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An evidence assessment of the routes of human trafficking into the UK

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An evidence assessment of the routes of human trafficking into the UK

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Abstract

This report presents the findings from an evidence assessment conducted in 2008 designed to address three questions:

- By what routes and methods of entry do victims of human trafficking reach the UK?
- Are these routes the same for adults and child victims?
- What are the economic dimensions (in terms of costs and benefits) of human trafficking into the UK?

Literature and electronic searches identified 180 studies as potentially relevant; key findings from the 32 studies that met the scope of this review are presented. Data are summarised with regards to the routes of human trafficking, the number of people trafficked, the characteristics of victims and traffickers, and the drivers, costs and benefits of human trafficking.

Both adult and child victims travel through multiple transit countries en route to the UK. Evidence suggests traffickers operate according to rational economic principles.

Keywords

Human trafficking, routes into UK, evidence assessment.

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Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the authors, not necessarily those of the Home Office (nor do they represent Government policy).

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Executive summary

Context

The Home Office commissioned this evidence assessment in 2008 to enhance understanding and to help inform policy development. Human trafficking remains a priority for the Government, which published its *Human Trafficking* strategy in July 2011.

This assessment was designed to address three core questions:

- By what routes and methods of entry do victims of human trafficking reach the UK?
- Are these routes the same for adults and child victims?
- What are the economic dimensions (in terms of costs and benefits) of human trafficking into the UK?

Approach

Searches identified 180 papers on global human trafficking, of which 32 publicly accessible documents met the scope of this review. Studies in scope were assessed for scientific quality. The research team also sought expert opinions on human trafficking from specialists in relevant research and practice organisations. This work was updated in October 2010 to bring it up to date with policy and operations.

Findings

The lack of any systematic approach to the collection of international data makes the scale and nature of human trafficking difficult to assess (see also International Organisation for Migration, 2001; Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2007). The development of the UK Human Trafficking Centre within the Serious Organised Crime Agency is filling this information gap in the UK; one of its roles is to act as the central repository of all data and intelligence on human trafficking.

Poverty, limited opportunities at home, lack of education, unstable social and political conditions, economic imbalances, and war are seen as the key driving forces of the supply of trafficked people. These factors underscore the importance of strategic interventions that take a proactive approach to dealing with these issues in both source and transit countries.

Police activities in relation to trafficking suggest victims come from many different countries, but mainly from regions that include Africa, China/South East Asia, and Eastern Europe (ACPO, 2007; Jackson *et al.*, 2010).

Human trafficking is an international crime, involving a substantial number of source and transit countries. Continued international cooperation in this area could remain a source of potential benefit. In particular, known transit countries located in close proximity to the UK mainland, including France, Belgium and the Netherlands, may be important EU partners, while countries in Africa, China/South East Asia and Central and Eastern Europe may also be key.

Both adults and children may travel through many transit countries on their journeys to the UK. Some of the routes are long, arduous and dangerous, e.g. Vietnam to China, to Russia,

to Northern or Western Europe, to the UK (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006).

Evidence suggests that traffickers operate according to rational economic business principles with complex profit and loss accounts, and that they treat victims as commodities (Kelly and Regan, 2000; Salt and Stein, 1997).

Despite traffickers' awareness of the risks associated with detection, their perceptions are often that the probabilities associated with prosecution are low, and some convicted traffickers were surprised at the severity of their sentence (Webb and Burrows, 2009).

Sexual exploitation, forced labour, and domestic servitude are considered the main purposes for which adults and children are trafficked globally.

Links may exist between international networks that conduct money laundering, trafficking of drugs, and trafficking of human beings.

1. Context

The Home Office commissioned this evidence assessment in 2008 to enhance understanding and to help inform ongoing policy development.

In 2007 the UK signed up to the Council of Europe convention on action against trafficking in human beings. The aims of the convention are (amongst others) to prevent human trafficking, to protect victims, and to promote international cooperation around efforts to combat human trafficking (see also Council of Europe, 2005).

As can be seen through a number of references to its importance over recent months, the issue of human trafficking remains a concern.¹ In the 2010 Coalition agreement, the Government explicitly expressed the intention to tackle human trafficking as a priority. It also agreed to the creation of a dedicated Border Police Force, within which one of its aims is to crack down on the trafficking of people,² and in October 2010 the Government announced the intention to produce a new strategy on combating human trafficking,³ which was published in July 2011.⁴ The issue of human trafficking remains as relevant as it was when this study was first commissioned.

This assessment summarises the evidence on the routes of human trafficking into the UK and on the economics of these routes.

A review by Dowling *et al.* (2007) indicates that the UK's response to the Council of Europe convention on action against trafficking of human beings prior to ratification was hindered by the apparent lack of robust evidence on:

- the routes of entry to the UK used by human traffickers;
- the numbers of human beings trafficked to the UK;
- the characteristics and backgrounds of those who are trafficked, or of the perpetrators of human trafficking;
- the employment sectors that are associated with human trafficking;
- the extent and type of exploitation of those who are trafficked;
- the causal dynamics of human trafficking; and
- the push-pull factors specifically related to the UK.

In order to address some of these gaps, an evidence assessment was commissioned to assess the available evidence by addressing three key research questions.

- What are the routes and methods of entry for victims of trafficking?
- Are the routes the same for adults and children?
- What are the economic dimensions (costs and benefits) of human trafficking into the UK?

¹ *Hansard* (Column 863, 15 Sep 2010):

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm100915/debtext/100915-0001.htm#10091526000031>

² <http://programmeforgovernment.hmg.gov.uk/files/2010/05/coalition-programme.pdf> (section 17: 21)

³ *Hansard* (Column 596): <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm101014/debtext/101014-0004.htm>.

⁴ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/crime/human-trafficking-strategy?view=Binary>

Defining human trafficking

Trafficking of human beings should not be confused with the smuggling of human beings (see United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008, p 4). Human smuggling tends to focus on facilitating movement across borders (transiting) whereas trafficking involves exploitation by threats and force, even after the individual has arrived in the country of destination. Human smuggling is considered to be more widespread than trafficking (in terms of numbers), though both activities afford organised criminal groups with the opportunity to exploit migrants (Serious Organised Crime Agency, 2009).⁵ The following sections detail these distinctions further.

Human trafficking: Definition

The definition of trafficking set out in the Protocol to the 2000 UN convention against transnational organised crime, called the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children*, 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 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.” (Home Office and Scottish Executive, 2007, p 14)

An identical definition of human trafficking is given in Article 4 of the Council of Europe convention⁶.

Human smuggling: Definition

The majority of people who enter the UK illegally either have done so by themselves or have arranged to be smuggled into the country (United Nations, 2000a). The 2000 UN Protocol *Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air* defines the smuggling of migrants as follows:

“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.” (*ibid.*, p 35)

⁵ Serious Organised Crime Agency (2009): <http://www.soca.gov.uk/threats>

⁶ See <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/197.htm>

Distinguishing trafficking from smuggling

The Home Office and Scottish Executive action plan (Home Office and Scottish Executive, 2007) notes that a number of factors can be identified that help to distinguish between smuggling and trafficking.

- Entry into a state can be legal or illegal in the case of trafficking, whereas smuggling is characterised by illegal entry.
- Trafficking can take place both within and across national frontiers, whereas international movement is required for smuggling.
- Trafficking is carried out with the use of coercion and/or deception, whereas smuggling is not, indicating that the latter is a voluntary act on the part of those smuggled.
- Trafficking entails subsequent exploitation of people, while the services of smugglers end when people reach their destination (*ibid.*, p 14).

Therefore, although human smuggling and trafficking are distinct, the two can often overlap.

2. Approach

This evidence assessment was undertaken by searching electronic databases, relevant journals and texts, and the websites of organisations involved in preventing or responding to human trafficking. Consultations were undertaken with experts on human trafficking from both research and practice organisations. Information on the sources of evidence used for this review can be found in Appendix A.

Studies that were in scope were assessed for scientific quality using the Quality Assessment Framework presented in Appendix B. A total of 32 publicly accessible studies were included in the evidence assessment. This work was updated in October 2010 to bring it up to date with policy and operations.

3. Findings

The quality of evidence on human trafficking in the UK

The scale and nature of human trafficking into the UK is difficult to assess definitively given the hidden nature of the phenomenon (see International Organisation for Migration, 2001; Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2007; Serious Organised Crime Agency, 2009; Jackson *et al.*, 2010). In this regard the development of the UK Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) within the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) acting as a central repository of information and intelligence on human trafficking into the UK is of key importance in developing an understanding of human trafficking.

A problem with the quality of the evidence reported in this review is that it reflects different reporting mechanisms. There is considerable ambiguity in the terminology and language in which human trafficking is reported, for example forced labour, slavery and smuggling. Despite the differences between these terms being very clear in policy discourse, some

authors appear to use and report upon these terms interchangeably. This appeared to be particularly the case before 2000, when the UN protocols came into force. There are also differences in the purposes of data collection (e.g. advocacy versus administrative recording). Consequently, studies do not always measure the same dimensions of human trafficking and therefore may not be strictly comparable.

The nature of human trafficking

Most of the literature on human trafficking identifies sexual exploitation, forced labour, and domestic servitude as the main purposes for which adults and children are trafficked globally, and into the UK. It is worth noting that the majority of literature tends to focus on trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation (see United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006; 2009), and that while the majority of those trafficked into sexual exploitation are women

“there is also evidence that trafficking in men and boys occurs for the purpose of sexual exploitation, albeit significantly less often.” (Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2007, p 33).

It is also reported that people are trafficked into the UK for illegal activities, such as shoplifting, pick-pocketing, committing benefit fraud, cannabis cultivation, drug smuggling and selling pirate CDs and DVDs on the street (see Anti-Slavery International *et al.*, 2006; Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2009a; 2009b). The UK may also be used as a transit country – a stopping off point prior to movement to other locations (see United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006; Serious Organised Crime Agency, 2009). While labour trafficking is also a concern, literature on this issue appears to be less prevalent.⁷

Human trafficking is driven by both supply factors (poverty, limited opportunities at home, lack of education, unstable social and political conditions, economic imbalances, and war) and demand factors (the demand for cheap labour). The wider implication is that to enhance the probability of success, strategic interventions could include options for taking a proactive approach to dealing with these broader social and economic issues.

For the reasons noted in the previous section, it is only possible to gauge the extent of trafficking into the UK in rather inexact ways. For instance, Kelly and Regan (2000) estimated that in 1998 the number of women who were trafficked into the UK ranged between 140 and 1,420. The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) Project Acumen report (Jackson *et al.*, 2010) updates this figure. Their analysis shows that of their calculation of the 17,000 migrant women involved in prostitution in the off-street sector, 2,600 are estimated to have been trafficked, and a further 9,200 are considered to be vulnerable – they have elements of vulnerability related to trafficking, but fall short of the threshold used for concluding that they had been trafficked, and amongst whom there may be further victims of trafficking (*ibid.*).

Regarding child trafficking, in 2003 the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) UK estimated that at least 250 children were thought to have been trafficked to the UK in the preceding five years (UNICEF, 2003). However, they acknowledged that this figure was thought to underestimate the actual number of trafficked children, most notably because it was considered a relatively recent phenomena, and that many authorities were only just beginning to keep records of trafficking incidences. A more recent figure was produced by the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) in 2009 that, based

⁷ It is worth noting that United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime reports that “many experts argue that trafficking in adult men and trafficking for forced labour are extremely under-reported” (2009, p 49).

on returns from a number of agencies (covered in greater detail later in this report), reported 325 potential child trafficking victims identified between March 2007 and February 2008, including 46 from within the UK.⁸

Origins and routes of human trafficking into the UK

Origins of human trafficking into the UK

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), which maintains a trafficking database of reports by inter-governmental, governmental and non-governmental sources, reported (2006) that within Europe the UK ranked 'high' as a destination country for trafficked people. Other countries that ranked 'high' as a destination country were: Austria; Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Czech Republic; Denmark; France; Kosovo; Poland; Spain; and Switzerland.⁹

The 2006 UNODC report noted that the UK is one of the main destinations of adults and children who are trafficked from: Central and South Eastern Europe; the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Africa; Asia; Latin America; and the Caribbean. Table 3.1 presents the countries within each of these regions ranked by UNODC as 'very high' or 'high' as origin countries for human trafficking. It is worth bearing in mind that routes of trafficking may change over time and may therefore differ from those mentioned here (this evidence assessment was undertaken in 2008). On the whole, however, the origin regions appear to have remained fairly consistent over time¹⁰

⁸ Since this evidence assessment was completed CEOP updated its study in 2010 reporting that 287 potential victims of trafficking were identified between 1 March 2009 and 28 February 2010 from a total of 47 countries (Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2010). See:

http://www.ceop.police.uk/Documents/ceopdocs/Child_Trafficking_Strategic_Threat_Assessment_2010_NPM_Final.pdf

⁹ It should be noted that within Europe, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands are ranked 'very high' as destination countries. It is also acknowledged that the UK ranks 'low' as a country of origin for human trafficking, and as a 'medium' transit country. These assessments are based on a citation index developed by UNODC (see:

http://www.unodc.org/pdf/traffickinginpersons_report_2006-04.pdf)

¹⁰ SOCA has up-to-date data and intelligence to ensure targeting the latest source countries. See:

<http://www.soca.gov.uk/threats>

Table 3.1: Countries ranked as very high and high origin countries for human trafficking, by region

Central and South Eastern Europe	CIS	Africa	Asia	Latin America and Caribbean
<i>Albania</i>	<i>Belarus</i>	<i>Nigeria</i>	<i>China</i>	Brazil
<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Moldova</i>	Benin	<i>Thailand</i>	Colombia
<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>Russian Federation</i>	Ghana	Bangladesh	Guatemala
<i>Romania</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	Morocco	Cambodia	Mexico
Czech Republic	Armenia		India	Dominican Republic
Estonia	Georgia		Laos	
Hungary	Kazakhstan		Myanmar	
Latvia	Uzbekistan		Nepal	
Poland			Pakistan	
Slovakia			Philippines	
			Vietnam	

Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2006).

Note: Countries in *italics* are ranked very high as origin countries of human trafficking.

The findings of the UNODC report can be combined with the findings from other studies to build a picture of the sources of human trafficking (Skrivánková, 2006; Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2009a; Webb and Burrows, 2009). These have been brought together in Table 3.2 below. As the table confirms, the significant countries often overlap across studies, and sometimes do so across adult and child victims.

From the table below, some of the more often reported countries in the literature on trafficking are: Bangladesh; Brazil; Bulgaria; China; Columbia; Czech Republic; India; Kazakhstan; Latvia; Lithuania; Morocco; Nepal; Nigeria; Pakistan; the Philippines; Poland; Romania; Slovakia; Sri Lanka; Ukraine; Uganda; and Vietnam.

Table 3.2: Countries listed in four studies as significant countries of origin for human trafficking, by study

Country	UNODC, 2006	Skrivánková, 2006	CEOP, 2009a (children only)	Webb and Burrows, 2009
Europe				
Albania	■			■
Bosnia and Herzegovina				■
Bulgaria	■	■		■
Croatia				■
Czech Republic	■	■		■
Estonia	■	■		
Greece				■
Hungary	■	■		■
Latvia	■	■		■
Lithuania	■	■		■
Macedonia				■
Netherlands				■
Poland	■	■	■	■
Romania	■	■	■	■
Slovakia	■	■		
Slovenia				■
Turkey				■
Yugoslavia				■
CIS				
Armenia	■			
Belarus	■			
Georgia	■			
Kazakhstan		■		
Moldova	■			■
Russian Federation	■			■
Ukraine	■	■		■
Uzbekistan	■			
Africa				
Benin	■			
Cameroon			■	
Congo			■	
Ghana	■			
Kenya			■	
Morocco	■	■		■
Nigeria	■	■	■	■
Somalia		■		
South Africa			■	
Uganda		■	■	
Zimbabwe			■	

Country	UNODC, 2006	Skrivánková, 2006	CEOP, 2009a (children only)	Webb and Burrows, 2009
Asia				
Afghanistan				
Bangladesh				
Cambodia				
China				
India				
Laos				
Malaysia				
Myanmar				
Nepal				
Pakistan				
Philippines				
Singapore				
Sri Lanka				
Thailand				
Vietnam				
S. America and the Caribbean				
Brazil				
Colombia				
Guatemala				
Mexico				
Paraguay				
Dominican Republic			Refers generally to Caribbean	

Notes: Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (2009a) countries are all countries where at least five recorded cases of child trafficking are reported. CEOP also noted 46 out of 325 child victims were from the UK - not included in the table above. CEOP finding re Congo – CEOP note that it was not specified whether it was Republic of Congo or DRC. UNODC (2006) countries are those marked as ‘high’ or ‘very high’ origin countries (see Table 3.1) using the UNODC scale.

Other studies have also identified the Caribbean (Dudley, 2006), Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Moldova, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Thailand and Uganda (Young and Quick, 2005), as well as most of the countries of the former Soviet Union (Salt and Stein, 1997), as countries from where human trafficking to the UK has originated. Dudley (2006) also notes that there is some trafficking of women into Northern Ireland from the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain.

The work of the police and judicial agencies that respond to human trafficking also supports the above observations on the diverse origins of victims trafficked into the UK. The police operation, Pentameter 2, a policing operation against human trafficking for sexual exploitation simultaneously involving all 55 forces in the UK, resulted in 164 victims of trafficking from 26 different countries¹¹ being recovered.

¹¹ <http://www.soca.gov.uk/about-soca/about-the-ukhtc/national-referral-mechanism/statistics>

Children: Countries of origin

The Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre undertook a survey of police forces and law enforcement agencies in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, local authority children's services, NGOs, and the UK Border Agency (Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2009a). It identified the number and sources of known child trafficking cases in the 12-month period between 1 March 2007 and 29 February 2008. The study only provided data on child trafficking cases reported to CEOP and is therefore not necessarily a full representation of all child-trafficking in the UK.

The 2009 CEOP study identified 52 source countries (including the UK) from which 325 children were reported to have been trafficked (*ibid.*). In order of magnitude of known cases these countries are presented in Table 3.3. The table shows that the most frequently recorded countries of origin were China, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Romania. It is worth noting that some children may try to hide their true nationality, "*especially if the false nationality is one which confers favourable asylum rights*" (*ibid.*, p 22). The study gives the examples of Chinese children who may use South Korean documentation to board flights, which they then destroy in flight, and Pakistani migrants and trafficked children who may claim to be Afghans.

Table 3.3: Known cases of child trafficking to the UK, by country of origin, March 2007 to February 2008

Country	Number of known cases
China	74
Afghanistan	24
Nigeria	22
Romania	22
Vietnam	14
South Africa	8
Zimbabwe	8
Sri Lanka	7
Bangladesh	6
Kenya	6
Uganda	6
Cameroon	5
Congo	5
South Korea	4
Sierra Leone	4
Ghana, Guinea, Ukraine, Venezuela	3 from each country
Angola, Czech Republic, France, The Netherlands, Pakistan, Russia, Somalia	2 from each country
Albania, Algeria, USA, Australia, Belarus, Brazil, Burundi, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Estonia, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Moldova, Mongolia, Poland, Slovakia, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan	1 from each country
UK	46
Unknown country of origin	15
Total number of children known to be trafficked to the UK	325

Source: Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2009a.

Note: Congo was not specified whether this was the Republic of Congo or the DRC.

Routes of human trafficking

Adults: Routes of human trafficking

Given the number of countries of origin of human trafficking, and the many transit countries (those that are passed through in order to reach a destination) that are used for the trafficking of humans (see below), the many routes that are taken are too numerous to record in a report of this kind. Most of the studies reviewed indicate that human trafficking to the UK uses most means of transport: boat; train; lorry; bus; van; car; on foot; as well as by air (and in combination).

The *UK action plan on tackling human trafficking* (Home Office and Scottish Executive, 2007) notes that many trafficking victims arrive by air with low-cost airlines, particularly those serving Eastern and Southern Europe. According to some reports, smaller airports within the UK may also be targeted by those looking to traffic adults and children (see Beddoe, 2007; Kapoor, 2007; Webb and Burrows, 2009), possibly to avoid the increased surveillance operations at major UK airports. This is balanced against the possibility that high numbers of passengers at major airports may lessen the likelihood of attracting attention (Webb and Burrows, 2009).

A report by the Commission of the European Communities (2001) gives a detailed account of the routes and methods of human trafficking within Europe that are corroborated by other studies (e.g. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006; Kapoor, 2007), with many of the destination points being in Belgium and the Netherlands. Given the UK's proximity to these two countries, and the major sea and channel tunnel links across the English Channel, the routes recorded in the Commission of the European Communities report that end in Belgium and the Netherlands are particularly interesting, as it is possible that these routes are also used for human trafficking into the UK. Table 3.4 presents four of the major routes of human trafficking within and from outside of Europe, each of them ending in Belgium.

Table 3.4: Routes of human trafficking within and from outside Europe

The Albanian route
The trafficking route from Albania runs through Italy to France in order to end up eventually in Belgium. The victims leave Albania by boat to Italy. This is the case for 85 per cent of the victims who come from Albania. Eventually they arrive by train or sometimes by car in Belgium.
The Nigerian route
The Nigerian trafficking route departs directly or indirectly through another Western African country, most of the time Ghana, by airplane or by boat to Germany, The Netherlands or Belgium. The Nigerian route ran in 40 per cent of the dossiers through a neighbouring Western African country. This is in most cases Ghana, but in some other cases it was Benin, Ivory Coast or Uganda. In other dossiers the victim travelled directly from Nigeria to the Netherlands or Germany.
The Moldavian route
The Moldavian route runs often through Romania to Serbia in order to arrive eventually in Belgium through the Albanian route. Seventy-eight per cent of the victims leave from Moldova by car or by train to Romania. Then they go on by train, bus or in some cases on foot to Serbia. From Serbia they go by car or in some cases on foot to Albania. Once in Albania they leave by boat to Italy and by train to France in order to finally end up in Belgium.
The Russian-Ukrainian route
In this case one can trace two different routes. The most important one runs via Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany to Belgium. The alternative route runs to Serbia. The vehicles, which are mainly used during the transport, are train, bus and car.

Source: Commission of the European Communities (2001).

Note: The summaries of these different routes are reported verbatim.

The Commission report cites interviews with people trafficked into three European countries: Belgium; Italy and the Netherlands. Routes into all three countries varied depending on the victims' country of origin. Victims of trafficking into Belgium frequently travelled through Germany, Italy, Romania, and Serbia and Montenegro. The Czech Republic, the Netherlands and Poland also featured. Victims trafficked to Italy arrived mainly through Italian ports and the Sicilian Apulian and Calabrian coasts. Nigerian women, thought to account for 30 per cent of victims, arrived via Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Switzerland and countries in the former Yugoslavia. The majority of those trafficked into the Netherlands came via Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Romania and Russia. The Commission estimated 75 per cent of all victims trafficked into the Netherlands came from Eastern and Central Europe, and Balkan and Baltic countries.

A study by Europol (2007) notes that the expansion of the European Union (EU) seems to have made the Central and Eastern European route increasingly important. This route uses the former Soviet Union states of Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus as transit areas to enter the EU via Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, as well as Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. Other routes identified by Europol involve the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa and the West African Atlantic coast. The latter two routes "*carry the largest volume of illegal immigrants into the EU travelling through Africa and targeting primarily Italy, Malta and Spain*" (*ibid.*, p 3).

The Eastern Mediterranean route "*targets primarily Cyprus and Greece, making use of Turkey and the Middle Eastern countries as transit ground*" (*ibid.*, p 3). Finally, the Balkan route "*uses the countries in the Western Balkans as transit ground, targeting neighbouring EU states Greece, Italy, Slovenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary as entry points in to the EU*" (*ibid.*, p 3).

Children: Routes of human trafficking

Of the 325 child victims identified by the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (2009a study, 155 were recorded as having entered the UK through an airport (many of whom did not travel directly from the source country but travelled through other countries) and 24 children were recorded to have entered the UK through seaports or the Channel Tunnel. For the remaining 146 children the port of entry was unknown.

CEOP notes that routings and methods of entry will “*largely depend on costs and the risks inherent in evading the authorities*” (*ibid.*, p 55). Also, the mode of transport for the whole journey cannot be simply inferred on the basis of the mode of entry into the UK. For example, that those entering the UK through a seaport will have travelled most of their journey overland. This was also the case with some children entering the UK through an airport (*ibid.*, p 55). This mixed mode of transport is consistent with the movement of adult victims.

Children are known to have entered the UK through a number of different UK airports, including Heathrow, Gatwick, Stansted, London City, and Belfast International (*ibid.*). There are also known cases from previous studies where children have entered the UK through other regional airports in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland (Beddoe, 2007; Kapoor, 2007). As the CEOP report notes, the most frequently reported area where child victims were identified was London. From 2009 all UK Border Agency operational staff have been obliged to undertake specific training to help them identify all types of trafficking, including cases of child trafficking, and the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009 placed a new duty on the Agency to safeguard children from harm.

Transit countries

Human trafficking can involve many transit countries. A list of transit countries across the world, organised by the frequency of reported trafficking transits, is presented in Table 3.5. It indicates that the UK is regarded as a ‘medium’ transit country, and that its neighbouring seaport countries, Belgium and France, are ‘high’ transit countries. Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Poland are recorded as ‘very high’ transit countries within Europe.¹² The evidence thus serves to illustrate how important it is likely to be for national strategies to continue to include work with the countries involved. From the UK’s perspective known transit countries located in close proximity to the UK mainland, including France, Belgium and the Netherlands, may be important EU partners, while countries in Africa, China/South East Asia and Central and Eastern Europe may also be key.

¹² UNODC explains that the categories ‘very high’, ‘medium’, ‘low’ and ‘very low’, were determined according to the number of reported accounts of trafficking on a normal bell-shaped distribution curve. “*This means that for origin and destination countries, the majority of countries would fall into the ‘medium’ category. As more information was available on countries of origin and destination, the ranges are broader for these types of information than they are for transit countries*” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006 p 117).

Table 3.5: Incidence of reporting of transit countries reported by UNODC¹³

Very high	High	Medium	Low
Albania	Belgium	Belarus	Algeria
Bulgaria	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Benin	Austria
Hungary	Czech Republic	Burkina Faso	Azerbaijan
Italy	France	Canada	Botswana
Poland	Germany	Côte d'Ivoire	Brunei Darussalam
Thailand	Greece	Croatia	Cameroon
	Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	Cyprus	Costa Rica
	Myanmar	Egypt	Ghana
	Romania	Gabon	Indonesia
	Serbia and Montenegro	Georgia	Laos
	Slovakia	Hong Kong (China Special Administrative Region)	Latvia
	Macedonia	India	Lithuania
	Turkey	Kazakhstan	Morocco
	Ukraine	Malaysia	New Zealand
		Mexico	Nigeria
		Netherlands	Republic of Moldova
		Russian Federation	Slovenia
		Singapore	Spain
		South Africa	Switzerland
		Togo	
		UK	

Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2006).

As with adults, children may be trafficked through many transit countries on their journeys to the UK. Derluyn and Broekaert (2005) noted that the journey of most unaccompanied minors was very long and took them through various countries. Many children travelled on routes through Greece, Italy and Turkey. The fact that a number of trafficked children speak some Italian suggests that they may have stayed for some time in Italy to earn money in order to finance their journey. Derluyn and Broekaert also observe that Belgium has been a major transit country for child trafficking, though they note that the UK has taken steps to reduce the number of illegal border crossings. This includes an agreement between the Belgian and UK Governments, which gives the UK control over the presence of undocumented migrants in trailers and boats while on Belgian territory, and the imposition of high fines for lorry drivers who bring undocumented migrants to the UK.

Children from China (the nationality recording the highest proportion of reported victims in the study) travelled through various routes to the UK (Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 2009a). Many went into Russia and from there through other countries by train, air, boat and by foot. Others travelled through Bolivia, Brazil, Indonesia and Kenya on

¹³ See previous footnote.

their way to the UK. In contrast, no children from West and East Africa in the CEOP Centre's data were trafficked using overland routes or by clandestine entry in the back of lorries and cars. The Centre put this down to the decreasing costs of air travel providing direct flights between a number of East and West African countries and the UK (*ibid.*).

Chase and Statham (2005) observed that once in the UK, young people were moved around to service demand in various parts of the country, although the picture of how and to where they were trafficked is unclear. They note that "*there does appear to be some diversification of trafficking routes within the UK to areas where authorities are less vigilant or less equipped to deal with the issue*" (*ibid.*, p 8).¹⁴

Economic dimensions of human trafficking into the UK

While high profits seem to be driving participation in the trafficking trade, little is known about the levels of income or profits earned by traffickers. Estimates of the size of the market for human trafficking vary. The clandestine nature of the market, however, means that any estimates have to be treated with caution. In 2005 the International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated that trafficking for forced labour was a US \$15 billion per annum profit business in the industrialised world, and approximately US \$32 billion worldwide. This figure "*may well be a conservative estimate*" (International Labour Organisation, 2005, p 56).

This section focuses exclusively on the costs and benefits of human trafficking to the trafficker. It does not consider other economic elements of human trafficking, such as the costs to those being trafficked, or the broader social costs of human trafficking, which were not in the scope of the review.

There is a rational economic calculus underlying traffickers' involvement in the trade. Kelly and Regan (2000) describe how traffickers view women and children as commodities, from which they seek to profit. Salt and Stein (1997) state that "*the migration business may be thought of as a system of institutionalised networks with complex profit and loss accounts, including a set of institutions, agents and individuals, each of which stands to make a commercial gain*" (Salt and Stein, 1997, p 468).

The financial costs of human trafficking

Just as with any business, human traffickers face financial costs, such as labour and transportation. Salt and Stein (1997) and Schloenhardt (1999) both identify a list of roles that traffickers undertake, including: managers; recruiters; drivers; escorts/guides; protectors or corrupt officials; informers on law enforcement activity; 'enforcers' to control people during transportation; look-outs; money collectors; people to 'round up customers'; money launderers; and providers of accommodation, both in transit and destination countries.

Webb and Burrows (2009) provide some costs associated with facilitation, which would include costs associated with obtaining false documentation, as well as travel, which ranged between £500 and £12,000 for travel from Europe and most commonly between £2,000 and £3,000. For journeys from further afield the costs could be much higher. For example, travel

¹⁴ It should be noted that the 2009a CEOP report found that out of 325 children and young people who may have been trafficked, 20 per cent were reported missing from children's services accommodation. Members of the authors' expert panel suggested that taking children from social services' care was an explicit strategy of traffickers. Unaccompanied children who arrived in the UK with no documentation were placed in the care of social services, from where traffickers could 'retrieve' them (see also p 62 of the CEOP report).

from China was reported to cost between £25,000 and £50,000 (*ibid.*).¹⁵ They also report that these costs will be influenced by a number of factors, including: method of transport; whether documentation was required (and the type of documents needed); distance travelled; bribery payments; the use of intermediaries; and level of risk to the facilitators.¹⁶

Feedback from the expert panel that advised this project suggests that the development of the budget airline industry has reduced the transport costs incurred by traffickers. The possibility that the reduction in transport costs is lowering the cost of trafficking is supported by the Home Office and the Scottish Executive (2007, p 15) and Webb and Burrows (2009, p 13) reports.

Type of organisation

Evidence from the literature on human trafficking suggests that trafficking organisations vary between those that are highly organised, with links to other organised crime groups, and those that are individually opportunistic and are involved in the trafficking business on a more informal basis (Kelly and Regan, 2000; Somerset, 2001; Anti-Slavery International, 2006; Kapoor, 2007). Kelly and Regan (2000) describe how intelligence reported in the Home Office Organised Crime Notification Scheme suggests links between international networks that traffic in drugs, money and human beings. Webb and Burrows (2009, p 22) report that trafficking may be undertaken by some of the same people who engage in other forms of smuggling and criminality.

A number of studies provide evidence of the complexity – and thus the cost – of the operations required to traffic people successfully. For instance, Salt and Stein (1997, p 482) point to the transnational nature of the trafficking organisation. That is, whatever their scale, trafficking organisations require employees en route and “*evidence suggests that large-scale trafficking operations have a string of contacts along trafficking routes*”. Anti-Slavery International (2006) found that women who are trafficked rarely travel alone and the person who accompanies them is not necessarily the one who will exploit them at their destination. At each step of the journey the women are handed over to someone who knows the country best. This exchange usually occurs at the border. This highlights the existence of an organised structure that plans all stages of the journey to ensure the safe arrival of the trafficked women at the correct destination (*ibid.*, p 9).

However, human trafficking does not always require such transnational and complex organisations. Anti-Slavery International (2006) also describes the market as comprising many groups of different nationalities and ethnicities, whose only mutual interest is the profit to be earned. Some victims are transported from one country to another, and sold from one criminal group to another, before arriving at their final destination. Andrijasevic (2007) describes how, as women are passed from one organisation to another, they have to participate in sex work to pay off the costs incurred along each leg of the journey.

¹⁵ See also Petros (2005) regarding costs associated with facilitation.

¹⁶ See Webb and Burrows (2009, pp 24–5) for more information on specific costs.

Costs associated with corruption

A number of authors emphasise the role of corrupt officials in facilitating human trafficking that will also be a financial cost to the trafficker (Salt and Stein, 1997; Kelly and Regan, 2000; Webb and Burrows, 2009). There was insufficient evidence to determine the magnitude of corruption, or the cost that this imposes on traffickers. However, Salt and Stein (1997) note the case of a New York immigration official at JFK airport who was charged with accepting US \$6,500 per person to facilitate the smuggling of convicted felons and drug dealers from the Dominican Republic into the USA.¹⁷

Costs associated with purchasing people

Case study evidence in literature published by lobby groups suggests that some of the people who are trafficked are bought by their traffickers, which would also be considered a cost to their business. It should be borne in mind that these case studies are merely illustrative of the economics of human trafficking, and should not be generalised without further evidence. Somerset (2001) reported testimonies from two traffickers who provided data on the cost of buying people to traffic and supported the notion that the people being trafficked were considered commodities or business costs. One trafficker described how he paid £2,500 for a young girl from South Africa, though he also reported having paid as little as £800 per girl. A second trafficker, who trafficked girls from Vietnam to supply the UK sex industry, described how the price paid for people had fallen over the years. At one point he paid £20,000 for a girl. At the time of Somerset's data collection (2001) he paid only one-half of this. Anti-Slavery International (2006) describes how a Polish group trafficked women into prostitution in Poland and Germany. They bought women from Belarussian recruiters for €2,000 each. In comparison, Webb and Burrows (2009), report the sale value of a prostitute in the UK to be between £3,000 and £4,000.

Non-financial costs of human trafficking – the risks of apprehension

Perhaps chief among the costs associated with involvement in illicit activity is the risk of arrest and seizure (Anderson, 1995; Matrix Knowledge Group, 2007). The literature provides a number of examples of trafficker strategy and behaviour that indicates their awareness of the risks posed by law enforcement activities. Somerset (2001), Skrivánková (2006), and Anti-Slavery International *et al.* (2006) identify the ways in which traffickers attempt to control the people they traffic in order to reduce the risks posed by them informing the authorities, including:

- working with women who are drug addicts because it is easier to exert control over them;
- removing the documents from those they traffic;
- stopping people from learning the native language;
- moving people from place to place to prevent them from becoming familiar with their surroundings or the local population;
- threatening violence against the trafficking victim or their family;
- debt bondage;
- withholding payment of wages; and

¹⁷ See also Webb and Burrows, 2009 (p 19) for information on costs alleged by convicted traffickers.

- tying accommodation to employment, meaning that the worker cannot leave his/her job without being made homeless.

Salt and Stein (1997) describe how traffickers can sometimes take advantage of weaknesses in systems designed to curb or control immigration by:

- exploiting loopholes in legislation (obtaining work permits or tourist visas);
- identifying gaps in border controls; and
- arranging operations to occur at times when immigration centres are likely to be short-staffed.

Europol (2007) describes how organised crime groups have adapted to changes in attempts to control migration by increasing their misuse of legal migration systems, such as using student, business or tourist visas, and by changing the routes they employ.

Despite the traffickers' awareness of the risks involved in the business, the literature generally describes a situation in which the perceived risk of punishment faced by human traffickers is low, and some convicted traffickers were surprised at the severity of their sentence (Webb and Burrows, 2009). The maximum sentence length for this offence is 14 years.

Laws directly addressing trafficking have only been introduced relatively recently – the law on trafficking for sexual exploitation was introduced in 2003 (Sexual Offences Act 2003), and the law on trafficking for the purposes of labour exploitation was introduced in 2004 (Asylum and Immigration [Treatment of Claimants, etc] Act 2004).¹⁸ Prior to the introduction of these laws, traffickers were convicted under the Sexual Offences Act 1956 for trafficking-related offences, such as controlling prostitution, rape, and living off immoral earnings.

Skrivánková (2006) identifies how the victims of trafficking came into contact with a wide range of officials, but that they often did not know how to respond.

It is important to note that a number of steps have been undertaken increasing the risks to traffickers of apprehension, including the police operations Pentameter 1 (2006) and Pentameter 2 (2007), the establishment of the UK Human Trafficking Centre and the ratification of the Council of Europe convention on action against trafficking. This is in addition to the ongoing enforcement efforts through the police and through SOCA, which has organised immigration crime, including trafficking, as one of its main priorities.¹⁹ In July 2010 details of plans to create a National Crime Agency were announced.²⁰ New arrangements to implement the convention included the setting up of a National Referral Mechanism (NRM) in April 2009 to identify and to protect victims of trafficking. More than 700 referrals were made to the NRM during its first year of operation (UK Human Trafficking Centre, 2010).

In relation to the relative effectiveness of measures taken to combat trafficking, with the exception of work undertaken by the US Department of State (2010), there are very few data sources that allow for comparisons to be made on the relative effectiveness of different countries' approaches to combating human trafficking. The US Department of State report measured efforts by foreign governments to tackle human trafficking, using their own anti-trafficking legislation as a benchmark. The report placed the UK in its highest category (Tier

¹⁸ Additionally, there is the criminal offence of paying for sex with someone subjected to force, threats or deception (Policing and Crime Act 2009) and the offence of holding a person in slavery, servitude, forced or compulsory labour (Coroners and Justice Act 2009).

¹⁹ There have been 149 convictions for trafficking for sexual exploitation under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 (in effect since May 2004) and 7 convictions for labour trafficking under the Immigration and Asylum (Treatment of Claimants, etc) Act 2004 (in effect since December 2004). There have also been three convictions for conspiracy to traffic. All conviction figures are to end of June 2010.

²⁰ See: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/press-releases/radical-reforms-police>.

1 out of 3), and noted that the UK has sustained strong anti-trafficking law enforcement efforts during the year preceding publication of the report (*ibid.*).

The benefits of human trafficking to the traffickers

Data on the returns earned by individual traffickers are even sparser than for the overall market estimates. However, what little evidence there is suggests that traffickers earn money through the following means.

- **Selling victims of human trafficking.** The Home Office and the Scottish Executive (2007) report suggests that where victims are bought and sold in the UK, prices range from £500 to £8,000 per person, with an average of between £2,000 and £3,000. This average figure is not dissimilar to the figures noted in Webb and Burrows (2009), which state that women could be bought for between £3,000 and £4,000.
- **The earnings of trafficking victims.** Webb and Burrows report a variable cost of between £150 and £1,000 earned per day for prostitutes in the off-street sex market, of which between 10 and 50 per cent would be kept by the prostitute – the remainder going to the operator. The same study notes that more money was seen to be gained from taking a cut of the prostitute’s money rather than selling them, “*as the margins between buying and selling would rarely exceed £500*” (*ibid.*, p 26).
- **Debt bondage.** A number of sources note the use of debt bondage by traffickers (Kelly and Regan, 2000; Somerset, 2001; Beddoe, 2007; Skrivánková, 2006; Home Office and the Scottish Executive, 2007; Webb and Burrows, 2009). The trafficker pays either part or all of the victim’s expenses for travel and accommodation, and demands the money back from the victim on arrival in the UK. However, the debt is usually far higher than the cost and is impossible for the victim to pay back. Somerset (2001) reported that the size of the debt could be as large as £25,000.
- **Facilitating access to employment.** Skrivánková (2006) quotes examples of agents charging people between £300 and £18,000 to arrange jobs in the UK (see also Webb and Burrows, 2009, p 25).
- **Rent and other expenses.** Skrivánková (2006) quotes the example of Polish workers who were told they would have to pay £40 per week each to sleep on a kitchen or sitting room floor in the UK.

Some of the above estimates should be treated with caution. Where the sources of the above estimates are known, some are derived from anecdotal evidence.

By definition, the costs of trafficking must be outweighed by the benefits, otherwise there would not be a market in human trafficking. However, little is known about the size of the difference between costs and benefits to the trafficker and how this varies over time and along the various supply chains into the UK. There is some evidence of the types of financial costs incurred by traffickers, including the cost of purchasing people to traffic, and the costs of labour, transport, travel documentation, accommodation, and bribery. However, other than the few estimates mentioned in this report, there appears to be a dearth of evidence in relation to the size of these individual costs. This presents an obvious knowledge gap.

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Appendix A: Methodological details

Scope of the review

The scope of this review was agreed with the UK Border Agency, as expressed by the three questions presented at the beginning of this report, i.e.:

- What are the routes and methods of entry for victims of trafficking?
- Are the routes the same for adults and children?
- What are the economic dimensions of human trafficking into the UK?

When undertaking an evidence assessment it is necessary to clarify four aspects of the research scope, using the 'PICO' acronym. For this review, the following elements of PICO were used.

- Population: Adults and children who are trafficked into the UK.
- Issue of interest: Human trafficking, as defined by Article 4 of the Council of Europe convention (see above).
- Context: Primarily human trafficking into the UK. Secondly, patterns of human trafficking within Europe and globally, especially if these have implications for the routes of trafficking into the UK.
- Outcome: the economic costs, benefits and drivers of human trafficking.

Summary of databases searched

Information was gathered from literature and electronic searches, and also from personal contact with UK specialists in the area of human trafficking, who formed an expert panel. Members of the panel were contacted to identify both key relevant literature (including unpublished or 'grey' literature), and ongoing research in this field.

A search was carried out using a wide range of academic databases. Table A.1 summarises the databases searched, the number of studies identified using electronic searching (round 1), and the number of studies included once the titles and abstracts of those studies identified had been reviewed against the scope of the review (round 2).

Table A.1: Databases searched and studies identified (round 1) and included (round 2)

Databases	Round 1	Round 2
Applied Social Science Index and Abstracts (ASSIA)	80	4
British Humanities Index (BHI)	81	2
EconLit	185	2
Ingenta Connect	360	8
International Bibliography of the Social Sciences	113	13
ISI Web of Knowledge	200	7
JStor	150	0
National Criminal Justice Service Abstracts	18	3
Panel Recommendations	11	8
Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection	111	5
Social Services Abstracts	102	4
Sociological Abstracts	37	12
World Wide Political Science Abstracts	164	9
Total	1,601	77

Note: Round 1 studies were identified through electronic searching. Round 2 studies were included after comparison against scope.

Appendix B: Critical appraisal of included studies

Studies that met the scope of this review were critically appraised using the Quality Assessment Framework below.

Quality Assessment Framework – Human Trafficking Project

	YES	NO	N/A	D/K
1. Setting				
Is there a clear statement of study aims and objectives and/or hypothesis?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Sampling				
Is the sample in this study sufficiently similar to the population of interest to this study of human trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is the sample size large enough to support generalisable claims about human trafficking in the overall UK population?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there an attempt to maximise participation in the sample, i.e. language matching or translation; specialised recruitment; organised transport for group attendance?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there any sample attrition at follow-up stages?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, how great was the sample attrition?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did the report include discussion of any missing coverage in achieved samples?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there any account given to non-participation in the samples?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did the way that respondents were accessed and approached affect participation/coverage and bias?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Data collection				
Were the data that are presented collected with scientific validity (appropriate to the methodology used)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there an adequate account of how the data were collected?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Were there any details provided about problems of data collection?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was sufficient contextual detail provided?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	YES	NO	N/A	D/K
4. Data analysis				
Was the analysis undertaken to a sufficiently high scientific standard to ensure validity and reliability?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there adequate analysis of the <i>samples</i> involved in trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there adequate analysis of the <i>routes</i> of trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there adequate analysis of the <i>process</i> of trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Was there adequate analysis of the <i>outcomes</i> of trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Were <i>appropriate</i> statistics used in this analysis?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Were all the appropriate variables/statistics reported?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Were any missing data accounted for?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Did the analysis presented support the author's conclusions?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Bias				
Is there any evidence of <i>selection</i> bias?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there any evidence of <i>attrition</i> bias?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there any evidence of <i>performance</i> bias?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there any evidence of <i>publication</i> bias?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there evidence of any <i>other types</i> of scientific bias?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Generalisability and wider inference				
Is it possible to make generalised inferences from this paper about human trafficking to the UK?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do the authors acknowledge any limitations on what can be generalised to a wider population?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does this paper provide any new or alternative understanding of Human trafficking to the UK?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does this paper improve overall understanding of human trafficking to the UK?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	YES	NO	N/A	D/K
7. Openness and transparency				
Is this paper sufficiently open and transparent about how its research was undertaken?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is this paper sufficiently open and transparent about its limitation?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Ethical considerations				
Does this paper give sufficient consideration to the ethical requirements of conducting social research?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does this paper give sufficient consideration to the ethical requirements of reporting social research?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does this paper give sufficient safeguards to the identity of sample participants?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does this paper give sufficient safeguards to the identity of all social groups covered by the research evidence presented?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Data extraction from included studies

Data on the routes of entry into the UK used by human traffickers, as well as other salient findings, such as numbers of those trafficked into the UK, the characteristics of victims and traffickers, and the drivers of human trafficking, were extracted from each of the 32 included studies using the following Data Extraction Framework:

Data Extraction Framework – Human Trafficking Project

Study's findings	YES	NO	N/A
1. Does this study provide empirical findings about the routes of human trafficking into the UK?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible about this impact.			
2. Does this study provide any empirical findings about the numbers of human beings trafficked to the UK?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible about these numbers.			
3. Does this study provide empirical findings on the types of employment into which the human traffickers are supplying victims?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible.			
4. Does this study provide any empirical findings about the characteristics of human traffickers ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible.			
5. Does this study provide any empirical findings about the characteristics of the victims of human traffickers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible.			
6. Does this study provide any empirical findings about the drivers/causes of human trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible.			
7. Does this study provide any empirical findings about the financial costs of human trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible, e.g.: direct costs; bribes to law enforcement officials.			
8. Does this study provide any empirical findings about the non-financial costs of human trafficking?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If so, record as much detail as possible, e.g.: risks of arrest and punishment; risks of violence; risks of seizure/loss of supply; risks of loss of trust within the trafficking market.			

YES NO N/A

9. Does this study provide any empirical evidence of the **benefits** of human trafficking?

If so, record as much detail as possible.

How much do people pay to be trafficked?

How much do people pay for trafficked people?

Benefits from trafficking vs other employment opportunities.

Evidence of control/organising/fixing of the market.