have also been sexually abused and sexually exploited, often on the journey, often also exploited in domestic servitude, other forms of labour exploitation, it's not just the cannabis lab.' ²⁵²

248 Interview 153, key informant, UK, June 2018.

249 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018.

250 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018.

251 Tho, Interview 43, UK, September 2018.

252 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

Some of the trafficked men from Viet Nam highlighted in the starkest terms how dangerous the journeys can be, describing having witnessed people die:

'Some even died when they tried to go. Making a wrong move and die was a normal thing. Going that route, by that method. I had to stay outdoors for more than a month.'²⁵³

'Many people died because they was [*sic*] so tired that they got loosen their arm. So, they fell and the lorry behind crashed on them.'²⁵⁴

The experiences of the dangers of these journeys and the violence and abuse endured thousands of miles away from their home in an unknown country may leave individuals vulnerable to trafficking in the UK or remaining trapped within a trafficking situation.

NIGERIA

Those persons who are trafficked from Nigeria to the UK by airplane did not experience the types of violence and abuse and exploitation during their flight as we have discussed in the land journeys made by those trafficked from Albania and Viet Nam to the UK. However, people whose route from Nigeria to the UK or Europe is across land may suffer horrific experiences on their journeys. Research published by IOM in 2017 highlighted that 'Seventy-three per cent of migrants interviewed along the Central Mediterranean route presented at least one indicator of exploitation.'²⁵⁵ One key informant from a law-enforcement organisation in Nigeria described the experiences that a number of girls they encountered had faced travelling to Libya:

'There were two girls they said they were thirty-five in the truck. They spent five days in the desert, fifteen survived the others died, so about twenty died.'²⁵⁶

SUMMARY OF SECTION 2

The data collected from this research from a small sample of trafficked persons suggests a high prevalence for individuals to experience significant levels of violence and abuse during their journeys to the UK. Through this research it is clear that those persons can have experienced abuse and violence throughout a journey which are as significant as those endured while being exploited. The experiences of a trafficked persons while within the situation of exploitation should be recognised as part of a much longer continuum which acknowledges the nature of their experiences in their life before being trafficked as well as throughout their journey into exploitation. There are some clear examples of how the experiences of violence and abuse during migration can impact upon a person's vulnerability to being trafficked or exploited at the end of their journey but this is something worthy of further investigation.

This section has highlighted that key informants consider there to be some broadly defined common routes to the UK. However, the section has also illustrated how two people from the same country may have been on enormously different journeys and that journeys may not be linear. The data has shown that trafficked persons will make journeys circumventing migration controls such as walking across borders in darkness while others will travel through carefully managed and inspected airports and ferry ports. It is clear traffickers are able and willing to use all and any routes and methods possible in order to move people for the purpose of exploitation. This makes preventing traffickers from operating and moving people across the world extremely difficult. Ultimately the most productive and achievable means for the prevention of human trafficking will be through addressing the vulnerabilities to trafficking. The next section explores some of the good practice across the four countries to address the prevention of trafficking and protection of those who have been trafficked. Jennifer from Nigeria

253 **Phuong, Interview 55, Viet Nam, April 2018.**

254 **Thang, Interview 52, Viet Nam, April 2018.**

255 **Galos, E. Bartolini, L., Cook, H. and Grant, N. (2017) Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: Evidence from the Central and Eastern Mediterranean Migration Routes, Geneva IOM**

256 **Interview 112, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.**

Jennifer grew up in a family that had experienced the death of her father at an early age. Her mother had held the family together, earning money through selling goods on the street. By the age of 12, Jennifer was working with her mother. The area they lived in was one with few other opportunities.

When she was 14, her mother arranged for her to be brought to the UK to work with a family, looking after their 2-year-old and 6-year-old children, cleaning the house and cooking meals. She lived with this family for more than 7 years during which time she was verbally and physically abused on a regular basis. Also, during this time, visitors came and went from the house, sometimes witnessing the verbal abuse and treatment she was receiving from the mother of the household in particular. She also attended church with the family and, years later, reflected on why the wider congregation did not intervene or help her given they “knew all about” what was happening to her. She regularly disclosed the abuse to her mother and broader family members in Nigeria when she was allowed to call them.

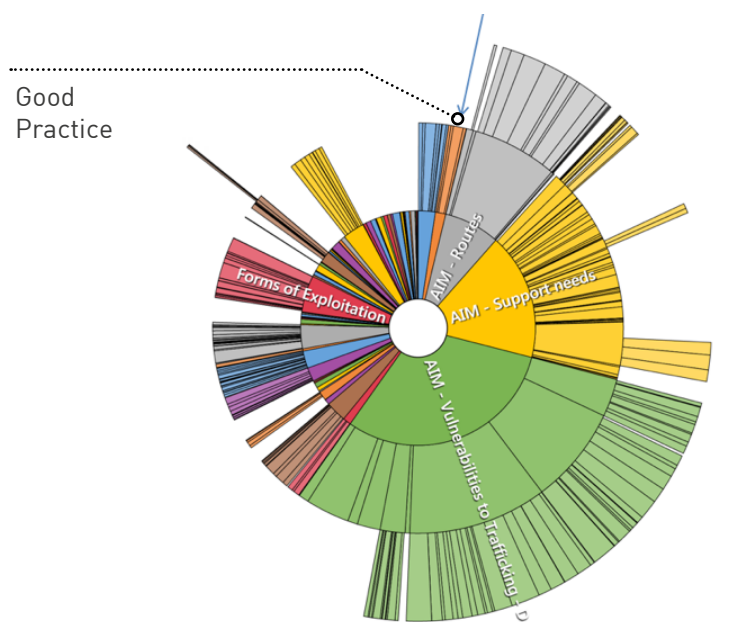
She managed to run away and on meeting a Nigerian woman on the street asked for help. She was supported by a different church who helped find some basic legal advice for her and told her where she could get help. She claimed asylum and was referred to the NRM. During this process she was asked why she didn't escape earlier to which she replied, “I didn't know how to” and “where would I have gone?”. Several years later she now studies law in university, wanting to qualify to help others in similar circumstances.

SUPPORT AND GOOD PRACTICE

As seen in the previous sections, levels of violence and abuse sometimes before and often during non-linear journeys culminate in a set of complex support needs for victims of trafficking. As outlined in the introduction to this report, a key research aim was to explore the support needs of people who have experienced human trafficking from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria who have arrived into the UK. This aim emerged out of the need to address the deficit in the evidence-base around support for specific nationalities in the UK.

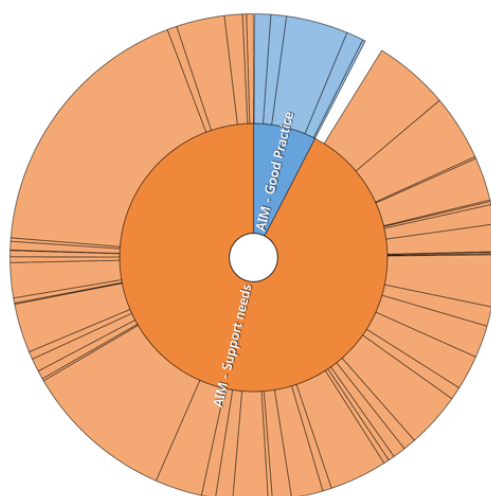
In this section we attempt to capture what was said about support available, practice actually encountered and, in particular, examples of promising or good practice utilising primary sources from interviews conducted across Albania, Viet Nam, Nigeria and the UK. As can be seen in Figure 11 below²⁵⁷, there was a small proportion of data on good practice, relative to other themes coded within the data:

Figure 11: Nature of data Generated for the Study highlighting Proportion of 'Good Practice' data



Clarifying this further, specifically in relation to this Section on Support and Good Practice, Figure 12²⁵⁸ highlights the scale of data generated on good practice and support services:

Figure 12: Nature of data Generated in relation to Support Services and Good Practice



257 Chart directly exported from NVivo11.

258 Chart directly exported from NVivo11.

Importantly, a significant gap in the literature are studies exploring the perspectives of those who have experienced trafficking²⁵⁹. This particularly includes discussions of practice found to be appropriate, helpful, effective and/or instrumental for recovery or building esteem. Consequently, we initially concentrate on data around what 'survivors' of human trafficking recommended in terms of what they considered might work for other people who were either at risk of or had experience trafficking.

We also reiterate the findings of the accompanying Literature Review which outlined a very evident lack of monitoring or rigorous evaluation across all four countries, meaning that the effectiveness of frontline practice remains unproven within a growing recognition of the need for more rigorous evaluations²⁶⁰. The Literature Review also found that robust research demonstrating the existence of good practice proved hard to identify²⁵⁹. Thus, we explore the views of key informants across the four countries to consider prevention, identification, protection, partnership working, and prosecutions and what was highlighted by these key informants in relation to existing practice, good practice, monitoring and evaluation.

As outlined in Section 1 of this report, in each country there are significant, if not always similar, barriers to achieving best or good practice, be these at structural, community or family/household levels. Often the focus was on awareness raising and training. These are explored below alongside state-of-play descriptions of practice found.

Suggestions around transferrable learning from other sectors and recommendations for policy and practice complete this section.

WHAT IS CONSIDERED TO BE EMERGING, PROMISING OR GOOD PRACTICE IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING WORK?

As outlined, part of our initial aim in relation to support services was around identifying and amplifying 'good practice' found during the course of this study, particularly around prevention, identification, protection and other interventions during frontline work with people either at risk of being trafficked or having experienced trafficking. As outlined earlier, in this study, this related to adult survivors of human trafficking and it was recognised that approaches to understanding the needs of adults and children differ.

The accompanying Literature Review also found that examples of good practice were hard to identify²⁶¹. What we have found is that 'good practice' is not defined and is almost absent from debates around human trafficking in all countries considered in this study²⁶¹. However, interviewees have provided details of pockets of what might be considered emerging, promising or good practice and this section details some of these.

Discussions of what constitutes good practice across all four countries is very much influenced by understandings of human trafficking and the particular framing of trafficking in use. It is evident that across all four countries there is a predominance of studies relating to sexual exploitation which has influenced perceptions of trafficking in policy and popular discourse²⁶². National framings of migration, such as those in the UK, can influence practice given the broader immigration and asylum agenda that has seen an increasing tightening of policy and legislation since the mid-1990s and has resulted in the stratification of rights for people seeking asylum who experience exploitation²⁶³.

259 Brodie et al., 2019.

260 Zimmerman, C., McAlpine, A. and Kiss, L. (2015) *Safer Labour Migration and Community-based prevention of Exploitation: The State of the Evidence for Programming*, The Freedom Fund and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

261 Brodie et al., 2019.

262 However, there are recommended principles available such as OHCHR Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking and the IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking. There are also national guidance documents such as the standards of residential assistance specific for victims of trafficking in Albania.

263 Lewis, H., Dwyer, P., Hodkinson, S. and Waite, L. (2015) *Prekarious Lives: Forced Labour, Exploitation and Asylum*, Bristol: Policy Press.

A single definition of good practice in human trafficking work remains elusive. There has, however, been recent work on trying to ensure interventions demonstrate accountability, results and beneficial impacts in relation to criminal justice interventions²⁶⁴. Gallagher and Surtees (2012) focus on what success looks like within these interventions, finding that:

‘... the lack of an overarching vision of what “success” might look like allows mediocre or even harmful interventions to flourish and good work to go unrecognised and unrewarded.’

Bryant and Joudo (2016) consider what is sometimes termed ‘what works’ literature in interventions to combat modern slavery, stressing the importance of evaluation in understanding the impact and effectiveness of interventions designed to prevent or address harm. The compilation of a ‘promising practices database’ by the Walk Free Foundation allows for evaluation work to be identified. Within the 179 evaluations discussed, 20 are related to the countries in this study (3 for Albania; 6 for Viet Nam; 5 for Nigeria; and, 6 for the UK), demonstrating the beginnings of growth of evaluation of practice.

During interviews in Nigeria, it was notable that one key informant discussed their engagement in global conversations around practice, emphasising the work of an international initiative from the NGO Safe Horizons, a US based collaboration against trafficking aiming to find consensus around practice globally through consultation across 36 NGOs in 25 countries, one of which was Nigeria. As one Nigerian participant suggested:

‘... in 2015 Safe Horizon – Safe Horizon is the largest anti-trafficking organisation in the US ... in the end we all met in the US where we came up with this document; fourteen essential principles for working with victims of human trafficking.’ (key informant interview 016, Nigeria, July 2018)

In this instance, discussions around ‘what works’ included individualised services and care, competent and passionate staff, collaboration, effective policies and funding, utilising media as an awareness raising tool. This also included defining ways of measuring ‘success’ and what this means for victims of trafficking themselves.

In the UK, the Human Trafficking Foundation has recently published survivor care standards (Roberts, 2018) providing a range of overarching principles for care and support of survivors. A trauma-informed code of conduct, applying basis therapeutic principles to work with survivors is also included. The nine overarching principles are:

1. Accessibility and non-discrimination
2. Human rights-based approach
3. Holistic and victim-centred approach
4. Empowering approach
5. Freedom of thought, religion and belief
6. Multi-agency approach
7. Professional boundaries
8. Safe working approach
9. Trauma-informed approach

There is movement towards understanding ‘what works’ and good or promising practice across and, at this stage, it is important that the views of survivors influence these debates going forward.

264 Gallagher, A.T. and Surtees, R. (2012) ‘Measuring the Success of Counter Trafficking Interventions in the Criminal Justice Sector: Who decides—and how?’ *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 1, available from: www.antitraf-fickingreview.org/journals/images/documents/issue1/TheReview_article1.pdf

WHAT DID SURVIVORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING SUGGEST WOULD WORK?

As outlined above, there is a significant gap in the literature exploring the perspectives of those who have experienced trafficking²⁶⁵. This section of the report therefore concentrates on the views of survivors around structural issues within Viet Nam, Albania and Nigeria, their views on prevention, awareness raising and support services.

ADDRESSING STRUCTURAL ISSUES IN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

Although it was anticipated that survivors might focus on their immediate needs or practical solutions during interviews, a number of views surfaced relating directly to structural issues within countries of origin. For example, within Albania, adult survivors were clear about suggestions for improvements focussed on structural level issues of eliminating of violence against women and children (VAWC) and the lack of justice and rule of law as detailed in Section 1 of this report. As Ada and Jetlira, both female adult survivors who had outlined forms of domestic violence and violence against them from intimate partners suggested:

‘I think that violence against women and children should be prohibited.’²⁶⁶

‘There should be more justice.’²⁶⁷

This focus on justice related to a recurrent theme in interviews of trying to forget the past to move forward with lives and have a positive outlook for the future. This often involved seeking justice, particularly in contexts where there had been rejection or abandonment from family members, something which was particularly pronounced in Albania:

‘I have been here for a year already. I’m waiting for the trial to end, to close this issue and to move forward with my life. I came here to the centre to create a new life and move forward. There was no other possibility and I did not speak to my brother.’²⁶⁸

Across all source countries, there was also a focus on economic issues.

As Osas from Nigeria outlined:

‘Well, from my own opinion, the living in this country is not too good, that is why people is travelling. I can’t blame people that is travelling except if you know that where you’re going is not too good that is why you will stay. ... Everyday things get worse/up you understand. You can’t buy anything, it’s like you will go to the market, what you will use money for is just small. So, you just decide to leave the country, go to another country because [this] country is not helping people.’²⁶⁹

Also, as detailed in Section 1 of this report, Mabel focussed on issues around the economy and employment as key factors needing attention by the federal government:

‘Some people say there is no money that is why they travel. [The] situation in Nigeria leads many people to travel. Like now people are even dying every day because there is no money in Nigeria, I don’t know what is even going on, whether it is our federal government that is not providing the money, I don’t know but they should just do anything possible. ... The same Libya [*sic*] that they asked people not to go that they are rejecting them, is the same Libya that they are still going because of the situation that is not good in Nigeria. So, they should do anything possible, there should be money. Some will say no food, people are even dying of hunger, no ... they should do something, some will say no good school, no good education so what are they doing in Nigeria let them better travel.’²⁷⁰

Mabel went on to suggest that the role of the Nigerian government was vital with trafficking, in her experience, being an internal issue, having been carried out by Nigerian nationals. The focus was firmly on this being something to be resolved internally:

265 Brodie et al., 2019.

266 Ada, Interview 2, Albania, June 2018.

267 Jetlira, Interview 6, Albania, July 2018.

268 Matilda, Interview 5, Albania, July 2018.

269 Osas, Interview 21, Nigeria, July 2018.

270 Mabel, Interview 23, Nigeria, October 2018.

'Yes, trafficked people need to be supported, government need to pay for all their needs because most thing, even what I witnessed in Dubai, I witnessed a lot of things. ... So I witnessed a lot of things. Anything government can do because it is we Nigerians that are trafficking people, it is not outsiders.'²⁷¹

The lack of education systems was also outlined as part of the reason people considered travelling in the first instance. In the case of one Vietnamese man, education was a central consideration:

'... it is because of my background that was why I wanted to travel. So, I think if they are being given free education I don't think any of them will want to travel.'²⁷²

This resonates with the discussion in Section 1 and broader perception around a lack of education as a key factor in the ability to exploit another person.

BEING LISTENED TO AND BELIEVED

Part of a government's role is to provide systems to protect nationals and provide enabling environments wherein individuals are able to disclose abuse, be this within or beyond the immediate family. From interviews conducted such systems and processes that allow people to feel safe and enable disclosure were wanted. It is now widely accepted that disclosure of maltreatment can be notoriously difficult to do, particularly if there is any form of social stigma attached to experiences, for example sexual abuse.²⁷³ Such abuse may take decades to disclose and individuals may have their accounts disbelieved or mistrusted within institutional settings.²⁷⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that disclosure of abuse is faster in cases of human trafficking which adds to the complexities of identifying victims. As Maria, from Albania outlined, finding people to believe in accounts of human trafficking can be difficult:

'... there are so many girls who are suffering from trafficking and [there] are many who are missing and there is no sign or trace of them. ... I would be the first saying stop, because we have suffered a lot. And it's very difficult to find people that do believe things we have suffered. We are lucky we are saved, luckily some of us are saved, because there are hundreds, probably thousands out there. We probably kept it inside we have not expressed it, we were afraid to do so. No matter what, we would have liked to encourage ourselves and say we can make it. We are stronger than anyone. Going through a lot we are stronger than anyone.'²⁷⁵

For Maria, having found a civil society organisation who did take the time to listen and believe her account, she, like others outlined how relationship-based protection work allowed her to reach a stage where they were able to disclose such abuses.

SUPPORT SERVICES

In terms of support, adult survivors reflected some of the principles of practice outlined in the introduction across a broad range of support needs. When asked about the types of support that had a positive effect, Matilda from Albania outlined her own priorities:

'Psychological, emotional, legal and professional support'²⁷⁶

It was suggested that the alliance between staff and with people who have experienced trafficking and relationship-based working was vital to any form of recovery or reintegration. The choice of staff, was discussed in both positive and negative ways highlighting the need for competent and engaged staff with appropriate skills, backgrounds and attitudes able to relate to individuals. As Alket outlined:

271 Mabel, Interview 23, Nigeria, October 2018.

272 Thanh, Interview 67, Viet Nam, April 2018.

273 Allnock, D. (2010), *Children and Young People Disclosing Sexual Abuse: An Introduction to the Research*, London: NSPCC Research Briefing.

274 For example, in the UK a key finding within the 1,400 cases of child sexual exploitation in Rotherham was that early reports were disbelieved (Jay, 2014).

275 Maria, Interview 12, Albania, November 2018.

276 Matilda, Interview 5, Albania, July 2018.

'It does not mean anything that you have gone to college, you should not think you are smarter than me, forget about it. You can talk university talk, but it does not work.'²⁷⁷

Having accessible services was also considered vital by Alket:

'... there should not be conditions, they should give up these conditions, [for] example here it says come between 2.00 and 4.00pm. I do not see this as a solution, two hours. Why do you give me 2 hours for what reason? I used to come here to stay, to have a good time to have fun, it was good at first, before we could stay from morning to evening. ... When you come before 12 o'clock, everybody here makes fuss all ... find a small cause to dismiss you directly. Dear Lady, I want to be back in the program, get the license, put it in my pocket. There should be people to understand this!'

As per suggestions around structural issues made earlier, survivors in Albania focussed on the role of the state to provide a framework for services and protection, with participants focussing on the need for basic needs and shelter, particularly in cases where there had been rejection from family members:

'I wish I had something from the state. Yes I do not know if this will be realized, I am sure it will not. I do not know but I wish that these young girls who have not families or have families, but their families do not love them, I wish the state to give them a small house, for them to own it. To have the head under a roof as they say it. Because otherwise she is going to suffer, she can stay a month without a job, but then she will find a job. I would love the state gives them a house, a room, even a room. For her it would be the greatest joy. This is what I think.'²⁷⁸

Both Klevis and Jetlira reiterated that municipality support is necessary for people to be well supported:

'The municipality should help them more, to address the needs they have. They should have help with food, getting into school, getting into work. If someone goes on the street he will take again the wrong path there is nothing else he can do. ... The person should be helped as much as possible. There are poor people in every municipality ...'²⁷⁹

'There are many mothers like me who struggle not to go on the street. The state should take care of this. The municipality gives 1 month, 3 months' rent. I am struggling not to be chased out of the house. They do not pick up the phone. They transferred the rent for May but not for June and July. An orphan child, my child gets [amount of money]. How can he live on that? What about now I need to take him to school, what money am I going to buy him books with?.'²⁸⁰

Likewise, in Nigeria, testimonies focussed on the role of the state:

'If government can help them now because so many of them need support. So many of them need money for business, different things.'²⁸¹

DISRUPTING TRAFFICKERS

Only a few survivors focussed on disruption or prosecution of traffickers.²⁸² However, during the course of this study, in Nigeria there was a development in terms of disrupting traffickers, commented on by a number of survivors. As Precious discusses below, in March 2018, His Majesty, Omo N'Oba N'Edo Uku Akpolokpolo, Oba Ewuare II Ogidigan, Oba of Benin Kingdom revoked oaths made by victims of human trafficking. The Oba simultaneously placed curses on perpetrators of trafficking, disrupting what has historically been considered to be a major factor in the trafficking of people from Nigeria.²⁸³

277 Alket, Interview 7, Albania, July 2018.

278 Marina, Interview 4, Albania, July 2018.

279 Klevis, Interview 9, Albania, August 2018.

280 Jetlira, Interview 6, Albania, July 2018.

281 Bella, Interview 16, Nigeria, July 2018.

282 For further details of prosecutions to date in each country see the Shared Learning Event reports at: www.beds.ac.uk/trafficking

283 For further details see: www.naptip.gov.ng/?p=1683 and: www.nytimes.com/2018/03/24/opinion/sunday/voodoo-curse-human-traffickers.html

'Well what I would like to say is, assuming it will be a great help if you people can bring all those madams to book because they are really not helping our girls over there. They are using our girls, girls are suffering. Except now that Oba have... Oba have tried but.... It [the pronouncement made by the Oba] will help a little but some madam, they don't want to hear that oh. You know, it's not everybody that is afraid of oath or anything, they don't even care. Even me, I don't really know if that thing will really have effect on them oh. I'm not believing in that idea that it will have effect.'²⁸⁴

Faith has been used against people within Nigeria as a mechanism of control, sometimes through this type of oath-taking, but as can be seen, the Oba's pronouncement had reached survivors:

'For the now, the rate of traveling has reduced since when they said the Oba swore. It has come down a bit. So those young girls travelling, I think we need to counsel them deeply, show them things that it's not be traveling, they can make it. I think they can easily step down.'²⁸⁵

From interviews with survivors, the importance of faith and engagement of faith-based organisations within Nigeria has been higher than within the other countries of this study and this could be a fruitful avenue for further work.

PREVENTION THROUGH AWARENESS RAISING

Within Section 1 of this report we discussed how individuals who were aware of the dangers of migrating, specifically including the risk of trafficking were still willing to migrate in hope of improving their own life or the lives of others or because of significant pressures and coercion upon from recruiters or through pressure from their family and their community.

In interviews with survivors there was a mixed picture around their views of the effectiveness of awareness raising efforts. Some survivors described how they thought it was important for awareness raising around the dangers of human trafficking to try and prevent some people from being trafficked. Interviewees described how they would be happy to tell their stories to others to help prevent them from being trafficked while acknowledging the limitations of the impact of this type of intervention. As Matilda, a young female from Albania proposed:

'... perhaps if I tell my story, they get informed about this risk.'²⁸⁶

Precious in Nigeria explained:

'And sometimes maybe once in a while they should do something like sensitisation. We that are returnees, we should speak our mind, tell people how things are going on there and that it's not really easy. When we have that opportunity to speak to them, maybe [out of] hundred people, at least five will have a listening ear. That is just it.'²⁸⁷

This was a common suggestion from participants, such as Sandra, a 25-year-old young woman from a rural part of Edo state in Nigeria who also focussed on raising awareness through giving her own account of her experiences. However, as Sandra explained, family pressure to migrate in the first instance was strong, something which short term awareness raising activities did not necessarily address:

'Maybe, maybe some people, if some people want to go now, I would tell them my story, maybe they can say 'okay'. Some will not understand, they will say that they want to go and use their eye to see. So that is it. Yes now, there's nothing you can do because why? Their mother will be telling them that 'go, go, go, nothing will happen, your own case will be different'. So that is it, there's nothing you can do why? '²⁸⁸

Offering advice to others, a participant from Viet Nam outlined how lives were often shattered during these periods overseas:

284 Precious, Interview 22, Nigeria, July 2018.

285 Joy, Interview 20, Nigeria, July 2018.

286 Matilda, Interview 5, Albania, July 2018.

287 Precious, Interview 22, Nigeria, July 2018.

288 Sandra, Interview 19, Nigeria, July 2018.

'... I saw many people's homes shattered and its members are gone. That's the debt. You had a wife before you left. Once you return, your wife probably is gone or will leave you ... and you have a big debt. That's true. People do not look at the failures but keep looking at the ones who managed. Amongst dozens of people I know, only few people reached their goals. Even only few people could end up like me.'²⁸⁹

Some others were clear about how they would advise others not to be drawn into situations wherein they might be exploited and harmed in a similar way to how she had been scarred and lost her teeth:

'That is the advice I'm still giving now, to stop trafficking. Trafficking is bad, a lot of souls are gone, a lot of body are gone. Some people have half a body. During the time the people they deported me with, a girl, she go there with two legs and at the end of the day there is no leg again, she have only one leg. 'Is that a better life?' So, me, I'm thanking God, I'm still standing just the way God created me, it's only this mark and the teeth – if I did not open it you won't know – so if I say I want to go and do artificial you won't know, so that's life.'²⁹⁰

Awareness raising efforts tend to focus on preventing people from travelling in the first instance, often without addressing causes²⁹¹. Some survivors reiterated this type of message. For example, Vietnamese participants living in the UK also made recommendations that people should think twice before travelling, again highlighting family involvement in decisions, loneliness encountered and reflecting the sheer difficulty of journeys undertaken to reach the UK:

'... think twice before you make the decision. Have a thorough discussion with your family in detail and then think carefully before you decide.'²⁹²

'If I have a message to people who are about to enter into a similar situation like me, my advice is don't repeat the same mistake that I have made because you end up here, lonely, suffering, no-one else to support you.'²⁹³

However, other survivors were keenly aware of the limitations and appropriateness of such an awareness raising approach, considered against the strength and importance of beliefs and practices in determining their choices. For example, as outlined in Section 1, Vietnamese participants considered that luck and destiny was a significant factor with people willing to take risks:

'Generally, I just say that the journey depends much on your luck. Everyone has their own hopes, but there is destiny. Your luck is already destined by God.'²⁹⁴

Across Albanian, Nigerian and Vietnamese participants, there were degrees of scepticism about the effectiveness of simply providing advice not to travel to others from Maria, Bella, Isoken and Khanh amongst others:

'The only advice – not that they are going to take the advice because the more you tell them the more they will even tell you more negative things. ... they will still tell you 'everybody are not the same now, since you go abroad, abroad no good for you [but] it [will] go good for me' you understand.'²⁹⁵

'I won't lie to you I don't know because so many people maybe when you advise them they will think maybe you don't want [them to] progress. So you don't have to tell anybody. Maybe someone has say "I want to travel" ... You don't have to tell her not to go because if you tell her not to go you're the bad person oh. There's nothing we can do, I won't lie to you. People will still travel, yes.'²⁹⁶

289 Khanh, Interview 58, Viet Nam, April 2018.

290 Favour, Interview 18, Nigeria, July 2018.

291 Dottridge, 2007; GAATW, 2006.

292 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

293 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018.

294 Dung, Interview 54, Viet Nam, April 2018.

295 Maria, Interview 12, Albania, November 2018.

296 Bella, Interview 16, Nigeria, July 2018.

'For that I don't think there's anything you can do to stop them seriously. The more you talk to them, the more a lot of people go there.'²⁹⁷

'Nobody would listen to your warnings now.'²⁹⁸

There was, however, some advice about how to reduce specific risks and avoiding situations of exploitation. As Mercy from Nigeria outlined:

'... the advice is that anybody that wants to travel out, don't go through sponsor, you can travel on your own if you have the money but don't let anybody deceive you, take you down to wherever country they are taking you to and tell you to start bringing money while they are in bed and you will go out there suffering for yourself, suffering for them and not even for yourself. It is better you do it on your own and you collect the money and take care of your own self than giving it to someone who does not even do anything for you. So that is the advice.'²⁹⁹

WHAT DID KEY INFORMANTS CONSIDER TO BE GOOD OR PROMISING PRACTICE IN ALBANIA, VIET NAM AND NIGERIA

In this section we explore the views of key informants from Albania, Viet Nam and Nigeria in relation to what is considered to be good practice. As per the views of survivors above, a number of themes emerged from interviews with key informants. These include awareness raising efforts, prevention strategies that relate to poverty alleviation, gender, health and education. These also included what measuring success related to, 'good' outcomes for individuals, identification, services, protection and partnership working. These views should be considered in light of the contexts described in Section 1 of this report and structural, community or family/household level barriers to achieving best or good practice.

For example, Albanian professionals have been working on trafficking for more than two decades since human trafficking became a criminal act in 1995. Since then there have been a broad range of National Action Plans, interventions, shelters, legislation, policies and practice to address trafficking across a broad range of actors. What good practice means in this context has to incorporate the realities of a country moving through a transition from a centrally planned economy with exit barriers to migration in the late 1980s and early 1990s to contemporary Albania and its ongoing recognition of social issues, including human trafficking.

Within the data generated for this study on good practice in Nigeria, more data was focussed around prevention than identification, protection, prosecutions or support structures. As outlined earlier, fewer key informants wished to participate in the study from Viet Nam than from Albania and Nigeria because of the impression that trafficking from Viet Nam to the UK is uncommon and cross-border and regional trafficking efforts being the priority. As such, locating examples of good practice in Viet Nam has been an ongoing challenge within this study.

AWARENESS RAISING AND PREVENTION

As outlined above, survivors gave a mixed picture of the effectiveness of awareness-raising efforts. For most key informants, across all countries, there was a strong focus on awareness-raising activities. While this research illustrates the potential limitations of awareness-raising as a singular strategy, this was frequently discussed.

Prevention efforts can work across different sectors or be multi-sectoral, focussing on (a) mobilising a change to social norms, attitudes and behaviours; (b) situational prevention that alters the context in some way; or (c) prevention that reduces risks via programmes for social and economic empowerment (Radford et al., 2015).

297 Isoken, Interview 17, Nigeria, July 2018.

298 Khanh, Interview 58, Viet Nam, April 2018.

299 Mercy, Interview 25, Nigeria, October 2018.

Awareness raising featured heavily in discussions around prevention within Albania although its effectiveness was rarely discussed. Anti-trafficking month in Albania is in October each year and a number of participants suggested that the focus of awareness raising should continue throughout the year. As one participant suggested, this type of campaign required working with others:

'We do a long awareness raising campaign and not just during the anti-trafficking days. ... So the campaign is before and after the anti-trafficking month. We do awareness-raising in cooperation with the local government, with the civil society. ... We work with partners and we do not want to be closed because partners have experience and services they can give.'³⁰⁰

Empowerment was a key theme in interviews across governmental and civil society members. As one civil society member outlined:

'... [we have] worked extensively with projects and programs to address human trafficking issues. What has made the organisation effective in this regard is its vision for empowerment of victims and vulnerable communities where most of them come from. Our intervention starts with prevention, direct service support and empowering the protection system through cooperation, providing expertise, advocacy and lobbying.'³⁰¹

Another organisation working with children and young people in Albania discussed the need to enhance protective factors and focus on work within the frame of child protection inherent in a public health approach:

'Empowering the individual, so that the protective factors grow more, strengthening those traits that are protective and make the child resistant to risks. ... We work for the child to be able to react, protect him/herself, interact with other children ... We also work to increase empathy, knowing that empathy and socialisation is the basis for caring for peers and building a support network. ... This is the protection programme. For the child to create connections with others. This is the essence.'³⁰²

When asked whether this approach could be considered successful, this participant focussed on the long-term nature of such interventions:

'We know it is successful. We also know that it is not achieved in a short time. Not within three years, it needs sustainable intervention. ... This is done through the preschool stage ... [then] through the education program and later on through the youth empowerment program.'³⁰³

To build on prevention work within Albania, it is clear that a blend of immediate anti-trafficking work alongside longer term interventions are necessary, focussing on sustained and consistent support structures across the lifetime of individuals. Prevention activities focussed on the home, family and non-immediate family environment as well as awareness at university level are warranted.

Efforts to reach remote communities were discussed in Albania as it was recognised by research participants in Albania that much of the prevention and protection work in the country has been limited to a very small geographic area, particularly the capital Tirana. One key informant acknowledged:

'... these services we are talking about are still very limited, they are not spread across the territory, there are areas where specialised services cannot be accessed.'³⁰⁴

Another key informant described efforts to ensure anti-trafficking work throughout the country:

300 Interview 74, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

301 Interview 97, key informant, Albania, July 2018.

302 Interview, 79, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

303 Interview, 79, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

304 Interview 78, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

'One of the things we are piloting with the coalition, in cooperation with IOM, is Mobile Units. These have been operating in [district] in all seven administrative units.'³⁰⁵

Another organisation highlighted their work across the country:

'We go all over Albania trying to go to the remote areas where the information is not reaching out. We consider it a success when, after an awareness raising session, someone is approaching and refers you to a case who needs help, a relative who needs help, this occurs very often to us.'³⁰⁶

Also in Nigeria, some survivors of trafficking have become anti-human trafficking champions, or ambassadors, in some key informants' organisations. Consequently, community members and potential victims hear accounts of trafficking shared by former victims of trafficking or exploitation. It was widely considered by key informants that such practice can help discourage vulnerable people or people who are thinking of embarking on treacherous journeys, as one participant recounted:

'...we have been able to send out a message, we have been able to advocate, we have been able to enlighten a lot of persons on this very issue. Before now, quite a number of people did not know how bad the situation was. Yes, because we have gone to communities where nobody has actually gone to talk to them about all these trends. When we go, we go with victims, we don't go with pictures. ... So, this time around we go with persons who have actually gone there, people who you know almost got drowned in the Mediterranean. They come, they tell them, they show them gunshot wounds ...'³⁰⁷

This work was recognised to be good practice because it was taking place in rural areas where large number of trafficked persons were believed to come from:

'The most successful thing we have done is to raise awareness on issues of human trafficking. We go to communities, we go to rural areas to raise awareness because most victims are trafficked from rural areas and then when we raise awareness it addresses this issue of vulnerability, it enables them to know that you can't go to Europe and pick gold on the street.'³⁰⁸

In Nigeria, most trafficking interventions by state and non-state actors are centred around advocacy and campaign activities with a heavy focus on awareness raising and community sensitisation across different platform and networks. Key informants spoke about how they go to schools, religious organisations, local markets and communities warning vulnerable families and youths on the dangers of human trafficking and irregular migration. Some organisations are undertaking anti-human trafficking campaigns using different media channels like hosting series on television and local radio stations as well as campaigning online (social media) and offline (billboards and posters) to further spread key messages on the dangers of human trafficking and irregular migration to a much broader audience. Such 'edutainment-focused' NGOs have been found to be effective in running awareness campaigns around other issues such as domestic violence.

Also in Nigeria, at the community level, some key informants felt the need for continuous awareness raising, greater engagement and participation of local groups and people in high-risk communities to bridge the knowledge gap and sensitise community members on harmful cultural practices and values that has made human trafficking and irregular migration very attractive to people. As such, interventions built around specific needs of the community with the right level of engagement and participation of the community influencers (traditional, religious, community leaders and youth groups) was seen as one of the best interventions to promoting capacities and building resilience.

305 Interview 84, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

306 Interview 71, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

307 Interview 108, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

308 Interview 109, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

Efforts to prevent trafficking through primary and secondary schools were ongoing:

'... the issue of prevention like she said is very important. One of the things that [the organisation] has done which is very useful is actually to create human trafficking into the curricular of primary schools and secondary schools. Because that is very, very important so that it becomes part and parcel of their culture. You will find that even when you go to schools and tell them about trafficking, as you go away, some of them are trafficked almost immediately. But if it's something they have grown up with, it stays with them.'³⁰⁹

Whilst schools are an efficient and effective way to reach many young people, for those who are internally trafficked and potentially not registered in school, other methods are necessary. During the SLEs held earlier in this study, domestic servitude of both children and adults was highlighted as a key form of exploitation within and beyond Nigeria, with children not attending schools and often not registered with health professionals.

Another overarching finding of this study is that dominant narratives around human trafficking tend to focus on economic explanations rather than encompassing broader political structures. This was apparent in Nigeria and other countries in this study. Perhaps reflecting this discourse and the socio-economic issues outlined in Section 1 of this report, economic solutions and the provision of alternative livelihoods were often discussed and considered optimum in prevention terms:

'The best intervention is actually in terms of, well economic intervention, developmental intervention, which is sustainable.'³¹⁰

Beyond an immediate focus on awareness-raising, a range of methodologies were in use in Nigeria such as UNDP's Community Capacity Enhancement (CCE) strategy³¹¹ which was originally designed as a programme to deal with the underlying causes of HIV such as the structural issues around power relations, gender issues, stigma or discrimination. At a household level one interviewee discussed ongoing work to reduce vulnerabilities:

'... we started this Household Economic Strengthening System which we have put in place to reduce vulnerability. ... we support the caregivers build their capacities, train them on skills while on the other hand while we are training them, we take care of the child education, welfare, security ... Make your own agriculture, make your own poultry, make your own bleach making, all these things.'³¹²

There was other work ongoing at an individual and household level through a programme known as IPC (Household Interpersonal Communication) wherein community volunteers engaged with family heads of household.

It was evident that organisations were taking a victim-centred approach in their interventions by allowing victims to craft their own rehabilitation plans and support them to implement these plans. With a customised care plan, victims have a choice on which skills they wanted to learn, which businesses they would like to set up, or how long they would like to be in the shelter. Consequently, the traditional interventions around skills such as sewing, baking and jewellery making were being substituted for more creative and highly marketable skills like photography, ICT (coding and computer training) and professional makeup artistry.

Through the interviews in Nigeria it was clear that there was a degree of scepticism about programmes providing a number of participants low-paid jobs in overcrowded markets such as hairdressing. One key informant from a civil society organisation reflected on how good practice meant helping people to do vocational training in something which they are interested in, which is practical and desirable within their community and that they are supported to get the skills in running their own business rather than just focusing on the specific vocational skill:

309 Interview 101, key informant, Nigeria, May 2018.

310 Interview 108, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

311 For more details see: www.hivsharespace.net/resource/undp-community-capacity-enhancement-strategy-note-answer-lies-within

312 Interview 106, key informant, Nigeria, June 2018.

'I think the primary thing that distinguishes us is that each of our interventions are customized for not just the survivors themselves but for the whole community and so we use what we call our PATH plan, personalized action to healing plan so survivors are able to craft their own rehabilitation plan and so if they want to, we don't force anybody to do hairdressing.'³¹³

Training more broadly, of both government and NGO staff was also raised consistently throughout interviews with key informants in Nigeria, particularly around identification of potential victims of trafficking, counselling and psychosocial support. As can be seen in Section 1 of this report, a large proportion of support needs were considered to be around mental and psychological health needs. Training around the adoption of a trauma-informed approach within Nigeria could assist with those who have experienced abuse and exploitation during their journeys.

Prevention was rarely mentioned during interviews with key informants from Viet Nam and is potentially an area for future research.

IDENTIFICATION AND PROTECTION

Identification largely relies on disclosure. To enable disclosure there needs to be a safe environment where victims can speak to people who believe their accounts. Relationship-based protection work can be key to this and can often be based on a fulcrum of trust, as outlined by one Albanian governmental participant:

'What needs to be noted is that the identification of victims of trafficking is proactive. It is not victims being self-identified. ... [there is a need] to provide information on protection mechanisms and first create trust in law enforcement structures.'³¹⁴

Creating trust in law enforcement officials, or any person considered official, is not straightforward, best described by one adult interviewee:

'... then after a month a [police officer] came with some of her colleagues. I said to myself that she came back because she did not trust my story. ... I was afraid they would run into us on the street and kill us or threaten us. ... They got me and said "you are not telling the truth". ... Then her colleague asked me "why are you not telling your story? What are you afraid of?". I was silent ... I thought about it one more time and decided I would go. I was not feeling good, those dreams and those fear I had, I was in a state. I didn't even know how I was.'³¹⁵

As Jetlira outlined, avoiding trafficking requires that people are cautious about who they trust:

'It's just about trust people, do not over trust people. They were people close to me and I did not know them.'³¹⁶

In Nigeria, good practice on victim identification is one area that was less talked about by key informants and when questions around 'Identification' were posed to some respondents, it was often linked to identification of traffickers rather than the identification of victims. This could be because Nigeria is a source country and most victims supported by NGOs are returnees who were deported after failed asylum processes or after having been identified in destination countries either as victims of trafficking or as irregular migrants. However, it was noted that some victims made the decision to return home due to ill health or having been in immigration detention centres in various European countries for a prolonged period of time.

Protection was considered to cover a broad range of activities within Albania:

'We do the protection of victims, we provide physical security, secure psychological, legal support, protection of their family, and whatever they need.'³¹⁷

313 Interview 115, key informant, Nigeria, August 2018.

314 Interview 83, key informant, Albania, May 2018.

315 Ana, Interview 1, Albania, June 2018.

316 Jetlira, Interview 6, Albania, July 2018.

317 Interview 80, key informant, Albania, April 2018.

Within work on protection, ensuring the provision of outreach support was recognised as good practice. One civil society member suggested:

'I think the best intervention is when there is an outreach component – you go to the person who needs it and do awareness raising, you speak with the person. There is a communist expression of “sitting knee-to-knee” with the person ... I think direct work with people and staying close to them is more effective. We work hard on building the system and this needs to be done, but we have forgotten that the beneficiaries are human beings ... they need to be helped in the form they consider necessary.'³¹⁸

One innovative approach to enabling trafficked girls to be able to disclose how they were feeling and to express their needs for support and to give feedback on the support being provided was through the creation of a newsletter written by them. A staff member staff from the civil society organisation explained:

'... it was an initiative that the girls themselves took ... Beside personal stories, the topics include telling about their experiences, how they felt at a certain moment, like at the turning of the new year. Through this newspaper we as staff receive feedback on how they are feeling and this feedback is very important. Receiving feedback, seeing a change in them is very important. If I do not see the change, despite them saying thank you, I do not call the task accomplished, I do not call that technique successful...'³¹⁹

This feedback loop to staff can be considered in itself good practice. Providing good practice in the support and assistance for trafficked persons will result in increased trust from the individuals:

'... all the organisation that provide direct services or the state institutions ... I call them successful because people want to see the effect of that intervention soon. If you find him or her a job immediately you become a trustworthy person immediately. If you provide a shelter if that person needs it [it is the same]. All that is to say that if you act as needed, you become trusted and can continue to work with the person.'³²⁰

SUPPORT SERVICES

In Nigeria, support needs for trafficked persons range from providing victims with shelter, physical and psychological health support, family tracing and reunification to supporting victims with educational grants, enrollment into life skills training that teach personal management skills such as assertiveness and goal setting, as well as financial support to establish viable income generating businesses. Some key informants stressed the need to provide security (physical, emotional and spiritual) for victims especially those who have consented to testify against their traffickers. It is of note that the need for specialist services for children and/or pregnant victims is beyond the scope of this report.

Key informants in Nigeria acknowledged stigmatization that victims trafficking and returning migrants can face on their access to support and their recovery from their experiences. Key informants gave accounts of how some families have rejected their children because they are returned victims of trafficking. The situation is further compounded when such victims are disowned or rejected by their families just because they have returned from abroad without material goods or money to show for all the time spent abroad under very difficult and exploitative situations, as was the case for Vietnamese returnees. Also, coming back with a child or sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/Aids has often led to the disownment of the victims. Hence, families get counseled too on their role in the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of victims with the hope that victims can be reunited with their relatives and continue their recovery process in their family homes.

Major challenges encountered by those with experience in working with victims of trafficking include the resistance often displayed by victims against any kind of reintegration intervention and support (especially shelter and counseling) that is being offered by NAPTIP or NGOs. The bureaucracies which often lead to delay in establishing

318 Interview 77, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

319 Interview 75, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

320 Interview 74, key informant, Albania, March 2018.

income-generating trade for victims was cited to be a challenge by key informants. Family tracing was another challenge identified and this is due to the fact that most trafficked victims may have been heavily traumatized or in need of psychological support and this impairs their cognitive ability to describe where they last lived. They may know the state but have very limited information on the exact address, street or location of their family home. As per any form of trauma, it therefore takes time, resources and therapy before any useful information is disclosed. When victims have been reunited with their family, the added pressure to continue responsibility to support the family they left is another challenge taking resources they are accumulating through the income generating activities that have been set for them by supporting agencies. A key informant articulated this challenge below:

'So many of them come back and they are struggling with other challenges. It could be health needs, it could be family pressure - maybe to assist the family one way or the other. You have set up a business for them, they're already taking from this small business to support their health needs, to support their family, there's no way such business can really become sustainable. So that's what we struggle with often times.'³²¹

Some of the adult female victims interviewed shared their frustration of how in spite of all they have to deal with following their return to Nigeria – rehabilitation, counseling, learning skills and trying to run the business that has been established for them by supporting agencies – they are still seen as the breadwinners of their families and the pressure to support their parents, siblings and even boyfriends and husbands is a growing concern that further adds to their anxiety. Some key informants fear that some of these challenges – if victims are not properly supported – can increase the likelihood of a victim to be re-trafficked.

Some examples of support were outlined through civil society organisations within Viet Nam and, as with Albania, it was suggested that an alliance between staff and people who have experienced trafficking and relationship-based working was vital. Civil society staff, and the approach adopted by them, was discussed in very positive ways, echoing the issues around the need for competent and passionate staff able to relate to individuals in an appropriate way:

'I feel that because the [name of NGO] have a very well-trained team who, first of all, emotionally they make the people who return feel safe with them, that's No. 1, most Vietnamese organisations cannot do the same ...'³²²

'I am most impressed with [name of NGO], because their approach has 'broke' through many stereotypes ... the most important and the easiest thing to pass through is the professional relationship between (assistance) givers and receivers. ... in addition to other factors and family factors, the relationship with social worker or the support organization also plays an important role. The non-discrimination, respectful and supportive attitudes towards a client's decision can decide the success of her/his [reintegration] journey.'³²³

It was clear that this approach was appreciated and successful. However, due to the small scale of operation, there was speculation as to how that might be replicated at a broader level:

'... in some cases, they carry on helping these people re-integrate into society by providing them with training and from simple things like sewing or being a teller and things like that, train them with some kind of job, sadly that organisation just doesn't have the capacity to cover all the different groups of victims.'³²⁴

Issues around professional boundaries arose and were outlined as important considerations in work with people who had experienced trauma:

321 Interview 113, key informant, Nigeria, July 2018.

322 Interview 127, Key Informant UK, February 2018.

323 Interview 163, Key Informant Viet Nam, March 2018

324 Interview 127, Key Informant, UK, February 2018

'Many organizations usually have ethical protocols that are difficult to break. For example, [the worker is] not allowed to lend client money, not too be close to a client, and always look through professional perspective rather personal perspective. To a VoT, especially young VoT, they have trafficking problems (when they are abused and exploited) but also have issues of age and growth period, in which lies in age crises. ... [sometimes] the relationship is usually rigid, and the relationship is framed. Clients might feel distant to workers. In this case, it is good that everything is fine tuned at professional level, but there will exist barriers....' ³²⁵

Discussions around staff within the various Ministries in Viet Nam highlighted the need for further engagement with individuals and training needs. For example, there were suggestions made for improvement of the treatment of victims:

'Frankly, many government officials had never met any victim in person. It was the first time for them. So, when they spoke, the local officials gave them more care.' ³²⁶

'[name of Ministry] have a massive project going on but they need to provide a bit more training in terms of the people who work in that, they need to show their empathy, sympathy, kindness and all that sort of thing that makes people feel that yes, they feel loved and they feel welcome home, that's what [name of NGO] is doing, the state organisations fail to do that.' ³²⁷

A range of specific services provided, mainly to returnees, were discussed during interviews with civil society organisations in Viet Nam:

'She obtained vocational training and opened a hair salon. Many cases returned, had family of their own and lived stably. Some [other] cases in [name of province] raised cows and their cows bred two times. Lately they told me that a cow just bred two more calves. The self-help group in [town] is also an example of success, in which I see great improvements. I also worked with the Women's Union to produce the manual on running a self-help group.' ³²⁸

PARTNERSHIP WORKING

Within Albania interventions with people who have experienced trafficking are managed through multi-agency working and partnerships. This form of cooperation was recognised as an example of good practice by key informants involved as stakeholders:

'Another success is that we have enabled a chained functioning at local level that is very important. We treat cases [of child trafficking] in a multi-disciplinary group. The cases ... [are] ... referred to the multi-disciplinary team regularly before he or she reaches 18 in order to find the most needed services.' ³²⁹

Organisations providing direct support were considered to be most effective in terms of protection:

'The organisation provides concrete assistance through psychological and legal support. The organisations that provide concrete services are the effective ones.' ³³⁰

Set against a changing profile of trafficking within the country, expertise was apparent:

'If we analyse our years of work we find that in 2004 to 2005 international trafficking was larger, the largest number were exploited abroad. ... Now, in recent years, we have almost 80% of case exploited within the country.' ³³¹

One key informant highlighted their work in national and international partnerships as good practice because these had contributed to the creation of new policies and strategies and preventing human trafficking:

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| 325 | Interview 163, Key Informant, Viet Nam, March 2018 |
| 326 | Interview 162, Key Informant, Viet Nam, February 2018 |
| 327 | Interview 127, Key Informant UK, February 2018 |
| 328 | Interview 162, Key Informant Viet Nam, February 2018 |
| 329 | Interview 84, Key Informant Albania, May 2018 |
| 330 | Interview 88, Key Informant Albania, May 2018 |
| 331 | Interview 71, Key Informant, Albania, March 2018 |

'... [our] contribution, as part of drafting policies and strategies and, as a member of the NRM, as a member of national and international coalitions, has indisputably impacted all the anti-trafficking achievements that Albania had. As a result of [our] work and the work of others as well, Albania has a reduction of human trafficking, reflected in international reports...' ³³²

MEASURING SUCCESS AND OUTCOMES

In this study there were a range of practices outlined and described as successful, although there were mixed opinions on what 'success' actually looked like in practice and this is an area that could be explored further. However, as one key informant from Albania outlined:

'Providing opportunities for victims of trafficking is a good start. Provision of quality services and a long-term program. It is a long, difficult and challenging job until their rehabilitation, empowerment and reintegration into society. But when we see cases that have recovered to some extent from their traumas, have taken up a profession, have a stable job, attend university, manage their own businesses, have created families, etc. ... This is the beginning of a success.' ³³³

There were contrasting views held by participants when the issue of measuring success was raised:

'I think that I have not seen any particularly effective intervention. What I have seen all the time is information and awareness-raising.' ³³⁴

'We do awareness raising in schools, we address the lack of information, but we do not have a databases to do the follow up and measure the success.' ³³⁵

'We participate in activities organized by the Regional Anti-Trafficking Committee. We have a joint calendar of awareness activities. We measure success with the increase of denunciations, this is an indicator. There have been two cases of girls who have come and have denounced the traffickers on their own free will.' ³³⁶

In Albania, practice included in discussions were often framed around prevention, identification, protection and partnership work as well as direct support to victims of trafficking and the increasing level of denunciations ³³⁷ in trafficking work. From the above discussion on what is considered to be emerging, promising or good practice in human trafficking work internationally, a number of suggestions from participants related closely to the overarching principles for care and principles of practice outlined earlier in this report.

In Nigeria, good outcomes for service providers following their work with victims of trafficking were considered to include seeing former victims enrolled or graduating from university; running a successful business; being gainfully employed, becoming employers of labour; achieving some level of economic sustainability; becoming advocates and speaking out against the human trafficking and how to avoid falling victims to the deception of traffickers; getting married; and victims developing real friendship and providing other victims with emotional and social support.

It is clear that there are a number of interventions ongoing within Nigeria that, if documented and evaluated, could provide crucial and valuable evidence on ways in which trafficking and exploitation are being prevented. There were notable exceptions to this overall lack of rigorous data that, if documented, could contribute to the evidence-base:

332 Interview 72, Key Informant, Albania, March 2018

333 Interview 71, Key Informant Albania, March 2018

334 Interview 75, Key Informant Albania, March 2018

335 Interview 81, Key Informant Albania April 2018.

336 Interview 89, Key informant, Albania May 2018.

337 In Albania the term 'denunciations' relates to police reports and statements made to law enforcement officers to provide testimony of a criminal event. Upon a victim providing such a denunciation, police commence their investigations.

'So, we are always in constant touch with them so they come in at intervals and at every point in time when they come, we administer questionnaire to know (more or less like monitoring) evaluating their progress.'³³⁸

Monitoring and evaluation was taking place utilising quasi-experimental design techniques:

'It is hard to measure but we have a very aggressive follow up of a lot of the women that we trained and so even after they graduate from our programme we continue to monitor their progress. We use a lot of data, like I mean we are very big on gathering data. So, we have them complete questionnaires prior to their involvement in the programme, halfway through their involvement in the programme, post involvement in the programme and then one year after they've graduated from the programme and so we're able to track their progress based on the income they were earning prior to joining the programme right after they left the programme and one year after the programme.'³³⁹

NGOs are beginning to embark on assessment and data gathering exercises around vulnerabilities factors, knowledge, attitude and practice as well as mapping exercises to enable their interventions to better target potential victims. In addition, most key informants believe that there is need to embark on long term behavioural, cultural and attitude change interventions as this could be a more lasting solution to eliminating human trafficking in high risk communities and states in Nigeria.

In addition, victim reintegration must include monitoring and assessment of families' capacity to support victims financially, emotionally and socially because some key informants opined that this is a great way to build the resilience of high-risk individuals and reduce the risk of re-trafficking.

'Monitoring is key to it so it's a key principle that we normally adopt to make sure that victims are not re-trafficked.'³⁴⁰

'When we are reintegrating victims, we look at the family setting, if it is fragile... At times we do risk assessment to see the possibility or the impossibility of the victim being re-trafficked. So we do risk assessment before we reintegrate victims with their family.'³⁴¹

PROSECUTIONS

In the area of prosecution, NAPTIP's prosecution work was well known among key informants interviewed in Nigeria and this is due to the number of trafficking cases the agency is involved in:

'Now NAPTIP has more than 150 cases pending in court (federal and state high courts) and then we have more than 250 cases at the early stage of investigation. NAPTIP has nine zones and a headquarters, all these put together, if you want to bring data from all zones and headquarters these are part of the statistics - cases in court, cases won and cases under active investigation. So, we don't leave them [human traffickers] alone, we pursue them, we make sure we carry surveillance around them to see them either electronically or manually, once we get them we get them arrested, investigate them and prosecute them accordingly.'³⁴²

NAPTIP's recognition in this area can be linked to the agency's role as the leading government agency on human trafficking and its rich collaboration with other national government agencies like the Nigeria Police Force, the Nigeria Immigration Service, the Joint Border Taskforce including state agencies like the Edo State Taskforce.

A local NGO in Benin also spoke about the organisation's work around prosecution of traffickers and the organisation stated that it is advocating the House of Representatives for the amendment of the anti-trafficking law especially in relation to getting stricter

338 Interview 108, Key Informant Nigeria, July 2018

339 Interview 115, Key Informant, Nigeria, August 2018

340 Interview 108, Key Informant, Nigeria, June 2018

341 Interview 115, Key Informant, Nigeria, August 2018

342 Interview 115, Key Informant Nigeria, August 2018

penalties and this could include a life sentence for traffickers if it is the second trafficking conviction. The organisation also provides legal support to victims who want to testify against their traffickers. As one member of NAPTIP suggested:

'This is successful, knowledge is power and when they believe that we're telling them the truth of course they're likely to believe us. We can't be telling them anything that is a lie and they've also seen that those that are engaged in it one way or the other, there's a punishment. At the last count the agency have convicted 356 persons as at last week. So, if... nobody wants to go to jail you know, there's that punishment to deter others, so for anybody who wants to involve in it should also know the consequences of engaging in it. You may be subjected to prosecution by the Agency, so that one also deters many persons that would ordinarily, would want to embark on it. ³⁴³

Prosecutions in Viet Nam were briefly discussed:

'Regarding prosecution, there is [name of NGO] which is doing their job very well, they are also engaged in rescuing victims. I have also heard about the presence of legal assistance centres, I don't know if their performance is good or not.' ³⁴⁴

SUPPORT SERVICES AND GOOD OR PROMISING PRACTICE IN THE UK

Research for this report has been conducted within a shifting policy environment. During this time a number of reforms to the NRM were announced which are designed to improve the identification of victims of trafficking and the support and assistance they receive ³⁴⁵. Furthermore, there has already been the partial introduction of Independent Child Trafficking Advocates (ICTAs), as discussed below.

Currently, adult victims of trafficking referred into the NRM who receive a Positive Reasonable Grounds (PRG) decision are provided a minimum of 45 days 'reflection and recovery'³⁴⁶ period, access to support and assistance until either a Positive Conclusive Grounds (PCG) or Negative Conclusive Grounds (NCG) decision is made. This CG decision is made according to the definition of human trafficking within the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking which became operational in the UK in April 2009 and provides safeguards and entitlements to identified victims of trafficking. Receipt of a negative decision can relate to the lack of evidence available at the time the decision was made and there is no data on the situation of those who have previously received a positive decision. People receiving a PCG decision are provided with 14 days 'move-on' support when exiting the NRM and those receiving a NCG are supported for 2 days. Under the reforms to this system, 'move-on' support has increased from 14 to 45 days and 2 to 9 days respectively from 1 February 2019. For the majority of victims there is no on-going support after official decisions about their trafficking status has been made. ³⁴⁷

Across England and Wales, The Salvation Army (TSA) runs the Adult Victim Care contract from the UK Home Office to provide support to adults who have received a Positive Reasonable Grounds (PRG) decision from the UK's NRM. The Salvation Army is the lead contractor and sub-contracts direct support and assistance out to a number of organisations throughout England and Wales. Beyond the funded structure of support, there are also a number of civil society organisations involved, including the vital work of community-based organisations working with people who are trafficked in their own language and within familiar cultural references. The work of the Human Trafficking Foundation (HTF) has been crucial in bringing together all of these voices to influence debates in the UK.

³⁴³ Interview 109, Key Informant, Nigeria, July 2018

³⁴⁴ Interview 162, Key Informant, Viet Nam, February 2018

³⁴⁵ For example, a reduction of subsistence support to £37.75 per week for victims of trafficking was found to be unlawful and overturned by Judicial Review in the case of AM and K -v- SSHD. Victims now receive £65 per week and back payments for those affected are available – for further details see: www.gov.uk/guidance/claim-a-subsistence-rates-back-payment-victims-of-modern-slavery

³⁴⁶ Ferrell-Schweppenstedde, S. (2016) *Day 46: Is there life after the Safe House for Survivors of Modern Slavery?* London: Human Trafficking Foundation.

³⁴⁷ Roberts, K., (2018) *Life After Trafficking: A Gap in the UK's Modern Slavery Efforts*, *Anti Trafficking Review*, No. 10 View at: www.antitraffickingreview.org/index.php/atrjournal/article/view/329

Currently, in practice, people are supported by the TSA for significantly longer than 45 days. This longer support is a consequence of the time taken to receive a CG decision in practice. For example, between July 2017 and June 2018, 'clients' who were eligible to stay in safe house accommodation lived in a safe house for an average of 149 days³⁴⁸. As such, the demand for support has been increasing year-on-year, in part due to the increasing numbers of referrals into the NRM.

The NRM reforms include the introduction of a Single Competent Authority (SCA) to ensure quicker decision making and a shift from a paper-based system to a digital system with online referral capabilities and streamlined information requirements. This SCA aims to make RG decisions within 5 days of receipt of a referral, then a CG decision as soon as possible following day 45 of the 'recovery and reflection' period. Another part of these reforms includes the establishment of multi-agency assurance panels, designed to quality assure all NCG decisions.

Lord McColl's Modern Slavery (Victim Support) Bill seeks to make better provision for supporting and identifying victims and provides a welcome opportunity for parliamentarians to engage with the issue of supporting victims.³⁴⁹ Ministers have met parliamentarians to discuss the issues raised in the Bill in further detail. An independent review of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 seeks to ensure the UK's legislative framework is world-leading and captures the changing nature of exploitation over time. The UK government does not, however, consider that victims should be granted automatic Leave to Remain for 12 months suggesting that decisions regarding asylum or immigration status remain separate processes.

In the UK, there are now a number of well documented critiques of the UK government's short-term response to supporting victims of trafficking³⁵⁰. Whilst service providers are offering the best possible support, resources, policy and legislation can constrain these best efforts. As Murphy,³⁵¹ outlines, support in the UK is currently considered too short-term, despite the extended 45-day 'reflection and recovery' period post a PCG decision or 9 day period following a NCG decision. Following these timeframes, financial support and assistance ends, meaning that mechanisms for stopping people falling back into exploitation are lacking and:

'From referral processes into the NRM, through to accessing support services in the immediate and longer term, the recovery 'journey' is fraught with challenges for many, likened to a game of chance in which outcomes are variable, inconsistent and uneven.' (2018:3)

Murphy goes on to say:

'Responses confirm that the system and its processes and procedures are not fit for purpose and have the potential to cause harm to survivors through re-traumatization, falling through gaps in service provision and potential re-exploitation.' (2018:3)

A recent report from the Winston Churchill Memorial³⁵² Trust comparing the UK, the US, Belgium and the Netherlands, outlined how trafficking victims in the UK feel distrust of authorities, fear of deportation and fear of reprisals and are only able to access short-term support.

348 For details see: www.issuu.com/salvationarmyuk/docs/modern_slavery_report_2018_final_lo

349 At the time of writing, was expected to have its Second Reading in the House of Commons after completing its First Reading in the House of Lords on 10 May 2018. The Bill has been proposed by Lord McColl to make provision for identifying and supporting victims of modern slavery by giving victims a guaranteed right to support in law, not only during the initial period when NRM decision making is taking place, but for an optional further 12 months thereafter.

350 See for example the work of the Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG), a coalition established in 2009 to monitor the UK's implementation of European anti-trafficking legislation: www.antislavery.org/what-we-do/uk/anti-trafficking-monitoring-group/; Anti-Slavery International, for example: www.antislavery.org/slavery-victims-face-a-hostile-system-we-must-protect-them-better/; National Audit Office (NAO), (2017), *Reducing Modern Slavery*, London: NAO.

351 Murphy, C. (2018) *A Game of Chance? Long-term Support for Survivors of Modern Slavery*, St Mary's University, Twickenham.

352 Uddin, N. (2017) *The Fight Against Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking: The Role of Victim Support in Prosecuting this Crime*, London: Winston Churchill Memorial Trust.

For children who experience human trafficking, the key policy development has been the trial, evaluation and ongoing rollout of Independent Child Trafficking Advocates (ICTAs) as outlined in Section 48 of the Modern Slavery Act 2015. The role of these ICTAs is to provide specialist and independent support to children who have experienced trafficking, acting in their best interests across social care, immigration and criminal justice.

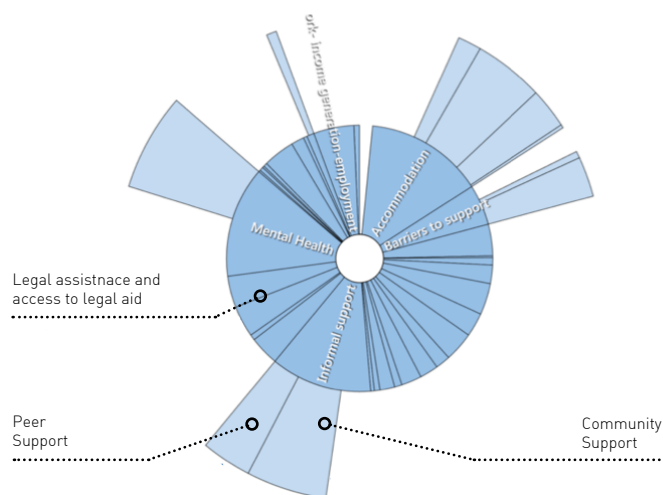
Between September 2014 and August 2015, an evaluation of a 12-month trial across 23 local authority areas found that ICTAs provided a safe adult presence in the lives of children, helping them navigate the complex circumstances they found themselves in within the UK and were seen as beneficial by most professionals involved in the trial.³⁵³ From January 2017, ICTAs were introduced in three Early Adopter (EA) sites – Wales, Greater Manchester, Hampshire and the Isles of Wight³⁵⁴. Since then ICTAs have been rolled out in the West Midlands from October 2018, the East Midlands from January 2019³⁵⁵. ICTAs will begin in Croydon in April 2019. ICTAs will provide one-to-one support for children who have no effective Parental Responsibility (PR) for them in the UK including unaccompanied asylum-seeking children³⁵⁶. Part of the independent review of the Modern Slavery Act 2015 relates to ICTAs, looking at ways the right support for children can be ensured, including as a result of the changing nature of exploitation and profiles of victims³⁵⁷.

SUPPORTING SURVIVORS IN ENGLAND AND WALES AND LEARNING FROM PRACTICE

It is of note for this study that, between July 2017 and June 2018, the highest numbers of adult women entering TSA services were Albanian (n=398) and Nigerian (n=111) and the highest number of men were Vietnamese (n=130), somewhat mirroring the sampling framework for this study.

Data generated for this study shows that for adults who have experienced human trafficking, key issues are around mental health provision, accommodation, access to good quality legal advice, the need for employment or income of some sort. Access to informal support was also highly valued, both from peers and the community level, and this aspect will be outlined in subsequent publications as it is beyond the immediate aims of this study.

Figure 13: Proportions of data generated from interviews with adults in the UK



A number of issues within these areas had broader relationships with other themes generated such as the need for multi-agency working. Building trust within relationship-based working to feel protected and safe was another area related closely with the

353 See: www.gov.uk/government/publications/evaluation-of-independent-child-trafficking-advocates-trial-final-report

354 See: www.assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/730098/assessment-of-independent-child-trafficking-advocates-horr101.pdf

355 This rollout now encompasses 11 local authorities.

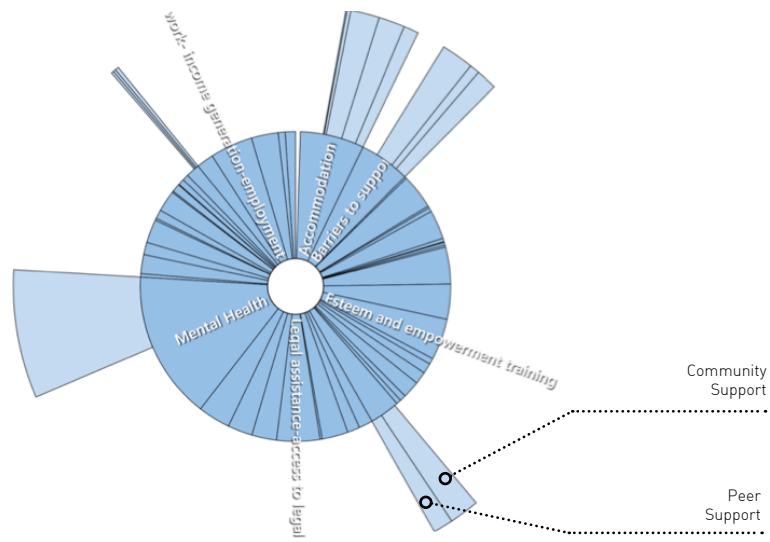
356 See: www.gov.uk/government/publications/an-assessment-of-independent-child-trafficking-advocates-interim-findings

357 See: www.independentmsareview.co.uk/#process

support service aspect. This need to feel physically and psychologically safe was also found to relate to the time it took for both NRM decisions and asylum decisions to take place. Good outcomes in human trafficking work are also recounted, mainly around way in which people did not go missing from services. Each of these themes are addressed in turn below.

Key informants reiterated a number of these areas, also highlighting esteem and empowerment training but, overall, putting less emphasis on the need for informal support, be it from peers or at the community level.

Figure 14: Proportions of data generated from interviews with key informants in the UK



The prioritisation of an immigration approach to human trafficking undermines opportunities and space for good practice to flourish in supporting victims of trafficking in the UK. The reluctance to provide victims a reflection period beyond 45 days, other than that provided until a CG decision is made, or an automatic 12 months Leave to Remain for those granted a PCG decision can be seen as examples of the prioritisation of an immigration approach over a victim-centred approach. The adoption of 12 months leave to remain would be a significant move towards good practice in the support of victims of trafficking in the UK.

In this research, key informants and trafficked persons in the UK stressed the negative impact of the waiting time and processes of the NRM and asylum system upon the wellbeing and recovery of trafficked persons. The policies of the UK government result in a challenging environment in which to fulfil the basic needs and rights of trafficked persons or deliver good or promising practice. It is significant that many examples of good practice in the UK in the support of victims of trafficking came from organisations that operate outside of the NRM and which are not funded by the UK government. We also found committed and dedicated organisations carrying out a range of support services, assisting individuals in understanding their rights, entitlements and issues around debt in the context of the UK. Examples of provisions of trainings around esteem and empowerment, the provision of educational and vocational opportunities and an array of other initiatives were also found.

In this study, there was evidence that learning from practice was ongoing within organisations who reflected on their work and allowed for their practice to develop and be enhanced. It appears that there is a growing inclination for this learning within distinct organisations to be shared. As one experienced practitioner suggested:

‘So I think we’ve had loads of reports, we’ve had loads of papers written, but being able to pass this information across and actually see work being done so we can now say okay this is the best practice has been what’s been lacking for a while. But now we’re beginning to have that translation.’³⁵⁸

In this part of the report, we consider good practice in this context with the UK as a destination country for Albanian, Vietnamese and Nigerian nationals by looking at support services and some of the key issues arising out of interviews with both adults who had experienced human trafficking and key informants within England and Wales.

UNDERSTANDING INDIVIDUAL NEEDS AND HOW PEOPLE PRESENT

It was clear that understanding individuals was a first step in terms of provision of support. These understandings went beyond simply focussing on individual nationalities, but also about understanding the circumstances related to their departures and background histories as outlined in Section 1 of this report. In addition, the forms of exploitation were related directly to how some individuals present to support and other services.

For some key informants interviewed there was a focus and stress on the need for reflective practice and individual level assessments to ensure individuals received support that was right for them:

'People might wrongly assume that if you're from say Albania then you want to meet with other people from Albania, but for some people, their recovery looks like very much distancing themselves from people of a similar background; they want to start again with a new group or they might have fears about people back home finding out, so it's very much speaking to them ... and how much they want people to know about what's going on for them...'³⁵⁹

This key informant also outlined how good practice was essentially and fundamentally about listening to individuals:

'I think good practice is just listening to them about what they're ready to do and if they're not ready to integrate but they're really interested in again textiles or ESOL or photography, if you get them in to a course on that then the integration happens more organically because they're just meeting people that have a similar interest to them, so I think that's also good practice.'³⁶⁰

One of our overall findings is that dominant narratives around human trafficking tend to focus on economic explanations rather than political ones and are therefore insufficient to describe pre-departure vulnerabilities comprehensively. In alignment with this, interviews with adults and key informants in the UK described how political reasons for departure were apparent in some cases. One key informant offered a view around the differing typologies of cases from Viet Nam:

'I have noticed three types of [human trafficking] cases from Viet Nam. The first is a minor who is at an orphanage and who is desperate. They will listen to anyone who says they can help them. I know of cases where they say they were talking to someone who was telling them how they could make their lives better and then [they] wake up in transit. I have had cases like that. The second type is political or religious reasons. They have to leave in a rush because they are going to be arrested. They leave the same day. The third type are those who can take time to plan, they listen to those promises they are misled and tricked, but they do want to improve the life of their families.'³⁶¹

As Hoa, a young woman from Viet Nam reiterated, leaving rapidly due to imputed political opinions was apparent:

'The reason for that was when I married and then I divorced from my husband, he involved with some political activities and he was arrested and it's kind of linking to me and I decided to leave the country. ... If you marry or you're an ex-partner, if the other one involved or been arrested, you therefore will become an accessory to crime and I feared for my own safety, that's why I left.'³⁶²

359 Interview 152, key informant, UK, August 2018.

360 Interview 152, key informant, UK, August 2018.

361 Interview 140, key informant, UK, July 2018.

362 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

This distinction between political and economic reasons was, in the view of another key informant, simply a matter of perspective, but this also shed light on the perception that those leaving Viet Nam were always affected by poverty or low socio-economic status:

'It's more than that, to the Western culture, they have a perception that all of the illegal immigrants are just purely based on economic reasons but throughout my experience, many of them are highly politically involved ... they are quite well off, they are highly educated ... your right to protest and your right to speak out because you see injustice in the system in Viet Nam, so when they decide to act upon their wishes and their beliefs, they've been oppressed and tortured by the officials and they have to leave the country. ... But when they decided to leave by arranging with the agent to get them out of the country, somehow they fall into a trap because to the agent, they don't care, they say, "I can take you out" but they have a hidden agenda ... you are under their control and when you are under their control, they can do anything against your will. Some political asylum seekers have been forced into doing something against their will because they have no control. ... To the British government, everything belongs together, either you are an asylum seeker, you are here partly due to human trafficking but deep down there is some meaning to the different circumstances, why they ended up like this.'³⁶³

Another key informant discussed how the parallel processes of asylum and trafficking determination could be confusing for those who had experienced human trafficking:

'Most of my cases are asylum cases. It's really difficult for the clients to understand that their trafficking case is separate from their asylum case. While they are under the same umbrella, they are separate, and the stories that they tell in both, it's really difficult for them to understand what the Home Office is asking for and what's required of them.'³⁶⁴

There was a very small number of key informants with unhelpful pre-conceptions of how people who had been trafficked should look or present themselves. These key informants made comments about appearance or what they considered to be an apparent lack of 'vulnerability' in some way. However, it was clear that the majority of key informants interviewed demonstrated a more informed perspective, something which was not apparent a decade ago.³⁶⁵

There was also a range of views related to the need to not only understand the backgrounds and lives of individuals during assessments, but crucially, also understand the impact that different forms of exploitation had on how people presented themselves. As one counsellor discussion in relation to the Nigerian clients she worked with:

'I think the ones that don't talk about it, the ones with sexual exploitation do not talk about it because it's a big, what I see sometimes with the sexual exploitation group, they look more well dressed and put together than the ones who are domestic [servitude], they appear to have better self-esteem than the ones who are domestic and I think what it is, it might be a degree of better self-esteem but maybe they've got more independence skills because remember the domestic, they are under the abuser day in, day out, anything they do is not right, everything they do is criticised, your self-esteem is going to be reduced really low. The other one who's put in a room to work, they're not going to be seeing the trafficker every day telling them how useless they are, some of them have had a little degree of independence and they're made to dress up, wear fancy clothes, nice clothes. Now what are the effects of those, I'm not saying you've got nice clothes so you should be happy but what are the actual effects of being dressed up, given nice clothes on the esteem of the individual? I would say the ones we have here, the ones who have been through sexual exploitation seem to have a different type of confidence. ... We see some of them come with make-up, dress is still sexualised, so it is interesting!'³⁶⁶

363 Interview 152, key informant, UK, August 2018.

364 Interview 139, Key Informant, UK, June 2018.

365 Pearce, J., Hynes, P. and Bovarnick, S., (2009) *Breaking the wall of silence, East Sussex: Routledge*, 2013.

366 Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

This issue of strength – or being perceived as confident and strong – was outlined by Vetone, an Albanian female in her mid 20s in the UK:

'Alone, at least no men around me, no one touching me, so just alone. ... I don't want to cry, I'm strong, I'm a strong girl.'³⁶⁷

Older Vietnamese males were a particular grouping that were rarely identified as victims of trafficking, often when they were being arrested for the cultivation of cannabis. As outlined earlier in this report, a significant proportion of male interviewees returned to Viet Nam had strong indicators of trafficking that had not been identified prior to their return from detention in the UK.

There has been some good practice in the UK in seeking to ensure that potential victims of trafficking for forced criminality are identified as potential victims of trafficking and not punished as criminals. For example, in 2016 and 2017 the UK Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner led a partnership with the Judicial College and International Bar Association in training 1,500 members of the judiciary in England and Wales on identifying victims of trafficking in the criminal justice system.³⁶⁸

LONGER TERM SUPPORT AROUND MENTAL HEALTH

A key finding in this study is that given the continuum of violence and abuse detailed in Section 1 and 2 and subsequent levels of trauma involved prior to and after arrival into the UK, there is a greater need for support around mental health than is currently available. For example, a number of Vietnamese participants described their intense fear and loss of control when travelling in refrigerated lorries and considered their journeys to be one of the most dangerous experiences of their lives. Another example involved an Albanian woman described the trauma she had experienced when witnessing her children being given sleeping pills in similar lorries to remain quiet whilst passing through security.

This chimes with previous research into the physical and mental health of male and female survivors in England where it was found that 78% of women and 40% of men who had experienced trafficking reported high levels of depression, anxiety or posttraumatic stress.³⁶⁹ As Oram et al. (2016) suggest, there is an urgent need for psychological interventions to support the recovery of people who have experienced violence and trafficking. Studies have also outlined the high economic and social harms involved.³⁷⁰

In this study, the need for a trauma-informed approach to working with trafficked persons was consistently identified and there was also a recurring recognition that the supply of this type of support is limited, with pockets of good practice available. Particular organisations with lengthy history of provision in this area were spoken of very positively by a number of key informants. As one representative of a community-based organisation highlighted:

'...they're very popular and they're doing excellent work, they can provide a holistic service.'³⁷¹

However, the same key informant also acknowledged:

'...their waiting list is six months.'³⁷²

Several key informants stressed the fact that it was difficult for adults trafficked to access such services within the 45 day 'reflection and recovery' period with some waiting 180 days to access a specialist counselling service. For children and young people, another

367 Vetone, Interview 39, UK, September 2018.

368 Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner, 2017, p16

369 Oram, S., Abas, M., Bick, D., Boyle, A., French, R., Jakobowitz, S., Khondoker, M., Stanley, N., Trevillion, K., Howard, L. and Zimmerman, C. (2016) Human Trafficking and Health: A Survey of Male and Female Survivors in England, *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol.106, No.6, p.1073-1078.

370 See: www.assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/729836/economic-and-social-costs-of-modern-slavery-horr100.pdf

371 Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

372 Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

key informant described how there was good practice in mental health services but there were problems around both accessibility and the effectiveness of 10-12 sessions to address complex trauma:

'I see really good practice with other therapeutic services who offer open ended therapy, we as a service have a real problem with time limited therapy, CAMHS services, you cannot work with multiple complex trauma like trafficking by offering someone 10-12 sessions of therapy and it's borne out by, it might look like there's been an improvement, CBT might show some improvements but I really question the long term improvement for those young people.'³⁷³

The nature of this provision relates to the experiences of individuals already outlined in Sections 1 and 2 of this report. These experiences of violence prior to leaving their countries of origin, en-route and abuse in the UK require a long-term approach to mental health provision. The impact of these experiences and their personal histories in their country of origin and en-route meant they may have significant mental health problems which require comprehensive and long-term support.

Survivors often presented thoughts on their physical as well as psychological sense of safety, highlighting the need for such long-term and culturally sensitive support. As Quang from Viet Nam explained:

'I suffer from psychological disorder because of the trauma that I've been through, I wasn't strong enough to contact other people, I was depressed.'³⁷⁴

This sense of safety was multi-layered. Other structural factors in the delays in providing people with an NRM or asylum decision meant that good work done to support a person's mental health needs was sometimes undermined. As Kesandu from Nigeria outlined:

'So then, when they put in my paper, they deny me, they say I have to write an appeal. So, during that appeal I was taken to Manchester and anytime I needed to go to court [organisation] had to buy me a ticket ... when I got my results, my paper, I came back from Manchester to London because I don't know anyone there.... I called the ambulance all the time to take me because I was panicking, so I was panicking, all the time I call the ambulance to come and get me out of the house.'³⁷⁵

For children and young people mental health issues may not be immediately apparent, with young people being reluctant to engage in therapy whilst in the process of regularising their status in the UK, accessing education and understanding the complexities of their new surroundings. However, upon reaching 18 years, the ongoing sense of limbo encountered whilst waiting for an asylum decision, not being able to access work or higher education and simultaneously being moved out of foster care was outlined as a cause for their feeling disillusioned and disempowered. Importantly, access to CAMHS services also ends at this age and, with adult thresholds applied within such complex cases, accessing services becomes even more difficult.

A range of behaviours and suggestions around improvements for young people were expressed by one UK-based key informant:

'... I think it's just where people make the time and where professionals can recognise that someone who is displaying anger and acting out, is actually coming from trauma, it's not coming from being difficult and therefore work with that person to try and understand them and empathise with them. ... you can see those behaviours coming out less and less over time. Then you've got very compliant young people, who on the surface don't seem to need a lot of support from you, but actually that vulnerability is a different form of vulnerability. You need to spend more time with them, helping them express their viewpoints.'³⁷⁶

The benefits of having therapists embedded into services for trafficked children and young people was also recounted.

373 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

374 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April 2018.

375 Kesandu, Interview 33, UK, August 2018.

376 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

'we really shifted in terms of the range of things that we offered because we identified gaps, so we decided to include therapy within our team because we were having real difficulties finding specialist therapists, I've had a lot of challenges in this role initially over where to refer people, limited capacity and very few therapy services with specialism in this area and very few that offer open ended therapy, so we decided to incorporate that into our model of work.'³⁷⁷

Alongside the development of ICTAs, there is a strong argument that trusting relationships built up through these associations could be built upon for the purposes of mental health. This would save a child or young person needing to be continually reassessed, questioned and outlining their lives to different people over time. Such consistent support could also allow for better disclosures to be made, leading to the availability of better evidence for use in their asylum claims. Constructive, supportive and meaningful relationships are required to build trust to enable this approach.

Little is known about the levels of trauma that separated children have experienced on their journeys to the UK be this through Libya, Calais, Dunkirk, Lens or future geographical locations that foster exploitation and abuse.³⁷⁸

WORKING WITH SUICIDAL OR SELF-HARMING CLIENTS

There was significant discussion about victims of trafficking with suicidal ideations and histories of suicide attempts from victims in the UK and key informants. One trafficked person from Albania disclosed how they had attempted suicide multiple times:

'I tried to kill myself three times, not once, three times. ... I tried to jump from a bridge. I got so depressed. Now my life just seems empty, it's just empty. ... it looks like a dream, it doesn't look real . . . I was in there, it just feels it wasn't me, or it was me. These bloody faces come on my face when I'm trying to sleep, they just come. ...'³⁷⁹

A number of representatives of organisations interviewed highlighted working with suicidal clients, with one representative from civil society describing a young person:

'... who is suicidal at the moment and not coping very well. We made a referral to [local authority] and I was amazed at their really strong response, they immediately took it seriously. ... I've often had bad experiences making young adult safeguarding referrals where people say "He's an adult, what can we do?". [This time] senior managers dealt with it, we had a safety plan meeting, we looked at how we could help him...'³⁸⁰

In recognising that trafficked persons may have suicidal ideation key informants described it as good practice that they ensure risk assessments are done to safeguard those with acute mental health problems and that those working with trafficked persons are trained and confident in discussing mental health with the people they are supporting.

'Good practice, there's lots of it. Risk assessment, I've been trained on risk assessment when working with vulnerable groups and exploring where this person is at. Are they suicidal? Do they have thoughts of it? Do they self-harm? Do they have a plan? Generally, we do not ask those questions do we? And anyone who's experiencing depression, we shouldn't be afraid to ask that, be explicit, "Do you sometimes think about harming yourself?", because the relief of someone asking you that and you being able to say, "I have done and I've never been able to tell anyone" and then say, "Do you have a plan?" because some people say, "If I don't get my papers, I'm going to do it", "How are you going to do it?", "I've got my medication,

377 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018

378 For an in-depth look at the ways in which young people are exploited en-route and disclose sexual abuse, see Leon, L. and Raws, P., (2016) *Boys Don't Cry: Improving Identification and Disclosure of Sexual Exploitation among Boys and Young Men Trafficked to the UK*, London: Children's Society: www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/resources-and-publications/boys-dont-cry-improving-identification-and-disclosure-of

379 Vetone, Interview 39, UK, September 2018.

380 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

I get loads of it from the doctor” or “I’m going to go to London Bridge ..” and ... so it’s really important, I think the risk assessment, assessing that.’³⁸¹

A mental health worker, working with Vietnamese adults also commented on this tendency:

‘I have seen cases, several cases, from the point they are at the lowest point in their life, where service users are thinking, they’re having suicidal thoughts, that’s the lowest point in their life, I’ve seen that, I was there with them ... and to the point they manage to be a successful case, I can see their happiness, that’s the most rewarding thing I’ve seen.’³⁸²

In relation to suicide ideation, comments suggested that this was not specific to particular nationalities, in contrast with self-harm:

‘Suicide ideation ... seems to be general across the board. I don’t see anything culturally specific for that, people say they’ll take their medication, walk in front of a bus or jump off a bridge.’³⁸³

This same participant commented on how self-harm could be specific to cultural backgrounds and how problematic this was under existing NHS criteria:

‘How people self-harm here in the UK is very different to how people in another country might self-harm, it can be culture specific. With people here, cutting and burning is quite common ... whereby the people I’ve met from African might bang their heads, pull their hair out, stand in the cold with just a vest T-shirt, sitting there until their distress passes. It’s about regulating your emotions isn’t it? This does not come under the criteria to receive treatment on the NHS, it doesn’t qualify, you have to be cutting and burning.’

This practitioner outlined how services should offer longer term open ended therapy, as one-to-one, group, sports or other creative therapy approaches. It was felt that it was essential to create a community around victims to allow them to heal and form healthy relationships with peers. The importance of group work came across in several interviews wherein survivors were able to feel a sense of belonging and consequently begin to rebuild their social and support networks.

PARTNERSHIPS, MULTI-AGENCY WORKING AND ADDRESSING THE ‘WHOLE PERSON’

Key informants commented on how the ethos of individual organisations was particularly important, as well as having an holistic and multi-agency approach to support survivors:

‘I could give what is our ethos in terms of how we think. All trafficked victims have gone on a horrendous journey to come and I don’t think there is one organisation that can do it all, it needs a table of good experts to run specific things, to be able to enable them to rebuild their life. It needs someone to address their mental health issues, it needs someone to address the practical issues, it needs someone to address the safety, it needs someone to address the condition of leaving and to help them rebuild in terms of fulfilling their dreams. But they all have to work together, I don’t think there is one partner that can do it all.’³⁸⁴

Focussing on coordination, this same key informant expressed the view that by coordinating their work with partners they will be able to achieve best practice,

‘We all do specific things but if that is better coordinated, the impact could be better ... definitely a round table with all the specialists that could help and we would know what a victim of trafficking goes through to enable, to support this client straightaway. That person will be lost, we will understand [their languages and needs] and help them to understand better. The police will ensure that this person is safe,

381 Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

382 Interview 128, key informant, UK, March 2018.

383 Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

384 Interview 137, key informant, UK, April 2018.

[name of organisation] will ensure that all their needs are addressed, they take them to the GP and for therapy, it needs to be local enough for people to benefit and that can work.'³⁸⁵

This need for coordination was reiterated by a number of key informants:

'I think joined up working is really important with stuff like that and people talking to each other.'

Addressing the 'whole person', the 'entire picture of a person's life', using a 'holistic approach', a 'person-centred approach' or 'client-informed' were very much at the heart of interviews with key informants, as was working with other agencies:

'So, using a person-centred approach where they look at what does that person say their recovery looks like? What is that person's strengths? And a focus on empowerment to help that person and I think they very much look at the person's whole life rather than just their time in the NRM.'³⁸⁶

'For us what works best is being able to put that around somebody or as long as the services are available, put in a holistic package of support around that person. ... I think for our clients, just that link-through process has been really helpful, that they've got someone they can build trust with and go to if they've got any issues with other organisations or issues with their support. ... They've got someone who's going to advocate on their behalf.'³⁸⁷

Key informants highlighted good practice in ensuring that service users were empowered and had autonomy:

'In terms of good practice I would say we are very much service user-led which again leads to what I was discussing about women making their own choices and women coming up with ideas on how to address their own needs. So, whatever they feel is necessary, we try to implement.'³⁸⁸

Organisations flexible enough to work with a full range of people demonstrating or presenting with unique combinations of vulnerabilities, capabilities, hopes and aspirations was evidenced in this study. How that could be amplified, replicated or scaled-up across a broader range of organisations and sub-contractors is perhaps the next step in campaigns and coordination efforts across England and Wales. This flexibility was outlined as especially important when working with young people:

'There's this thing I was saying about how you respond in that first 72 hours when someone is taken into care and there needs to be built-in practice to recognise that you need to invest a bit of time in that period and you need to, I think, good practice is recommending and involving as many other professionals as you can, referring to specialist services, to groups, doing as much of that as you can to widen the support network early on and do refer to specialist agencies, I don't mean just us, unfortunately every service like us has limited capacity, there needs to be more of them.'³⁸⁹

BUILDING TRUST

Trust takes time to build or restore and much of the work recounted with survivors was connected to restoring or building trust. Trust is an essential component of UK policies to support the lives of those who have experienced trafficking. Ensuring victims of trafficking have institutional trust in the NRM process and other processes affecting their lives is crucial for their longer-term ability to restore trust in their everyday lives. At present the systems for people who have experienced human trafficking provides only minimal space for trust to be restored. In this study, it was found time and again that, in a number of areas, confidence in identification and determination processes was missing and the fear of deportation was keenly felt by participants. As Antigona from Albania recounted:

385 Interview 137, key informant, UK, April 2018.

386 Interview 146, key informant, UK, July 2018.

387 Interview 152, key informant, UK, August 2018.

388 Interview 148, key informant, UK, August 2018.

389 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

'I can say, OK, I'm an asylum seeker, I don't have the right to work, I don't have lots of money, but I can stay these three years. ... I know all the time I was safe. ... alright, I have things happen, for example, they refuse me, I have stress because I don't know what going to happen with my case, but the thing is, I sleep with my kids and I have a safe place and I know I'm safe here. I don't know what's going to happen in the future but I'm not going back, I'm not going to go back. They can force me and do everything, I don't care for myself but ... if they can send me by force, I don't want to, I don't want my kids with me because I did everything for them, I'm not going to send them with my husband back in that place. ... If we're going to live our lives, it's important to live safe and to sleep safe, in that time I didn't sleep at night time because I was scared, so when you can't sleep because you are afraid for your life, it's terrible.'³⁹⁰

As one particularly insightful counsellor outlined, this need to restore trust is completely necessary in gaining disclosures to enable identification of exploitation and/or trafficking. In his practice he had built this bridge to an interviewee:

'I managed to gain their trust and I'm talking about the big trust, not a small one, the trust where they're willing to tell you things they would not necessarily disclose to anyone else.'³⁹¹

Individuals who have experienced hidden forms of abuse such as intimate partner violence (IPV³⁹²) or torture may experience fragility in their existing capacity to trust others. Weak community sanctions at a community level can often reinforce this. The process of displacement may have involved transitions that included the physical loss of possessions and property but also the sense of normalcy and physical and emotional security. Having services that provide the opportunity to address this was reiterated by a number of key informants interviewed:

'I haven't seen anything else like what [organisation name] does and that is brilliant, getting to know them in detail, spending time to build that trust and they knew how important is that trust.'³⁹³

'So, there's no one size fits all. A survivor of modern slavery, there's no set thing that's going to help somebody to recover, particularly building up a trusting relationship with an advocacy worker is so difficult and I'd say more difficult than some other areas of support because they've had their trust abused over and over again, particularly by people that were meant to help them.'³⁹⁴

'It's all about building trust, and that is the biggest issue our vulnerable clients have, is trust, because remember, the trust was broken when they were brought over.'³⁹⁵

The capacity to develop good practice and build trust is limited by the short timeframes and short-term funding within which some organisations were working.

PROTECTION AND THE THERAPEUTIC ALLIANCE

It was found that people feeling protected related to what has been outlined in all four countries about the need for committed, engaged and passionate staff and building a close and therapeutic 'alliance' between employees and people who have experienced trafficking or exploitation:

'You know what really works I've found is the group work. Individual therapy, giving that space to be heard but it's more than that, it's the relationship, some of the stuff I've been taught I am not doing as a therapist, end at 50 minutes, that's it, no contact outside of therapy, I can't do that with these girls, I call them up,

390 Antigona, Interview 36, UK, September 2018.

391 Interview 140, key informant, UK, July 2018.

392 World Health Organisation (2010) Preventing Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Against Women: Taking Action and Generating Evidence, Geneva: WHO.

393 Interview 137, key informant, UK, April 2018.

394 Interview 152, key informant, UK, August 2018.

395 Interview 153, key informant, UK, June 2018.

“How are you doing?”, because no-one calls them, they’ve got nobody to see how they’re feeling, “How did you manage last week? I know you had this court case, how did it go?”.³⁹⁶

For young people, this relationship or alliance was also emphasised:

‘I think you’re able to build something around a young person where they can flourish, where they enter the service with no real friends, no safe support network, they’re traumatised but not accessing.’³⁹⁷

‘... by coming to the group and doing the different activities and being involved in training, speaking at parliament, understanding what careers they could have, it’s made them go actually, “I’m going to go to university and I want to work for a charity”, one of them was like “I want to be an MP” and before they would never have contemplated that. ... I think now we’ve got the young person now working, she says, “Look, when I came ..”, she also has learning difficulties but has got help with that at university and she says, “Look, I was like that but look what I’m doing now, don’t stop yourself”, she can’t write and has dyslexia and she says, “But there is support in this country if you just look for it”, she’s always saying to them, “Don’t be lazy, you need to look for it and you need to fight for it” and that’s one thing in our programme which is really good. I love working for [organisation name] in terms of our model, that you’ve got the youth voice as well as we’re campaigning and then we’re training and I really like that sort of model.’³⁹⁸

LIVING ‘IN LIMBO’ AND STATUS DETERMINATION

The uncertain nature of awaiting decisions meant that potential work by organisations on longer term issues was structurally constrained. As Tina outlined, this was sometimes related to the feeling of a ‘hostile environment’ in the UK:

‘The right support is to help everyone to get a visa, to let them live here, not keeping them for years without a decision and then when they want to, they say “Go back home, we don’t want you anymore here”, so keeping people with hope for four years, three years without a decision and then they’re trying to build their life here, to build everything from the beginning and at that moment they ... will cut off your dreams.’³⁹⁹

Another young woman from Nigeria expressed the difficulties of being denied status after arriving into the UK into a situation of domestic servitude as a young child:

‘... because the first time I was denied, they wanted to take me back home to Nigeria, but I can appeal. The time that I was asked to go back, that was the day, I can remember, that it was the worst day in my entire life because I don’t know where to go!’⁴⁰⁰

For Hoa, a young Vietnamese man who had escaped from a cannabis farm:

‘I’m receiving a letter from the Home Office, they inform that due to a backlog my appeals have to wait until further notice. ... The first is taking over a year, then it fail and there is a fresh representation, then a second representation. It’s a lengthy process.’⁴⁰¹

There was almost a resignation in the voices of key informants who outlined how status determination was processed in the UK:

‘Almost nobody gets given it initially, the Home Office is refusing everyone but at appeal we’re able to be successful.’⁴⁰²

396 Interview 133, key informant, UK, June 2018.

397 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

398 Interview 132, key informant, UK, April 2018.

399 Tina, Interview 34, UK, September 2018.

400 Kesandu, Interview 33, UK, August 2018.

401 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

402 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

GOOD QUALITY LEGAL ADVICE REQUIRED

The need for good quality legal advice in cases of human trafficking was found to be vital. Recent cutbacks in legal aid now mean that legal firms are only able to deal with a restricted number of cases at any one time and the lack of legal aid in some parts of the England and Wales have been reported as creating 'deserts' of provision.⁴⁰³ This essential service for those who have experienced trafficking and have complex backgrounds requires a sophisticated level of engagement by solicitors. Enhancements to legal aid services to address the holistic needs of victims for legal advice and representation are warranted.

Finding good quality legal advice for cases of human trafficking was repeatedly outlined as not being straight forward:

'... even lawyers work in silos, there's not a trafficking lawyer, in some of our cases, they have four different lawyers involved in their case.'⁴⁰⁴

As Tina from Albania outlined, this often had a detrimental result:

'From my first lawyer I had ... she damaged all my case, she didn't send some of the letters to the Home Office, she misplaced lots of documents, but now I feel I am in the right hands.'⁴⁰⁵

Some – not all – found legal advice for the first time during their detention:

'When I was in a detention centre, I met with a couple of Vietnamese people, they advised me that I should consult with a legal advisor, so I managed to book an appointment with a solicitor and since then the solicitor took over my case.'⁴⁰⁶

Within this study, a particular dearth of legal advice appears around Vietnamese males who are arrested, detained and progress through the criminal justice system.

ACCOMMODATION AND DAILY LIVING

Under the terms of the current Adult Victim Care contract, TSA conduct annual safeguarding checks of all sub-contracted provision. These checks cover staff training, complaints procedures for both staff and victims and the safety of accommodation. Issues identified can be escalated to the Home Office. Compliance with a minimum standard of care is to be monitored using an inspection regime based on the Slavery and Trafficking Survivor Care Standards outlined at the beginning of this section of the report. Further work is anticipated on ensuring victims receive the rights levels of support to reduce the possibility of future exploitation.

In this study, inadequacies around accommodation were regularly discussed by UK based participants:

'Let's talk about the accommodation, so everyone [should] have their own room, not to share with two, three people ... because that will give you lots of stress, too much. I was sharing a room with another two girls [not from Albania] ... and it's horrible.'⁴⁰⁷

However, in this study, it was also sometimes unclear whether individuals were accommodated in National Asylum Support Service (NASS) or NRM associated accommodation. There was also a lack of clarity around the availability and suitability of accommodation support, or how a joined-up approach between the two sets of contracts operated:

'... people like her, they understood the accommodation would be dispersal, could be anywhere in the country and she is scared of her trafficker and is alone. She fears being isolated so some friends allow her to stay with them.

403 See: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-46357169 accessed 19 February 2019.

404 Interview 136, key informant, UK, May 2018.

405 Tina, Interview 34, UK, September 2018.

406 Lam, Interview 30, UK, July 2018.

407 Tina, Interview 34, UK, September 2018.

She decided not to take that offer, when you decide not to take that offer you don't get that [financial] support.'⁴⁰⁸

The need for informal, community or peer support was a clear consideration in relation to taking up offers of accommodation and if this accommodation was far from these support structures, individuals struggled. As Hoa from Viet Nam outlined, having an organisation available where he could speak his own language was particularly helpful:

'My advice to other people, I would strongly recommend them to approach the [nationality] organisations, firstly you would be able to express your view in your own language and, secondly, by doing that you would be able to receive adequate advice and be informed to make your own decisions.'⁴⁰⁹

Further support was needed around financial support and dealing with debt:

'There has been all the time in my mind that I'm worried about my life, I'm worrying if I'm unable to repay the debt, that my life would be at risk and somehow they would kill me. ... My most important thing is being granted remain in the UK, that's what I need, I don't want to be deported back to Viet Nam because first, I don't have anyone in Viet Nam and, secondly, if they send me back to Viet Nam and I can't repay the debt, that will be a risk to my life'⁴¹⁰

GOOD OUTCOMES AND SUCCESSES IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING WORK

As Roberts (2018)⁴¹¹ outlines, data on the outcomes of victims of trafficking are not yet collated in the UK. In this study, measuring good outcomes or success in human trafficking work was often related to ensuring that children or adults did not go missing from services and the importance of tracking and measuring the incidence of missing episodes over the longer-term, particularly around children and young people:

'So, we have a very, very good safeguarding process and with our carers, we support local authority carers as well, so we make sure they're on an immediate safety plan. So, currently, we have 100% success rate. None of our young people have gone missing or had missing episodes, whereas we know that in other areas in local authority young people go missing all the time.'⁴¹²

Another participant outlined how ICTAs were necessary to provide advocacy for young people as well as for adults due to the specialisms of understanding the needs of people who had experienced trafficking:

'... there needs to be independent advocacy schemes. ... for there to be statutory provided guardians like in Scotland, child trafficking guardian, I think that should be provided for adults too, it's such a specialist area, it requires specialist knowledge across a range of things that one of the challenges for people like social workers is that they're always going to have a very large caseload of lots of different needs, and I think you do need to involve specialists to work in these areas.'⁴¹³

It was of note that learning from the devolved nations was recommended in respect of Guardians for children and young people:

'But here is the point probably to go back to Scotland, in Scotland, looked after children are able to stay with their foster carers until the age of 25, it there have been discussions and there may be changes in England and Wales, but the point I'm making is that I'm pretty sure that young victims of trafficking, young people victims of trafficking can stay with foster carers beyond 18 in Scotland and they get some continuity and some safety, so this is something that needs to be considered here as well.'⁴¹⁴

408 Interview 140, key informant, UK, July 2018.

409 Hoa, Interview 28, UK, June 2018.

410 Quang, Interview 29, UK, April, 2018.

411 Roberts, K. (2018) *Life after Trafficking: A Gap in the UK's Modern Slavery Efforts*, *Anti-Trafficking Review*, No. 10. View at: www.antitraffickingreview.org/index.php/atrjournal/article/view/329

412 Interview 150, key informant, UK, August 2018.

413 Interview 138, key informant, UK, May 2018.

414 Interview 135, key informant, UK, April 2018.

The introduction and rollout of ICTAs across England and Wales may well reduce the number of episodes of children and young people going missing. What is not clear, however, is how other outcomes of success will be collected, measured or collated going forward. Establishing what 'good outcomes' means in cases of human trafficking in the UK remains a task for future research endeavours.

It was also outlined how young people sometimes went missing on the approach to their 18th birthdays during transitions from care. For adults, service providers also considered this issue of not going missing, or not disappearing from view, to indicate success:

'... we have never had a single [adult] person that we've worked with that disappeared.'⁴¹⁵

Beyond ensuring people did not go missing, other pointers of success were outlined as being ensuring tenancies were maintained, enrolling adults into appropriate levels of English classes, and, importantly, gaining Leave to Remain as an outcome related closely to the ability to access to good legal advice. In cases involving children, representatives from civil society organisations made it very clear that a full range of organisations were necessary to meet the needs of children, young people and adults who had experienced trafficking.

TRANSFERRABLE LEARNING FROM OTHER SECTORS?

A question discussed by several participants in this study was whether there might be useful or transferrable learning from other work on violence and abuse. As Zimmerman et al. (2016) suggest⁴¹⁶, there is learning from research and intervention on violence against women and girls⁴¹⁷(VAWG) within the field of public health that can help people avoid severe forms of exploitation, noting that:

'... work on VAWG also began in a reactive versus preventative approach, focussing on criminal justice and shelter responses, but has now advanced to focus on prevention, addressing both community-based and structural factors that create the conditions for abuse.'⁴¹⁸

There has also been work on 'what works' in prevention violence against women (VAW) and violence against children (VAC), particularly in relation to the intersections between them, including shared risk factors, common social norms and the co-occurrence of interpersonal violence (IPV) and VAC. As Fulu et al. (2017) have outlined⁴¹⁹

'VAW and VAC intersect at various stages of the life course ... For example, child marriage, FGM and exposure to IPV in dating relationships may be both VAW and VAC. This points to the potential opportunities for integrated responses.'

Seeking out the intersections between VAW, VAC, IPV and other forms of harm with human trafficking, particularly in relation to risk and protective factors would be beneficial to the human trafficking debate.

Prevention efforts can be cross-sector or be multi-sectoral, focussing on mobilising a change to social norms, attitudes and behaviours; situational prevention that alters the context in some way; or to reduces risks via programmes for social and economic empowerment.⁴²⁰

415 Interview 146, key informant, UK, July 2018.

416 See also Kiss, L. and Zimmerman, C. (2018) Using Existing Know-How to Tackle Modern Slavery, Delta 8.7 Knowledge Platform. View at: delta87.org/2018/08/using-existing-know-how-to-tackle-modern-slavery/

417 Michau, L, Horn, J., Bank, A., Dutt, M. and Zimmerman, C. (2014) Prevention of Violence Against Women and Girls: Lessons from Practice, *The Lancet*, vol.385, p. 1672-1684.

418 Zimmerman, C., McAlpine, A. and Kiss, L. (2015) Safer Labour Migration and Community-based Prevention of Exploitation: The State of the Evidence for Programming, The Freedom Fund and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

419 Fulu, E., McCook, S. and Falb, K. (2017), *What Works Evidence Review: Intersections of Violence Against Women and Violence Against Children*, London: UK Aid.

420 Radford, L., Allnock, D., and Hynes, P., (2015) Preventing and responding to child sexual abuse and exploitation: Evidence review, New York: UNICEF

As outlined earlier in the section on prevention and protection within Nigeria, as well as the provision of shelters and prosecutions, interventions centre around awareness raising and community sensitisation across different media channels. Such 'edutainment-focused' work has been found to be effective in running awareness campaigns around other issues such as domestic violence.⁴²¹ For example, Soul City Health and Development Institute in South African has been running since 1992 utilising multiple media, targeting people over the age of 16 years. Soul City has been evaluated extensively and has been to have a positive impact on knowledge, attitudes and social norms.⁴²² Likewise, Stepping Stones, originally a HIV prevention programme in Uganda, adapted for use in South Africa for youth aged 15-24 years and extended to include intimate partner violence (IPV) has been delivered in both rural and urban areas and tested effective through a randomised control trial (RCT) and other evaluation studies. It involves 13 sessions of group work to explore relationships, risk taking and looking to the future. In Uganda, a programme established in 2008 for adolescent girls aged 13-21 years, focussed on those out of school through the Empowerment and Livelihood for Adolescent (ELA) project. It has focused on reducing risky behaviour and improving wellbeing through social and financial empowerment and, again, has been proven to be effective through a randomised control trial (RCT).

In the field of child protection in the UK, research has highlighted that certain factors are associated with poor outcomes for children⁴²³. These include low income, parental unemployment, poor schooling, substance misuse, domestic violence and community factors such as living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Different form of prevention⁴²⁴ – primary, secondary and tertiary⁴²⁵ – have been focussed on in the UK.

Identification of a victim of human trafficking is a disclosure-based process. Where guilt, stigma or shame is part of pre-trafficking experiences, or where disbelief is a structural reality, disclosure will be difficult and preventing trafficking in the first instance will be complex. How people develop coping strategies to survive trafficking, abuse or exploitation is an area for future research as is longer term recovery from these experiences.

SUMMARY OF SECTION 3

Data collected for this research reveals that survivors of human trafficking have clear opinions around structural issues in their countries of origin that are barriers to changing vulnerability to trafficking. They also outlined what they consider as essential elements of responding to their given circumstances such as being listened to, being believed, being able to access targeted support services, find good quality legal support and, importantly, do this within accessible services led by competent and engaged staff.

Survivors of human trafficking provided nuanced and mixed views around the effectiveness of awareness-raising efforts that do not encompass the more family-based or structural causes in the first instance. For most key informants, there was considerable focus on sensitisation activities and awareness-raising. Across the study, measuring success and good outcomes raised mixed opinions.

In the UK, much stead was focussed on increasing the current 45 day 'reflection and recovery' period for victims of trafficking. Given the long-term continuum of abuse, violence and exploitation outlined in Sections 1 and 2, a focus on emotional and mental health provision affirms the need to increase this 45 day period. Achieving emotional health was consistently recounted as was the need for working in partnership to achieve this, address the 'whole person', build trust, restore trust and protect survivors through building a close therapeutic alliance between them and competent staff. Emotional as

421 Ibid.

422 Ibid.

423 Parton, N. (2007), *Safeguarding Children: A Socio-historical Analysis*, in Wilson, K. and James, A. (2007) (Eds.), *The Child Protection Handbook*, London and New York: Balliere Tindall Elsevier.

424 Taylor, J. and Corlett, J. (2007), *Health Practitioners and Safeguarding Children*, in Wilson, K. and James, A. (2007) (Eds.), *The Child Protection Handbook*, London and New York: Balliere Tindall Elsevier.

425 Primary prevention relates to stopping child abuse or the prevention of situations in which child abuse or neglect might occur in the first instance through teaching or information giving. Secondary prevention relates to preventing the development of stress or tensions that lead to abuse and paying attention to collating indicators of abuse. Tertiary prevention relates to preventing deterioration where harm appears to have occurred. In the UK these are embedded into the role of statutory health visitors.

well as physical safety drew in considerations around the length of status determination processes and the essential needs around good quality legal advice and accommodation that is fit-for-purpose for this population.

While good outcomes were often related to not having somebody go missing from services, further points again related to the sense of physical and emotional safety required to begin to 'recover' from human trafficking. The final part of this section asked whether there is transferrable learning from other forms of abuse and violence, such as DV, VAC, VAW, IPV or CP that will allow human trafficking discourse to progress without learning all the same lessons.

The key findings are highlighted below. Each one is followed by recommendations as to how it could be addressed.

1. Vulnerability to trafficking is influenced by a constellation of overlapping and interconnected risk factors which cut across individual, household and family, community and structural levels and vary from country to country. Individual level factors were most often discussed by respondents, however these are firmly embedded within broader family, community and structural factors that can create enabling environments for trafficking. Respondents provided **detailed contextual descriptions of factors at the household and family level which appear to be particularly significant in the lives of people who have been trafficked.** These include households affected by specific social issues (such as gender discrimination, domestic abuse, substance abuse, physical and sexual violence), or households in which there are pressures to migrate, particularly in the context of sudden shocks, such as the death of a family member. En-route, and in destination locations, vulnerabilities rapidly change and are influenced by factors such as the journeys people take, their levels of isolation and/or ability to access help, the nature of their exploitation and their dependency on people who exploit them.

- **Implement multi-faceted responses to address vulnerabilities at all levels.** These should be based on an analysis of the most significant risk factors, which should have a broader focus than the individuals alone, incorporating family, community and structural considerations, and an understanding of which of these factors can be meaningfully addressed or changed.
- **Complement the DoMV model as a framework to understand vulnerability factors with a political economy analysis** in locations of origin of victims to understand the influence of historical, political, economic and structural factors which may be more complex and systemic (e.g. legislation, policy and governance issues) and not fully described by victims of trafficking or key informants. Ensure that the role of peers and social networks are fully analysed at the household and community levels.
- **Enhance protection activities associated with the home, family and intra-familial environments.** This could include whole-of-family approaches to improve intra-household gender relations, responses to maltreatment, abuse and violence against women and children, which focus on family members working together to improve relations and decision-making. These interventions should be coupled with improvements and enhanced access to social care provision for families to promote the well-being of vulnerable children and adults.

2. Harmful social norms and practices exist and intersect with human trafficking, often in a gender-specific way. Such harmful norms and practices were most often discussed in Albania and Nigeria within household and community settings, and included examples of conservative gender norms, such as early and forced marriage or limited access to education or livelihood opportunities for women and girls. In these circumstances, women and girls may seek to avoid or resist these vulnerabilities by seeking opportunities to leave their household or community settings, increasing the risk of accepting offers from people offering to facilitate this process.

- **Conduct in depth analysis of community and social contexts** in which trafficking is known to take place to understand the influence of social norms.
- **Explore intervention opportunities to challenge traditional attitudes about gender and violence against women and girls** with both men and women, building on learning from other sectors focused on these issues. In Nigeria, this may include training of faith and community leaders to speak out and make these practices less socially acceptable.

3. Limited financial, educational, employment or healthcare services within a community can create a mismatch between an individual or family's opportunities and aspirations to improve their standard of living and socioeconomic status. People feeling constrained by their circumstances or perceived limited opportunities in their community settings was raised by key informants as a risk factor within a community setting which can create or exacerbate socio-economic challenges at the individual and household and family levels. Across all countries, there appeared to be a mismatch between hope and aspiration which can influence decisions to migrate. In Viet Nam an individual's view about their role

in providing for the family and perceived rewards from work abroad, meant individuals (most of whom were men) sought out or accepted offers of well-paid employment to economically provide for family members, often accepting risks of hardship in the short term. In Nigeria, prioritising educational opportunities for children overseas was a feature in family decision-making, with offers accepted from people who claim to be able to facilitate this.

- **Strengthen health, education or community services** and enhance access for all community members, including those who may not be being reached by the current provision, especially in settings outside of the large cities.
- **Link, enhance or partner with existing livelihood programmes** being implemented by government or non-government actors, or identify locations that are not adequately covered.
- **Explore community-based methodologies** that focus on enabling communities to identify and mobilise existing, but sometimes unrecognised, assets and strengths.
- **Explore the potential of expanding productive employment opportunities** for men and women through labour migration programmes.

4. Journeys often begin with rational decision-making which is based on limited or unreliable information about costs, length, dangers, legal requirements, alternatives, or situation en route and at destination. Once journeys begin, they can become progressively precarious with individuals facing new and rapidly changing vulnerabilities. These include violence, extortion, abuse, exploitation, lack of food or water and social exclusion, and sometimes death. Risk and harm tend to increase over time while capacities to mitigate or resist them reduces, as people become increasingly dependent on others that can cause them harm, when communication and access to support is limited and debts increase. In this study, journeys from Viet Nam were found to be particularly dangerous, with widespread violence, abuse and exploitation in multiple locations and over an extended period of time, while journeys from Albania to the UK often involved exploitation in another European country before coming to the UK.

- **Enhance protection at key stages of a journey** with interventions that are based on contextual realities about the ways people are being exploited, the most critical points and places to intervene, and the best mode of delivery. This could include information and resource centres which provide support and assistance to vulnerable migrants. The DoMV can help identify the vulnerabilities at play if used at different stages in a journey.
- **Consider the most appropriate ways to engage with the relevant diaspora communities** in these locations to strengthen their capacity to offer protection and reduce their potential for harm, particularly on routes from Viet Nam to the UK.

5. Cultural and religious beliefs about how luck and divine power can provide protection appear to influence attitudes towards risk and willingness to embark on journeys. In Viet Nam, ideas of luck and destiny appear to supersede what people may know about the dangers they could face on a journey or the potential for 'failed migration'. In some cases, approaches to risk were influenced by perceived short-term hardship for long-term rewards in improved opportunities and stability. In Nigeria, faith in God was described as a factor that provides people with a sense of safety even when they may be aware of potential dangers. Some key informants in Nigeria described how pastors may contribute to this perception by giving blessings for people who are going to travel to Europe. Key informants in Nigeria also described the role of oath-taking and ritual in keeping people in exploitative situations.

- **Conduct further research on attitudes towards risk** and how these can influence behaviour related to migration and seek to identify opportunities for intervention.
- **Work with religious leaders in Nigeria to raise their awareness** of the level of risk people are exposed to on journeys to Europe.
- **Explore the impact of the cultural/religious interventions** such as those that have taken place in Nigeria in which oaths made by victims of human trafficking are publicly revoked.

6. Stigma can be both a driver and an outcome of trafficking and exploitation. For example, moral and conservative codes for women around divorce, pregnancy out of marriage, early marriage, the shame and stigma of domestic violence and in some instances shameful employment such as sex work can leave people isolated and vulnerable. In Viet Nam, stigma towards people who have debts or who are perceived to have failed in their migration aims can lead to discrimination within community settings. Similarly, the fear of suffering stigma and discrimination from their community and even their own families for the experiences suffered during their exploitation could also be used as a means of coercion, keeping them in a trafficking situation, or impacting on their opportunities for recovery post-exploitation when people are marginalised on the basis of their experiences they have faced.

- **Develop interventions that seek to address stigma in household and community settings.** This can involve work with faith and community leaders, as well as institutions responsible for the provision of social care, law enforcement and justice, in the form of capacity building and training.
- **Engage and build the capacity of media** to help ensure that reporting of issues of trafficking or wider social problems do not reify discriminatory messages in respect of gender norms, gender-based violence or child sexual violence.

7. There were mixed views from survivors about the effectiveness of awareness raising efforts to prevent trafficking. Some survivors described how they thought it was important for awareness raising around the dangers of human trafficking to try and prevent people from being affected in the future. However, other survivors were keenly aware of the limitations and appropriateness of such awareness raising approaches, considered against the strength and importance of beliefs and practices in determining their choices, or in the absence of credible alternatives. Among key informants, awareness raising featured heavily in discussions around prevention although its effectiveness was rarely discussed, evaluated or clearly understood.

- **Carry out formative assessments, before implementation,** in the specific locations in which awareness raising interventions are being considered to understand the likelihood of such messages being viewed as meaningful or credible by the target population and the most appropriate mode of delivery. In some locations, peer-to-peer models may be more appropriate, while in others, family based approaches could be more effective.
- **Evaluate existing awareness interventions for impact on behaviour,** ensuring that these are not limited to a focus on the number of people reached or knowledge gained.

8. Some Vietnamese nationals are not being identified as victims of trafficking within the UK's criminal justice and immigration enforcement systems. Testimonies of Vietnamese nationals who had returned home directly from UK prisons or immigration removal centres to Viet Nam and who were interviewed for this study, contained indicators of trafficking which did not appear to have been detected or acted upon while they were in the UK. Instead, individuals had often been treated as criminals or immigration offenders.

- **Strengthen detection and screening processes** in the UK's criminal justice and immigration enforcement systems to ensure that potential victims of trafficking that have been engaged in forced criminality and/or have an unresolved immigration status are identified and can be protected not punished. This could involve training and awareness raising for frontline workers within these agencies on indicators of trafficking and exploitation as well as how to overcome barriers to disclosure. In addition, improve awareness of Section 45 of the Modern Slavery Act among key actors in the criminal justice system, including the Crown Prosecution Service, solicitors and Judges to ensure the non-punishment of those who have been identified as victims of trafficking.
- **Engage with Vietnamese experts or community based organisations** to understand what role they could play in this process, such as the provision of culturally specific information with this process to provide culturally specific information to relevant government agencies and to help them spot the signs of trafficking and encourage victims to disclose their experiences of exploitation.

9. Key informants and trafficked persons in the UK stressed the negative impact of the waiting time of the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) and asylum system upon the wellbeing and recovery of trafficked persons. The uncertain nature of awaiting decisions leaves people feeling that they have no control over their lives which was reported as having negative psychological repercussions. The waiting time and perceptions that individuals may have their accounts disbelieved or mistrusted contributed to limited confidence in the UK's identification and determination processes among survivors and key informants, and can hamper the ability for support staff to build trust with survivors and provide appropriate care. The government is seeking to address these concerns through the NRM reforms¹ but at the time the study was being completed, these had not yet come into effect so their impact is unknown.

- **Review the impact of NRM reforms** once they come into full effect to ensure they are achieving their aims of achieving quicker decision making and that good quality decisions are building confidence among stakeholders and victims. Government has committed to evaluate its programme of NRM reforms and their impact on timeliness and quality of the identification of victims of modern slavery. Work is currently underway to ensure there is robust evaluation of each strand of NRM reform activity.
- **Explore the provision of culturally specific information and training** to NRM decision makers to ensure they are aware of details about how victims from certain locations might present as well as country or location specific trafficking trends and cultural norms.

10. In the UK some of the committed and dedicated organisations carrying out a range of support services for victims of trafficking are operating outside of the NRM² without government funding. This includes the vital work of country specific community-based organisations who are providing culturally informed care to people in their own language. These organisations are providing informal care services and often supporting victims to understand the processes they navigate in the context of receiving care and support in the UK.

- **Support and strengthen the role that community-based organisations can play** in providing culturally informed care to victims of trafficking in their own language to aid recovery and support timely disclosure.

11. The recovery process for victims of trafficking requires a long-term approach, with a diverse range of services and assistance provided over an extended duration. This is particularly important given the length of time that it takes to build trust between support staff and victims, as described by both victims and key informants. **Mental health service provision** is particularly important given the traumatic experiences of victims in the UK, during their journeys and in the context of their personal histories in their communities of origin. However this research has found that limited availability and capacity of specialist mental health services means that such support is inaccessible for many victims of trafficking. Readily accessible and **good quality legal services** were also identified as key to ensure that victims of trafficking understand NRM and asylum processes and are aware of entitlements and are able to make informed choices about legal and immigration processes. The complexities of navigating the care, immigration and criminal justice systems was also identified as challenge for survivors in the UK.

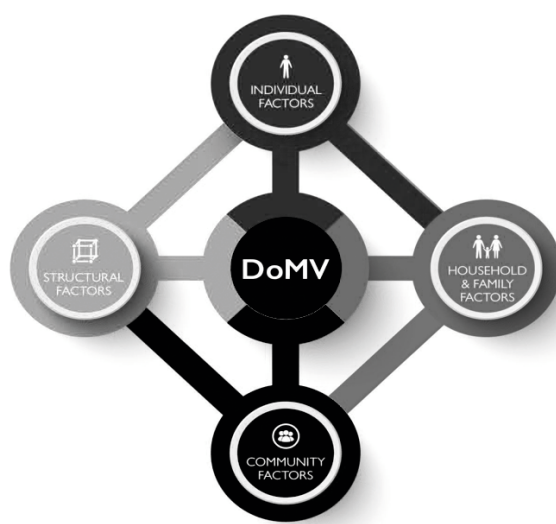
- **Review structural and policy issues** which can impact on long-term service provision to aid recovery, such as Leave to Remain arrangements for victims of trafficking, as identified in Lord McColl's Modern Slavery (Victim Support) Bill.
- **Explore the feasibility of introducing advocates for adult victims of trafficking** to help them understand and navigate social care, immigration and asylum processes.
- **Provide longer-term funding for complex mental health needs** through existing specialist providers trained in working with trauma and past abuse
- **Implement trauma-informed approach training programme for staff** across all sectors who are working directly with survivors.
- **Enhance legal services for individuals referred to the NRM** through a national service for potential and identified trafficking victims.

- **Ensure that social workers are trained on human trafficking and modern slavery** and how to provide appropriate care to survivors as they transition into community settings and access local services.

12. 'Good practice' is not defined and is almost absent from debates around human trafficking in all countries considered in this study, including the UK. However, interviewees provided details of pockets of what might be considered emerging, promising or good practice but many of these have yet to be evaluated, making any assessing their actual impact difficult. Similarly, there were mixed opinions on what 'successful' short-, medium- or longer-term outcomes look like in practice for victims in the UK, and these are not consistently measured or recorded within the NRM or other systems. Respondents noted that not going missing, or disappearing from view, was an indicator of success, as well as ensuring tenancies were maintained, enrolling adults into appropriate levels of English classes, and gaining Leave to Remain. Questions around where people go beyond immediate or short-term interventions remain.

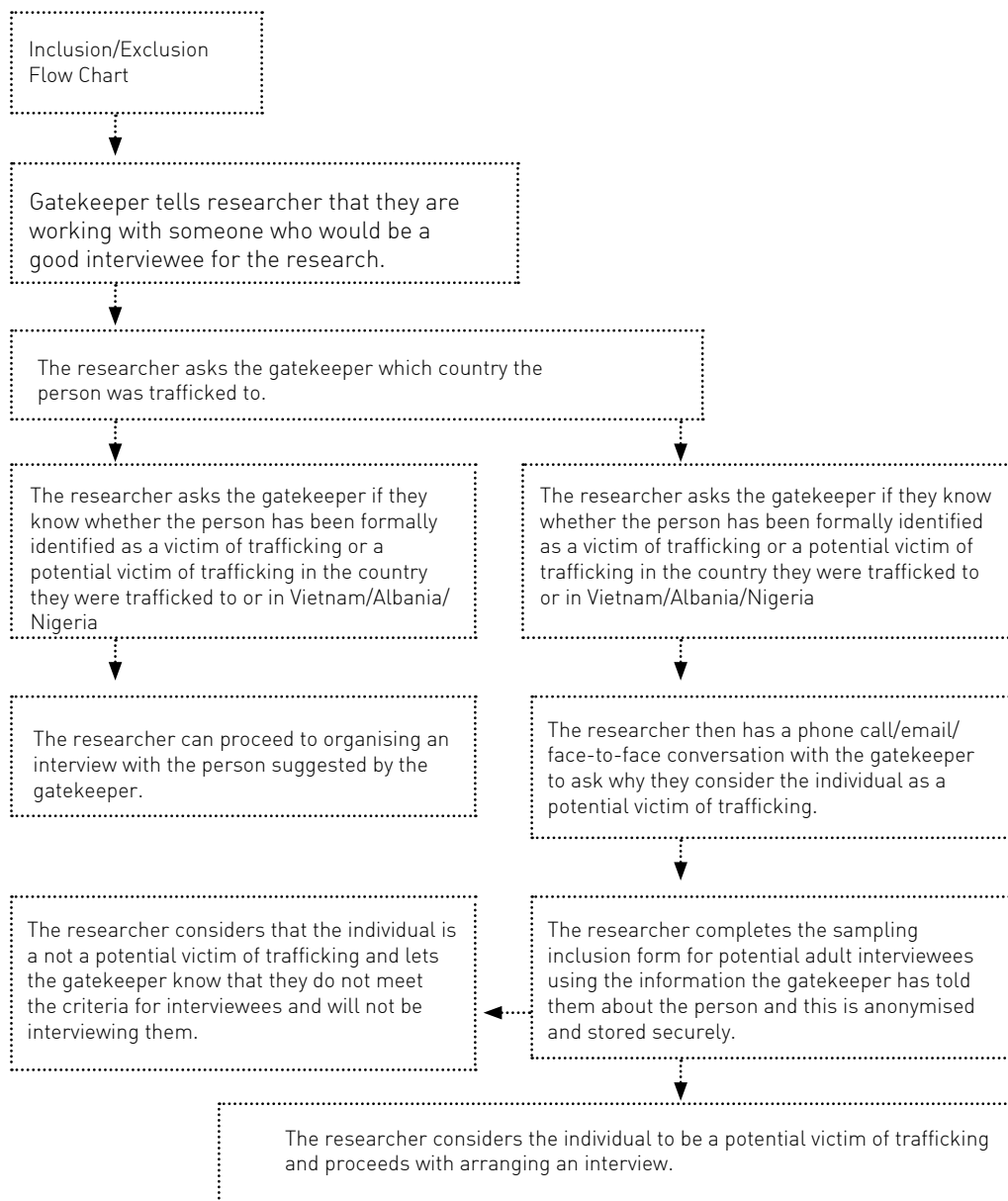
- **Ensure that monitoring and evaluation activities are integrated into interventions** so that good practice can be better identified, and to enable successful interventions to be developed, replicated and up-scaled. Ensuring that support organisations are adhering to the updated Slavery and Trafficking Survivor Care standards can be a helpful starting point, but this needs to be complementing by evaluations of which approaches have been particularly effective in different contexts.
- **Explore the potential of establishing a framework to understand outcomes for victims** of trafficking supported in the UK and for those who may choose to return to their countries of origin.
- **Explore potential intersections with - and draw out learning from - other complex social problems**, such as violence against women and children which may have a longer history of practice and greater understanding of what interventions can be most effective in particular settings.

APPENDIX 1: IOM'S DETERMINANTS OF MIGRANT VULNERABILITIES MODEL



APPENDIX 2: SAMPLING DECISION TREE

Decision Tree of Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria of Adult Sample for 'Vulnerability' to Human Trafficking: A Study of Vietnam, Albania, Nigeria and the UK' research study



The research was undertaken independently of the Home Office and any opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily represent the official views of the British Government.

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